

A HISTORY  
OF  
THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM  
IN INDIA

FROM THE EARLIEST CONTACTS UPTO ITS PRESENT PHASE.  
WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS SOLUTION.

Being the Report of the Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress (Karachi Session 1931) to enquire into the Cawnpore Riots of March 1931.

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**RESOLUTION DATED BOMBAY, THE 31st DE-  
CEMBER 1931, OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE  
OF THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF  
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.**

The Working Committee having read the Cawnpore Enquiry Report thanks the authors for the great pains they have bestowed upon it, and hereby authorizes the General Secretary to have it published for general information. The Working Committee however wishes it to be understood that the publication is not to be interpreted to mean that it has endorsed the correctness of the historical survey made in the Report or its appropriateness in an Emergency Enquiry into a Local Communal Disturbance.

## NOTE.

This Report was duly presented to the President, All-India Congress Committee, in October 1931. After considering it the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee resolved to publish it, at its meeting of the 31st December 1931. Within a few days, most of the members of the Working Committee and four out of six members of the Enquiry Committee were in jail. These facts and the events that followed account for the extraordinary delay in its publication. But the publication, though so late, is necessary, to carry out the Resolution of the All-India Working Committee and because it deals with matters of lasting interest and value, *viz.*, historical causes and practical remedies.

April 1933.

SUNDARLAL,  
Secretary,

Cawnpore Riots Enquiry Committee

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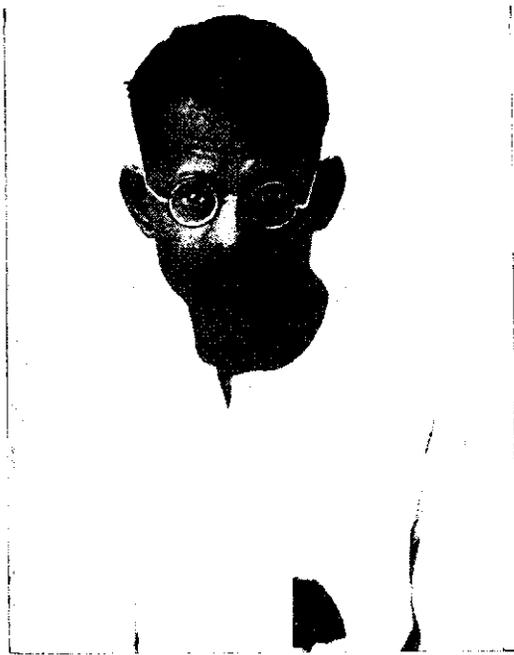
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**SHRI GANESH SHANKAR VIDYARTHI**

*Photo taken in April 1930, as President-Dictator of the  
U. P. Provincial Congress Committee.*

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FROM

DR. BHAGAVAN DAS,  
Chairman, Cawnpore Riots Enquiry Committee.

TO

SIRDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL,  
President,  
All-India Congress Committee,  
Ahmedabad.

Benares,

October 4th, 1931.

SIR,

I submit herewith the Report of the Cawnpore Riots Committee, appointed by Resolution No. IV of the Indian National Congress at its session in Karachi in March 1931.

I regret the delay which has occurred. It is due partly to the nature of the work, partly to the other public and private engagements of members, and, for the rest, to my inability to foresee certain difficulties and provide against them in time so as to expedite the work.

I must also in this letter express our gratitude to the Cawnpore Congress Committee and to the Congress workers at Cawnpore without whose loyal support and unremitting help our work would have been impossible. Shri Piareylal Agarwal, Secretary, Town Congress Committee, Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor, Advocate, and Dr. Jawaharlal, with their co-workers deserve especial mention.

Next I must thank the Chairman and the staff of the Cawnpore Municipal Board for supplying us with much valuable information that we needed in connection with our work. Our thanks are also due to the Managing Committee of the Gaya Prasad Library for putting a set of rooms in their spacious Library building at our disposal for conducting our enquiry. We must also thank the Hindu, Muslim, and Christian citizens of Cawnpore, who unreservedly responded to our invitation for giving evidence before us, for without such whole-hearted and trustful co-operation of all communities it would have been impossible for us to come to correct conclusions. I should also thank two young friends, Shri Ganesh Lal and Shri Sadik Ali, who during all these six months have unremittingly helped the Committee with their honorary services in the heavy task of keeping, arranging, and producing records and accounts, comparing and correcting copies, etc.

Finally, at Benares, the deep thanks of our Committee are due to Shrimati Bhagavati Devi Gupta and Shri Shiva-prasad Gupta for having most generously housed this whole Committee and its assistant staff very comfortably in their spacious house and given us all free hospitality for four whole months, bearing patiently and smilingly the endless inconveniences which such a large party of guests for such a long period unavoidably causes to the host.

I conclude with an expression of the hope that you may find the Report useful for its purpose, excuse the delay that has occurred in submitting it to you, and in case you think it would be helpful, to arrange for the early printing and publication of the same in English as

well as Hindustani, in both the Urdu and the Nagri scripts, for the benefit of all concerned.

Yours sincerely,

BHAGAVAN DAS,

Chairman,

Cawnpore Riots Enquiry Committee.

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## MEMORANDUM OF WORK

(24th March, 1931, to 4th October, 1931.)

Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in Cawnpore on the 24th March 1931. Many of the local leading workers had left the city to attend the Karachi Congress, which began session on 29th March 1931.

Local Congress workers wired news of the riots to Karachi on 25th. President Jawaharlal Nehru requested Shri Purushottam Das Tandon, there present, and wired to some others at Lucknow and Allahabad, to proceed at once to Cawnpore, and help to pacify the situation.

Shri Purushottam Das Tandon, with some local Congressmen, arrived at Cawnpore on the 28th March; Choudhury Khaliquzzaman, Maulana Zafarul-Mulk Alvi, Shri Mohanlal Saxena and others had come from Lucknow in the meantime. They convened Joint meetings of prominent Hindu and Muslim citizens, issued a peace proclamation, formed a Unity Board, took out joint processions of Hindus and Muslims on 29th, 30th, and 31st, through the affected areas, and did all that was possible to restore peace. By the end of the month the fury of the riots had subsided altogether. Much confidence had been restored. Yet the apprehensions and susceptibility to panic at the slightest rumour, almost always false, continued, and the main bazars also remained closed, despite official efforts to open them.

On 30th March 1931, the Congress at Karachi passed the following resolution :

## COMMUNAL STRIFE IN CAWNPORE.

4. This Congress deplures the communal strife that is going on in Cawnpore and that has resulted in a large number of deaths and even a larger number injured. The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the families of the deceased and the injured. The Congress notes with deep grief the news of the death, during the strife, of Syt. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, President, United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, who was one of the most selfless among national workers and who by his freedom from communal bias had endeared himself to all parties and communities. Whilst tendering condolence to the family of the deceased, the Congress notes with pride that a prominent worker of the first rank was found sacrificing his precious life in the attempt to rescue those in danger and restore peace and sanity in the midst of strife and insanity. The Congress asks all concerned to utilize this noble sacrifice for promoting peace and never for vengeance, and to that end appoints a Committee to discover the causes of the tension and to take such measures as may be necessary to heal the breach and to prevent the poison from spreading to the adjoining areas and districts.

## COMMITTEE.

Syt. Purushottam Das Tandon.

Khwaja Abdul Majid.

Syt. T. A. K. Sherwani.

Syt. Zafarul-Mulk.

Pandit Sunderlal.

with Dr. Bhagavan Das (Chairman).

Pandit Sundarlal reached Cawnpore on the 5th April. On the 7th April, the new President of the Congress, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, ex-President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Seth Jammalal Bajaj arrived there. They held conversations with Hindu and Muslim leaders, led a joint procession through the markets, and appealed to both Hindu and Muslim businessmen to open shops. The appeal was responded to at once, and after full 13 days the city again began to live its normal life. Yet the panicky condition, especially during nights, continued more or less for some time longer. Mischief-makers now and then started false rumours and alarms, or actually threw stones here and there. These were counteracted by Congress workers proclaiming (by beat of drum etc.) the falseness of the alarm, and also by similar official proclamations.

On the 8th April, two other members of our Committee, Doctor Bhagavan Das and Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk arrived. Shri Purushottam Das Tandon had left meanwhile. Khwaja Abdul Majid and Shri T. A. K. Sherwani sent intimations of inability to work on the Committee for various reasons. By permission of the Congress President, obtained by wire, Shri Manzar Ali Sokhta and Shri Abdul Latif were co-opted finally in place of Khwaja Abdul Majid and Shri T. A. K. Sherwani.

A questionnaire was drawn up in Hindustani (in two scripts, Urdu and Hindi) and in English. The English version is given as an appendix with this report.

Invitations to give evidence by written statements in answer to our questionnaire, and also orally, were issued to some 200 persons, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, Indian

and European, non-official and official. Copies of the questionnaire were enclosed.

The officials declined to appear. They wrote back pleading inability on the ground of their being Government servants.

On the 9th and 10th April members of the Committee met several local leaders and discussed the situation.

On the afternoon of the 10th April, a full private meeting (public meetings having been forbidden by the District Magistrate) was held in the Gaya Prasad Library Hall. Over 300 leading persons of the city, Hindu and Muslim, gathered. Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pt. Hridaynath Kunzru, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Dr. Bhagavan Das, and Principal S. C. Chatterji, of the Christ Church College, spoke.

The Committee began sittings, for recording evidence, on the afternoon of the 11th April, in a couple of rooms kindly placed at the disposal of the Committee by the authorities of the Gaya Prasad Library, which is situated in a central place, on the Meston Road, at a short distance from where the riots began.

That same evening, a meeting of the local Unity Board, composed of leading Hindus and Muslims, was held. Members of our Committee attended by invitation. Pt. Sundarlal addressed the Board at length, placing our views and suggestions before them, especially regarding the formation of joint Mohalla Panchayats and Civic Guards and the dropping of all criminal cases.

Shri Manzar Ali Sokhta arrived on the 12th, Shri Purushottam Das Tandon on the 13th, Shri Abdul Latif on the 17th.

From the 12th onwards, some members of the Committee used to go round daily for local inspections, in the forenoons, spending about four hours each day in this work, recording notes of what they saw and heard, also addressing small gatherings on the need for and the way of harmony and peace. In the afternoons they sat in the Gaya Prasad Library, from 3 p.m. till 8, 9, sometimes 10 p.m., recording evidences.

The work of local inspection was practically finished by the end of April, that of recording evidence by the 25th May.

The attendance of the Committee members varied. Pandit Sundar Lal and Shri Manzar Ali Sokhta were present almost throughout, and besides the regular Committee work, did a good deal in the way of visiting and enlisting the sympathies of local men of influence. The next most regular attendant was Maulana Zafarul-Mulk, who at great personal inconvenience and sacrifice used to travel daily to and fro between Lucknow and Cawnpore, compelled to do so by unavoidable professional engagements and illness of children at Lucknow. Dr. Bhagavan Das spent 26 days in Cawnpore and Shri Abdul Latif 20 days. Shri Purushottam Das Tandon, because of multifarious other engagements, could give very little time.

After the 25th May, Pandit Sundarlal and Shri Manzar Ali Sokhta were detained at Cawnpore by the Moharram troubles, till the 1st June.

Several times during the month of April, and on a few occasions also in May, Pandit Sundarlal and Shri Manzar Ali Sokhta were sent to various places in the Mofussil and also to some places in the adjoining districts of Fatehpur.

Farrukhabad, Etah, Mainpuri, etc., from some of which places it was reported that trouble was imminent between Hindus and Muslims. A number of Mohalla meetings of members of both communities were also held in the city in which various members of the Committee spoke on the need of unity and the means of bringing it about. Pandit Sundarlal and Shri Manzar Ali, who were at Cawnpore during Muharram, used to work in the city practically from morning till evening in connection with the Moharram trouble from the 25th May to the 1st of June.

On 2nd June, Pandit Sundarlal with his records and staff of assistants arrived at Benares, and Shri Manzar Sokhta on the 3rd. They and Dr. Bhagavan Das began preparing notes for the Report. The first idea was to meet at Lucknow, but as arrangements could not be easily made there, it was decided to do the work at Benares. Maulana Zafarul-Mulk unfortunately fell ill; Shri Abdul Latif also was detained by domestic illness, and Shri Purushottam Das Tandon by various engagements. Invitations were finally issued to all these three gentlemen to come to Benares on 1st July at latest. Shri Purushottam Das Tandon joined on the 30th June and Maulana Zafarul-Mulk on 2nd July. Shri Abdul Latif came on the 7th of July.

Since then, all the members have been spending what time they could to help in the drafting and compilation of the report at Benares. Out of the 109 days between 2nd June and 19th September, Pandit Sundarlal spent 91 days in Benares, Shri Manzar Ali spent 72, Shri Purushottam Das Tandon 47, Shri Abdul Latif 23, and Maulana Zafarul-Mulk Alvi 20. Dr. Bhagavan Das has been in

Benares all the days, The rest of the work having been almost finished, Pandit Sundarlal alone with some staff continued to remain at Benares from the 19th September upto the 4th of October, to get typing and other necessary work finished.

At Benares, our work has been confined mainly to the drafting, discussing, and revising of the Report and getting it fair-typed.

On the evening of the 5th July, four members attended, by invitation, a crowded meeting of the Hindu and Muslim citizens of Benares on the grounds of the Town Hall, and addressed them on the need for and the ways of establishing Hindu-Muslim Unity. During the first eighteen days of August, all the members were scattered in different places, three going to Bombay for the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee and other work. On the 30th August, Shri Manzar Ali went to Jaunpur, presided at the District Conference and spoke on Hindu-Muslim Unity among other topics.

Briefly, from the 8th April to the end of May was spent at Cawnpore collecting and recording evidence (of some 280 witnesses covering about 2000 typed and Nagri and Urdu MS. pages) and making local inspections. Lists of houses destroyed by fire or otherwise, wholly or in part, with estimates of cost of restoration, were also prepared by a separate Committee of local workers appointed by us. Another Committee we appointed prepared a list of the Hindus who helped, rescued, or protected Muslims, and *vice versa*, during the riots. We mention both in the Report. We also arranged to get copies of photographs

of about 60 striking situations taken during the riots. We are submitting the same with the Report.

From the 2nd of June upto date we have worked in Benares at the Report, with the exception of the first eighteen days of August mentioned before.

The Report, of about 385 typed pages, including appendices, etc., is thus the result of nearly two months of collection of evidence and 3 months of writing.

Our investigations at Cawnpore revealed to us the fearful nature and the extent of the tragedy and the terrible possibility of its spreading into other parts in India. The Cawnpore riots were not an isolated and unusual occurrence. The Benares riots which preceded them by only six weeks were serious enough to have required a full investigation. They were only put into the back ground by this much greater tragedy. Other extraordinary occurrences have been taking place since, in British as well as Indian India, in various places. Things have come to such a deplorable pass that "riots" can be caused almost at will by interested parties, wherever and whenever it may suit them.

The Cawnpore riots were only a most violent manifestation of a deep-seated disease which has been growing actively for the last ten or twelve years, out of germs fostered in the body politic of India, for some generations at least. From the conditions we saw and the evidence we recorded, we became convinced that mere temporary palliatives would be of no avail, and that by confining efforts only to areas of violent repercussions the Congress would be wasting energy. A thorough examination of the problem was needed and remedial measures had to be

devised which would be of general application and lasting utility. The more we thought over and discussed the question, the firmer grew our conviction that it was our duty to go into the matter thoroughly and to deal with the Hindu-Muslim Problem in its entirety, treating the Cawnpore riots as merely an aggravated symptom of the disease.

Once committed to this position, our task became rather heavy. Our personal experience and the evidence we took in the course of our investigations revealed to us that a deep impression existed in the minds of the people that the Hindu-Muslim problem was an age-long problem, that the two communities were inherently antagonistic to each other, that they had always shed each other's blood, and would continue to do so till one or the other was destroyed or was in a position to dominate over the other. We found that the conviction had sunk deep into the public mind, and by trying further to comprehend its nature we found that it had its root in a perverted view of history. Even some of our best Congress workers, both Hindu and Muslim, are possessed with this idea, which cannot be driven away from their mind because they sincerely believe that this is the lesson taught to us by the last several centuries of our history. This is a dangerous mentality which tends to make all efforts at reconciliation lifeless and unreal, and which generates a feeling of desperation and a callous disregard of the consequences of a situation which appears to them as insoluble. We felt that the first step towards the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem was an attempt to remove this mentality from the workers as well as from the public. This could only be done by presenting before them a correct and constructive view of the

past relations of the two communities and by exposing the methods by which our history has been deliberately misinterpreted and misrepresented. The task was as difficult as it was essential. It required time; but we could not grudge time in a matter of such vital consequences. We are, therefore, submitting a historical retrospect covering the Muslim and the British periods. It is intended to show the development of the social and political forces which are responsible for the present situation. The Cawnpore incidents are then narrated to supply an ocular demonstration of the working of the forces described in the Historical Section, and the last Section deals with remedial measures.

BHAGAVAN DAS.

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PART I.  
HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

## FOREWORD.

### THE PREVAILING MISCONCEPTION

THE prevailing impression is that the Hindu-Muslim problem in its present form is an agelong problem and that the two communities have, in their different religions and cultures, a source of inexhaustible and ineradicable antagonism which has made their mutual relations bitter, distrustful, and hostile from the very outset. This is an extremely wrong impression, created by interested parties through deliberate misrepresentations, about the propagation of Islam in India, about the nature and incidents of Muslim rule, and generally about the relations which subsisted during this period between the Hindus and the Musalmans.

In the following retrospect it is our purpose to correct this view which is generally met with in school histories and other interested works, and which at present is playing a considerable part in estranging the two communities. We feel that unless the people begin to see the past in a truer perspective it will be very difficult or well-nigh impossible to restore mutual confidence and to arrive at a real and permanent solution of the present differences. We consider, therefore, that an attempt to remove historical misconceptions is the first and the most indispensable step in the real solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

### GENESIS OF THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM.

This problem is a problem arising out of the mutual distrust and the real or supposed conflict of rights and interests of the two major communities of India. In its very nature, it

implies the presence in each community of a separate collective consciousness as well as of separate collective communal motives under which each can as a single unit act and re-act against the other. The Hindu-Muslim problem, therefore, in its presents form, could only arise when each of the two communities has developed this separate collective consciousness, and such motives and objectives. This stage of development is reached in Indian history only after 1857. Throughout the Muslim period no All-India communal consciousness and corresponding motives and objectives are patently perceptible either in the Muslims or in the Hindus, and the political and economic relations of the two communities are found to be almost altogether free from communal bias or bigotry. Communalism in India develops as a concomitant to Indian Nationalism and is nothing but Nationalism driven into religious channels. In Hindus, it has allied itself to a territorial sentiment because of the more ancient connection of Hinduism with India and also because of confinement of Hinduism to this country. In Musalmans, it has got deflected towards Pan-Islamism because of the action of the divisive British policy, the foreign origin of Islam, and the existence of Muslims in other countries where Islam is politically regnant. But in both the communities these developments begin to take place naturally after the upsetting of the old social balances and ideals by British conquests and the introduction of the nationalistic ideal in Indian life through the spread of Western ideas and education.

#### SCOPE OF THE HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

It is impossible in a report of this nature to deal with all the aspects of our social and political life; and even those that we touch upon will have to be dealt with very cursorily.

rily. It is not our purpose, nor is it possible for us, to write a complete history. We wish merely to indicate some lines of thought and describe some features and incidents of Indian history which are generally disregarded but in the light of which we can better understand the present and the past relations of the two communities.

We divide the Retrospect into two broad sections, the Muslim period and the British period. In the first section we take a bird's-eye view of the relations of the two communities from their first contacts upto the Mughal period, indicating broadly the affinities which existed between them and the broad synthesis towards which their life was moving. In the second, we try to show how the synthesis was disturbed and indicate the social, religious, and political factors which have been in the main responsible for the birth of the communal problem and the part which British policy has played in working it up and in bringing matters to the present crisis.

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SECTION A.  
THE MUSLIM PERIOD.

## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY CONTACTS.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND ARABIA BEFORE THE BIRTH OF ISLAM.

BEFORE the birth of Islam, Arabia and India were linked pretty closely together through trade and commerce. The Arabs in those days carried the rich merchandise of India right up to Egypt and into the countries of Europe, on the west, and, on the east, passing through the rich and fertile Islands of the Pacific athwart the Indian coasts, they carried it to the distant countries of Japan and China. On this account, the Western and Eastern coasts of India had Arab colonies, and Arabs and Indians knew each other and lived and worked with each other on terms of perfect friendliness and cordiality, centuries before the birth of Islam.

From time immemorial incursions from the north by the migrating tribes of Central Asia, who came and settled in the land from time to time, sometimes peacefully and at others through invasions and conquests, were introducing an element of cosmopolitanism in the life of India. This cosmopolitanism was further helped through her economic relations with other civilized nations of the world almost from the beginning of history, because during all this time, and down to the 19th Century when British rule was well consolidated, she continued to be one of the richest and greatest centres of world-trade. These factors contributed to give to her economic and political life a liberalism which was directly opposite in form and spirit to the rigid exclusiveness of her religious and social systems. No other coun-

try extended its unstinted hospitality and welcome to followers of other faiths and creeds in the same way and to the same extent as India did in the past. And no other country benefited more by such foreign contacts and successfully assimilated the good points of the other systems without undermining the roots of its own culture or annihilating its own individuality. We are mentioning these aspects because they are generally absent from our histories and because a knowledge of them is essential to see our past in its true historical perspective.

#### FIRST MUSLIM COLONIES.

{ When about 630 A. D. almost the whole of Arabia accepted Islam the Arab colonies in India automatically became Muslim colonies, and the profound moral and economic impulse that Islam gave to the life of the Arabs had its immediate reactions in India by increasing the number and the importance of these colonies. From 630 A. D. to 1000 A. D. when, with the exception of the solitary Arab invasion of Sindh, the Muslim invasions of India may be said to begin, India lived in intimate contact with Islam. During this period Islam spread into practically all those parts of the world where it exists at present; it set its cultural and intellectual stamp on the various nations of the world and passed the meridian of its power and glory. Its real political contacts began to be established with India when the first flush of its cultural and spiritual momentum was practically exhausted. With the exception of the invasion of Sindh, which may be regarded as a comparatively isolated episode of Indian history, up to 1000 A. D. India never came under the dominance of any Muslim power or suffered from any Muslim invasion. But during all this time

Islam spread peacefully practically in all her provinces and made considerable progress. Particularly in Southern India, in regions below the rivers Mahanadi and Narbada, which remained altogether free from Muslim invasion and conquest right up to the end of the thirteenth century, Islam made its earliest appearance and continued peacefully to progress, and the followers of the two religions lived together in perfect harmony. Not that their relationships remained confined to trade alone. Throughout this period we find them co-operating and working together in every walk of national life. We give below a bird's-eye view of these relations to show the nature of the reception Islam received in these regions and other parts of India and the relations which existed between the Muslim and the other communities inhabiting India. )

“The first Muslim fleet appeared in Indian waters in 636 A. D. Meanwhile commerce by sea continued and the Muslims made their settlements in the towns along the South Indian coast and in Ceylon. Rowlandson says that the Muslim Arabs first settled on the Malabar coast about the end of the seventh century. . . .

“In the eighth century the Arab fleets attacked Broach and the ports on the Kathiawad coast. Their trade and settlements continued to flourish. . . .

(“Henceforth Muslim influence grew rapidly. For over a hundred years the Muslims had been established on the Malabar coast. They were welcomed as traders and apparently facilities were given to them to settle and acquire lands and openly practise their religion. They must have entered upon missionary efforts soon after settling down, for Islam is essentially a missionary religion and every Musalman is a missionary of his faith. Many were undoubtedly

held in respectful esteem ; they came to India not like the Christian colonies of Syrians driven and persecuted from their homelands but full of the ardour of a new-found religion and of the prestige of conquest and glory. Before the ninth century was far advanced, they had spread over the whole of the western coast of India and had created a stir among the Hindu populace as much by their peculiar beliefs and worships as by the zeal with which they professed and advocated them. The south of India was then greatly agitated by the conflict of religion, for Neo-Hinduism was struggling with Buddhism and Jainism for the upper hand. Politically, too, it was a period of unsettlement and upheavals. The Cheras were a losing power and new dynasties were emerging into power. Naturally the minds of the people were perturbed and they were prone to accept new ideas from whatever quarter they came. Islam appeared upon the scene with a simple formula of faith, well-defined dogmas and rites, and democratic theories of social organisation. It produced a tremendous effect, and before the first quarter of the ninth century was over the last of the Cherman Perumal Kings of Malabar who reigned at Kodungallur had become a convert to the new religion. . . .

“The Musalmans evidently had acquired great importance at this period. They were designated by the name of Mappillas which means either “a great child” or a “bridegroom” and was considered a title of honour. It was bestowed on some Christians also, and in order to distinguish the two communities the Christians were called Nussarani Mappillas. Other privileges were showered upon them. A Musalman could be seated by the side of a Nambutiri Brahman while a Nayer could not do so. The religious leader

of the Mappillas, the Thangal, was allowed to ride in a palanquin alongside of the Zamorin.

“Under the patronage and encouragement of the Zamorin the Arab merchants settled in large numbers in their dominions, and not only materially increased his power and wealth by their trade but directly supported him in his campaigns of aggrandisement. The Zamorins, who originally hailed from Nedyiruppa in Ernad, overran Palanad the neighbouring territory of Porlattiri Raja and secured the land thus won at the point of the sword by a fort at Velapuram. Here, according to tradition, a merchant who had been trading with Arabia settled and established a mart which grew into the flourishing port of Calicut. He became the Koya (Kazi) of Calicut and his successors fought on the side of the Zamorin against the Rajas of the surrounding Nads. The Raja Valluvakona of Walavanada was defeated and management of the Manamakham festival at Tirunavayi and with it the predominance in Southern Malabar passed into the Zamorin's hands. The Muslim family of Ali Rajas (Lords of the deep) who were the admirals and ministers of the Kolattiri rajas were according to one tradition the descendants of an Arab Musalman who had been invited from their native land by Cheraman Perumal and were installed as Chiefs of Kannarur (Cannanore), according to another tradition the first chieftain of the family was a Nayar who was a minister of the Kolattiri and who embraced Islam but was retained in his post on account of his skill and ability. )

“The Zamorin thought so highly of the Muslims that he definitely encouraged conversion in order to man the Arab ships on which he depended for his aggrandisement; ( he gave orders that in every family of fishermen (Mukku-

vans) in his dominion one or more of the male members should be brought up as Mohammadans. . . .

"These narratives conclusively show that on the western coast of India Muslims settled down early and grew in numbers, wealth and power. . . .

"Their principal settlement on the east coast was Kayalpattanam in Tinnevely district near the mouth of the Tamraparni river, where still the Labbies form the majority of the population, and where Caldwell picked up in large quantities broken pieces of pottery and what is more important a number of Muslim coins bearing dates from the 7th Century (71 A. H.) to thirteenth Century A. D.

"The Musalmans started their religious propoganda as soon as they had settled down in some numbers. Many of the Islamic communities of the South trace their origin to these times. The Ravuttans of Madura and Trichinopoly believe that they were persuaded to change their religion by Nathad Vali whose tomb exists at Trichinopoly and bears the date of his death 417 A. H. (1039 A. D.). . . .

"The Dudekulas attribute their conversion to Baba Fakhruddin, the saint of Pennukonda. He became a disciple of Nathad Vali, converted the Raja of Pennukonda and built a mosque there. The date of his death according to Thurston was 564 A. H.

"In Madura the Musalmans made their entrance in 1050 A. D. under the leadership of Malik ul Muluk, who was accompanied by a great saint Hazrat Aliyar Shah Sahib whose remains were buried near the Huzur Kacheri in Madura. . . The grant of villages for its maintenance made in the eleventh or twelfth century) was subjected to enquiry in the time of Virappa Nayakan and confirmed in 1573 A. D. . . .

"The Coromandal Coast became the Mabar (passage) of the Muslim traders. According to Wassaf, it extended from Kulam to Nilwar (Nellore) nearly three hundred parasangs along the sea-coast." \*

**ISLAM PRECEDED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MUSLIM  
POLITICAL POWER IN INDIA.**

The conditions which we find existing in the regions south of Mahanadi and Narbada existed practically all over India. Almost in every province Islam preceded the establishment of Muslim political power by centuries and the Muslim colonists are found to live and participate practically in every sphere of Indian life. To mention a few of these colonies, they existed in Daibal, Broach, Cambay, Sindhan, and Chaul; also in Cutch and Kathiawar. There was one in Sopara in Maharashtra and others in the kingdom of Kanauj and even in Benares. In Gujrat their relations with the State were as cordial as in Malabar itself.

"Sulaiman, Masudi, Ibn Haukal, and Abu Zaid, all agree in praising Balhara (the Valabhi ruler of Gujrat) for the friendliness which he exhibited towards the Musalmans. Sulaiman writes, 'There does not exist among rulers a prince who likes the Arabs more than Balhara, and his subjects follow his example.' Masudi saw his co-religionists practising their religion openly everywhere. Speaking of the King of Gujrat he says, 'In his kingdom Islam is respected and protected, in all parts rise chapels and splendid mosques where the Muslims say their five daily prayers.' Al-Ishtakhari (951 A. D.) found Muslims in the cities of the king-

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\* "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture," by Tarschand, M. A., D. Phil.

dom of Balhara, and 'none but Musalmans rule over them on the part of Balhara.' " \*

Thus already before the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghāzni Muslim Arabs had assumed in Western India and other principalities a position of influence, and they used it to disseminate their religion among the people. They were considerably encouraged in this by the Hindu rulers themselves. In Cambay, on one occasion the Hindus destroyed a Muslim Mosque. The Raja of Gujrat made personal enquiries and restored the Mosque at the expense of the State. The Muslim saints came in large numbers. Baba Ratan came to Broach with a party of darveshes. The head of the Borah community came from Yemen and settled in Gujrat, and Nur Satagor converted the Kunbies, Kherwas, and Koeries of Gujrat. Sindh, which in those days included Multan and touched the boundaries of Kanauj towards the west, was, from 715 A. D. onwards, as we shall see, under Muslim rule. "In northern India we find that in Wahind, . . . which became the capital of the Punjab after Kabul passed into Muslim hands, the number of Muslims was quite respectable and they had a state of their own alongside of the Hindu Raj, but the majority of the population was yet Hindu." † "In Kanauj, a city which was on the borders of Punjab, the Muslims had already established their rule. Muslim Arabs were also present in Kashmeer." ‡ In the province of Punjab which extended in those days to Hindukush and covered practically all the area towards the

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\* Ibid.

† "Arab aur Hind ke Taalluqat," by Sulaiman Nadvi, p. 398.

‡ Ibid.

west which is covered at present by Afghanistan, Arab Muslim colonies existed practically in every big city." "In the more important cities of Afghanistan, Musalmans were living no doubt, but the Afghans themselves had not accepted Islam so far. Though a king of Kabul (Kabul was the capital of the province of Punjab at that time) had accepted Islam about the third century Hijri, i. e., about a century before the Ghaznis, yet most of the Afghan tribes began to accept Islam in the days of Mahmud." \*

#### RELATIONS WITH THE HINDUS.

( From the above cursory sketch it is obvious that before the tenth century A. D. Arab traders and religious preachers had spread in India from Cape Comorin to Hindukush. Before Mahmud began his series of invasions, they had been living with the Hindus for over two centuries on terms of the greatest intimacy. ) Everywhere we find the Rajas favouring them. As a trading community, they helped considerably in the economic development of the State and added to its revenue. ) They acted as ministers and advisers to the king, and were free to choose any avocation in life they liked. They were free also to practise and spread their religion, and no penalties or restrictions existed to stop people from changing their faith. These colonists generally married women of this country, and a mixed population and a population of native converts was growing side by side, and during two centuries must have reached substantial proportions. At the time of outside invasions, these Muslims fought on behalf of and for their Rajas irrespective of the

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\* Ibid.

fact whether the invader was a Hindu or a Muslim. There were Muslim armies and generals in the employ of many Rajas, and the armies of Muslim Kings included Hindu troops and commanders. The army of Ghazni itself had Hindu troops and several Hindu generals even from before the time of Mahmud. Apart from all this, in various places, as we have seen, Muslims had succeeded in carving out small independent principalities for themselves. Neither in the territories of Sindh and Multan, which were under Muslim rule, nor in the rest of India which was under Hindu rulers, was any difference made between the treatment of the subjects on account of their religion. There was, of course, under Arab rule in Sindh a difference on the basis of taxation. The Muslims substituted a general tax for the *Bradari* and other taxes which were charged by the Hindu Rajas in their territories, but the burden of taxation could not have varied much between the two systems, for the *Jizia* was a fairly light tax, lighter in fact than the *Zakat* taken from the Muhammadans.

Thus, it is obvious that before the establishment of Muslim rule, Islam had already secured a firm footing in India, and Muslims and Hindus were living side by side and in perfect amity practically all over the country. If the antagonism and intolerance we find to-day had been inherent in the two systems, this was evidently the period when they would have found their fullest expression. On the contrary, we find Islam spreading in this country with the aid and under the patronage of Hindu rulers themselves, and the sweep of its mission covered every stratum of society from the humble kories to the Kings. Hindu temples and Muslim mosques existed side by side, and the votaries of both found no difficulty in performing their respective

worships. Religious exclusiveness remained confined to the individual and social concerns of life and was very different in its nature and expression from the religious intolerance which, we shall see in a moment, existed in other countries. In economic and political spheres no barriers whatever seem to have existed between the two communities, for such barriers seem to have been foreign to the religion and culture of both. The outline of social conditions given above indicates that Hinduism even in its most orthodox form, if left to itself, was incapable of generating forces of social bitterness towards communities outside its own social organization, the more so as it had for some centuries ceased to make and take converts and thereby given up all aggression. If we find such forces existing now, they must necessarily be of later growth and foreign importation.

Now let us turn to another side of the picture and see how the Muslim Arabs behaved when they entered as invaders the North-West confines of India.

#### FIRST MUSLIM INVASIONS.

The first Muslim fleet, as we have seen, appeared in Indian waters in 636 A. D., during the Caliphate of Omar, when Usman Sikiji, the governor of Bahrain and Uman, sent an army across the seas to Sana. But the Caliph disapproved of the invasion, because India was a land where there was perfect freedom for the practice and propagation of Islam, and in those days, according to Islamic law and practice, it was not permissible for the faithful to attack such a country without any valid justification. Usman Sikiji was severely rebuked by the Caliph on the occasion and was threatened with dire punishment in case he dared to repeat the experiment. About the same time an expedition was

taken out to Broach and Debal, but Omar vigorously countermanded these expeditions also, and the policy of armed interference with India remained in abeyance for almost a century. These hundred years were momentous in the history of Islam. It may be taken to have started on its world-mission in 622 A. D., and within a century or so it took the world by storm and succeeded in creating a revolution unprecedented in history.

“The rise of Islam is one of the marvels of History. In the summer of A. D. 622 a prophet, without honour in his own country, fled from his native city to seek an asylum in the town of Yathrib, since known as Madinat-un-Nabi, ‘the Prophet’s City,’ rather more than two hundred miles north of Mecca, the town which had cast him out. Little more than a century later the successors and the followers of the fugitive were ruling an empire which extended from the Atlantic to the Indus and from the Caspian to the cataracts of the Nile, and included Spain and Portugal, some of the most fertile regions of southern France, the whole of the northern coast of Africa, Upper and Lower Egypt, their own native Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Transoxiana. . . .

“By the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era the Arabs had carried their arms as far as the western confines of India and bore sway in Mekran, the ancient Godrosia, that torrid region extending inland from the northern shore of the Sea of Oman. Immediately to the east of this province lay the kingdom of Sind, ruled by Dahir, son of the usurping Brahman Chach.” \*

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\* “Cambridge History of Medieval India.”

MUHAMMAD BIN QASIM'S REIGN  
IN SINDH.

It was in 711 A. D. that the first Muslim invader Muhammad bin Qasim crossed the sea, defeated Dahir, and laid the foundation of the first Muslim kingdom in Sindh. We do not wish to follow all the details of his campaign or of his administration. We will only mention four incidents:

“During the conquest of Sindh when the Arab Commander Muhammad bin Qasim reached Alror (Alor), the citizens resisted the invader vigorously for several months. Then they sued for peace insisting on two conditions, (1) that no resident of the city be killed, and (2) that there should be no interference with their places of worship. Muhammad bin Qasim in accepting these terms said, ‘The temples of Hindustan are like the Churches of Christians, the Synagogues of Jews and the fire-temples of the Magians.’” \*

And true to their word the Arabs throughout their rule in these parts never desecrated the temples of the Hindus nor did they interfere with their religious practices and festivals.

The second incident is as follows:

“After the conquest of Sind a deputation of Brahmans waited on Muhammad Qasim. Muhammad Qasim received them with great respect. The Brahmans made this representation to him that in accordance with the Hindu tradition and practice they should be given in the kingdom a position higher than that of other communities. Muhammad Qasim

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\* “Arab aur Hind ke Taaluqat,” by Sulaiman Nadvi, p. 194.

after ascertaining its truth accepted their demands and appointed them to all higher posts and offices." \*

This is the third incident:

"The Arab Amir got it proclaimed that those who wished to be converted to Islam might do so and be our brothers, and those who wished to stick to their religion might do so and pay poll-tax. Therefore some people accepted Islam and some remained attached to their old religion." †

Chach-nama contains the following:

"Those of them that had turned Musalmans got exempted from poll-tax and slavery, and those who stuck to their religion were split up into three divisions: (1) Highest class, that is, the wealthy section, (2) Middle class, and (3) low class. They were respectively charged 48 dirhams, 24 dirhams, and 12 dirhams. Those who accepted Islam were exempted from this and those who adhered to their ancestral religion paid poll-tax, but they were not deprived of their estates and property, and were allowed to retain them."

"The modern equivalent of one dirham cannot be more than three and a half annas. Thus calculated, the rich must have paid an annual tax of Rs. 10, the middle class five, and the poor rupees two and annas eight. And naturally, according to established tradition, women, children, aged people, priests and other religious servants, and those incapacitated people who cannot earn must have been exempted. And Musalmans had to pay instead of poll-tax, two and a half per cent. Zakat. The Musalmans might have

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\* Ibid., p. 200.

† Ibid.

been charged one-tenth of their land produce and non-Muslims their normal rent. There was no other tax besides these in the kingdom of the Arabs." \*

The fourth incident is this:

"When the people of Brahmanabad implored Muhammad bin Qasim to grant them freedom of worship, he referred the matter to Hajjaj, who sent the following reply:

"As they have made submission and agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They live in their houses in whatever manner they like." †

The Arab administration of Sindh has been favourably noticed by historians for its religious toleration, one of them describing it as "a shining example of moderation and religious tolerance." And we have seen that in its treatment of other religions, India was even more tolerant than the Arabs. It was not in religious tolerance alone but in various other aspects of life that India in this period represented a higher stage of development, not to Arabs alone, but also to the countries that had already come under their domination. As a consequence, the first contacts of Islam with India produced a profound influence on its later growth and history.

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\* Ibid., p. 202.

† "The History of Medieval India," by Ishwari Prasad, p. 52, 53.

INDIAN CIVILIZATION HIGHER THAN THAT  
OF THE ARABS.

“It may be conceded at once that the Arab conquest of Sindh, from the political point of view, was an insignificant event in the history of Islam. But the effects of this conquest upon Muslim culture were profound and far-reaching. When the Arabs came to India, they were astonished at the superiority of the civilization which they found in the country. The sublimity of Hindu philosophical ideas and the richness and versatility of Hindu intellect were a strange revelation to them. The cardinal doctrine of Muslim theology, that there is one God, was already known to the Hindu saints and philosophers, and they found that in the nobler arts, which enhance the dignity of man, the Hindus far excelled them. The Indian musician, the mason, and the painter were as much admired by the Arabs as the philosopher and the man of learning. Tabari writes that Khalifa Harun once sent for an Indian physician to cure him of an obstinate and painful disease. The physician succeeded in restoring his patient to health and was allowed to return to India in safety. The Arabs learnt from the Hindus a great deal in the practical art of administration, and the employment of Brahman officials on a large scale was due to their better knowledge, experience, and fitness for discharging efficiently the duties of administration. Muslim historians are apt to forget or minimise the debt which the Saracenic civilization owed to Indo-Aryan culture. A great many of the elements of Arabian culture, which afterwards had such a marvellous effect upon European civilization, were borrowed from India. India, then, stood on a much higher intellectual plane, and the Arab scholars sat at the

feet of Buddhist monks and Brahman pandits to learn philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, chemistry, and other subjects of study. The court at Baghdad extended its patronage to Indian scholarship, and during the Khilafat of Mansur (753-774 A. D.) Arab scholars went from India to Baghdad who carried with them two books, the "Brahma Siddhanta" of Brahmagupta and his "Khanda-Khadyaka." These works were translated by Alfazari into Arabic with the help of Indian scholars. It was from them that the Arabs learnt the first principles of scientific astronomy. The cause of Hindu learning received much encouragement from the ministerial family of Barmaks during the Khilafat of Harun (786-808 A. D.) Though the Barmaks had been converted to Islam, they never felt enthusiastic about it, and prompted by their Hindu inclinations, they sent scholars to India to study medicine, astrology, pharmacology, and other sciences. They invited Hindu scholars to Baghdad and appointed them as the chief physicians of their hospitals and asked them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic works on medicine, philosophy, toxicology, astrology, and other subjects. But it must be admitted that the Muslims soon secularised the learning they had borrowed from India, and presented it to the European world in a new garb, which was perhaps more acceptable to the European mind. When the Khilafat of Baghdad lost its importance after the extinction of the Abbasid dynasty at the hands of Halagu, the Arab governors of Sindh became practically independent. The cultural connection was broken, and the Arabian scholars no longer in contact with Indian savants, turned to the study of Hellenic art, literature, philosophy and science. There is ample reason to endorse Havell's view that 'it was India, not Greece, that taught

Islam in the impressionable years of its youth, formed its philosophy and esoteric religious ideals, and inspired its most characteristic expression in literature, art and architecture." \*

#### ATTEMPTS AT EARLY SYNTHESIS.

The quotation above shows the intimate nature of the relationship which existed between Islam and India for centuries at a time when she was altogether free from Muslim political dominance, and it reveals and it reveals the deep synthesis of religious thought and culture which began to grow so early between Islam and Hinduism. The remarkable tolerance for other faiths which existed in India and which the Arabs also exhibited to such a degree was a most uncommon feature for this age. Nothing shows a greater affinity between the Hindu and the Islamic religions and cultures than their tolerance in matters of religion when religious persecution of the most narrow and brutal type was a normal feature of the times elsewhere. Of the many wrong impressions prevailing at present one which is the most fruitful source of bitterness and ill-will is the impression that Islam is inherently bigoted and intolerant. But history shows that in its earlier stages Islam was extremely tolerant. As its spiritual life got gradually overwhelmed by its political successes, priest-craft and king-craft got the upper hand and introduced much intolerance and persecution where originally very little existed. As a fact, intolerance, to some extent, seems inherent in every religious system, though it may assume different forms in different religions and may be indulged

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\* "History of Medieval India," by Ishwari Prasad, pp. 59-61.

in to a greater or lesser degree. But history does not seem to justify us in giving a major share of it to Islam. On the contrary, we find that, for its age, as a political power, Islam behaved as tolerantly as any other religion, and in some cases much more tolerantly in dealing with peoples with whom it came in contact at the outset of its career. The theory, that Islam has spread by the sword has been canvassed so widely and so persistently that for the average Indian mind this proposition has become almost an axiom. And as this theory is responsible for much misunderstanding and gives its edge to the Hindu-Muslim problem to-day, we propose to give a few illustrations which may help us to see things in a truer perspective.

#### TOLERATION IN ISLAM CONTRASTED WITH THAT IN OTHER FAITHS.

Let us take Christianity. The Christian Church, till quite recently, tolerated no liberty of conscience within its jurisdiction. Harsh and cruel to other faiths, it never spared its own protestants and dissenters. At the period under discussion, so relentless was its spirit of persecution that it alienated vast sections of its Christian subjects to such an extent that when Islam emerged from Arabia and went as a conqueror to Christian territories, it was everywhere hailed as a deliverer by the Christian populations. Examples of this can be quoted from almost every country under Christian rule, but the following will be sufficient to illustrate our point of view :

( "The people of Emessa closed the gates of their city against the army of Heraclius and told the Muslims that they preferred their government and justice to the injustice and oppression of the Greeks.

“Such was the state of feeling in Syria during the campaign of 633-9 in which the Arabs gradually drove the Roman army out of the province. And when Damascus, in 637, set the example of making terms with the Arabs, and thus secured immunity from plunder, and other favourable conditions, the rest of the cities of Syria were not slow to follow. Emessa, Arethusa, Hieropolis, and other towns entered into treaties whereby they became tributary to the Arabs. Even the patriarch of Jerusalem surrendered the city on similar terms.”\*

The facts of the surrender of Jerusalem are thus stated by the same writer :

“When Jerusalem submitted to the Caliph Umar, the following conditions were drawn up : ‘In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The following are the terms of capitulation, which I, Umar, the servant of God, the Commander of the Faithful, grant to the people of Jerusalem. I grant them security for their lives, their possessions, and their children, their churches, their crosses, and all that appertains to them in their integrity, and their lands, and to all of them their religion. Their churches therein shall not be impoverished, nor destroyed, nor injured from among them, neither their endowments, nor their dignity ; and not a thing of their property ; neither shall the inhabitants of Jerusalem be exposed to violence in following their religion ; nor shall one of them be injured.’ A tribute was imposed upon them of five dinars for the rich, four for the middle class, and three for the poor. In company with the Patriarch, Umar visited the holy places, and it is said

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\* “The Preaching of Islam.” by T. W. Arnold, p. 49.

while they were in the Church of the Resurrection, as it was the appointed hour of prayer, the Patriarch bade the Caliph offer his prayers there, but he thoughtfully refused, saying that if he were to do so, his followers might afterwards claim it as a place of Muslim worship." \*

We will give only one more example from Turkish rule in the 17th Century which will show that the character of Muslim tolerance and Christian intolerance continued to be the same up to that time.

"But if we except the tribute of the children, to which the conquered Greeks seem to have submitted with so little show of resistance, and which owed its abolition, not to any revolt or insurrection against its continuance but to the increase of the Turkish population and of the number of the renegades who were constantly entering the Sultan's service, the treatment of their Christian subjects by the Ottoman emperors—at least for two centuries after their conquest of Greece—exhibits a toleration such as was at that time quite unknown in the rest of Europe. The Calvinists of Hungary and Transylvania, and the Unitarians of the latter country, long preferred to submit to the Turks rather than fall into the hands of the fanatical house of Hapsburg; and the Protestants of Silesia looked with longing eyes towards Turkey, and would gladly have purchased religious freedom at the price of submission to the Muslim rule. It was to Turkey, that the persecuted Spanish Jews fled for refuge in enormous numbers at the end of the fifteenth century, and the Cossacks, who belonged to the sect of the old Believers and were persecuted by the Russian State Church, found in the

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\* "The Preaching of Islam," by T. W. Arnold, p. 51.

dominions of the Sultan the toleration which their Christian brethren denied them. Well might Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch in the seventeenth century, congratulate himself when he saw the fearful atrocities that the Catholic Poles inflicted on the Russians of the Orthodox Eastern Church :

“ We all wept much over the thousands of martyrs who were killed by those impious wretches, the enemies of the faith, in these forty or fifty years. The number probably amounted to seventy or eighty thousand souls. O you infidels! O you monsters of impurity! O you hearts of stone! What had the nuns and women done? What the girls and boys and infant children, that you should murder them? . . . And why do I pronounce them the Poles accursed? Because they have shown themselves more debased and wicked than the corrupt worshippers of idols, by their cruel treatment of Christians thinking to abolish the very name of Orthodox. God perpetuate the empire of the Turks for ever and ever; for they take their impost,\* and enter into no account of religion,

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\* NATURE OF THE JIZIA

The capitation tax which the non-Muslims had to pay was not in its nature a measure of persecution.

“ This tax was not imposed on the Christians, as some would have us think, as a penalty for their refusal to accept the Muslim faith, but was paid by them in common with the other dhimmis or non-Muslim subjects of the State whose religion precluded them from serving in the army in return for the protection secured for them by the arms of the Musalmans.

“ . . . And it is very noticeable that when any Christian people served in the Muslim army, they were exempted from the payment of this tax. . . . ”

be their subjects Christians or Nazarenes, Jews or Samaritans." \*

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"We find similar instances of the remission of jizyah in the case of Christians who served in the army or navy under the Turkish rule. . . .

" . . . On the other hand, when the Egyptian peasants, although Muslim in faith, were made exempt from military service, a tax was imposed upon them as on the Christians in lieu thereof. . . .

" . . . But, instead of Jizyah, the convert had now to pay the legal alms, zakat, annually levied on most kinds of moveable and immovable property." . . . ("The Preaching of Islam," by T. W. Arnold, pp. 54-57.)

The rates of Jizyah fixed by the early conquerors were not uniform and the great Muslim doctors, Abu Hanifah and Malik, are not in agreement on some of the less important details; the following facts taken from the Kitabu-l-Kharaj, drawn up by Abu Yusuf at the request of Harun-ur-Rashid (A. D. 786-809) may be taken as generally representative of Muhammadan procedure under the Caliphate. The rich were to pay 48 dirhams a years, the middle classes 24, while from the poor, i. e., the field-labourers and artisans, only 12 dirhams were taken. This tax could be paid in kind if desired; cattle, merchandise, household effects, even needles were to be accepted in lieu of specie, but not pigs, wine, or dead animals. The tax was to be levied only on able-bodied males, and not on women or children. The poor who were dependent for their livelihood on alms and the aged poor who were incapable of work were also specially exempted; as also the blind, the lame, the incurables and the insane, unless they happened to be men of wealth; this same condition applied to priests and monks who were exempt if dependent on the alms of the rich but had to pay if they were well-to-do and lived in comfort. The collectors of the Jizyah were particularly instructed to show leniency and refrain from all harsh treatment or the infliction of corporal punishment in case of non-payment.

\* "The Preaching of Islam," by T. W. Arnold.

Let us now  turn Persia. Here we find Zoroastrianism equally intolerant.

“The Zoroastrian priests had acquired an enormous influence in the State; they were well-nigh all-powerful in the councils of the king and arrogated to themselves a very large share in the civil administration. They took advantage of their position to persecute all those religious bodies—and they were many—that dissented from them. Besides the numerous adherents of older forms of the Persian religion, there were Christians, Jews, Sabeans and numerous sects in which the speculations of Gnostics, Manicheans and Buddhists found expression. In all of these, persecution had stirred up feelings of bitter hatred against the established religion and the dynasty that supported its oppression, and so caused the Arab conquest to appear in the light of a deliverance. The followers of all these varied forms of faith could breathe again under a rule that granted them religious freedom and exemption from military service, on payment of a light tribute. For the Muslim law granted toleration and the right of paying *jizyah* not only to the Christians and Jews, but to Zoroastrians and Sabeans, to worshippers of idols, of fire and of stone. It was said that the Prophet himself had distinctly given directions that the Zoroastrians were to be treated exactly like ‘the people of the book,’ i. e., the Jews and Christians, and that *jizyah* might also be taken from them in return for protection.”

Again,

“But the Muslim creed was most eagerly welcomed by the townsfolk, the industrial classes and the artizans, whose occupations made them impure according to the Zoroastrian creed, because in the pursuance of their trade or occupations

they defiled fire, earth or water, and who thus, outcasts in the eyes of the law and treated with scant consideration in consequence, embraced with eagerness a creed that made them at once freemen and equal in a brotherhood of faith." \*

From Persia Islam entered into India. Here also the Arabs were helped by large numbers of inhabitants who were discontented with their own people.

"Besides these Arab troops, Muhammad Bin Qasim enlisted under his banner a large number of the discontented Jats and Meds who had old accounts to settle with the intolerant Hindu Government which had inflicted great humiliations upon them. They had been forbidden to ride in saddles, wear fine clothes, to uncover the head, and this condemnation to the position of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water had embittered animosities to such extent that they readily threw in their lot with the foreigner." †

Again,

"The people of Multan, merchants, traders, and artisans, together with the Jats and Meds of the surrounding country whom the native government had persecuted, waited upon the conqueror and paid him homage." ‡

Thus we see that the age was an age of religious persecutions, and in that age Islam seemed to be quite an exception. At least, it was no worse than other religions. We shall also see later on that such intolerance as was exhibited by the Indian faiths was rather different in its

\* "The Preaching of Islam," by T. W. Arnold, p. 177.

† "Medieval India," by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, p. 50.

‡ Ibid., p. 53.

nature from that of other faiths in being a heritage of social custom from the past which inspite of her best endeavours India had not been able to shake off. We have quoted at such length because we wish to remove a wrong impression at the outset, as such impressions stand in the way of a dispassionate consideration of historical incidents and problems. The facts that we have adduced so far go to show that the relations of Hindus and Musalmans in India continued to be amicable and cordial upto the time of the invasions of Mahmud Ghaznavi : that the main cause of this cordiality was the tolerant attitude of the two religions towards each other : and that during this period of intimacy religious and cultural processes had already come into existence which promised to make their life and thought more harmonious. In succeeding chapters we shall see how this junion of two religions and cultures acted and reacted upon the various aspects of national life. We shall confine, as far as possible, our examination to those developments which tended directly to influence the mutual relations of the two communities.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

#### SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF INDIA .. IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

IN this chapter we will confine ourselves to the consideration of the social problem with which India was faced at the time of the advent of Islam in this country; and we will try to indicate the nature of the contribution of Islam towards the solution of that problem.

During the last years of the Prophet Muhammad and the reigns of the first three Khalifas, King Harsha built up a great Empire in the north of India over the ruins of the Gupta Empire which had its seat at Pataliputra (modern Patna). His ambition was to conquer the whole of India, but he was checked by Pulakeshi II who made himself sovereign of the southern half of the country. King Harsha gave to his great dominion a spell of peace and prosperity. He was equally tolerant to Vaidika Hinduism and Buddhism, and impartially helped both; with his death in 647 A. D. Buddhism began to decline and an age of religious anarchy set in when various old and new religions began to fight for mastery.

"Anandagiri, in his 'Shankara-Digvijaya' has drawn a graphic picture of the religious condition of India in the eighth century. He mentions the numerous sects that sprang into existence and inculcated the worship of all kinds of gods from the noblest and highest to the most repulsive deities, taking delight in drunken orgies and grotesque rites. The

leaders of rival sects cited the authority of the Vedas in support of their doctrines and practices, and wished to overpower one another. Some worshipped Shiva, while others worshipped the fire, Ganesh, the Sun, Phairava and Mattari, Kartika, the god of love, Yama, the god of death, Varuna, sky, water, snakes, ghosts, etc., and acted according to their own inclinations. Udayana, by his relentless crusades against Buddhism, had prepared the way for Shankara's vigorous onslaughts." \*

"All these religions or rather sects, derived their authority from the Vedas, and consequently all were indissolubly bound up with the existing caste system, for at that period it was practically universally, though wrongly, believed that such hereditary caste was sanctioned by the Vedas. Also all of them were remarkably tolerant towards each other except on occasions of heat and controversy.

"Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side and Jainism too. In the same Kingdom, in the same city, in the same family even, Hindus, Jains and Buddhists lived peaceably, amicably holding discussions without embitterment on the most abstruse questions of man and god. If the father was a devotee of Shiva, the son was a devotee of Buddha, and the same man in his own life might change his religion without causing disturbance either in the family or the society." †

Besides, as in the case of Islam, they were tolerant and at times even indulgent to other religions. But while so

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\* "History of Medieval India," by Ishwari Prasad, pp. xi, xii.

† "History of Medieval Hindu India," by C. V. Vaidya, vol. i. p. 100.

tolerant to each other and also to outside religions, they were very intolerant in their treatment of the Shudras and other lower castes. The Shudras were shut out from all religious knowledge and practices. The current re-cession of the Code of Manu contains many penal provisions against them which seem unbelievable to modern minds. Along with the higher knowledge, the Shudras were shut out from the political life of their country also.

“ Particular persons of the three higher castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas did take some interest in politics, being soldiers and officials, but the generality of the people, being Shudra, was debarred from all participation in political activities. ” \*

In addition to this general exclusion from all the higher spheres of life they were subjected in various ways to many hardships and humiliations as we saw in the case of the Meds and Jats of Sindh. No wonder that large sections of the children of the soil were discontented with their lot and considered their lives miserable. When we descend to still lower strata of Indian society we find a population almost as numerous as the Shudras themselves, existing altogether outside the pale of Hindu civilization and society. The Shudras were only debarred from all near participation in the political and religious life ; but these classes were rigorously excluded from even all social intercourse and contact at any point with the higher castes. The Shudras were almost as high above these un-

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\* “ History of Medieval Hindu India, ” by C. V. Vaidya, vol. i. p. 121. .

fortunate outcasts of society as the Brahmans were above the Shudras. Such was the rigour of their exclusion that in some cases even their shadows had become contaminating to the Brahmans and some of these unfortunates had to shriek from a distance to give notice of their presence when they saw a human being approaching. It was a strange anomaly that such inhuman intolerance and persecution should have existed in the Hindu society which even in those days was pre-eminent for its intellectual power, and spiritual and moral fervour. But somehow the convention and practice had become too deeply rooted in the body politic to be easily eradicated.

( In Buddhism India's soul had risen against this inhuman system and shaken it to its foundations. But the relentless logic and the cold moral severity, the ascetic renunciation of Buddhism, and its refusal to take any aid from the mystic and emotional side of human nature, made its scheme of life too high for its age and too dry and unattractive for the emotional culture of India. In its later form of Mahayana it could not compete with the ancient faiths of the Land. The image of Buddha could not evoke the same feelings of awe and reverence which the images of Shiva, Vishnu and other ancient gods evoked. Besides, the new sacerdotal class which grew up within and imposed itself on Buddhism gradually became very avaricious, superstitious and immoral. Consequently Buddhism lost its hold on the people. It was almost sinking under its own weight when Brahmanism, taking advantage of its weakness, delivered against it its final blows. The Kshatriyas and other higher castes also co-operated because the upheaval in the lower castes which Buddhism had greatly helped was antagonistic to their interests and undermined their social monopoly and influence. This powerful combination of the most organized and resourceful sections of society wiped Buddhism out of India and, side by side, gradually crushed the rebellion against the established social order which Buddhism had inaugurated.

## THE APPEARANCE OF ISLAM.

( When this struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism was going on Islam made its appearance in India. Like the other religions with historical beginnings, it arose essentially as a spiritual movement meant to raise the believers morally and socially. But again, as in the case of the other religions, it became unavoidably connected with politics; and this very much obscured its real nature and aspirations. It knew nothing of great religious dogmas and complicated systems of transcendental philosophy at first. Its simple message was : " God is one ; so, as His humble servants and creatures, we are all brothers. Let us then live like brothers and worship Him. " This message directly or indirectly is the message of every religion, but the speciality of Islam lay in the fact that its followers somehow or other succeeded in embodying this message in their social system to a greater extent than the followers of other religions. Consequently at the psychological moment when it came into India this peculiarity naturally acted on the mind of the lower classes of India as a very strong recommendation. Their minds were in a state of ferment and the hand of the ancient social tyranny was falling more heavily upon them because of their rebellion. Besides, the desire to be free must have been seeking some avenue for expression, and this was provided by the social system of the new religion. )

This mostly accounts for the great success which Islam seems to have met on its arrival in India. It was not spread by the sword of the invader but by the indigenous caste tyranny. It satisfied the social yearnings of vast sections of India's populations which were struggling to be free from that tyranny. Besides, it could not have met with the opposition which drove Buddhism out of India. The higher castes dreaded the intrusion of their lower sections into their own social preserves. It did not at all matter to them if these classes accepted another religion

and became a part of another social system.\* In fact, the presence of another system, outside their own social economy, which could absorb these classes, might well have seemed to them to be even an advantage, as it would remove a pressure and a potential danger from their midst.

There is another aspect.

As we have seen, socially at this period as ever before, India was a collection of castes differentiated from each other by sectarian creeds and customs. But these smaller and bigger groups had not developed that collective consciousness which is implied in the present-day communalism. There was a unity in the people as a whole, no doubt; but it was a somewhat vague, broad, loose socio-religious unity, the effective and active strength of which was beginning to decay in direct proportion to the growth of rigidity in the caste system. The higher castes were linked together by common cultural ties and collaborated with each other without any collective communal bias or feeling in the economic and political upbuild of society. The lower castes hung

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\* What of those far past times, this feeling prevails even to-day among the orthodox. Only the other day an old Bengali Pandit was heard to say, "A-barjan jache," at a bathing ghat of the Ganga in Benares, when a young man tried to convince him that Hinduism was losing followers because of these caste tyrannies. "A-barjan jache" means "Rubbish is going away."

loosely about without much organic relationship with the higher, almost outside the pale of Hindu religion or civilization. And though various regions were well demarcated one from the other in language, dress, food, and minor details of life, yet territorial predilections and conceptions in their present Western form found no place in the Indian life of those days. Consequently, along with social exclusiveness of a particular type, no racial or territorial barriers existed anywhere in the country. In fact, the caste life of India made the growth of such barriers impossible. In a society so constituted every one who lived his own life without interfering with the exclusive side of his neighbour's life was welcome. Neither could the change of faith by groups or by individuals, as it was in those days, bring about any serious consequences or misunderstandings, for such secession left the life of the parent group intact and gave liberty to the seceding group to live its own life. It was this aspect of Indian life which made the super-imposition of a collective communal consciousness impossible. The phenomenon of the increase or decrease in the number of a group was inconsequential, for very little communal rivalry in its present form existed in the economic and political concerns of life.

The weight which attaches to numbers in politically competing groups is largely a gift of present-day democracy and representative institutions. The present collective consciousness existing in the followers of the two religions which makes each feel as a separate entity with separate political and economic interests, was not yet born, because both could and did co-operate together in the highest concerns of life and there was no third party intervening between the two to rouse suspicions and foment disunion.

Thus, free from bitterness and friction and also from those social restrictions to which the lower classes were subject, Islam could carry on its mission unfettered in every stratum of Indian Society. Indirectly the proximity of a social system so completely free from all caste barriers and indefensible 'touch-me-notism' would naturally act as a great warning and stimulus to rouse the Hindu intellect and conscience to the great enormities of their social life. Buddhism had already greatly sapped the intellectual and moral foundations of this system. Though Shankara himself did not throw his great weight against it, yet almost all the great reformers who came after him denounced it as being irrational and against the real principles of the Vedic religion. In proportion to their success these preachings indirectly raised the prestige of Islam in the eyes of the common people and added to its success. The tragic immobility of the Hindu system and its failure to respond to the call of its own reformers continued to increase the numbers of converts to Islam. Islam satisfied a crying need of the social system which Hinduism continued to neglect and whose satisfaction was essential in the wider interests of nationalism and humanity.

#### ITS SOCIAL WORK

The real nature of the social work of Islam in India has been much obscured on account of its being mixed up with politics and with the 'odium theologicum' of the learned. Acts of intolerance and persecution perpetrated through bigotry and pride of power or policy by some Muslim rulers and exaggerated accounts of them in our histories have raised strong feelings and created the impression that Islam has spread by compulsion or other unfair means. We have seen

in the last chapter that such a view is one-sided and greatly misleading. Moreover, present-day knowledge of sociology and psychology has put this fact beyond contention that no religion can live long or spread on a large scale through fraud or compulsion, and that the one and basic reason for the success of a faith is that it satisfies the social and psychological needs of a people. "We know by this time, that whatever may be the temporary effect of illusion, religions live and spread by the truth at their core."\* In fact, the only criterion to judge of the true nature of such movements and the real causes of their success is the utility they possess for the people among whom they are found to grow and prosper. And we must judge of this utility from the human and the natural point of view. Thus judged, it will appear that the service which Islam has done to its adopted mother in the social sphere has, in the main, been constructive. We must recognize that so long as caste-barriers and a persecuted class exist in India in such vast numbers, and Hinduism fails to remove these barriers and to give that class a reasonable place of equal opportunity in its religious, cultural, and social economy, the utility of Islam for India will not be exhausted.

The advantages Islam holds out to such classes as the Koris and Chamars, who stand at the lowest level of Hindu society, and the deliverance which conversion to Islam brings them, may be best understood from the following passage descriptive of their social condition as Hindus: "The lowest depth of misery and degradation is reached by the Koris and

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\* J. Estlin Carpenter, "The Place of Christianity among the Religions of the World."

Chamars, the weavers and leather-cutters to the rest. Many of these in the northern districts are actually bondslaves, having hardly ever the spirit to avail themselves of the remedy offered by our courts, and descend with their children from generation to generation as the value of an old purchase. They hold the plough for the Brahman or Chhattri master, whose pride of caste forbids him to touch it and live with the pigs, less unclean than themselves, in separate quarters apart from the rest of the village. Always on the verge of starvation, their lean, black and ill-formed figures, their stupid faces and their repulsively filthy habits reflect the wretched destiny which condemns them to be lower than the beasts among their fellow-men, and yet that they are far from incapable of improvement is proved by the active and useful stable servants drawn from among them who receive good pay and live well under European masters. A change of religion is the only means of escape open to them, and they have little reason to be faithful to their present creed.

“ It is this absence of class prejudice which constitutes the real strength of Islam in India and enables it to win so many converts from Hinduism. . . .” \*

Our histories do not present the problem from this point of view. They generally content themselves with making dark suggestions about wholesale conversions and religious persecutions which only tend to cloud the real issue and make it difficult for us to grasp the real causes of the success of the movement.

Take for example Bengal.

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\* “ The Preaching of Islam,” by T. W. Arnold, pp. 239, 240.

“ Here Islam met with no consolidated religious system to bar its progress, as in the north-west of India, where the Muhammadan invaders found Brahmanism full of fresh life and vigour after its triumphant struggle with Buddhism; where, inspite of persecutions, its influence was an inspiring force in the opposition offered by the Hindus, and retained its hold on them in the hour of their deepest distress and degradation. But in Bengal the Muslim missionaries were welcomed with open arms by the aborigines and the low castes on the very outskirts of Hinduism, despised and condemned by their proud Aryan rulers. To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, and low-caste tillers of the soil, Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race, its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the Gospel of the unity of God and the equality of men in sight to a despised and neglected population. The initiatory rite rendered relapse impossible, and made the proselyte and his posterity true believers for ever. In this way, Islam settled down on the richest alluvial province of India, the province which was capable of supporting the most rapid and densest increase of population. Compulsory conversions are occasionally recorded. But it was not to force that Islam owed its permanent success in Lower Bengal. It appealed to the people, and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor. It brought in a higher conception of God, and a nobler idea of the brotherhood of man. It offered to the teeming low castes of Bengal, who had sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of the Hindu community, a free entrance into a new social organisation.” \*

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\* “ The Preaching of Islam,” by T. W. Arnold, pp. 229, 230.

Again,

"In Bengal, for example, the weavers of cotton piece goods, who are looked down upon as vile by their Hindu co-religionists, embrace Islam in large numbers, to escape from the low position to which they are otherwise degraded.

"Of the 19 millions of Muhammadans in Bengal not more than 25,000 belong to what is known in Bengal as the Bhadralog class."\*

At present there are about ten million Muslims of the weaver class in India who are actually employed in the profession of weaving. About double this number, who belong to this class or caste, are working in other departments of life, and some are distinguishing themselves as political leaders, administrators, legislators, etc. These facts give us some idea of the real nature of the problem and of the great national loss involved in the exclusion of the lower classes from equal opportunities of development.

#### ISLAM ESSENTIALLY A SOCIAL MOVEMENT,

( It is not by advancing theories of compulsory conversion but by coolly reflecting on the peculiarity of the two social systems and realizing how they supplement each other in the national life that the true nature of the problem can be properly understood and the understanding constructively applied. We give below another quotation which goes a long way in showing that Islam is essentially a social movement, and reveals the measure of its success which really can be nothing else than the measure of its

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\* "The Preaching of Islam," by T. W. Arnold, pp. 228-230.

social utility. In fact, it is not the first propagation of Islam that has to be explained but the permanence with which it retains its hold upon the convert and the sweeping nature of its progress in places where no question of any political pressure or allurements can arise.

“And this advance is still active. The impression of some superficial observers that Islam is dying of formalism, or is stricken with decay like that beneath which some of its greatest historic buildings seem crumbling away, is not supported by the indisputable evidence of its progress among the races of very different origin, history and social organization. The Wahabi movement has carried it in triumph through half Africa, where some eighty millions out of the two hundred occupying the Dark Continent are now gathered under its sway. The simplicity and strenuousness of its faith, the plainness of its ethical standards, the deep sense of brotherhood which it inspires, all make it a powerful agent for good among the negroes who rise above their fetishism when they embrace it. But these elements operate no less upon the mingled races of India, where caste disappears before the Mohammedan missionary and the traditions of Hinduism fade in the light of Allah's name. The increase in the number of Mohammedans far exceeds the natural growth of the population. The last census (1901) shows an advance of more than five million on the figures of ten years before (1891, 57 million, 1901, nearly 62½). In China, the rate of progress is believed to be even more rapid. In 1892 the Mohammedans were estimated at 30 million, ten years later good observers reckon between 30 and 40 million, chiefly in the North and West. Such is the growing power of Islam in the midst of the Confucian tradition.

Its missionary energy carries it steadily forwards; and neither the State cultus nor the outworn forms of Buddhism can prevent its extension." \*

In face of a phenomenon so portentous the theory of compulsion is altogether inadequate and should be almost unthinkable. Canon Isaac Taylor has thus pointed out the central difference which makes Islam more successful in its mission than Christianity.

"The Christian ideal of the brotherhood of man is the highest; but Islam preaches a practical brotherhood—the social equality of all Moslems. This is the great bribe which Islam offers. The convert is admitted at once to an exclusive social caste, he becomes a member of a vast confraternity of 150,000,000. A Christian convert is not regarded as a social equal but the Moslem brotherhood is a reality. We have overmuch 'dearly beloved brethren' in the reading desk but very little in daily life." †

#### A SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE ‡

( If we compare Hinduism with Islam or even with Christianity in this respect, we shall find that instead of giving any 'bribes' of the nature indicated above, Hinduism

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\* "The Place of Christianity among the Religions of the World," by J. E. Carpenter, pp. 75-77.

† Quoted from the "Life of Mohammed," by Mirza Abul-Fazl, p. 217.

‡ All that has been written under the heading, "A suggestion for the future," presents a purely Hindu view-point which cannot be shared by a humble believer in Islam like myself.—Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk.

has been doing all in its power to drive its own children into other folds. It must either expand its own social consciousness or calmly reconcile itself to the process of natural attrition. It has deviated from its ancient ideals and forgotten its spiritual mission of Aryanizing the world. At present it is taking a very narrow view of that mission. But it has vast stores of moral and spiritual energy yet left in it and its destiny calls it to remove the iniquities of its social system and reorganise it on the basis of a brotherhood wider and more real than that of Islam itself, a brotherhood not only of religion but of all humanity. If it could once make up its mind to rise to the heights that are potential in it, it would not only emancipate and absorb its outcasts but would give to Islam itself as well as all the other great religions an honoured place in its internal economy.

Hinduism can easily rise to these heights by the simple yet far-reaching measure of transforming the current meaningless caste system into a system of real social organization, by shifting it from the basis of rigid heredity to the basis of spontaneous variation in respect of vocational temperament. The four castes should be interpreted again—as they in ancient times were, there is much reason to believe—as (1) the men of knowledge fit for the learned professions, (2) the men of action fit for the executive professions, (3) the men of (acquisitive) desire, fit for the wealth-producing and wealth-managing professions, and (4) the (comparatively) intellectually less evolved and not educable men of labour, fit only to assist the other three classes in minor capacities. And the main prizes, rewards, or (psychological) luxuries of life, viz., (1) honour,

(2) power, (3) wealth, i.e., large personal possessions, especially artistic, and (4) amusement, and also the main classes of means of livelihood, viz., (1) public and private honoraria, (2) rents, or share of produce or income, or public salaries, (3) profits of trade and industry of all kinds, and (4) ample wages—these should be partitioned between the four classes. This will fit every individual into his appropriate place in society, ensure 'necessaries' to him, and at the same time provide an adequate incentive for enterprise and good work in the shape of one of the main 'luxuries,' the principal objects of ambition.

Such a transmutation of the now wholly reasonless centrifugal disruptive caste system into a rational social organization of four interdependent and mutually helpful vocational classes will enable Muslims, Christians, Jews, Parsis, Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, etc., all to enter into those classes without changing their creeds in any way.

It will automatically shift interdining and intermarriage from the basis of nominal caste and sub-caste to the basis of similarity in personal habits, sympathy in tastes and interests, friendship, and parity of temperament.

There will be freedom for all to intermarry or not as they feel persuaded from within. There will be compulsion neither for nor against. Untouchability on irrational grounds of nominal caste and subcaste will be automatically abolished, but will attach instead, to uncleanness, contagious disease, evil personal habits, and such other obvious scientific causes. Religio-communal antagonism will disappear. Life for all will become more elastic and sympathetic. All the followers of all the creeds

inhabiting this land will grow together side by side, rationally and happily, as common members of four great natural interdependent occupational guilds, instead of all decaying side by side because of perpetual religious antipathies and conflicts.

“It is the goal of commerce to organise all the resources of the earth for the supply of the wants of mankind; it is the goal of science to diffuse one system of knowledge; it is the goal of politics to combine all countries in one harmony of justice, peace, and progress. Similarly, it is the goal of religion to inspire one faith.” \* We may add that it is the goal of labour to assist in the work of the others.

A social organization like that indicated above will achieve just this, through its four guilds or classes of the men of (acquisitive) desire, its men of knowledge, its men of action, and its men of labour. The spreading of the knowledge of essential universal religion as composed of the body of truths which are the common core of all the religions, will also be the duty of the men of knowledge. The helping of all these specialists with unskilled or little-skilled labour will be the duty of the men of labour.

Such a social organization will reconcile Individualism with Socialism, ambitious spurs to individual enterprise with altruistic inducements to social service, will make possible a pure and philanthropic as well as experienced and talented legislature, a true Swa-raj of the higher Swa, and will help to solve all human problems.

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\* “The Place of Christianity among the Religions of the World,” p. 113.

Such is the high mission of Hinduism, and such the way in which it may be fulfilled, all in accord with its best and most ancient genius and traditions too, if only the Hindu mind will turn to them.

Islam also can successfully do her share in this mission if it earnestly tries to understand why it has appealed mostly only to the masses in India, why its mundane glories have decayed in the countries where it established great kingdoms and empires, whether the establishment of such kingdoms and empires was in accordance with its principles, and if so, to what extent and under what limitations; and why it has developed a priesthood despite its principles which are against any such priestly class. It should find answers to these questions, and having found them should modify its current customs and practices in accordance with them.

Hindus and Muslims should both realize that the real ultimate cause of all communal tension is the exaggeration of non-essentials in the religions. If there is any way whereby in the present conditions of life the religious, moral, and political practice of the people can be reformed, it is the inculcation far and wide of the fundamental truth that true Self-government is Government by the higher SELF in all departments of life. The mission of India is to incorporate this truth in its institutions and to establish a real and universal human brotherhood on its basis. If her religions fail to co-operate with her in this mission they will do so at their peril.

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE POLITICAL PROBLEM.

#### POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION AFTER THE DEATH OF HARSHA.

THE period of Indian history which began after the reign of Harsha is marked by the political confusion and disintegration which usually follows in the wake of the fall of every great Empire. It is an era of small states, though these were often much bigger than many of the states of modern Europe. After the death of Harsha in 647 A. D. right upto 1000 A. D. the political confusion grew from bad to worse, and no person or dynasty of any eminence arose who or which, by political prowess and ascendancy, could bring about that unity and integration which the Empire of the Guptas and then that of Harsha had given to India. At this time, as remarked by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "what India lacked was political unity and social solidarity. Her leaders counted by hundreds; her energy was frittered away in petty squabbles between the various states. She may correctly be described during this period as a geographical expression."

How to make this geographical expression a political reality was the great problem of India, and the immensity of the problem can be conceived from the fact that India is not a district or a province but a whole continent having for its population one-fifth of the human race. The process which brings about the gradual fusion of small territorial units into bigger ones, of principalities into kingdoms,

and kingdoms into Empires, has so far in history been invariably a series of wars and conquests, and as invariably these wars and conquests have been attended with much destruction and misery. In the initial stages the numbers of these wars are as numerous as the numbers of conflicting political units, but gradually as these smaller groups are absorbed in bigger ones the number of wars comparatively lessens, and greater security and uniformity are established in the life of these bigger groups. Thus the process of integration goes on, the bigger groups merging into still bigger ones or being co-ordinated with them into some sort of a stable political union, till a paramount power is evolved strong enough and organized enough to consolidate and maintain this unity for some time. For some time only—for, as history shows only too plainly, these most painful blood-cemented integrations are invariably followed, before very long, by disintegration. Empires are formed, with vast slaughter, out of small states, only to break up again into small states, in one or two or three generations. It is a problem of immense practical importance now in political science and art, what the limits of the unitary state should be for the purposes of permanent as well as effective administration; on what principles states should be federated; and whether the overlordship could reside effectively in a body like the League of Nations. But such problems and view-points were unthinkable in that day.

India was in the travail of a fresh political birth, and her religions and caste divisions added to this travail and delayed the development of that unity after which her heart was yearning. Our historians are obsessed with the development of European political life and so generally look upon the Indian problem under the influence of this obsession.

"The Rajputs," it is said, "idealized chivalry which led to fierce wars among themselves. They could never rise to the lofty conception of national organization or unity. Perhaps the idea of a national patriotism was foreign to the Age." The idea of a national patriotism could only evolve after territorial consolidation on an all-India basis had taken place, and economic and political competition with similarly consolidated other countries and nations as such had begun. The evolution of an ideal of territorial patriotism which existed in some of the old states of Greece, or in the cities of Italy during the Middle Ages, or again which developed in Europe and became idealized in the theory of nationalism which holds the field to-day, could not take place in India then, as we have seen, on account of her caste and creed divisions. But its non-development was not a curse but a blessing, for if the sentiment of territorial patriotism had developed in India before she had developed an all-India political synthesis, her body politic would have become fixedly divided into mutually independent and conflicting units infinitely more numerous than those into which Europe stands divided to-day. There are about six hundred Indian States under the British, and British India may well be taken to have absorbed at least half as many. The development of an untimely territorial patriotism would have tended to petrify and perpetuate these divisions, and, like her social system, India's political life also would have become hopelessly and permanently divided. India was developing a larger political synthesis than that of Europe and ultimately succeeded in developing it. This was the more marvellous because, compared to Europe, she represented a greater diversity in religion, in social divisions, and even in general culture. This difference was due

perhaps to the deeper moral and religious basis of Indian civilization as compared with the more economic and political basis of the civilization of the West.

Man's nature and environment are such that political consolidation upto a particular point can be developed only through wars and conquests. Incessant wars therefore formed a natural part of India's economy. Chivalry was a part of Rajput nature, fighting their usual pastime; and the desire for an all-India political domination was not only encouraged by their traditions but formed even a part of their religion. The great Rajasuya Yajna was a symbol of this desire, and even a virtuous king like Yudhishtira, by performing it, gave it an almost divine sanction. Therefore in Indian society, as all the world over, war needed no justification other than the desire of acquiring an all-India suzerainty and founding an all-India Empire.

After the death of Harsha this painful process of development continued. Principality fought against principality, clan against clan, and one dynasty against another. Now Kanauj held Kashmir in fief; at another time Kashmir held Kanauj in subjection, or Bengal struggled against it and destroyed its power. Again it rose and became the centre of a big empire under Mihir Bhoja, and again it succumbed in the year 916 to the power of the Rashtrakuta Indra III. The kingdom of Ajmer repeats the same story. Chauhans, Chandelas, Rathors, Parmars of Malwa, all struggle one against the other for mastery. And the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan contribute their own share, like the Pandyas, the Cholas, and the Cheras of Kerala. For three hundred years this turmoil goes on unabated till 1000 A. D. Then a political move-

ment begins from the north and steadily and slowly carries on the process of political consolidation and integration, and at the end of a few centuries India, from merely a geographical expression, becomes a political entity with a central paramount power and an imperial organization to sustain and further solidify that power.

This process of development involved untold misery to the people. War has always been the cruellest of human institutions, and in the times of which we speak its ravages knew no bounds. But the fact that from 1000 A. D. Musalman Kings take a dominant part in this movement of political consolidation, has greatly tended to obscure its real nature.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF MEDIEVAL LIFE

Religious bias has given it a deeply religious colouring and exaggerated its sufferings and horrors. Muslim invaders and conquerors have been painted as having been much too barbarous and bigoted even for their age. But a comparative view of history does not support this view. In fact, the enslavement of men and women, destruction of cities, and desecration and spoliation of temples was a common feature of war throughout the Medieval Ages. We would mention a few instances to give an idea of the age. The poet Anwari has written a dirge on the destruction of Khurasan by the Ghuzz Turks from which we quote the following :

A stable now, where dome nor porch is found,  
Now can the savage foe proclaim his reign,

For Khurasaniya's criers all are slain  
And all her pulpits levelled with the ground.\*

The destruction of monasteries in England during the Danish invasion is another instance in point.

"Not a monk was left alive; the altars were overthrown, the relic cases ransacked; the library which was rich in beautifully illuminated parchments was strewed about and then all was set on fire; and it went on burning for a fortnight before all was destroyed. Then the fierce heathens went on their course, marked by blazing churches, pillaged farms, and mutilated corpses, on to Ely, where they found a nunnery, and after shocking atrocities slaughtered all the women. This was but the story of what went on in different parts of the country year after year." †

The fate of women during times of war in a cultured country like India was unenviable.

" . . . In beleaguered fortresses and cities no mercy was shown to the weaker sex when it fell into the hands of the enemies." ‡

" . . . We have to notice another inhuman custom which appears to have then obtained from the writings of poets and even the descriptions of Bana in the 'Harsha Charitra.' Widows of kings conquered and slain in battle appear to have been reduced to the condition of servitude in the family of the conqueror. . . . But that widowed queens of conquered kings should usually have been reduced

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\* Quoted in the "History of Persia," by Sir Percy Sykes, vol. i.

† "The Story of Religion in England," p. 75.

‡ "History of India," by Ishwari Prasad, p. 35.

to the status of servants and sometimes of concubines seems rather strange and cruel compared with the otherwise well-ordered and moral condition of Hindu Society."\*

The cruelty belonged to the age and not to individuals and religions. Even Nausherwan the Just, king of Persia in the sixth century, who is regarded as a very wise and humane monarch and who belonged to the Zoroastrian faith, represented his age in his campaigns and retributory measures. His campaign in Syria is thus described :

"He treated with pitiless cruelty the first town that he captured in order to strike terror throughout Syria, and marched towards rich Antioch, ravaging the open country and extorting ransoms as he proceeded. Antioch had suffered from a series of earthquakes little more than a decade previously, its fortifications were badly designed and in a broken-down condition, and there was no adequate garrison for its defence. Consequently the capital of Syria with its priceless treasures fell an easy prey to Noshervan, who in pursuance of his policy which aimed at inspiring terror destroyed every house and building that was not ransomed. As was invariably the case under the Parthian and Sassanian monarchs alike, there was no idea of annexation and administration, but only of raiding and destruction." †

His dealing with his political opponents was equally characteristic.

"This conspiracy being discovered, Noshervan took ruthless action and put to death all his brothers together with

\* Vaidya, "Medieval Hindu India," vol. ii. p. 96.

† "A History of Persia," by Sir Percy Sykes, vol. i. p. 451.

their entire male offspring, the son of Zames, by name Kobad, alone escaping. . . . Equally ruthless was the action taken against Mazdak, who had escaped the former massacre. He and one hundred thousand of his followers were put to death, and the sect was crushed for the time being by this awful severity.”\*

Even Ashoka the Good realizes the enormity of imperialism and political ambitions and is struck with remorse after about one hundred thousand persons had been slain in his first and only war with the King of Kalinga. Only after this does he devote himself, heart and soul, to the moral and material uplift of all the people of his vast Empire. Desecration of temples, violation of women, and limitless slave-making was the order of the day during wars. When the Moors were driven out of Spain every mosque in the country was destroyed and wherever the Christian rule established itself by dislodging the Muslim, all traces of Islam were wiped out. The strong sentiments about religious liberty which exist at present were not yet born, and religious intolerance in various forms was a common feature of medieval life. But in India before as well as under Muslim rulers, conditions were much better than in many other countries. No doubt in the heat of war many wild deeds were done. It may be easily understood what a welcome prey would be temples and monasteries, for “nowhere else was the booty so plentiful and nowhere was it so easy to take.” Moreover, the prestige of power nowhere would seem to shine more effulgently than in destroying the gods who were supposed to

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\* “A History of Persia,” by Sir Percy Sykes, vol. i. pp. 499, 450.

protect the conquerors' adversaries. Yet another method of asserting royal authority existed in Medieval India. In this the victor compelled his vanquished opponent to surrender the most cherished idol in his principality. Harsha compelled the king of Kashmir to part in this way with one of the holiest Buddhist relics, and his namesake of the Chandela clan compelled the Raja of Kanauj to deliver to him a valuable image of Vishnu as a recognition of his superior power. But in India such incidents remained generally confined to times of war or to acts of administrative exigency, and the people in those troublous times took such occurrences as part of the day's work and soon forgave and forgot them. In a preponderatingly large number of cases the temples destroyed by Muslim Kings were permitted to be rebuilt and when peace was established people were generally left to themselves to practise their religions freely.

#### STORIES OF THE DESTRUCTION OF IDOLS AND TEMPLES.

Though under these conditions many temples were and must have been destroyed by Muslim Kings yet the stories about such destructions which are generally in vogue are much too exaggerated. We know as a matter of fact that in the course of about two centuries thousands upon thousands of Buddhist temples and monasteries with which India teemed in the days of Buddhist glory had all vanished leaving no trace behind. Says Mr. Vaidya :

“ And the wonder is that no Buddhist temples remained in the land though there were thousands when Huen Tsang visited India, if we except the cave temples and the colossal images of Buddha hewn out of hill sides. The Mohammedans in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni and later

out this period the entire subordinate work of administration, many of the higher posts, scores of states and principalities, and above all the greater part of the imperial army must necessarily have all been manned by members of the Hindu Community. Moreover, it was a religious age, and Hindus and Muslims both were very religious-minded. Under these conditions it was obviously impossible for a religious crusade to have lasted unremittingly for a thousand years. A religious war does not remain confined to actual fighting at particular points. It automatically spreads to all centres where the contending parties live together, and it does not find expression merely in wars of Kings but assumes the nature of a general civil war extending into every nook and corner of the country. But such a phenomenon, or anything resembling it even distantly, is not met with anywhere during the Muslim period. Throughout, Hindu Kings in many campaigns of consequence fight on the side of Muslim Kings as their allies, and Muslim Kings fight on the side of Hindus. The defeated kings, whether Muslim or Hindu, are generally given back their thrones on promise of mere allegiance. In no religious wars elsewhere in the world have soldiers belonging to two contending religions fought indiscriminately on both sides. In India, from first to last Hindu and Muslim soldiers in almost every important battle fought side by side for their kings irrespective of their religion. A slight suspicion that their religion was being tampered with supplied the immediate occasion for an explosion which well-nigh shattered the British Empire in 1857. Is it conceivable that a deliberate, cold-blooded and continuous trampling upon the religious sentiment of the Hindus would have been permitted to extend over centuries without any sign of a general overt revolt in the

people? All this shows that the one-sided treatment of these writers has very wrongly introduced religious motives and given to exclusively political movements and events a deeply religious colour.

“The rhapsodies of Muslim historians in their accounts of the suppression of a rising or the capture of a fortress, of towns and villages burnt, of whole districts laid waste, of temples destroyed and idols overthrown, of hecatombs of ‘misbelievers sent to Hell,’ or ‘despatched to their own place,’ and of thousands of women and children enslaved, might delude us into the belief that the early Muslim occupation of northern India was one prolonged holy war waged for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam, had we not proof that this cannot have been the case. Mahmud the Iconoclast maintained a large corps of Hindu horse; his son Masud prohibited his Muslim officers from offending the religious susceptibilities of their Hindu comrades; employed the Hindu Tilak for the suppression of the rebellion of the Muslim Ahmad Niyaltigin, approved of Tilak’s mutilation of Muslims, and made him the equal of his Muslim nobles; Muizud-din Muhammad allied himself with the Hindu Raja of Jammu against the Muslim Khusrava Malik of Lahore and employed Hindu legends on his coinage; all Muslim rulers in India from Mahmud downwards, accepted, when it suited them to do so, the allegiance of Hindu rulers and landlords, and confirmed them, as vassals, in the possession of their hereditary lands; and one of the pretexts for Taimur’s invasion of India, at the end of the fourteenth century, was the toleration of Hinduism.”\*

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\* “The Cambridge History of India,” vol. iii.

## DIFFICULTY IN DEALING WITH THE PERIOD.

The main difficulty in dealing with the period arises from the fact that the only authorities for it on the Hindu side are lyrics composed by Court Bards and poets, who take the Mahabharata for their model, and conceive and develop their themes with more regard to literary and poetical requirements than to historical truth or accuracy. The other remaining sources are the contemporary or distant accounts of Persian chroniclers who though they write in prose are carried away by the rhetorical style of the times and choose as their model the old chronicles of the first Mujahidins. These chroniclers are usually Ulemas who naturally desire to exalt their religion. Consequently their poetical tendencies lead to exaggerations at every point and their religious bias gives an intensely religious colour to every political event. With these writers the force of the enemy is always as numerous as the sands of the sea, the pearls secured by the king as spoils are more than the vast bosom of the ocean could hold, and the diamonds so innumerable that, if scattered, they would illumine the whole world like the stars of the firmament. And each successful campaign brings such treasures. While the gains are so prodigious, the loss inflicted on the unfortunate enemy is equally great. Whole broods of infidels are sent to hell, thousands of temples are levelled with the earth, and after every important battle, the world is purged clean of every vestige of idolatry. Such was the force of habit generated by the conventional style of the times that even Hindu historians writing in Persian use such expressions as *Kafir ba jahannam raft* (The infidel went to hell), for their own co-religionists. It should have been impossible to mis-

understand such statements or to take them seriously, but a serious difficulty has arisen in the way of appraising them at their proper value, from the fact that the histories we read are compiled from such sources by people who for various reasons are interested in giving prominence to such rubbish and suppressing the surrounding facts which would enable us to estimate them properly.

These Chroniclers consider it an act of piety to represent their kings as idol-breakers and champions of their faith. Among the idol-breakers Mahmud Ghaznavi tops the list, probably because his campaigns in India are described by his own scribe Utbi. Perhaps Utbi wanted to defend his master from the attacks of many contemporaries who condemned him as a Kafir. That Mahmud's expeditions were not in the nature of a religious crusade is accepted even by many Indian historians, both Hindu and Musalman. In fact, the estimate of his character which we generally meet in history shows that the unbridled vandalism attributed to him is partly exaggerated and partly attributable to the age in which he lived. We give below two estimates of his character by Hindu historians. And we give also a few samples of the Persian chroniclers to show their style and the weight that should be attached to their exaggerations.

#### THE GHAZNAVIS.

Mr. Vaidya thus sums up his estimate of Mahmud's character :

“To sum up, we think that Gibbon is right when he says that Mahmud was one of the greatest kings of the world. He was an intrepid soldier and a consummate commander, a lover of justice, and patron of learned men,

a sovereign who laboured for the peace and prosperity of his people and strove to extend education and commerce. As a man, Mahmud was a person of strict discipline and was not by nature cruel or avaricious, but was temperate and generous. He was also highly religious and of pure rigid faith. The great and perhaps solitary blemish in his character was, according to our view, his bigoted intolerance." \*

Dr. Ishwari Prasad goes a step further, for he seems to exonerate him even from the charge of excessive religious zeal.

"It is not difficult to determine Mahmud's place in history. The foregoing remarks have made it abundantly clear what a great personality he was. To the Musalmans of his day, he was Ghazi, a champion of faith, who tried to extirpate infidelity in heathen lands. To the Hindus, he is to this day an inhuman tyrant, a veritable Hun, who destroyed their most sacred shrines and wantonly wounded their religious susceptibilities. But the unbiassed enquirer who keeps in mind the peculiar circumstances of the age must record a different verdict. In his estimate, Mahmud was a great leader of men, a just and upright ruler according to his own lights, an intrepid and gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters, and deserves to be ranked among the greatest kings of the world." †

#### THE GHORIS.

After the Ghaznis come the Ghoris. Their first exploit was the destruction of the city of Ghazni which Mahmud had converted into one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

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\* "Medieval Hindu India," by C. V. Vaidya, vol. iii. p. 104.

† "History of Medieval India," by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, p. 91.

“Ala-ud-din followed up his victory and took the city of Ghazni by storm. The finest buildings of the city, exquisite memorials of the greatness and splendour of Mahmud, were demolished, and during the seven days the Ghori chieftain remained in occupation of the town ‘the air, from the blackness of the smoke, continued as black as night.; and those nights, from the flames rising in the burning city, were lighted up as bright as day. Rapine and massacre were carried on with the greatest pertinacity and vindictiveness, and men, women and children were either killed or made slaves. The dead bodies of all the Sultans of Ghazni except those of Mahmud and Ibrahim were dug out from their graves and treated with indignity and burnt.” \*

Next, the Ghoris turned their attention to India. The victories of Shahabuddin Ghori are thus glorified by the Persian chroniclers :

At Ajmere, “you might have said that the secret depositaries of seas and hills were revealed. While the Sultan remained at Ajmere he destroyed the idol temples and built in their place mosques and colleges.”

At Kanauj, “The impurities of idolatry were purged from that land and immense booty was obtained such as the eyes would be weary to look at.”

At Benares :

“The royal army proceeded to Benares and there one thousand temples were destroyed and mosques were raised

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\* “History of Medieval India,” by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, pp. 110, 111.

on their foundations and the faces of the Dinars and Mohurs were adorned with the blessed name and title of the King."

But when the actual facts are analysed even historians who can in no way be described as partial to the Muslims form the following estimate of Shahabuddin:

"It cannot be alleged that the religious fervour actuating Shahabuddin and his Mohammadans was stronger than that actuating the Rajputs. Although Mohammadan historians describe the former as making a religious war, Shahabuddin was fighting for conquest of territory and not for extending religion. Indeed, we find that conversion of the people to Mohammadanism was not his motive in conquering Northern India." \* . . .

After Shahabuddin the campaigns of Kutbuddin and Altamsh are described in the selfsame strains. But when we prune away the hyperbolic setting we find that—

"Kutubuddin and Altamash were not fanatical Muslims and were wise rulers who, like the British, saw the justice and even the wisdom of not interfering with the religion of the people." †

It is everywhere the same. In fact, as in every other country, so in Muslim India also, there was a bigoted section of Ulemas, "who in spite of Islam formed an Islamic priesthood, who claimed the right of interpreting the Quran and therefore of guiding the policy of the State." And, as priests of all religions are the same in nature, the influence of the bigoted section was generally reactionary. But the conditions in India were such that from the very outset the good

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\* Vaidya, "Medieval Hindu India," vol. iii. p. 361.

† Ibid.

offices of this section were a source of the greatest danger to the Empire and consequently the kings could never listen to their advice in the higher policies of the State, and so its influence even with religiously inclined rulers remained confined within narrow limits and to unessential details. But while exercising little authority in matters of State, policy and administration their bigotry and that of their disciples got full opportunity to bubble at will in historical and other compilations of the State. The kings and other high officers did not object to this form of innocuous adulation, because, in the first place, it was altogether conventional and could not be misunderstood, and in the next, it gave them religious merit in the eyes of the faithful without in any way endangering their empire or raising uncomfortable administrative complexities.

It is because of this that the pages of our histories are covered with stories of desecrated temples and broken idols, and almost every Muslim King is depicted as having a fair share of such achievements to his credit. But so far no honest attempt has been made to discover how many Hindu temples were built by Muslim rulers, and how many of them received royal grants and subsidies. When such researches are made it will be found that even a king like Aurangzeb gave grants to a larger number of temples than he is credibly alleged to have destroyed.

#### THE COMPELLING SOCIAL PRESSURE.

In fact, the conditions in India were such that, even if the Muslim rulers were narrow bigots, these would not permit them to indulge freely in the luxury of religious persecution or wholesale conversion. There was scarcely a

Raja in the land of any consequence who had not a considerable number of Muslim soldiers in his employ, and the army of every Muslim king in India inevitably possessed a large number of Hindu soldiers raised from territories under his rule according to established custom and practice. If we analyse the battles of the Muslim period from the 8th century to the sixteenth or even up to the establishment of British Power in India we shall find that about the same number of battles are fought between Muslim and Muslim and Hindu and Hindu as between Hindu and Muslim kings. Nothing shows more clearly the dominance of the political rather than the religious motives both in the Muslims and the Hindus, and nothing shows more emphatically the utter dependence of the Muslim Kings on their Hindu allies and confederates. To be openly hostile in conditions like these would have been to court evident disaster. It was this compelling social pressure which would have tamed the wildest bigotry or destroyed it before it could do much mischief. And it was this which in addition to their moral and religious culture inclined the Hindu and Muslim sovereigns to follow, in religious matters, a policy of generous toleration which while morally meritorious was also the safest and the best policy.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL CONFINES OF INDIA.

Not alone has this political movement from the North been represented as a religious war but it has also been invariably represented as a foreign invasion, and continues to be represented as such. The irony of fate is that even the British themselves, foreigners from 6,000 miles away, are blessed in our histories for freeing India from a foreign rule, and giving us security from Northern invasions by

foreigners, though after the transfer of the centre of political power from the Punjab to Delhi up to the fall of the Moghal Empire, no invader came to India from or through the Afghan territories, if we except the passing inroads of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah, and the whole of this region remained, with occasional lapses, an integral part of India and of Indian Empires. The successful invasions from or through Afghanistan which took place during the course of some 800 years represented huge Central Asian movements which produced considerable repercussions in Asia, the Middle East, and other adjoining countries. These movements have now ceased because the entire nature of the Central Asian regions and their problems has changed altogether, and not because of any special protective potency in the British Raj. The money that has been spent on efforts to subdue the Frontier tribes and keep the Afghans in check during the British Period will perhaps be found to be greater in amount than that spent by any set of Muslim kings during the same number of years in their efforts to subjugate and stabilise political conditions in the whole of India. And as for Afghanistan, though it was a turbulent province, any governor, whether Muslim or Hindu, who was appointed to the task, kept it under tolerable control like any other province without much ado and without any special expenditure from the imperial revenues.

Yet inspite of all this religious bias and interested motives have created the impression that the invasions from the North which began with Mahmud in the beginning of the 11th Century were all foreign invasions. That Islam came from outside is enough to make every Muslim a foreigner to the Hindu, though the Hindu himself is taught that he is descended from Aryan conquerors who came into

India from outside. So persistently and with such vigour and assurance has the cry been repeated that the northerners were foreigners that it has succeeded in producing a hypnotic effect upon the whole nation. And the Muslim too has begun to regard himself as really a foreigner and conqueror. Yet the patent fact is that the vast bulk of the Muslim population is of purely Indian race, and that the few lakhs who came in from other countries during the entire Muslim period have merged completely into the indigenous population.

In fact, Ghaznis and Ghoris were as Indian in their blood and culture as the Indians of more southerly regions, for Afghanistan and even its adjacent territories on the west, from the most ancient times upto the British rule, were considered an integral part of India and were regarded as the cradle of her civilization.

"It is clear that before the 10th century the whole country east of Helmand was Hindustan. Even Ghazni when it was taken by Yakub-i-lias was in India and so was Kabul, and Kandhar which was in the country of Rajputs (Al Masudi 953 A.D.) When the Ghazni Kingdom was founded it was bounded east, south, north, and even west by Hindustan. This country was properly called Hindustan, the people being Hindus." \*

Strange though it may seem, the change of religion by the people of this region not only made them foreigners but made proper Hindustan also a foreign country. Yet the territories so ostracised were those which gave to India her religion and her culture.

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\* Vaidya, "Medieval Hindu India."

“The Punjab had no doubt been the home of Vedic Aryans from the most ancient days ; the place where the Vedic hymns were mostly composed and sung at sacrifices, the place where even later Vedic civilization developed. Gandhara and Madra are the lands of Panini and Asvapati, the teachers of grammar and philosophy. The Upanishads contain many references to the Brahmins and Kshatriyas of these famous lands on the west and the east of the Indus. But the ‘land of the five rivers and the sixth Indus’ subsequently became a home of Buddhism, next only to Magadha. Buddha himself preached successfully in Afghanistan and the Punjab, and later on Mahayana Buddhism was evolved under Kanishka in this land. Purushapura (modern Peshawar) and Takshasila, two places of Vedic fame, became centres of Buddhist learning. The Punjab, therefore, though originally the home of Indo-Aryans (even now it is pre-eminently Indo-Aryan as Sir H. Risley found from facial measurements taken at the Census of 1901) was less strong in the Hindu sentiment than the rest of India.” \* . .

This movement began from the land where the Vedic hymns were mostly composed, and which gave to India the language and the philosophy on which were laid the foundations of her succeeding culture. In every period of Indian history these regions played an intimate part in her life, and in the period under discussion most of the cities named above formed part of the province of the Punjab which had its old capital at Kabul. Alaptigin carved his kingdom of Ghazni out of this province. Consequently even before the reign of Mahmud Ghaznavi hostilities had commenced

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\* “Medieval Hindu India,” p. 129.

between the Raja of the Punjab and Alaptigin, and when Mahmud succeeded, the Raja made another attempt to retrieve these territories. This was the beginning of the hostilities which produced such profound results in the history of India.

The people of these regions upto the time of Mahmud were mainly Hindus. In 1000 A.D. Islam was filtering into these regions slowly.

"In the more important cities of Afghanistan Musalmans were living no doubt but the Afghans themselves had not accepted Islam so far. Though a king of Kabul had accepted Islam about the third Hijri, i.e., about a century before the Ghaznavis, yet most of the Afghan tribes began to accept Islam only in the days of Mahmud." \*

#### THE REAL NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE.

Thus we see that the tussle which this political movement involves is not in the nature of a foreign invasion. It is a continuation of the same old Rajput struggle to give India her political unity. The Hindus and the Musalmans of India both participate in this struggle in the same way and to the same extent as the Shaivas, Vaishnavas, Jains, Buddhists, etc., participated in such struggles in the good old days. That the Muslims prevailed in this struggle is due mainly to the fact that their new religion gave them a more cohesive and more broad-based social system. It was the want of a real social solidarity which had made the development of a real and lasting political solidarity so difficult of achievement in Hindu India. The Muslim

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\* "Arab aur Hind ke Talaugat," p. 205.

social solidarity partially remedied this evil and to that extent facilitated political development on an all-India basis. As far as the actual work of construction was concerned, it was done by the mutual co-operation of Hindus and Muslims, who worked throughout this period in the economic and political concerns of their country without importing much religious fanaticism or bigotry into them. But no movement of this nature, especially in the times we are dealing with, could work wholly without exhibiting such traits. Religious intolerance and persecution are an immemorial heritage of human history, and they must have had their normal share in the life and activities of the times. Nor could India have remained altogether free from the savagery and the ravages of war any more than she was in the earlier past. But a study of comparative history shows that from the 11th to the 15th century India passed through comparatively quieter times and fared better in both these respects than most other parts of the world. Let us take for instance the fate of Persia and other Islamic countries of the Middle East.

The political movement which the birth of Islam set in motion in 622 A. D. proceeded from the South to the North reaching almost to the confines of China. But from the 11th Century A. D. a reverse current sets in which practically annihilates all the centres of the cultural and political life which Arab conquests had brought into existence. Arabia, no doubt, continues to be a religious world-centre and Islam as a social and religious movement continues to spread, but as a political power all vestiges of its life are destroyed during this period; and even Arabia itself which had never accepted a foreign yoke before, comes under the subjection of Turkish rule. Even before this final catastrophe its

political life had weakened greatly. We cannot trace here the movement we have referred to above in all its ramifications among the Turks and the Mongols and the other hordes of Central Asia that took part in it and encompassed the destruction of the Muslim kingdoms of Persia and the Middle East. We will give only one example, that of the Moghul invasion, which is thus described by Arnold. -

"There is no event in the History of Islam that for terror and desolation can be compared to the Moghul conquest. Like an avalanche, the hosts of Jingiz Khan swept over the centres of Muslim culture and civilization, leaving behind them bare deserts and shapeless ruins where before had stood the palaces of stately cities, girt about with gardens and fruitful corn-land. When the Mongol army had marched out of the city of Herat, a miserable remnant of forty persons crept out of their hiding-places and gazed horror-stricken on the ruins of their beautiful city all that were left out of a population of 100,000. In Bukhara, so famed for its men of piety and learning, the Mongols stabled their horses in the sacred precincts of the mosques and tore up the Qurans to serve as litter ; those of the inhabitants who were not butchered were carried away into captivity and their city reduced to ashes. Such too was the fate of Samarqand, Balkh, and many another city of Central Asia which had been the glories of Islamic civilization and the dwelling-places of holy men and the seats of sound learning. Such too the fate of Baghdad that for centuries had been the capital of the Abbasid dynasty." \*

The sack of Baghdad lasted for a week, during which nearly one million of its inhabitants were massacred. The

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\* Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam," p. 185.

effect of this invasion on Muslim civilization is thus summed up by Sir Percy Sykes :

“Moslem civilization was at that period the shining light in the world, and it has never recovered from the deadly blow. The awful nature of the cataclysm which set back the hands of the clock of progress among Muslim States, and thereby indirectly throughout the world, is difficult to realize and impossible to exaggerate. Incidentally the Arabic language, which had held a position analogous to that of Latin in Europe, gradually declined in importance.” \*

#### THE NEW POLITICAL UNITY.

While the Central Asian movement took the form of a catastrophe for the Islamic world, the Indian movement from the North took a steady and constructive form, and remained comparatively free from those volcanic elements of the other movement which blasted the Middle East. This fact is all the more significant when we consider that members of the same sub-races of Turks and Tartars and Mongols are seen taking a part in the Indian movement also. But these Turks and Tartars are people who have been partially humanized by Indian religion and culture, and the Mongols before they come to India as conquerors have accepted Islam and become humanized by a close contact with Islamic culture. The enslavement of men and women, violence to women and places of worship, destruction of resisting cities, religious intolerance towards the conquered people were, as said before, features common to ordinary warfare and conquests in those days. If a comparative study

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\* “A History of Persia,” by Sir Percy Sykes, vol. ii. p. 98.

of the period is made India, will be found to have been much freer in all these respects than other countries though religions and sects were many and wars frequent.

The political movement which begins from 1001 A. D. with the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni does not descend upon India like a destructive torrent or a devastating avalanche. Its progress seems to resemble more the course of a river which, though it may cause destruction at the outset or when it casually overflows, is beneficent and life-giving in its ultimate results. It takes this movement quite a century to consolidate itself in the Punjab, whose boundaries in these days extended right up to the Hindu-Kush. In the next century it descends to the northern banks of Mahanadi and Nerbada in the south, and to the east extends right to the farthest corners of Bengal. By the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the 14th under Alauddin Khilji it reaches the farthest southern confines of India and, for the first time in Indian History India "the geographical expression" comes under one suzerain and assumes, however temporarily, a sort of political unity. No doubt, Chandra Gupta and his grandson Ashoka ruled a great Empire, but the empire was built at a time when the centrifugal forces in the country were much too strong, and lasted barely a century. The Gupta Empire lasted longer, for a little more than three centuries, fourth to seventh. Harsha's was another attempt, but his empire was the result of his personal greatness and so ended with him. Alauddin's Empire also fell to pieces, but it was the result of a continuity of effort which existed from before and did not die with him. The movement which he represented continued to work even after his death. Delhi from now becomes a recognized centre of permanent poli-

tical authority, and though kings may change and provinces may rebel, his right to punish and subdue them remains more or less unquestioned in the mind of the people. Gradually the centrifugal forces are subdued and a political organization to keep them in check evolved, and thus the development of a central paramount power rendered increasingly more feasible. The Moghals inherit this colossal effort of over five centuries and during the Moghal period India realizes as she had never realized before within historical times, except once, in the days of the illustrious Ashoka, the objective towards which she had been consciously moving. From the beginning, her one mission had been to weld her myriad children into a harmonious people by giving them a political, economic and cultural unity. During the Moghal period the foundations of this national synthesis were again strongly and deeply laid.

“ . . . On the other hand, the two hundred years of Mughal rule, from the accession of Akbar to the death of Mohammad Shah 1556-1749, gave to the whole of Northern India and much of the Deccan also, oneness of the official language, administrative system, and coinage, and also a popular lingua Indica for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. Even outside the territory directly administered by the Mughal Emperors, their administrative system, official nomenclature, court etiquette and monetary type were borrowed, more or less, by the neighbouring Hindu Rajas.

“ All the twenty Indian subahs of the Mughal Empire were governed by means of exactly the same administrative machinery, with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the one language used in all office records, farmans, sanads, landgrants, passes, despatches and

receipts. The same monetary standard prevailed throughout the Empire, with coins having the same names, the same purity and the same denominations, and differing only in the name of the mint-town. Officials and soldiers were frequently transferred from one province to another. Thus, the native of one province felt himself almost at home in another province ; traders and travellers passed most easily from city to city, subah to subah, and all realised the imperial oneness of this vast country." \*

No doubt, the irruption of Europe which India could not control disturbed this synthesis. But England inherited the skeleton and the muscles of the Indian Empire from the Moghals, just as the Moghals had inherited the outline and back-bone from their predecessors. It was the result of eight hundred years of constant building that within a century of British rule India began to make herself felt as a political unity and, as we shall see, in spite of the utmost efforts of the British to the contrary, imbibed national idealism and began to move irresistibly towards securing Western representative institutions and freedom from foreign rule. There runs throughout this period a continuity of constructive political development of which any people may well be proud.

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\* "Mughal Administration," by Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 129, 130.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE NATIONAL SYNTHESIS.

#### THE MEETING OF ISLAM AND HINDUISM.

THE followers of Islam may well have wondered at their reception in India and at the existence of a culture and a tolerance of other faiths unknown in the history of civilized people. They must have seen the high tenets of their faith regarding religious tolerance, highest perhaps for the age in which they were given, being lived up to by a whole nation. They must have wondered all the more that the people who were so tolerant to outsiders and so free from all racial and political bias, were the most conservative in the world and rigidly exclusive in their social habits and customs. These caste restrictions were a heritage from the past and the whole soul of the nation had rebelled against them in the shape of Buddhism. But there was a reaction from that rebellion, for it is not given to humanity to transcend easily its great limitations, historical, social and psychological. All the same, the religion and culture of India had obviously transcended them in some respects and to some extent, and in spite of the caste system had evolved a humanitarian outlook and sympathy not vouchsafed to other peoples whose civilizations are seemingly free from such limitations. We must also remember that in their social organization and in their religious beliefs the Hindu and Muslim communities greatly differed from each other. And at the time when they came together, Islam was in its first flush and Hinduism was in the throes of a

great religious ferment, socially reactionary and orthodox in its nature. With all this the two communities found it possible not only to tolerate each other but to live and grow together with the utmost cordiality and co-operation. This shows a deep moral consciousness, a unity of culture, a harmony and a broad outlook on life which could have come to them only through religion, for both were deeply religious.

#### INFLUENCE OF MUSLIM ART ON INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

Like religion, the arts of India also filled the newcomers with admiration. The temples, tanks and embankments were wonderful works of art which have been very highly praised by Alberuni. Speaking of Hindu architecture he says:

“In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people when they see them, wonder at them and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them.”

But soon on the soil of India the “clash of the two divergent mentalities and their cultures resulted in the creation of a new culture. . . . In art, Hindu and Muslim elements coalesced to form a new type of architecture. The buildings erected by Musalmans for religious, civil or military purposes were not purely Muslim, Syro-Egyptian, Persian, or Central Asian, nor the Hindu buildings, temples or palaces or cenotaphs purely Hindu. The simple severity of Muslim architecture was toned down and the plastic exuberance of the Hindu was restrained. The craftsmanship, ornamental richness and general design remained largely

Hindu. The arcuated form, plain domes, smooth-faced walls and elevated and spacious interiors were super-impositions of the Muslims." \*

#### INDIA WANTED A NEW SYNTHESIS.

But though India had made considerable progress in religion, philosophy and art, she was faced with a very serious problem in her social and political life when Islam appeared on the scene. Her religious life represented religion almost in every stage of its evolution, from the simplest and crudest to the most complex and the most perfect. Her social system was split up into pieces by her caste-system, and after the fall of Harsha's Empire, the partial political unity which he had achieved had been shattered, and, like the social, her political life at the time consisted of innumerable small and independent states, perpetually involved in mutual conflicts and dissensions. In the face of these facts it is obvious that her crying need at this period, as ever before, was religious harmony and synthesis and social and political integration. The mosaic of her caste-system with its political replica of independent and conflicting units had to be built up anew into a harmonious structure. The people had to be welded into a common brotherhood, and a corresponding political unity had to be evolved to serve their common needs and save them from unending conflicts. A Pax Indica was wanted. This was the great problem before India when Islam began to act socially and politically on her national life. To judge of Islam's collective influence on that life we

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\* "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture" (MS.), by Dr. Tara Chand.

shall have to see how far it helped India in the solution of the problem.

#### HOW HISTORY HAS BEEN PERVERTED.

Our historians do not approach the question from this point of view. The Muslim historian gloats over the discomfiture of the unbeliever and counts as his successes the treasure he collects, the temples he destroys, and the large number of kafirs he successfully sends to hell. The Hindu bemoans the loss of political power, the acts of religious vandalism, and the contamination of his religious and social life by the intrusion of Mlechchhas. The Westerner laughs at them both and cleverly sets them one against the other. Such a communal and interested treatment of history has done a lot of mischief. It has generated an atmosphere of prejudice and passion which makes a dispassionate and constructive consideration of the problem very difficult. Social and political movements have to be judged from the point of view of their collective utility for the nation and not from isolated acts of tyranny and intolerance, which are common to such movements and part of the inevitable vicissitudes of human life. In the one-sided pictures generally presented to us emphasis is laid on the incessant political conflicts, on the tyrannies, intolerance, cruelties, and extravagance of kings and conquerors and on the general poverty and insecurity of the people. All this is attributed to a general listlessness of the people, their otherworldiness, their want of interest in political life and want of stamina to shape it according to their will. But nothing is said of those countless checks and safeguards, cultural, religious, and constitutional, against the exercise of autocratic power, which no king, Hindu or Musalman, could

ever think of transgressing; nor of that arrangement peculiar to India in which the king and his court, though a part of the social organism, had as little direct bearing on the economic, religious, or social concerns of the people as the people had on court interests, intrigues, and conflicts. Like the political, the religious life of the people is also ridiculed, and its grosser elements and superstitions are represented as if these were the be-all and end-all of Indian civilization. A general impression is thus produced that our progenitors were a set of superstitious dreamers, who in their care for the other world lost even the one entrusted to them. We are never told that from the beginning of human history upto the 19th Century, when England had already consolidated her power, India continued to be among her contemporaries the richest and the greatest manufacturing country in the world. Obviously in her care for the next, she had not neglected this world. Again, by concentrating attention exclusively on political conflicts, we are made to believe that, prior to the advent of the British, the whole country was in a state of veritable anarchy; though, as a fact, the maintenance of law and order in India was the function of those countless republics which covered the land in the shape of independent rural and urban units, whose constitutional administrative rights within their respective areas were never interfered with by Hindu or Muslim kings right down to the time of Warren Hastings; and consequently the fights of kings and the changes of dynasties could not disturb to any appreciable degree the general peace and tranquility of the country. Still less could this affect its economic, religious, and cultural progress. Such perversions of our history are designed to create a contempt for our past, a feeling of abject im-

tence, and an atmosphere of unshakeable inferiority. Here we are concerned with the Hindu-Muslim problem, and we feel constrained to say that nowhere the design to demoralize and denationalize us through historical perversions is more pointedly and more extensively used than in the treatment of the Muslim period.

The example in this respect has been set by great but interested and prejudiced English historians, and it is being followed by others unconsciously or consciously from a variety of motives. The Muslim period is represented as the darkest period of Indian history, during which the national life of India was deflected from the normal course of its evolution and plunged into a social and religious chaos from which it is difficult for it to extricate itself. Muslim rule is represented as a foreign rule and its wars as protracted crusades to convert the country and to molest and persecute the native populations. Partronzing tones are also adopted at times, but the above is the general impression left on the mind of the average student after a perusal of his prescribed courses of history. And as school histories are more poisonous than the higher ones, so the higher student goes to his studies almost with his mind made up and with a strong bias which it is almost impossible to shake. Through the schools and colleges the poison has gone to papers and magazines, popular pamphlets and books, speeches and conversations, and has thus come to pervade the whole of our life.

We have rapidly traversed the whole period of Muslim rule and indicated some lines of thought which go to show that such a view is not warranted by our history. In fact, though the differences between the two religions were obvious, the fundamental unity of the lives of their followers in

India and the compelling necessity of their common destiny were even more obvious and more real. And out of this grew that atmosphere of co-operation and goodwill, of tolerance and reverence for each other's sentiments which, in spite of temporary set-backs, settled them down as brothers to solve together the common problems of their lives. Their union was a marvel for its age, and it took interested agencies quite a long time to shake it seriously. Before it was thus shaken it had made many achievements in the social, religious and political fields.

The Muslim conquest of India was very slow and steady. In 715 Sindh was conquered. In 1030 Punjab and Sindh both came under the rule of Mahmud. Towards the end of the 12th century Northern India and Bengal were conquered. At the end of the 13th century Muslim rulers reached the southernmost confines of India. Thus Alauddin's achievement was in fact the direct result of six centuries of continuous effort and aspiration. The impetus for this prodigious effort came from the North and a dominant part was played by the Muslim sons of India, because the compactness of their social system served as a backbone in the midst of a society divided by castes, and it gave a continuity and a coherence to their policy which was lacking in previous post-Buddhist efforts. Along with this impetus much fresh equipment of the kind needed for Empire-building also became available from the Muslim world outside India. Thousands of the best minds and men of great experience, enterprise, and ability came to India and assisted her in her great task. During these six centuries she was able to construct a new skeleton, imperfect, crude, and incomplete, yet one round which could continue to grow flesh and

The proximity of two such systems would on a superficial view seem to indicate a great likelihood of mutual friction, but on a closer view it becomes apparent that it was not so.

The age and the rigidity of the caste system of India are a marvel for the present-day world. But from all times it has been a problem of the first magnitude to all Indian thinkers and reformers. The indigenous population of India was divided into clans and tribes, before the Aryan civilization crossed its northern valleys. There is reason to believe that the early Aryan thinkers and leaders developed a scheme of social organization, in accord with the psycho-physical laws of heredity AS WELL AS spontaneous variation, by which they were able to absorb and civilize and Aryanize the tribes they subjugated, as directed in the Vedas, assigning them to one or another of four main vocational classes. In the course of time, the living elasticity of this scheme was lost, and it became ossified into a caste-system based rigidly on heredity alone, which broke up Hindu society into thousands of fragments. But the national mind continued to yearn for a higher synthesis and its yearnings at last found a powerful expression in Buddhism. Buddha enunciated again, in a famous verse, the basic principles of the system of four-fold vocational social organization which had degenerated into the so-called caste-system. Though a profound reaction followed after twelve hundred years of Buddhism, yet the higher minds and instincts of the nation continued to move in the same direction. With these Islam was quite in tune, and its advent in India rallied them anew, so that within the Hindu fold itself powerful movements against the caste-system came into existence. Thus, so far as the social organization was

concerned, though there was an antagonism on the surface between Islam and Hinduism, yet both were trying, the former consciously and the latter subconsciously so to say, to lead the social system in the same direction. In matters of proselytization there was a fundamental difference between Islam and Buddhism. Buddhism acted from within the social organism and Islam acted wholly from without. Buddhism tried to destroy the hold of Brahmanism, and its Bhikshus were the competitors of Brahman priests. Muslim kings almost universally recognized the special privileges of the Brahmans and there was no competition whatever between the Muslim learned and pirs and faqirs, and the Hindu religious orders—their clientele being different. Islam claimed its disciples mainly from the lowest strata of Hindu society which were practically outside the pale of orthodox Hinduism, and the Hindu religious orders and learned men, who were the custodians of its religious knowledge, could well afford to look upon its successes with indifference. Its greatest successes were in the Punjab and Bengal where the revival movement had met with the strongest resistance and where, though Buddhism had been crushed, the old order had not been able satisfactorily to assert its authority. Indeed, the sting in the rivalry lay in the fact that the number of Muslims increased rapidly and that of the Hindus dwindled steadily. But this fact had not and could not have dawned upon the collective Hindu consciousness as no such consciousness existed, on account of the division of the people into innumerable creeds, each of which was as real and as self-contained and self-assertive as Islam itself. The consciousness of a collective unity could not grow till a real and living religious synthesis had been established, and though the national

imitative slave-mentality rather than of free acceptance. The political domination of Musalmans over Hindus as such, even when the suzerainty of Delhi was undoubted, was never so one-sided and complete as that of the British has latterly been over both. And even the Musilmans who came from outside became and were Indians, as the British have never been. The amalgamation of the cultures progressed slowly because the outer forms of the two religions were rather sharply different, but all the same it has been steady and far-reaching on account of their constant neighbourliness, interwoven lives and a common destiny.

They borrowed id as from each other in philosophy, science, astronomy, medicine, etc.; in fine arts (architecture, music, dancing, painting, calligraphy, illustration and illumination of manuscripts, weaving of fine cloths of cotton, linen, silk and wool, jewellery, perfumery, etc.); in crafts (metal-working, weapon-making, utensil making, etc.), and in almost every conceivable department of life. And in all these lines there was a synthetic progress which enriched life and made it more beautiful than before. Especially in arts connected with gustation and fragrance, did the Musalmans introduce many improvements. Many of the most favourite flowers of India to-day were brought from other lands or were improved here—Gulab, Gul-i-Daudi, Gul-i-Shabbu, Gul-i-Abbas, all show the country of their importation or the religion of their improvers. Many fruits were newly introduced, many indigenous ones were perfected. Along with the flora, the fauna of India also was enriched. The breeds of horses, camels, and pigeons were greatly improved. In music, Khayal, Thumri, Dadra, Ghazal, all were developed during this period. The lower we descend the wider becomes the basis of this synthesis. In food and dress, wonder-

ful interchange and additions took place in this period. While the basic articles of use remained common to Hindu and Muslim homes, such as dal, bhat, chapati, roti, tarkari, many new additions were made to sweets and other delicacies such as Halwa, Qalaqand, Khurma, Balushahi, Barfi, Gulab Jamun, etc., which were developed by the common tastes of the people. The additions to meat dishes were innumerable, as Muslims were meat-eaters and so were a very large majority of Hindus also, the difference being that the one avoided one animal, as too beneficent to humanity to be killed, and the other another, as too unclean to be eaten. The names of the clothes and cloths and utensils and articles of furniture used by Hindus and Musalmans alike are an inseparable mixture of Sanskrit and Persian words.

The Hindus especially, already accustomed by their priests to all sorts of minor gods and goddesses, mineral, vegetable, and animal, readily adopted into their pantheon and scheme of worship, takiyas, maqbaras, dargahs, and masjids. And they added to the list of their existing preceptors imams, mujawirs, fakirs, auliyas, etc., and resorted to them for spiritual enlightenment and worldly blessings, and also for magical cures, charms, and amulets, as they had been resorting to their own pandas, sadhus, mahantus, and jogis. If Hindu priests had been less exclusive, it is possible that illiterate Muslims might also have begun going to them and their places of worship in the same way and in the same numbers as Hindus began going to the Muslim priests and places of worship. Millions of Musalmans to this day offer milk and eatables on the altar of Shitala, the goddess of small-pox, in villages, and many other Hindu shrines are worshipped by them.

Also whole sections of Muslims retained their caste exclusiveness in various shades and degrees, and some sections adopted even Hindu 'touch-me-notism' in food. Consultation of Hindu and Muslim astrologers was a common feature of the Muslim period. Thousands of Hindu astrologers were patronized by and lived in various Muslim courts and palaces.

Some learned men and poets and physicians of the other community were almost always attached to the courts and houses of royal and other powerful families of each community. In legal matters, also, there was approximation, many new converts retaining their old customary laws in matters of inheritance and succession. The Musalman Taluqdars of Oudh, like their Hindu confreres, follow the law of primogeniture, reaffirmed in a British Indian Act. The Khojas also follow the Hindu law of inheritance. And in the matter of the daughter's share in the property left by the father, the Hindu law and custom, i. e., of not giving her any share, has in many places been retained.

The Muslim converts often retained their Hindu ceremonies which were added to many new Muslim ones. Many Muslim ceremonies were likewise adopted by the Hindus. Such approximation was natural and inevitable, for the converts from the ranks of the Hindus could not give up their life-long habits at once, especially when those habits had been developed by and were suited to environment. On the other hand, the comparatively few Musalmans who came from other countries, when they decided to settle here permanently, were compelled by the same climatic and other conditions of the country to adopt many of its habits. Converted Hindu women married into Muslim house-

holds retained many of their religious and semi-religious rites and customs, and considerably modified Muslim life almost in every home.

#### FRIENDSHIP IN BATTLES.

Deeper touches of friendship and mutual attachment and devotion carried the union from the forms into the spirit. Hindu generals and soldiers fought and gave their lives for Musalman kings, and Musalman generals and soldiers fought and gave their lives for Hindu kings, against Musalman as well as Hindu kings. The story is celebrated in ballad and song, of king Hammira of Ranthambhor, and his sacrifice of life and kingdom, for giving shelter to a Musalman noble fleeing from the wrath of Sultan Alauddin; and of how the Musalman refugee too gave up his life for his loyalty to the memory of Hammira, because, when Alauddin questioned him after his capture on the field of battle, what he would do if allowed to live, he nobly replied that he would battle against Alauddin and do his best to place the son of Hammira on the throne of Delhi. Humayun risked his kingdom to respond to the call of his adopted Rajput sister who had sent a rakhi to him in token of her regard and affection. Such examples can be multiplied indefinitely.

#### IN OTHER SPHERES OF LIFE.

In social relations, very strong and loyal personal friendships have always existed as they exist to-day between individual Hindus and Musalmans, or families of Hindus and Musalmans; and, particularly in the houses of land-holders residing in their villages, rooms are specially provided for

guests of the other community, and special arrangements are made to suit their ways of living. Gymnasiums and Akharas, the teaching and practice of arms, were almost always joint. Hindu experts had Muslim as well as Hindu pupils, and Muslim experts had Muslim as well as Hindu pupils. Both communities joined in each other's festivals freely, in which Akharas and display of arms played a great part. This was the greatest and safest protective against all dangers from mutual misunderstandings and frictions in the common life of the people, for it introduced between the communities links deeper than that of friendship—for disciples of the same guru or ustad were regarded as nearer than brothers in eastern society.

Many teachers arose, from time to time, with numerous following, within Hinduism, Kabir in the Middle country, Namadeva and Tukaram in the south, Chaitanya in the east, Nanak in the north, to mention only a few, who preached the essentials of Universal Religion. They tried hard to break the unreasonable, harmful, tyrannical and withal largely unreal and hypocritical, system of countless rigidly hereditary castes and sub-castes; to promulgate simple forms of worship; and to reconcile Hinduism and Islam, using in their teachings and preachings terms and conceptions taken from both religions. Though some subtle defect in the mental atmosphere caused the followers of each such teacher to make only another sect and another sub-caste, so to say, yet some approximation, very limited, was achieved. The followers of one such teacher still make periodical pilgrimages to both Mecca and Pandharpur. The Swami Narayan sect, which counts many followers on the west coast, is still said to have both Hindu and Musalman members, and the Aghakhani many Hindu lay-members.

Some heads of Sufi sects even to-day claim many Hindu lay-disciples.

### THE MOGHAL COURT A SYMBOL OF THE NEW CENTRAL UNITY.

This unity and harmony of life was reflected in the Royal Courts of India more or less throughout the Muslim period. But in the Moghal period it developed to such an extent that the life of the great Moghals may well be regarded as a symbol of the unity of the two cultures. The Moghal Emperors and Hindu Kings wore the same type of dress at least on formal occasions. The extant portraits of Akbar and Pratap Singh, and Aurangzeb and Shivaji show the same kind of head-dress as well as body clothes. We will content ourselves with mentioning a few striking features of the Moghal court and life.

The Moghal Emperor sat for the Jharokha-Darshan every morning and there, as the centre of political unity and symbol of divine protective power, received homage from multitudes of his subjects. This was no doubt an excessive exaggeration of a sentiment, in itself just and proper, of mutual loyalty and personal affection between the people and the head of the State; possibly it was also not unmixed with a wish for divine honours (a common failing, witness the case of some of the Roman Emperors,) on the part of that head; and certainly it tended to weaken the people's self-respect and self-dependence, and their sense of the duties owed to them by the king. But in that day, from the people's stand-point, as God was the father of all, so the sovereign was his symbol and shadow. This idealism largely deprived the people's devotion of the taint of servility, for it was not a person that they worshipped but an

ideal. And it supplied the strongest motive for sovereigns to rise above themselves, though they unfortunately often failed to do so. At this distance it is very difficult for us to comprehend or to appreciate the extent to which this idealism tended to humanize politics in India. But apart from these wider issues, what we mean to emphasize here is the fact that a common devotion to a common symbol of political unity had also a cementive value for the life of the two communities.

Apart from the Emperor being a common symbol, his costume and court ceremonial reflected a common life, the Hindu and Muslim elements and traditions both finding in it their full expression. On festive occasions this cultural unity found its fullest and most visible expression. Nauroz was celebrated first for eleven and then for nineteen days. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, all joined in it, and the elegance and splendour with which it was observed by the Emperor has left its echoes in contemporary world history.

“Next to Nauroz and second only to Nauroz in pomp and magnificence, came the weighing of the Emperor on his lunar and solar birthdays. On the former he was weighed eight times, and on the latter twelve times against various articles which were distributed among the courtiers and the indigent. Pomp and ceremony hardly knew any bounds.

“The various Hindu and Muslim festivals were celebrated with impartial splendour. On the Dasehra, the anniversary of Rama's victory over the demons, the Imperial horses and elephants were arrayed in decorated panoply and paraded for inspection. On the Raksha-bandhan, the Hindu nobles and Brahmans fastened strings on the

Emperor's arms. The Divali saw gambling in the palace. The Shiva-ratri was duly observed, nor were the Muslim Id and Shab-i-barat neglected." \*

Like Tula-dan, there was another interesting feature in the Moghal Emperors' private life. It was a habit with the Moghal Emperors to drink no other water than Ganga-jal, and whether in court and camp, at home, or in travel, there was a whole department to keep up a regular supply. Their keener sympathy and wider assimilation of the spirit of Indian culture is further evidenced by their treatment of the cow. Akbar stopped the slaughter of cows all over his dominions, and Jahangir and Shahjahan both followed the example. Jahangir went a step further and decreed that for two days in the year there should be no slaughter in his realm of any animal, even hunting being rigorously prohibited. These were human touches which stirred deeper chords in the hearts of the people and produced a unity of thought and emotion between the rulers and the ruled as beautiful as it is unique in history.

The life of the Moghal Emperors reflected even a closer union of the two cultures than the blood that flowed in their veins from Jahangir downwards. Akbar had married several Hindu princesses of the noblest blood and tradition. Jahangir, himself the son of a Hindu princess, married several Hindu wives, of whom Man Bai, the daughter of Raja Bhagavandas of Ambar, was his best beloved.

"Her suicide in 1604 (she was married in 1585) plunged Salim into the deepest grief. Not a morsel of food, not a draught of drink passed his lips for full four days. For a

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\* "History of Jahangir," by Beni Prasad, pp. 99, 100.

while life ceased to offer any attraction to his afflicted soul. Words failed him when he attempted two years later to describe her perfect 'intelligence, her excellences and goodness; and her all-consuming devotion to him.' \*

She committed suicide because her son Khusrau plotted against her husband, and her own brother Madho Singh sided with her son in these plots. She could not bear the thought of her son and her brother joining together to destroy her husband.

Shahjahan, who succeeded Jahangir, was the son of Jodh Bai or Jagat Gossain of Udairpur.

In the royal houses as well as in the courts, Hindu and Muslim women and princesses lived together almost in equal numbers and such intimate companionships could not fail to produce the profoundest effect on the relationship of the two communities.

The education and training of the princes was on the most liberal terms, and it was their temperamental differences and accidents in life that became responsible for such diametrically opposed outlooks as those of Dara and Aurangzeb, who were sons of the same mother. The picture of Dara as given by Persian chroniclers shows the extent to which he had become imbued with Hindu culture.

#### DARA'S CHARACTER AND VIEWS

"Dara Shikoh in his latter days did not restrain himself to free-thinking and heretical notions which he had adopted under the name of Tasawwuf (Sufism), but showed an inclination for the religion and institutions of the Hindus.

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\* "History of Jahangir," by Beni Prasad, p. 29.

He was constantly in the society of Brahmins, Jogis and Sannyasis, and he used to regard these worthless teachers of delusions as learned and true masters of wisdom. He considered their books which they call Bed as being the word of God and revealed from heaven, and he called them ancient and excellent books. He was under such delusion about this Bed that he collected Brahmins and Sannyasis from all parts of the country and paying them great respects and attention, he employed them in translating the Bed. He spent all his time in this unholy work, and devoted all his attention to the contents of these wretched books. Instead of the sacred name of God, he adopted the Hindī name Prabhu (Lord) which the Hindus consider holy, and he had this name engraved in Hindi letters upon rings of diamonds, ruby, emerald, etc. Through these perverted opinions he had given up the prayers, fasting, and other obligations imposed by the law. It became manifest that if Dara Shikoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the faith would be in danger and the precepts of Islam would be changed for rant of infidelity and Judaism." \*

Just as the king is, so are his subjects. And the Royal courts of the Moghals and the harmony of their cultural and emotional life itself were at once the reflection and the reflecting centre of the harmony and the cultural assimilation that was going on in the people.

#### THE SPIRITUAL HARMONY.

Such a unity of life and aspiration could never be possible in a country intensely religious-minded like India

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\* "History of India," by Sir H. Elliot, vol. vii. p. 179.

without a deep moral and spiritual harmony. As we have seen, Islam came into India at a time when reactionary conservatism had defeated Buddhism and Jainism and was trying to revive the rigidly hereditary social order and its connected ways of worship of all sorts of things. The deeper side of Buddhism naturally could not appeal to the masses of India because it was too metaphysical. No doubt, it was presented to it also in a popular form, but Mahayana, on its intellectual, emotional or mystic sides, was not substantially different from or superior to the other great cults of India. But though India gave up Buddhism in name and form, it assimilated and retained within itself its metaphysics and moral consciousness; and high and wide spiritual yearnings in the shape of revived Vedanta and the Jnana-yoga, Bhakti-yoga, and Karma-yoga of the Gita, and unfortunately also its Buddha-image worship in the shape of multifarious idol-worship. While she did not endorse the social unity of life which Buddhism had preached, her genius continued to search for a spiritual conception which could destroy all religious separativeness and weld her religious systems into a common mould. Just before Islam entered into India this powerful tendency of the revival movement was finding expression in re-emphasizing the old great conception of the Tri-murti which represented the three gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesha, as three aspects (Sat, Chit, Ananda, or Wujud, Ilm, Shubud) of the same divinity. Shortly before or after Islam's entry into India was born the great Shankara who was one of the profoundest thinkers of his age. Shankara systematized anew the teachings of the Vedanta and gave to his nation's genius the conceptual synthesis and the spiritual principle it was struggling to re-discover. He

put this synthesis on a sound philosophic basis, and reconciled and disarmed conservatism by basing it on the authority of revealed scriptures. Shankara showed that the diversity of religious beliefs and forms of worship was due to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the scriptures, that Sanatana Dharma had always insisted on the worship of one God, the creator and sustainer of the Universe; that his worship was the true worship and the rest was all delusion. The burning Monotheism (or Monism) of Shankara had a fraternal resemblance to the burning Monotheism (or Monism) of Muhammad, and there was nothing in the two systems which could repel one another.

Ī māujāda illā Hū: Sarvam khalvidam Brahma ;  
Wahdahū lā sharīka lahū ; ekamevādviṭīyam.

#### HINDU AND MUSLIM SAINTS.\*

No sooner the principle was discovered and put before the people in the proper form than the genius of India began to think of applying it to the practical concerns of life. India works upon her people not through economic and political motives but through moral and spiritual ideas, and consequently her approaches to life's problems are not so much intellectual as emotional. Two centuries or so after Shankara, another great teacher and preacher, Ramanuja, gave a devotional turn to Shankara's Monism. The worship of the Divine Principle became the ruling passion of the Indian people. This movement found its

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\* This portion does not present my view.—Maulana Zafarul-Mulk.

emotional expression in the dominance of the Bhakti schools of thought with their fervour of devotion and their (at least theoretical) disregard for established ritual and caste restrictions. Islam, through Sufism, was developing its emotional side identically on the same line; and here the synthesis of the two systems became so complete that they virtually lost themselves in one another. The joy of the new-found oneness transcended all social and religious barriers, and through the emotional side India came near to the realization of that social unity which Buddhism had essayed to achieve from the intellectual side. Thousands upon thousands of hymn-singers covered the land with their songs of divine oneness and human brotherhood. Many saints, Hindu and Muslim, wandered from place to place, propagating the same message. Many Gurus and Pirs settled down in every corner of the land to whom millions of Hindu and Muslim disciples went indiscriminately for moral and spiritual guidance. The intellectual understanding and sympathy which existed after Shankara between the learned and higher sections of the two communities was thus carried through the emotional side to the lowest strata of Indian society.

It was natural that this exuberance of devotional feeling and the intense hankering after a realization of the basic unity of human life should begin to militate against the formal side of all religion itself. The trend of human evolution, while, on the one hand, it makes for differentiation of capacities, on the other hand, to the levelling down of all barriers whether social, political or economic, which divide man from man and group from group. Religion, whose mission is to destroy these barriers, after a while becomes a barrier itself, and the most rigid and indestructible

of all. To a soul struggling for unity with its Creator, a petrified religion with its cold formalism and creed-barriers would naturally appear as a shackle and impediment and all social divisions and discriminations as an impious blasphemy. The created cannot really be different from the Creator, and therefore no limitations tending to cloud this moral and spiritual unity can be tolerated. Such limitations constitute, as it were, a denial of the very law of life. This passion for unity transcending all classes and creeds and having for its social ideal the conception of a real human brotherhood—sans religion, sans caste, sans worship, sans everything which tended to divide—found many powerful exponents. These enraptured saints and hermits, by their spiritual outpouring, and by the more powerful influence of the example of their dedicated lives, transmitted this message to the masses and infused its spirit into every section of Indian society. In Kabir this great movement reached its climax, and the sway it acquired over the mind of the people can be imagined from the fact that Kabir counted in his followers laes of Hindu and Muslim disciples.

#### KABIR'S SYNTHESIS. \*

“ He asked the Hindus to give up—what every reformer since the days of Buddha had insisted upon—ceremonial, sacrificial, lust for magical powers, lip worship of idols, gods and goddesses, Brahman supremacy, caste differences, prejudices concerning touchability and food. He openly con-

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\* I do not subscribe either to the cult of Kabir and Akbar or to all that has been written here about them.—Maulana Zafarul-Mulk.

demned the doctrine of incarnations (avatars). 'The Creator did not marry Sita, nor did he make a stone bridge across the waters. They say that the Lord of the world finding inequalities of the weak and the strong, came as Rama. But Kabir says, before such a one as Rama who took birth and died, I cannot bend my head.'

"He asked the Musalmans to give up their exclusiveness, their externalism in the performance of rites, pilgrimage to Mecca, fast and regulated prayers, their worship of saints (aulia and pirs) and prophet (paighambar).

"He asks both Hindus and Muslims to have reverence for all living creatures and to abstain from bloodshed. He asks them both to give up pride whether of birth- or position, to give up extremes of asceticism and worldliness, and to consider life as a dedication.

" 'I shut not my eyes, I close not my ears, I do not mortify my body: I see with my eyes open and smile, and behold his beauty everywhere.

" 'Whatever I do, it becomes his worship. All I achieve is his service.'

"He repeats again and again that Hindus and Muslims are one, they worship the same God, they are the children of the same father, and they are made of the same blood. 'All the men and women that are created are your form, Kabir is the son of Allah and Rama. He (the Father) is his Guru and Pir,' and 'the Hindus and Turks have one path which the True Teacher has pointed out; says Kabir, hear ye saints! say Ram or Khuda, the religion of those who understand is one, whether they are Pandits or Shaikhs.'

"Kabir's was the first attempt to reconcile Hinduism and Islam. The teachers of the South had absorbed Mus-

lim elements, but Kabir was the first to come forward boldly to proclaim a religion of the centre, a middle path, and his cry was taken up all over India and was re-echoed from a hundred places. He had numerous Hindu and Muslim disciples, and to-day his sect numbers a million. At Kabir Chaura, in Benares, they gather every year, and at Maghar the Muslim followers congregate to keep fresh his memory. But it is not the number of his following which is so important, it is his influence which extends to Punjab, Gujrat, and Bengal, and which continued to spread under the Moghal rule, till a wise sovereign correctly estimating its value attempted to make it a religion approved by the State. Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi was not an isolated freak of an autocrat who had more power than he knew how to employ, but an inevitable result of the forces which were deeply surging in India's breast and finding expression in the teachings of men like Kabir. Circumstances thwarted that attempt, but destiny still points towards the same goal." \*

Thus, by the time we reach the Moghal period, India had re-evolved her ancient philosophy of life in new terms consistent with her culture and suitable to her needs. This life, as we have seen, was asserting itself in all directions and was fast breaking those social barriers which had kept her divided in the past. India had transcended personality, and in the fulness of her soul was spreading out her arms to enclose in her warm spiritual embrace all the cultures of the East. Her contact with Islam had widened her moral consciousness, sympathy, and aspirations. Her spirit could no longer stop at her territorial boundaries, but out

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\* "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture," by Dr. Tara Chand.

of her moral depths was successfully evolving a synthesis which would transcend the bounds of nationality and even of all formal religion itself.

“When the real history of Medieval India comes to be written, it will be seen that the fundamental fact about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the energetic spirit of protest against old creed and formula, resulting in the religion of direct communion with the Supreme Soul. Then it was that the currents of Islamic Sufism and Hindu Bhakti combined into a mighty stream which fertilized old desolate tracts and changed the face of the country. Fifty years before the birth of Akbar, one of the greatest of Indian saints, the poor Muslim weaver, Kabir, had riddled current Hinduism and Islam with argument and invective, ridicule and banter, and had attracted a devoted band of disciples, and left behind him not only a numerous sect but powerful strains of religious thought and emotion. Rai-das, a Hindu cobbler, Saina, a barber, Dhanna, a Jat, Pipa, a ruling prince, followed him in proclaiming the gospel of living personal faith in a living personal God. Nanak organised the community of Sikhs (disciples) along the new reformed lines. The sixteenth century was likewise prolific in Muslim saints and reformers who discarded tradition and traditional ways of thinking and emphasized the supreme importance of Faith.” \*

#### AKBAR'S RECOGNITION OF THE MOVEMENT.

In Akbar's time this movement received royal recognition and a unity was reached in the national consciousness

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\* “History of Jahangir,” by Beni Prasad, pp. 38, 39.

which extended from the cottage to the throne. Akbar's efforts to give it the form of a new religion were bound to fail, because religions could not be created through politics and also because a movement whose essence consisted in transcending all religious formalisms could not be imprisoned in new bonds though cast in gold and set with diamonds. But after this recognition politics could not be an obstacle in its path, and we find that throughout the Moghal period, though thwarted by Aurangzeb, for a while, to some extent, the movement continued to widen and deepen in its course. Such was its force that that even Aurangzeb could play the bigot only half-heartedly and with considerable self-restraint. And in spite of the disruption which followed at the end of his rule, the convulsions of politics could not overwhelm the synthesis of social life, and Hindu-Muslim relations continued the same upto the War of Independence of 1857.

#### Upto 1857.

We may go further and say that even the political synthesis was not seriously disturbed. The universal surge of loyalty and devotion towards Bahadur Shah, the symbol of political unity, conclusively showed for the first time in History that India had become politically self-conscious and that the foundations of Indian nationality had been truly and deeply laid. At the time of the War of Independence, British diplomacy also had been acting with fatal effects for over a century, but still Hindu-Muslim unity held its ground. Even after that War, though now England stood between the two and tried to pull them asunder with all her might, the social relations of Hindus and

Muslims, though much perturbed, continued to be very close and amicable till within recent memory. And in the Indian States even now we can get living pictures of the old days, the two communities living together in perfect cordiality without any of that distrust and bitterness which are unhappily so prominent now throughout British India.

We have now indicated the broad lines on which India developed during the Muslim Period. We have seen how throughout this period Hindus and Musalmans worked together in the up-building of the social and political structure of the country. Just as the Aryan had mingled with the pre-existing Indian culture and evolved a new one, finer and more beautiful, so Islam also during this period brought its Semitic treasures to the shores of the adopted Mother, and out of the union of the two an edifice arose whose glory surpassed all that the past had seen. No doubt, that glory has passed away and the sons of India no longer take any pride in it. They are overwhelmed by the sense of shame at their great fall, brought about by handful of strangers. They are trying to cover that shame by mutual dissensions. Like defeated generals, they are blaming each other for the capricious turn of their fate. The present bitterness of their soul throws its own shadow on the past and embitters it too, and they are turning away from the one great solace which can enhearten them and the one great light which can guide them in their present gloom.

#### THE PRESENT NEED.

In all that has been written above, our endeavour and our hope has been to turn again their hearts and eyes to

that solace and that light. There is in truth no reason to be down-hearted. In her struggle with India, England has not succeeded. She has physically overpowered India no doubt, for a little while, but she has not succeeded in really and permanently undermining the moral and spiritual aspirations of India's soul. India's moral energy has stood the test, and within the short space of half a century she has begun to assert herself in her own peculiar way which is astounding the world. Unarmed, disorganized, held down by all the military contrivances that Western science has evolved, and with a house divided against itself by the terrible manipulations of Western diplomacy, India is still asserting herself and is shaking the foundations of the British Empire. Its mission is to renovate the world spiritually, for if its moral sanction destroys the physical sanction of Europe, militarism all over the world will be destroyed, and India the slave will rise as the world's great emancipator. The need of the hour is to look towards the past, to pick up the processes of synthesis at the points where they have been broken, to destroy communalism and to draw upon the inexhaustible moral and spiritual resources of the country.

Before closing this part of our Report dealing with the Muslim period, we may repeat that we have not tried to write the history of twelve centuries. Our main purpose has been to suggest in a broad outline the nature of the relationship which existed between the Hindus and Muslims during the pre-British Period. We are painfully conscious of the imperfections of our efforts. The picture we have presented may appear to some as over-coloured, but it may, at least, be taken as a supplement and a corrective to the one-sided pictures we generally find of this

period in the current histories. We have emphasized the constructive aspects of the Hindu-Muslim relationship because we want to draw the attention of the people strongly towards these aspects. No doubt, much correction, supplementing, and balancing will be necessary before the true perspective is developed, but a beginning has to be made, and we have only tried to make that beginning.

Thus, it will be noted that all the main controversies which at present embitter and have latterly divided the two communities, for example, the cow question, Ramlila and Moharram, and other religious occasions or processions, music before mosque; as also the question of representation in services, in Municipalities and Councils, joint and separate electorates; safeguards; redistribution of Provinces and federal, as opposed to a unitary, basis of the constitution—all these did not and could not have existed during the Muslim Period. They are all products of the British Period and of British Policy. In the next section we shall try generally to indicate the conditions of their birth and growth.

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SECTION B.  
THE BRITISH PERIOD.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE POLICY IN THE MAKING.

#### RELATIONS UPTO 1815.

OUR retrospect of the Muslim Period shows that the Hindu-Muslim problem in its present form is really of recent birth and has very little to do with the religious and social differences of the two communities. In consequence of (i) long neighbourhood and getting accustomed to each other's presence and ways, and (ii) the reconciling teachings of the Saints of both religions, the two communities had very largely relaxed their tension and settled down into friendly mutual accommodation and close co-operation in politics, trade, business, and every-day social life. An official English publication, "Hamilton's Gazetteer" of 1815 says: "The two religions have existed together so long that the professors of both have acquired a habit of looking on each other with a tolerance and indulgence unusual in other countries."

Obviously, when the two communities lived and grew together peacefully, on the whole, for over eight centuries they could not all of a sudden automatically evolve from within a spirit of conflict and discord, so disastrous for themselves and so helpful for their enemies. How then was this problem born? To discover the real social and political causes which have given birth to this problem we shall have to study along with other factors the under-currents of British Policy during the whole period of British administration and specially during the period follow-

ing the War of 1857, in so far as they bear directly on the Hindu-Muslim problem.

The British got a firm footing in Bengal in 1757 after the battle of Plassey. Upto the end of the 18th century they were engaged in consolidating their position and making new alliances and acquisitions. Their main consideration during this period, as far as the people of Bengal were concerned, was the collection of revenue and making as much money by trade or otherwise as they could. During the days of the East India Company the Charter of the Company was renewed periodically and at each renewal the preceding period was reviewed by the Parliamentary Committee and discussions about important matters concerning India took place in Parliament at the time of the presentation of the Charter Bill. For the 18th century and the first six decades of the 19th, much light can be found regarding Indian policy in the proceedings of Parliamentary Committees. The discussions in these Committees constitute the best evidence of the workings of the British mind with regard to their Indian Possessions.

#### BRITISH POLICY REGARDING EVANGELIZATION OF INDIA.

In 1793, Mr. Grant, whose heart was set "on the evangelization of India," successfully persuaded the Directors of the Company to introduce in the Charter Bill clauses for carrying on missionary work in India and for starting institutions to impart English education. It will probably be a matter of surprise to many to learn that at this period Christian Missions were not permitted to work in India by the British, and though the indigenous system of education had been destroyed by the abolition of the village

municipal system and the withdrawal of grants from other seminaries, no facilities had been given or arrangements made for imparting primary or secondary education to the people. In 1793, when the question of Missions and education came before the British Parliament, a hot discussion took place and the clauses relating to this matter were finally deleted from the Bill. A summary of the discussion is reported by Woodfall. We give below the arguments which influenced the Parliament in coming to this decision. We quote only those which are given by Woodfall under the heading, "Specific arguments first class."

"That the plan would be most dangerous and impolitic; it would affect the peace and ultimate security of our possessions, it would tend to endanger and injure our affairs there most fatally, it would either produce disturbances, or bring the Christian religion into contempt. Holding one faith or religion is the most strong common cause with mankind, and this movement if it took place in India would be an end of British Supremacy.

"That the principle of proselytising was impolitic and was or ought to be exploded in so enlightened a period as the eighteenth century."

"That it would be a most serious and fatal disaster if natives of character, even a hundred thousand of them, were converted to Christianity."

"That the establishment of seminaries and colleges in America was one of the most efficient causes of the loss of that country."

"That suffering young clergymen (who are usually of pleasurable habits) to over-run the interior of India

would be dangerous and ultimately destructive of the country's interest."

From these arguments it is clear that upto the end of the 18th century the British Parliament did not permit Christian Missions to come to India for converting the Indian people to a common faith or educating them was considered dangerous to the existence of British Rule. In 1813, at the time of the renewal of the Company's Charter Act, this matter again came up before the British Parliament. Evidence of the most responsible servants of the Company was taken by the Lord's Committee, and among the witnesses examined were such experienced and responsible persons as Lord Hastings and Sir John Malcolm. The latter made a lucid statement of his objections to the admission of missionaries in India. We quote from it the following:

"In the present extended state of our Empire our security for preserving a power of so extraordinary a nature as that we have established rests upon the general division of the great communities under the Government and their sub-division into various castes and sub-castes; while they continue divided in this manner no insurrection is likely to shake the stability of our power."

"I do not think that the communication of any knowledge which tended gradually to do away with the subsisting distinctions among our native subjects or to diminish the respect which they entertain for Europeans could be said to add to the political strength of our Government."

But this time the attitude of the House was determined by another set of arguments which Mr. Grant advanced. His main arguments may be summarized from a pamphlet

which he circulated at the time for the information of the members of the House. These are as follows :—

“The establishment of Christianity in a country does not necessarily bring after it a free political constitution. The early Christians made no attempt to change forms of Government; the spirit of the gospel does not encourage even any disposition which might lead to such attempts. Christianity has been long the religion of many parts of Europe and of various Protestant States where the form of Government is not popular.

“We can foresee no period in which we may not govern our Asiatic subjects more happily for them than they can be governed by themselves or any other power, and doing this we need not expose them to needless danger from without and from within by giving the military power into their hands.”

He clinched the whole issue by the following conclusive argument :—

“Wherever, we may venture to say, our principles and language are introduced, our commerce will follow.”

#### A GLIMPSE INTO BRITISH POLICY.

Farington, in his Diary under date 21st May 1820, gives us a glimpse into the policy of Government at this period. He says :

“After dinner Col. Brown gave us information respecting India. He was stationed at Benares. He spoke of the Hindocs, the native people, as being very inoffensive, but they as well as the Musalmans make excellent soldiers.

The Hindoos are the aborigines of the country, the Moham-medans are intruders. They have strong prejudices against each other, and the British Government avails itself of their hostile feeling, which prevents their coalescing in opposition to it."

Of course, when the writer says: "The Hindoos are the aborigines, the Mohammadians are intruders," he either shows ignorance of history, or only means that the religion of the one is of older existence in the land than that of the other. For it is patent that by far the larger bulk, we may indeed say all, of the Musalmans of this land are to-day as completely and as literally the children of Mother India as the Hindus, both having common ancestors in the indigenous Hindu population of the past; only a very small portion of the Musalmans may also have ancestors belonging to other lands. And as regards these it has to be remembered that even up to the tenth century A. C. the countries now called Afghanistan, Beluchistan, etc., and many parts of the Asiatic Turkistan were all Hindu or Buddhist; and that upto the sixth century A. C. the whole of Persia was Zoroastrian, i.e., semi Hindu. In fact, throughout Indian history down to the end of the Moghal period, Afghanistan and adjoining lands were always regarded as part of Hindustan, and were united with India through bonds of common culture, common religion, and even common politics and administration. Col. Brown speaks of the Hindus and Musalmans having strong prejudices against each other. This is in direct contradiction to the quotation we have given from Hamilton's Gazetteer of 1815. Things could not have changed very much in five years in those times. We have to understand that Col. Brown's wish is father to his thought, and that he is magnifying a

mole-hill into a mountain. When he says the British Government avails itself of their hostile feeling we can easily see that he plainly means that it does its best to inflame into positive hostility the differences that exist and to create new ones.

#### REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

The question of the reorganization of the army was considered in 1821. A certain British Officer under the nom-de-plume of 'Carnaticus' thus laid down the basic principle in an article in the "Asiatic Journal" for May 1821 :

"Divide et Impera should be the motto for our Indian Administration, whether political, civil, or Military."

Following this principle he recommended mixed troops for India, and this view prevailed at the time.

In 1857 many Indian troops revolted against the British, and so in 1858 again a Commission was appointed to consider wherein the existing system had proved defective. Many high officers put forward their views before it. Sir John Lawrence submitted :

"It is found that different races mixed together do not long preserve their distinctiveness ; their corners and angles and feelings and prejudices get rubbed off ; till at last they assimilate, and the object of their association to a considerable extent is lost."

Lieut. John Coke stated :—

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races ; not to endeavour to amalgam-

ate them. 'Divide et impera' should be the principle of Indian Government."

#### LORD ELPHINSTONE ON 'DIVIDE AND RULE.'

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a minute dated 14th May, 1858, wrote :

" 'Divide et impera,' was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours. I might perhaps hesitate to express my conviction so decidedly if I were not able to show that my views upon this subject are entirely in accordance with those of the Duke of Wellington."

#### IMPARTING OF WESTERN EDUCATION.

Christian missions were, as we have seen, permitted in 1813 to work and to open educational institutions in India. But the Government took no steps upto 1833 for imparting Western education to the people. In 1833, Macaulay pressed the matter and made some impression, but diffidence and hesitation continued till 1854, when the efforts of Sir Charles Trevelyan finally settled the matter. Sir Charles Trevelyan submitted in 1854 before the Parliamentary Committee a paper on "The Political Tendencies of the Different Systems of Education in India," which finally cleared the ground. The basic arguments contained in this paper are the following :

"The existing connection between two such distant countries as England and India, cannot in the nature of things be permanent ; no effort of policy can prevent the natives from ultimately regaining their independence. But there are two ways of arriving at this point. One of

them is through the medium of revolution, the other through that of reform.

“As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is the immediate total expulsion of the English.

“Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youths almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindus, just as provincials became more Romans than Gauls or Italians.

“There is no class of subjects to whom we are so thoroughly necessary as those whose opinions have been cast in the English mould; they are spoiled for a purely native regime; they have everything to fear from the premature establishment of a native Government; their education would mark them out for prosecution.”

#### LORD ELLENBOROUGH CONCILIATING THE HINDUS.

Our purpose in giving these quotations is to show that both before and after the War of 1857, the British Government was acting with regard to India on the policy of ‘Divide and Rule.’ Sometimes they favoured the Hindus, then the Musalmans, again the Hindus, and so on as occasion required. As early as 1843 Lord Ellenborough who was then the Viceroy of India had already plainly adopted the policy of conciliating the Hindus and ignoring the Musalmans. “I cannot close my eyes,” he wrote, “to the belief that this race (Musalman) is fundamentally

hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus." One of the schemes that his Lordship evolved for this purpose was unique both in its conception and in its execution, and it would be of some interest to give it here in full. The episode is connected with the first Afghan War. After their first rebuff in this war in which they suffered a heavy loss, the British made another attempt in 1842, when they succeeded in reaching Kabul. Their position in Kabul was insecure and was rendered still more so by the indiscretion of General Pollock about which a year later the Duke of Wellington complained to Ellenborough in these words :

"I cannot understand how a man, who knows what soldiers are made of, could think of giving an order for the destruction of the bazar and two mosques at Kabul."

In India also, the situation was critical, as appears from the following excerpt from a letter of Lord Ellenborough:

"At Hyderabad and in Scinde as well as at Nepal and in the Saugor district and in Bendelcund I see the indication of the change with respect to our power which the disasters at Kabul have created in all men's opinion, and this makes me more anxious to get back the army from Afghanistan. I have made the most of the Victory of Jellalabad. I have issued general orders a little in the French style; but they have their effect. I have given honours and rewards with a large hand, and my old colleague Sir W. Casement tells me that the general order I enclose is worth 10,000 men. I do all I can to gratify

the officers and soldiers, and I really think I may depend upon the most zealous support of the whole army" \*

#### FALSE GATES OF SOMNATH.

This might create an impression on the army, but the imagination of the people had also to be imposed upon, and for this a unique idea occurred to the advisers of the Governor-General. Ellenborough wrote to the Queen:—

"The gates of the temple of Somnath have been brought away by Major-General Nott. . . .

"Lord Ellenborough transmits for Your Majesty's information a copy of the address he intends to publish on announcing that the gates of the temple will be restored. The progress of the gates from Ferozepore to Somnath will be one great national triumph and their restoration to India will endear the Government to the whole people."

To the Duke of Wellington he wrote at the same time:

"The Hindus, on the other hand, are delighted. It seems to me most unwise when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths which are faithful. I would make the most of our successes and of the recovery of the gates of the temple, treating it ostensibly as a great military triumph but knowing very well that the Hindus will value it as the guarantee of the future security of themselves and their religion against Musalmans. All those who best know

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\* "Plan of the Christian Power in India," vol. v. pp. 82, 83.

India tell me that the effect will be very great indeed, and I think it will."\*

So this triumphant procession started and created a great stir at the time in India. We can well conceive of the effect it must have produced on the Hindu-Muslim feeling. Yet the whole episode of the gates was entirely concocted.

"The story that Mahmud removed the sandal gates of the temple of Somnath to Ghazni has not been credited by modern scholars, and the gates which were brought by the English in 1843 after their conquest of Afghanistan are lying unnoticed in the fort of Agra."†

#### ABOLITION OF PERSIAN.

While the politics of the Government were being so coolly devised and so unscrupulously executed to accentuate the old division and to introduce new antagonisms in Indian life, some of its measures adopted from other motives also helped in the same direction. One such measure was the abolition of Persian as the Court language. It is true that Persian, not being an indigenous language of the country, could not filter down to the masses and was therefore not the most suitable medium for judicial and administrative work, and it was the obvious right of the national language, viz., Hindustani, and the provincial languages, to be installed in courts and public offices. But throughout the Muslim period, Persian was the language of common culture among the aristocratic and higher middle classes,

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\* "Rise of the Christian Power in India," vol. v. p. 84, foot-note.

† C. V. Vaidya, "Medieval Hindu India," vol. iii. p. 92.

youths of both communities studied Persian in *Makhtabs* from their earliest years, and so a strong cultural link was established between them. Persian poetry was permeated with Sufi thought; in fact, it was nothing but a most exuberant expression of the emotional side of Sufism which is so akin to Vedantism. It thus supplied at the time the necessary momentum to the spirit of religious synthesis which was growing in the two communities.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy belonged to the old school, and in his make we see the process in actual working. In 1784, when he was about twelve years old he was sent to study at Patna, then a famous seat of Muhammadan learning, from where appointments to Government service were generally made. The effect of the education he received there is thus described by a historian of the Brahmo Samaj:

“He is said to have been specially enchanted with the writings of the Sufi school of Mohammedan philosophers. . . . Throughout his subsequent life, Ram Mohan Roy never entirely shook off these early Mohammedan influences. In private life, through a long course of years his habits and tastes were those of a Mohammedan, and in private conversation, he always delighted to quote freely from his favourite Sufi authors.” \*

This was the normal type of the educated Hindu and Muslim of the days preceding 1857.

With the abolition of Persian as a Court language, much of the incentive to its study was gone, and the education of the two communities began to diverge in different directions. If after the supersession of Persian, both the

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\* Farquhar, “Modern Religious Movements in India,” p. 30.

communities had begun immediately to go to the common English school, the danger and the injury might have been averted. But the Musalmans, whose hearts were smarting under their new enforced thralldom, were rendered more irreconcilable by what they regarded as a blow to their culture.

#### MUSLIMS KEEP BACK FROM WESTERN EDUCATION.

Therefore, they almost in a body held back from the Western schools of education which were then coming into vogue in place of the Persian. On the other hand, the abolition of Persian put the Hindu community at an advantage. That community had seriously set about to educate itself in English already from 1818, and by 1837 it had made so much progress in this new field that its efforts and enthusiasm were already attracting the notice of the Government. In 1844, a further announcement was made by Lord Hardinge that, in future, preference would be given in all appointments to men who had received Western education. Under the circumstances, this measure initiated a social revolution, for henceforward Musalmans naturally began to be ousted from Government posts and positions of influence and responsibility. Their places began as naturally to be filled by Hindus, and consequently a fruitful source of communal bitterness came into existence. Muslim aloofness from English schools lasted almost upto the the eighties of the 19th century.

#### MUSALMANS LOSING GROUND.

“Almost everywhere,” says Sir W. W. Hunter, “it was found that the Hindu population seized with avidity on the opportunities afforded by the State education for bettering themselves in life, while the Mohammedan

community, excepting in certain localities, failed as a whole to do so. State education thus put the finishing stroke to the influence of the Mohammedans, as the former ruling race in India."

In his address as president of the Indian National Congress in 1897, Mr. Rahmatullah Muhammad Sayani said :

"With the introduction of English education the Hindus began to pour into every grade of official life ; and the State system of education in 1854 completed the revolution." Indigenous methods of teaching disappeared everywhere, even in the mosques. "After the Mohamunedan conquest of India, the mosques had become the centres of Islamic educational activity and were supported by Imperial of local grants of lands. But the mosques now ceased teaching, even in lower Bengal, the province which, a hundred years previously, was officered by a few Englishmen, a sprinkling of Hindus, and a multitude of Mohammedans. The Musalmans lost all ground."

Meanwhile, the spread of English education among the Hindus was revolutionizing the life and outlook of the upper middle classes of the community. It was drawing them forcibly towards the West and was generating in them a yearning for the acquisition of Western political rights and the securing of Western representative institutions. Gradually the ideal of Nationalism was also taking shape, but while it was yet in the making a demand for higher responsible offices had already come into existence even before the War of 1857. Sir Valentine Chirol has thus characterized this period :

"It was something of this change of temper that went on in India, when from the schools and colleges which we

had ourselves set up, there emerged a new class of Indians who ventured not only to criticise the Englishmen who ruled them but to declare that they could perfectly well rule themselves. As a first step, they agitated for a larger and more influential share in the administration. In Queen Victoria's generous proclamation of 1858, when she assumed the Government of the Territories in India hitherto administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company, she reiterated the assurance that had been given by Parliament in 1833, and pledged her royal word that as far as may be 'her subjects of whatever creed or race' would be freely and impartially admitted to offices in the service of the Crown. But the years continued to pass without bringing Indians the increased share of public appointments to which in their opinion their educational qualifications now fully entitled them. Disappointment had already become acute."\*

#### RELATIONS UPTO 1857.

While these developments were going on and were destined to have great reactions in the future, they do not seem to have produced any material change in the relations of the two communities upto the time of the Indian War of Independence. Trust and confidence continued to be reposed by them in each other, and though the link of their joint culture had become weakened, it yet remained to keep them united and friendly towards each other. Bahadur Shah chose Raja Ram Mohan Roy to go on his behalf to England for pressing his personal claims, and Nana

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\* V. Chirol, "India," p. 84.

Sahib, the great descendant of the Peshwas, sent a Musalman friend and confederate to England to press his. Bahadur Shah, Nana Sahib, and Azimullah Khan are important figures in the war of 1857. That War was a widespread movement in which all sections of the people participated, but from beginning to end it is impossible to find in them any traces of communal motives. Its flag was the green Moghal flag, and the paramount power was to be restored to Bahadur Shah as the symbol of Hindustan's political unity. The consciousness of a foreign rule and a collective desire to uproot it is seen to emerge for the first time in Indian History. It was a remarkable phenomenon that after a prostration so complete, India should make an attempt so wide and so united. It was a novel attempt in Indian History. It was not only a confederacy of Indian princes which was fighting to overthrow a political adversary; the people were also openly helping it. It was not a national movement but a national conspiracy, and as such it was the precursor of the national movement that was to come. And at the time it portended the existence of a common will, a common objective, and a united resistive power which greatly disturbed the self-possession and equanimity of the British.

#### SUPPRESSION OF MUSALMANS AFTER 1857.

But the War of 1857 completed the processes that were already tending to devitalize the Muslim community. The last Moghal Emperor, Bahadur Shah, singing pathetically of the misfortunes of the country after the fall of Delhi, made particular mention of the fact that the Musalmans were the special object of the wrath of the British rulers.

Guî yak bayak jo hawâ palat,  
 Nahîn dil ko apne qarâr hai ;  
 Karûn gham sitam kâ main kyâ bayân,  
 Merâ'sînâ gham se figâr hai ;  
 Ye riyâyai Hind tabâh huî ;  
 Kaho kyâ na inpe jafâ huî.  
 Jisc dekhâ hâkim-i-waqt ne  
 Kahâ yeh to qâbil-i-dâr hai.  
 Kahîn aisâ bhî hai sitam sunâ,  
 Ke dî phânsi lâkhon ko be-gunâh ;  
 Wale kalma-goyon kî taraf se  
 Abhî dil men unke ghubâr hai. \*

On the condition of Musalmans, Sir W. W. Hunter wrote in 1868 as follows :

“ After the mutiny the British turned upon the Musalmans as their real enemies, so that the failure of the revolt was much more disastrous to them than to the Hindus. They lost altogether all their remaining prestige

\* Translation :

An awful change has come upon the air,  
 And I know not one single moment's peace ;  
 How may I tell my misery in words,  
 My heart is torn in two with agony ;  
 The people of this land are all destroyed,  
 What utmost sufferings have they not known ;  
 Whome'er the masters of the day behold,  
 They say, “ Fit for the gallows is he too ; ”  
 When was such tyranny heard of by men,  
 That lakhs are hanged, and for no crime at all ?  
 Still are their hearts charged with dark hate against  
 Those who pronounce the Kalima in prayer.

generation before it like a craft which has snapped its moorings. Westernism became the fashion of the day, and Westernism demanded of its votaries that they should cry down the civilization of their own country. The more ardent their admiration for everything Western, the more vehement became their denunciation of everything Eastern. The ancient learning was despised, ancient customs and traditions were thrust aside, ancient religion was derided as an outworn superstition. The ancient foundations upon which the complex structure of Hindu Society had been built were undermined and the new generation of iconoclasts found little enough with which to underpin the edifice which they were so recklessly depriving of its own foundations."

#### MISSION OF SWAMI DAYANAND.

Such a condition of things naturally must have very strongly reacted on Swami Dayanand and generated a repugnance for Western civilization and a whole-hearted turning towards the great past of his own country. "Back to the Vedas!" was the key-note of all his religious and social propaganda. He felt it his mission to re-civilize India along lines that would combine the good in both East and West, but under the inspiration and guidance of the Vedic Dharma. He preached against idol-worship and hereditary caste, but he based his teachings on the Vedas. His Arya Samaj was, in fact, a Hindu Protestant and Revival Movement. The doctrines that he preached were nearer to Islam in its conception of fundamentals than the current popular forms of Hinduism against which his movement was a revolt. But the methods of propaganda

of traditional superiority over the Hindus ; they forfeited for the time being the confidence of their foreign rulers.

“In every district, the descendant of some line of (Muslim) princes is sullenly eating his heart out in roofless palaces and weed-choked tanks. The Muslims are excluded from the army and the law. The judiciary was either Anglicised or Hinduised ; while the Permanent Settlement led to the wholesale eviction of the Moslem land-lords.”

Thus, after the War of 1857 the position and outlook of the two communities had undergone much relative change, socially, economically and intellectually.

#### BIRTH OF THE ARYA SAMAJ.

The Hindu community gained in self-confidence, and a new consciousness was born which found an expression in several religious and social movements, the most important among which was the Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayanand in 1875. Swami Dayanand had a twofold object in view. On the one side, he desired to purify Hindu society and to purge it of the gross superstition which during ages had become encrusted on it, and on the other, to prevent Hindus from drifting towards other faiths and towards the materialism which English education had brought in its train. 7

#### THE WAVE OF WESTERNIZATION.

Lord Ronaldshay has, in his ‘Heart of Aryavarta,’ thus described this period :

“By the middle of the nineteenth century, a period of intellectual anarchy had set in which swept the rising

which he adopted were bound to bring his followers into clash with the Muslim community.

#### THE BRAHMO SAMAJ.

While the Arya Samaj was thus making headway and bringing about a transformation in the religious and social outlook of the Hindus of Northern India, the Brahma Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy was working in Bengal. Its lines of work were, however, in some respects, different from those of the Arya Samaj. Its efforts were not only in the direction of social Reform but in that of a higher religious and moral synthesis. Keshub Chander Sen, who was the leader of the Brahma Samaj at this period, once symbolized in a unique ceremonial his own and his master's spiritual yearnings.

“On the anniversary day in January 1881, he appeared on the platform with twelve of his missionaries around him, of the Naba Bidhana ( Nava-Vidhana ), that is, the New Dispensation, and also an extraordinary symbol made up of the Hindu Trident, the Christian Cross, and the Islamic Crescent. On the table lay the scriptures of the four greatest religions of the world, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Four of the apostles were especially appointed that each might study the scriptures of one of these religions. Henceforward the phrase Brahma Samaj falls into the back-ground and Keshab's group is known as the Church of the New Dispensation.” \*

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\* Farquhar, “Modern Religious Movements in India,” p. 56.

SIR SYED AHMED.

On the Muslim side also arose a leader of great force and personality. His mission was not so much religious reform as the material uplift and betterment of his great community. He wanted to put the Muslims in practical contact with the realities of the situation and thus to save them from irreparable ruin. He entered the arena of religious polemics because, without destroying the ignorant orthodoxy of his community he could not achieve his objective. At one time he had "despaired of the regeneration of Muslims of India and entertained the thought of migrating to Egypt." But the love of his community had ultimately prevailed and he had decided to dedicate his life to its service.

Like Swami Dayanand, he was innocent of English, but unlike him, he had acquired a strong fascination for Western civilization and a yearning for securing for his country Western representative institutions. He could not dream of re-establishing Muslim political domination in India and therefore his first desire was to teach his community to bow to the inevitable and to reconcile them to the ways and methods of their rulers. He could read the signs of the times and could foresee the coming domination of Western civilization over his country, and the one and only way in which he thought he could save his community from isolation and decay was to draw it into its vortex. Therefore, from the first to the last he continued to concentrate on popularizing and organizing Western education in his community.

His efforts were rendered successful because in the meantime a change had come over the Government in its attitude

towards the Musalmans. The resurgence of the Hindu community had excited its fears, and it had already begun to look about to discover a counterpoise to break its rising influence. Thus, though the motives were different, the schemes of the Government and Sir Syed were converging towards the same centre. He went to England and there studied the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. On his return, after preparing the ground for a few years, he founded the M. A.-O. College at Aligarh in 1875, the same year in which Swami Dayanand founded his Samaj at Bombay. The College was started under Government auspices, its grounds had been secured by the Lieutenant-Governor of U. P., its foundation was laid by the Viceroy himself, and the retiring Viceroy made the first big donation of Rs. 10,000.

The aim of Sir Syed was not merely to reconcile the Muslims to the Government but also to reconcile them to their country and to the Hindu Community. He regarded the two communities as "the two eyes of Mother India," and he missed no opportunity to teach them to love and respect each other. He founded a British Indian Association, representative of all interests and communities with the avowed object of effectively representing matters to the British Parliament. His work in the political sphere and his speeches greatly helped in the creation of that atmosphere which ultimately brought the Indian National Congress into existence. In 1884, he made a speech at Gurdaspur in which he thus defined the ideal of Indian Nationalism :

" From oldest times the word nation is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and

Mohammedan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burnt and buried in the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mohammedan, are only meant for religious distinction, otherwise all persons whether Hindu, Mohammedan, or Christian, who reside in this country belong to one and the same nation. Then all these different sects can only be described as one nation: they must each and all unite for the good of the country, which is common to all."

On another occasion in the same year at Lahore he said:

"In the word Nation I include both Hindus and Mohammedans, because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it. . . . With me it is not so much worth considering what is their religious faith, because we do not see anything of it. What we do see is that we inhabit the same land, are subject to the rule of the same Government, the fountains of benefits for all are the same, and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both these races which inhabit India by one word, i. e., Hindu, meaning to say, that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan. While in the Legislative Council I was always anxious for the prosperity of this nation." \*

#### BIRTH OF THE CONGRESS.

While these social and religious movements were going on, a greater movement was in progress in the Western educated sections of the community, which was also being

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\* "Indian Nation Builders Series," Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, pp. 41, 42.

fed by the other two movements in many ways. Western Education had brought with it a yearning for participation in the administration of the country and for Western political institutions. This yearning had continued to grow till now it began to organize itself in the shape of an All-India demand and an All-India organization. The Government was aware of this yearning and was extremely uncomfortable about it. No sufficient means existed in those days for the Government to gauge its real depth and intensity, and it wanted to get at the truth. In 1885, the psychological moment arrived when actual attempts began to be made for its materialization. The idea began to take the form of an All-India Social Organization to be organized under the presidency of the Viceroy. The Viceroy, when approached, thought otherwise. He thought that an All-India organization of the Western educated class would be a better barometer of real Indian feeling if left free from all official touch and control. Therefore, he advised the organization of an independent association which might serve in India the purpose which Her Majesty's opposition served in the British Parliament. As a consequence, in 1885 at Bombay met a great gathering which adopted the name and laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

It was only seventy-two persons that met, and they represented only twenty-seven districts of India; but it was not in their number but in the idea they represented and the feeling they embodied that the real importance of the movement lay. The soul of India was yearning to find some avenue of self-expression and self-assertion, and the Indian National Congress afforded her such an opportunity. At the time itself the movement was taken as a portent, and the people and the Government were both struck by

the phenomenon. The tone of the correspondent of the 'Times' gives an idea of the feelings with which this new organization was received at the time. We give below an extract from what he wrote :

“This last week the Bombay leaders have again given proof of their organizing powers. They have brought together a National Congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. Seventy-nine members met together; 29 great districts sent spokesmen. \* The whole of India was represented, from Bombay to Calcutta, Madras to Lahore. For the first time perhaps since the world began, the Indians as a nation met together. Its congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations.”

It was indeed for the first time in Indian History that India was acting as a political unit, not through her kings but through her people. The formative stage had ended with the kings. Political Unity had now become an accomplished fact. Henceforward the responsibility for her life and growth will rest wholly on her people. It was this aspect of the movement, the claim of the people of India to come into their own, that excited the fears and roused the indignation of her foreign possessors. And it was this which constituted an irresistible appeal for her own people, and drew them towards it as no other secular movement had drawn them before. The real nature of the movement and the challenge that was potential in it was

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\* The Official Report gives the figure of delegates as 72 and that of districts represented as 27.

apparent and unmistakable. The "Times" in its editorial commented thus on the first session :

"The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this is answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All that we have to do is to preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and school masters and news-paper editors will step into the vacant place and conduct affairs with no help from us. . . . Do what they will, the Government of India cannot be made constitutional. If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it. The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hand the government of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. It would perhaps be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view."

This was a candid exposition of the true nature of the British rule and of the real problem of India. But the more significant criticism was the following :

"That the entire Mohammedan population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact."

The "Times" correspondent had thus tried to play upon the false pride of the Muslims and deflect their latent hostility from the British to their Hindu countrymen.

"Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence; the Mohammedans of India were not there. They remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do not yield to either Hindu or Parsi in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress. Not only in their religion but in their schools and almost all their colleges and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than four centuries ago they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many tax-paying units who contributed, each his mite, to swell the glory of Islam."

The Hon. K. T. Telang replied in a letter to the above criticism as follows :—

"The first point is in reference to your remark that the Mohammedans of India were conspicuous by their absence at the Congress. Although it must be admitted that the Mohammedan community was not adequately represented at our meeting, your remark is not altogether an accurate one. Two leading Mohammedan gentlemen did attend the Congress, viz., Mr. R. N. Sayani and Mr. A. M. Dharamsi. Both of these gentlemen are graduates of the University and attorneys of standing at the High Court of Bombay. Mr. Sayani held the office of Sheriff of Bombay last year, was a member of the Khoja Law Commission, appointed by Government some years ago, and has for many years past been a member of the Municipal Corporation and Town

Council of Bombay. Mr. Dharamsi is also a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. Further, the Hon. Mr. Badruddin Tyebji, a member of the Legislative Council at Bombay, and Mr. Kamruddin Tyebji would have attended the Congress had they not been absent from Bombay at the time the Congress was sitting. Mr. Badruddin is the Chairman of the Managing Committee, Bombay Presidency Association which, in concert with the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha convened the Congress."

**SIR SYED KEPT MOHAMMEDANS ALOOF FROM THE  
CONGRESS.**

In the second Congress 55, and in the third 76 Muslims attended as delegates. Mr. Badruddin Tyebji was President of the third Session which made the famous safeguard clauses regarding the protection of minorities a part of the Congress constitution. Sir Syed Ahmad abstained from commenting on the Congress for two years, but on the occasion of the third Session he openly declared himself against the Congress Movement. A Mohammedan Educational Conference was held at Lucknow during the Christmas week in 1887. There at a special meeting of delegates Sir Syed spoke against the Muslims joining the Congress. In August 1888, the so-called Patriotic Association was formed in opposition to the Congress. Mr. Mohammed Ali, in his Presidential Address at the Congress of 1923, said:

"Efforts were made early enough to enlist the Musalmans as delegates. But at this juncture, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the great pioneer of Western Education among Musalmans, stepped into the political arena, and in two historic speeches, one delivered at Lucknow on the 28th

their own country and countrymen, and threw them helplessly on the mercies of the foreign rule.

After the secession of the Muslims from the Congress, the evolution of nationalism received a great set-back. The religious and cultural synthesis was deteriorating rapidly, while the political ideals and outlook born of English education could not take their place to cement the widening rift. The communal conflict which had already started became much more intense. Religion became a handmaid of politics, and was utilized for sinister political purposes. The Muslims continued to drift more and more away from politics. The Nationalist ideal could not yet draw them. There had been a gap of two generations between Hindus and Muslims in the political development; the former had begun English education in 1818, and the latter in 1875. During this period many of the links of common culture had also been destroyed. The new links that were being formed by the new education, while they unified Hindus, intensified Muslim aloofness.

Sir Syed, who was ahead of the generality of Muslims in Western idealism and commanded influence, could perhaps have drawn them into the Congress, but he thought it best to keep his community away from it. He depended for its life and growth wholly on the mercy of the Government. This had the inevitable result of diverting all the energies of the Muslim community into communal channels. It deadened their Nationalistic tendencies and made them prone and amenable to Pan-Islamic influences.

It is easy for the writer of history to be "wise after the event." It is very difficult for the maker of history, however far-sighted—and few men of action have the tem-

December 1887, and the other at Meerut on the 16th March 1888, decisively checked whatever signs the Musalmans had shown of political activity in support of the Congress movement."

The real causes which influenced Sir Syed Ahmed to withhold support from the Congress have thus been described by one of his friends, Nawab Mushtaq Husain :

"Syed Ahmed Khan closely watched the movement for three years, but when he found that it was not moderate or reasonable in its aspirations, nor sufficiently careful about the interest of the minorities, and very far from respectful or fair in its tone as regards its relations with the Government of the Country or the ruling race, he did not hesitate to warn his excitable co-religionists that participation in the agitation, such as the Congress advocated, by precept and example, was against their best interests."

Sir Syed kept his judgment in suspense for three long years during which the Government itself was undecided about its attitude towards the movement, and finally declared himself against it at the same time when the attitude of the Government became openly antagonistic. His opposition supplied a new plank to the Government, which henceforward began to justify its control of Indian affairs on the ground of its being the real Champion of Indian minorities. As a consequence of all this, a feeling of being as it were strangers in their own country, and being a helpless minority surrounded by overwhelming numbers, continued to grow in the Muslims. It was fanned both from within and without, and as it grew, it increasingly destroyed their self-confidence and their confidence in

their own country and countrymen, and threw them helplessly on the mercies of the foreign rule.

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Sir Syed, who was ahead of the generality of Muslims in Western idealism and commanded influence, could perhaps have drawn them into the Congress, but he thought it best to keep his community away from it. He depended for its life and growth wholly on the mercy of the Government. This had the inevitable result of diverting all the energies of the Muslim community into communal channels. It deadened their Nationalistic tendencies and made them prone and amenable to Pan-Islamic influences.

It is easy for the writer of history to be "wise after the event." It is very difficult for the maker of history, however far-sighted—and few men of action have the tem-

perament or the leisure to look very far ahead—to see the distant consequences of his actions. Sir Syed did what he sincerely thought was right and proper, and in the best interests of his community. Yet, in the light of subsequent history, we cannot but regard his action with regard to the Congress, as a grievous mistake which, however well-intentioned, has caused an ever-widening rift between the two communities and led to the most disastrous consequences.

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## CHAPTER II.

### ITS FRUITION.

#### THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT TAKES A COMMUNAL TINGE.

THE result of Sir Syed's policy was that the responsibility for carrying on the national movement, fell mainly on the Hindus. It was therefore natural that during its development it should receive a Hindu tinge. The nationalist Hindus had to utilize all the resources that were open to them to help in the growth of the movement, which was yet in its infancy. With Hindus and Muslims working together for a common end, each community would, while drawing on its own resources, have exercised a restraining and balancing influence on the other, and the result of their joint activities would have been a national movement bearing the impress of the welded culture of both the communities.

But as things were, the national movement remained under the influence practically of Hindus alone, and drew its inspiration and colour mainly from Hindu sources. This was true even in a larger measure of the social movement which was started in 1887 under the name of the Indian Social Conference, and which from the beginning was looked upon as an adjunct of the Indian National Congress. It was a movement inaugurated mainly by men who had imbibed Western culture and drew their inspiration from the West. Reformers of the Eastern type, like the Arya Samajis, though they took part in it, were not its guiding spirits. To transplant European ways, manners, and social institutions in India seemed to be its

ideal. It did not throw deep roots into the soil. In fact, it never faced the real problem of a national synthesis, which should have been the primary function of a national social movement. It therefore helped in creating misunderstanding in the minds of the Muslims not only because of the Hindu influence under which it worked but also, paradoxical though it may seem, on account of its heterodoxy.

Hindu national leaders also, not having the advantage of the healthy influence which the co-operation of Muslim co-workers would have exercised on them, often drifted, under the belief that they were helping the national cause, into religious and communal activities, which created further suspicions in the minds of the Muslim community.

To arouse the national mass-consciousness, religious Ganapati festivals and patriotic Shivaji celebrations started in the Maharashtra country. In the Punjab, the Arya Samaj preached with greater and greater fervour. The Arya Samaj is as iconoclastic (in theory) and unitarian as Islam. Yet because the one believed exclusively in the sacredness of the Sanskrit language and the word of the Veda, and the other in that of the Arabic language and the word of the Quran, and because the one thought that one set of forms was the only possible way of worshipping God, and the other thought that another set of ceremonies was the only way, and neither would see that the same ideas and the same heart-feelings and aspirations underlay the different words, and much more, because the preachers of each used harsh language against the other, they were bound to clash violently.

The Hindu was trying to reform and revive his religion. After centuries of Tabligh, the Arya Samaj,

for the first time started the counter-movement of Shuddhi. Sister Nivedita wrote a book on "Aggressive Hinduism." Swami Vivekananda preached Vedantic Monism, a subtler Sufi form of Unitarianism, with much effect, not only in India but even in the West. He started "Monasteries" for social service work and tried to refine Hinduism. All this helped to make Hinduism self-confident and assertive.

#### ITS REACTION ON MUSLIMS.

These developments naturally reacted upon the Muslims and tended to rouse their suspicions. During all this period they started orthodox Anjumans and founded communal societies. They extended their organizations and propaganda on all sides and kept the flag of orthodoxy flying.

The Qadiani sect arose, within Islam, in the North-West of India, as an attempt to rationalize and purify the practice of that religion.\* Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was born in 1839. He is said to have had his first vision in 1876, after which he started his missionary work. As an adherent of the sect † writes, "Custom, convention, book-worship, letter-worship, form-worship, Mullah-worship, Pir-worship, these in short were so many fetters on the Musalman's soul keeping it in a state of perpetual slavery. Death and decay was consequently the order of Muslim Society." Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the new Messiah, as his followers lovingly call him, set himself to pour new spirit-

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\* I do not agree with this.—Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk.

† Muhammad Yakub Khan, "Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the Man." (1924.)

ual life into this decadent society. It will be readily observed that the words of the quotation describe Hindu society equally well, if we only substitute Pandits for Mullah and Guru for Pir. And it is a very remarkable coincidence that Ghulam Ahmad, of Qadian, began his reforming work shortly after Sir Syed and Swami Dayanand. Yet it is very unfortunate that the Qadiani and the Arya Samaji cannot agree—the reason apparently being that neither can genuinely realize that his God is also the other's God, and each feels much too strongly that his book is the only infallible guide for all humanity, for all time. \*

Throughout the nineties of the 19th century the social, religious, and political forces were drifting without compass and helping disruptive tendencies. Through administrative tact and manipulation Government Officials were taking the fullest advantage of the conflicting issues. From behind the scenes they were patting and encouraging orthodoxy and egging it on to assert and organize itself. The Hindu orthodox movement, which had been gathering force culminated in 1900 in a Conference held under the Presidency of the Maharaja of Darbhanga at Delhi, when he, as the great champion of Hindu orthodoxy, 'walked barefooted carrying a copy of the Veda' in his hands and followed by a huge concourse of persons reported as being about a lakh. It was in this Conference that the "Bharat Dharma Mahamandal" was founded which became for a while an All-India centre of orthodox religious activities.

Yet, inspite of these separatist tendencies, so deep was the synthesis of the old culture and so compelling the

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\* The infallibility of the Quran is the basic principle of Islam. Hence no Musalman can think otherwise.—Maulana Zafarul-Mulk,

necessity of mutual trust and tolerance, that the general temper of the people continued to be friendly and the communal passion generally remained localized to some towns and cities. Moreover, the national movement continued to grow and the National feeling continued to spread all over the country, and though it was not able to draw the Muslims as a body they could not escape its healthy influences altogether.

#### THE NAGRI-URDU CONTROVERSY.

About this time an unfortunate controversy arose over the question of the use of the Nagri script in the courts and public offices of the United Provinces (then known as North-Western Provinces) side by side with the Persian script. This controversy took a Hindi-Urdu and then a Hindu-Muslim complexion. In the development of Hindi and Urdu, Hindus and Muslims had worked shoulder to shoulder in the past. There had been great Muslim authors in Hindi and great Hindu authors in Urdu. But this controversy took a form as if Urdu were the exclusive patrimony of the Muslims and Hindi that of the Hindus, and it was carried on with great bitterness. Behind all this bitter controversy was the hand of Sir Antony Macdonell, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces. In 1900, his Government passed an order authorizing the use of Nagri for certain specific purposes in courts and public offices. It was an innocuous order. In fact, a knowledge of both Urdu and Hindi is essential for establishing a cultural link between the two communities. But at the time it effectively divided the two communities.

The U. P. was the cultural centre of Islamic India. From this centre radiated currents of agitation which shook

the whole country from end to end and brought about a great Muslim upheaval. In August 1900, representative Muslims from various Provinces met together in a big Conference to ponder over the fate of their injured community. It was at this time that a meeting of chosen Muslim leaders decided to form a permanent All-India Muslim Organization to watch with vigilance the political interests of the community. The task of completing the details was left to Nawab Viqarul-Mulk, who was appointed its Secretary.

So deep has the controversy sunk into the social organism and so inexhaustible has proved the store of bitterness engendered that its deadly energy has not even yet exhausted itself.

#### THE PARTITION OF BENGAL.

The effects of this Hindi-Urdu duel had scarcely subsided when the Government delivered another blow more deadly and more far-reaching. The Musalmans had been ruffled too deeply and so had to be mollified. Hindu solidarity, self-consciousness, and strength were increasing by leaps and bounds, and had to be crushed at all costs. So the Government prepared a bomb which was calculated to cripple the political life of the whole Hindu community. In 1905, it partitioned Bengal and divided it into a Hindu and a Muslim section.

Bengal constituted in those days the back-bone of the national movement, and Calcutta was the centre of India's political life and leadership. The Government had long been trying to tackle the problem or its irrepressible resurgence, but all its efforts had proved ineffective, and

so now it decided to launch against it its final offensive. The policy underlying this measure was thus candidly stated by an Anglo-Indian Daily of Calcutta :

“The objects of the Partition of Bengal are, briefly, firstly to destroy the collective power of the Bengali people, secondly to overthrow the political ascendancy of Calcutta, and thirdly to foster in Eastern Bengal the growth of a Mohammedan power which it is hoped will have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the educated Hindu community.” \*

Thus, the measure was fatally designed to create Hindu-Muslim disunion for, while it was meant to crush the Hindus, it was seemingly calculated to benefit the Musalmans at their 'expense. The Hindus had gloated over the discomfiture of the Muslims in the Hindi-Urdu controversy ; it was now the turn of the Musalmans to gloat over the discomfiture of the Hindus. The Government counted on the whole-hearted and universal support of the Musalmans, but as the community was weak and politically disorganized, not much could be expected from them in the nature of active support, while from the Hindu side an outburst of popular feeling followed which exceeded all the calculations of the Government. “Nationalism in Maharashtra and Bengal,” says Sir Valentine Chirol, “had meant hitherto little more than Mahratta and Bengali nationalism, each flowing in a separate stream. They were now both merged in a larger stream which spread over a great part of India.” Thus, a measure which was meant to break up Bengal built up a United India.

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\* “The Statesman.”

But the Partition agitation, while it deepened and widened the political consciousness of India, deepened and widened proportionately the gulf between the Hindu and Muslim communities. It was a measure, as we have said, fatally designed to achieve this purpose, and it was made more fatal by the manner of its execution. The Muslims were yet too dormant politically to have been able to understand the full significance of such a measure and consequently they were actually whipped up into action and mercilessly pitted against the Hindus.

“The opportunity was taken by evilly disposed persons with headquarters at Dacca to scatter emissaries throughout the country, preaching the revival of Islam, advocating the wildest extremes, and proclaiming to the villagers that the British Government was on their side and would exact no penalties for violence done to the Hindus. No steps were taken by the authorities to check their dangerous propaganda. Riots followed, lives were lost, Hindu shops were looted, Hindu temples were desecrated and many Hindu women were carried away. Some of the towns were deserted, women spent nights hidden in tanks, the crime known as group rape increased; throughout the country-districts there reigned a general terror. . . . Sir B. Fuller said, that of his two wives the Mohammedan was the favourite; and the Musalmans generally believed that the British officers were ready to forgive them all excesses.” \*

By such an unscrupulous use of one section of the people against another, the bureaucracy succeeded in antagonizing

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\* Sir H. Cotton, ex-Chief Commissioner of Assam and ex-President of Congress.

the communities over the whole length and breadth of India. So far collisions between the two had been on religious matters in which the educated and the politically-minded sections were not much interested. But these new developments created a deep feeling of bitterness even in these classes.

### THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE.

Not content with the deadly antagonism it had thus created, the Government now conceived a still more disastrous scheme for perpetuating it. About this time it whispered into the ears of some responsible Muslim leaders (many of whom have since then made repentant confessions) that they should demand separate electorates for the protection of minority rights. Accordingly, a "command deputation" waited on Lord Minto in October 1906 and demanded that in the Reforms which were then in contemplation separate electorates should be made a part of the Constitution. The deputation was very favourably received and full assurance was given that the Government would give due consideration to their representation. This created a new hope and a new upheaval in the politically-minded sections of the Musalmans, and within three months of the deputation the old movement for an All-India organization, which had been dormant since 1900 was revived and an organization under the name of the All-India Muslim League came into existence. The objects of this League were: firstly, the promotion of loyalty to British Government; secondly, the protection and promotion of Muslim interests; and thirdly, the promotion of inter-communal unity. The All-India gathering at Dacca which

founded this League was dominated by the Aligarh school of thought. No doubt it was a day for the gratification of the Bureaucracy, for the plant it had nurtured with such care had borne fruit and a Muslim educated section had come into existence which could be effectively used as a counter-poise to the Hindu educated section. Speaking of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at present Prime-Minister of England, says in his 'Awakening of India' (1911): "The political successes which have rewarded the efforts of this League are so fresh in the public mind that I need not refer to them specifically. They have been so signal as to give support to a suspicion that sinister influences have been at work, that the Mohammedan leaders were inspired by certain Anglo-Indian Officials, and that these officials pulled wires at Simla, and in London and, of malice aforethought, sowed discord between the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities by showing the Mohammedans special favour."

From the time of the Muslim League, the Aligarh school of thought dominated Muslim politics. Secured in this direction, the Government turned whole-heartedly to crush the Partition agitation.

Its plan of arranging a Royal Visit to India had proved only a palliative. As soon as the Prince had left India, Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State for India, declared the Partition as a "settled fact" and India's desire for Parliamentary Government as a "crying for the moon." The embers of agitation "were quickly kindled into the fresh flames." The press grew more vitriolic, the popular demonstrations more tumultuous, the National volunteers more unruly. The boycott of British goods was renewed and enjoined as

a religious duty. Students and school boys were encouraged to make bonfires of their foreign clothing and their English text-books. These beacons of freedom "glowed as freely on the hill-sides of Maharashtra as in the plains of Bengal."\*

In its session of 1906, the National Congress proclaimed its decision of standing shoulder to shoulder with Bengal, and Dadabhai Naoroji declared from the Presidential chair that henceforth India's demand would be Swaraj, which he defined as the full measure of Self-Government that Great Britain and Dominions enjoyed. But with all this, a great division was already working inside the Congress camp on the question of the policy of direct action and boycott, for up till now the Congress had consistently followed the policy of petition, prayer, and protest, and its sudden departure from this policy threatened a schism. There was a section led by Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta and Gokhale, which did not approve of the Boycott resolution of the Benares Congress and of the methods of agitation in vogue in Bengal. There was another led by Lokamanya Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh who had faith in these methods alone. Lala Lajpat Rai inclined towards the latter, but did not want to break with the former. In the meantime, Mr. Morley had raised his historic cry of "Rallying the moderates," and the Government had begun desperately to coquette with them. Consequently, before the Surat Congress, forces had been working from without and within which made the split almost inevitable. The bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur, which followed the Congress, widened the split still further and

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\* Chisol's "India," p. 110.

gave the Government an opportunity of scattering the extremist forces altogether. Tilak was sent to jail for six years. Aurobindo Ghosh was hauled up for conspiracy. Lala Lajpat Rai went to America as a voluntary exile. The "Bande Mataram" was confiscated, the whole Nationalist press smashed and choked, and the movement so forcibly suppressed that it went deep underground. On the other hand, the Reforms which had been kept dangling before the people began to take shape and appeared so satisfactory to moderates that from the Congress camp at Madras, Surendra Nath Banerji welcomed them in terms of genuine rapture. Thus the situation was well in hand, and for some time there was no danger of any untoward developments from the Congress side. The suppressed fires which were still smouldering underground, with occasional booms and flashes, could well be expected to die a natural death on account of the change in the general atmosphere of the country.

#### SEPARATE ELECTORATES.

In 1909, separate electorates became a part of the Constitution, and elections on a communal basis began to carry the communal virus into those sections of Indian society which upto this time were comparatively free from it. In this year was held the first Punjab Hindu Conference at Lahore, and a Hindu Sabha was founded as a counterblast to the Muslim League.

The introduction of separate electorates was the crowning measure of the divide-and-rule policy. The wedge thus devised was by its very nature calculated to obstruct the growth of Nationalism and could at will, by well-directed blows, be made to sink deeper and deeper into the body politic.

“Hindus and Mohammedans were estranged more than they had been for many years, constitutional reform received a staggering blow. Hindus went about saying that it was no good trying further to co-operate with Mohammedans for national purposes, and Mohammedans were making no secret of their delight and of their determination to continue the policy which had yielded them so much.” \*

After this nothing remained to be done but to let things work. The religious tension was already there; the political sections had been successfully divided; the civic and economic life too was effectively in hand; all that remained was, when policy demanded, to pull a wire here and a wire there at psychological moments to produce the desired explosion. In fact, so dependable were the batteries and so surcharged remained the atmosphere with destructive energy that, as we shall see, huge explosions were suddenly created at moments, when politically and even in their religious moods the communities were most united. And through these explosions, well-managed and well-timed, the rising tides of the national movement, as they rolled against the Government one after the other, were successfully attacked, weakened and even broken.

#### PAN-ISLAMISM.

But while the Congress was losing power the Muslim League began to gain in vitality and vigour. In February 1910, it changed its constitution and appointed H. H. Sir Agha Khan as its permanent president, and in

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\* “The Awakening of India,” by Ramsay MacDonald.

December 1910, at the close of its session at Nagpur, Sir Agha Khan took several Muslim leaders to confer with the leaders of the Congress which had just finished its sessions at Allahabad, with a view to come to some understanding regarding the the Hindu-Muslim differences. In 1911 came into existence the two famous weeklies, the 'Comrade' and 'Al-Hilal,' edited by Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad, which were destined to play a great part in those trials and struggles which resulted in a fundamental change in the attitude of the Musalmans towards the Government and also in their national outlook. To understand this change we must look back a little and remember that after the destruction of the Moghal Empire the Muslims of India, as they had refused to reconcile themselves to British rule, had already begun to look towards the Sultan of Turkey as their real sovereign. While Turkey was England's friend, England had not discouraged this tendency; rather it had in older days taken [advantage of the position of Turkey and secured the intercession of the Sultan in its dealings with Indian Muslim kings. The Muslim sentiment for Turkey generally found a strong expression on occasions when Turkey was attacked or threatened by Western Powers, and during its war with Greece they had so deeply identified themselves with the Sultan that his victory had seemed to them as if it was their own. It was already an established practice to recite the name of the Sultan of Turkey in the Friday prayers; but henceforward the name of Sultan Abdul Hamid acquired a new significance. Meanwhile, the attitude of Britain towards Turkey had changed from that of friendliness to hostility, and Sultan Abdul-Hamid, seeing his danger, had started

the Pan-Islamic movement as a counterblast to Britain's hostile policy. His object was to consolidate his power by making political use of the religious sentiment which regards Muslims all over the world as forming a common brotherhood. This object had obviously nothing to do with the spiritual mission of Islam.\* To capture the imagination and sympathies of Muslims he had launched his great scheme of the Hijaz Railway, and this had made him extremely popular in the Muslim world. The Khilafat had never been so popular as during his time. These outside influences had been working for a long time and tending to draw the Indian Musalmans more and more towards the outside Muslim world.

On the other hand, from the time they had begun to awaken politically, conditions in India had tended still more to intensify their outlandish outlook. Patriotism is essentially territorial in its birth and aspiration. Their powerful protest against Indian patriotism and their constant harping upon its dangerous potentialities had increasingly accentuated their Pan-Islamic outlook and developed to an extent almost abnormal their sense of kinship with the outside Muslim world.† Pan-Islamism seemed to open

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\* I see no reason to question the sincerity of or attribute motives to the Sultan.—Maulana Zafarul-Mulk.

† Musalmans never protested against Indian patriotism. And their Pan-Islamic sympathies had nothing to do with Indian affairs. It has nowadays become a fashion with some people to decry Pan-Islamism. No doubt, the word has been coined only recently by a Frenchman, but the idea of a common and real brotherhood among the Musalmans in whatever remote regions they may be living, which is in fact the essence of Pan-Islamism, had all these thirteen

up before them a new vista of hopes and aspirations more congenial and attractive than Indian nationalism, as in this new vista their imagination could find security against the harrowing horror of Hindu Raj, and at propitious times, even revel in dreams of a possible Muslim world domination. This new outlook and sentiment were exclusively the possession of the educated sections of the Musalmans who could take a keen interest in the affairs of the various Muslim States and appreciate the nature and drift of the various political forces to which these States were exposed. They began to realize to their great sorrow and discomfiture that the British Government, whom they supported in India and considered as their saviour against the Hindus, was merely using them as its tool to secure its position in India, in order that through India's help and resources she might enslave practically all the Muslim States of the Middle East. The growth of this conviction estranged them from the British and the gradual materialization of their fears dimmed and perhaps destroyed their

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centuries been one of the cardinal principles of Islam. Islam never accepted any barriers of race, colour or territory.

The very fact that the late Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and almost all the prominent Muslim nationalists of India have been chiefly instrumental in popularizing the Pan-Islamic ideas among their Indian co-religionists, should be sufficient to convince the Indian patriots that Pan-Islamism is not opposed to Indian nationalism. On the contrary, it has greatly helped the rapprochement between Hindus and Musalmans, as shown by Maulana Mohammad Ali in his Cocanada Address. At least those who advocate Pan-Indianism (vide Chapter on Remedies) have no reason to look down on Pan-Islamism.—Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk.

Pan-Islamic hopes and turned them towards their own country.

After 1911 a series of incidents occurred both inside and outside India which brought about quite unexpectedly almost a revolution in the relations of the two communities.

#### TROUBLES IN OUTSIDE MUSLIM COUNTRIES.

News began to arrive in India that Turkey, Persia, and Morocco were being torn by internal disruptions and commotions and by external diplomacy. By autumn came news of the unforgettable massacres in the oasis of Tripoli and of Italy's lawless usurpation of that rich and fertile province. Russia, about this time, with the connivance of the British, hanged the Siqatul-Islam, who was the highest religious dignitary in Persia and commanded much reverence in the Muslim world; Meshed was bombarded, and Mecca itself was threatened with aeroplane bombardment.

#### ANNULMENT OF THE PARTITION.

While the Muslims were smarting under these blows, another incident happened nearer home which convulsed the whole community. All of a sudden, in January 1912, the partition of Bengal was annulled, and thus were lost to them all the hopes which the bureaucracy had engendered and encouraged and for which they had fought with their brethren with such bitter results. Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca died within a few months, of a broken heart. The general effect which the measure produced over the Muslims may well be described in the words of Maulana Mohammad Ali.

“The benighted and uneducated Musalmans wanted the Bengal Partition to remain unaltered. But really I never

believed in that partition. Only I ask you to realize the fact that this Government had to call upon the Musalmans to fight as its auxiliaries against the Hindus in Bengal. Undoubtedly, undoubtedly I say, the partition of Bengal, although it e.g. was most unjust and carried out in the most vindictive spirit by Lord Curzon, did benefit the Muslims to a certain extent. Yet, when the Government found that things were getting too hot for it, it dropped the Musalmans like a hot potato. Never was a more ignoble betrayal perpetrated in the whole history of Indian politics.

“ Nothing could have more clearly convinced them that their dependence upon a foreign Government, for support as against sister-communities, laid them perpetually open to such betrayals. They now realized that they could place no reliance on such support, whether at home or abroad, and it set them thinking that perhaps at a much smaller sacrifice of their interests they could purchase lasting peace and even secure the friendship of their neighbours and fellow countrymen.” \*

### THE BALKAN WAR.

These bitter experiences were destined to be followed by others still more bitter before the year came to its close. In the autumn of 1912 broke out the great Balkan War which at one time threatened to drive the Turks out of Europe. The whole Muslim Community was stirred to its depths. Maulana Shaukat Ali for the first time entered politics and began to organize his famous Association known as Khud-

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\* M. Mohammad Ali's Presidential Address at the Coconada Congress 1923.

daman-i-Kaba. Dr. M. A. Ansari led a Red Crescent Mission to Turkey. Maulana Mohammad Ali began to write so bitterly and so vigorously in his 'Comrade' that the bureaucracy tried to gag it under the Press Act.

#### THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE INCIDENT.

When the feelings of the Muslims were at this pitch of bitterness and resentment came the mosque incident of Cawnpore in which the Hindus stood solid with the Muslims. The educated section of Musalmans caught hold of this incident and successfully roused the masses to an extent to which the Muslim masses had not been roused before. In the electrified atmosphere of the country the agitation caught like wild fire, and in a few short months the country was all ablaze. Before the year was out, Lord Hardinge had himself to go down to Cawnpore and settle the affair.

#### THE LUCKNOW PACT.

These happenings were bound to create a profound change in the angle of vision of the Muslim community. This change exhibited itself in its coming closer to the Congress and in its taking greater interest in movements inside the country. It was during this period that the Muslim League changed its ideal and fixed the attainment of Self-Government for India as its main objective. The clause relating to loyalty to British Government was dropped after a heated discussion in the year 1912. In 1914 the War broke out. While "Al-Hilal" had from its very inception been pointing out to the Muslims the suicidal nature of their policy of aloofness from the Congress and had been asking them to take their share in the Indian

political movement, even the "Comrade" which had so far been an exponent of the Aligarh school of thought changed its policy in 1914 and began to draw the Indian Muslims towards the National Congress. The Government under the excuse of protecting India against German invasion and machinations, passed the Defence of India Act in 1915, and in the same year interned Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and the Ali Brothers under its provision. In reply to questions put by Maulana Mazharul Haq in the Council Chamber, it was actually stated from the side of the Government that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was suspected of sympathy with the Indian revolutionary movement and had persuaded Muslims to join it. As a reaction against the Government's repressive policy, the League continued to drift towards the Congress. In 1915 this movement reached its climax and in its sessions at Bombay the League authorized Maulana Mazharul Haq, a sturdy and prominent Congressman, whom it had advisedly chosen its president, to arrive at a permanent settlement with the Indian National Congress. In the following year, at the historic Congress sessions at Lucknow, the famous Lucknow Pact was formed, and henceforward the political life of the two communities began to flow in common channels.

But this Unity was purchased at a great price ; for the Pact accepted the principle of communal representation and sanctioned separate electorates. Though at the time it acted as a powerful cement between the two communities it had obviously mortgaged their future for the present advantage. We feel that if at that time separate electorates had been discarded, it would have been impossible for the bureaucracy to divide the two communities as it

succeeded in doing only a few years after. But for the time the pact to some extent helped the forward movement.

The year 1916 is an epoch-making year in the history of Indian Nationalism. It was the year in which the Muslim community, after wandering away from the national ideal for over a generation, returned to the national fold. Its wanderings had been full of varied experiences, of which disappointments and sufferings had formed the major part, but through these it had gained in experience, strength, and organization. It was also in this year that the advanced wing of Indian nationalism, which had been exiled from the Congress since 1907 on account of its irrepressible and irreconcilable anti-British bias and tendencies towards direct action, joined the Congress again. Lokamanya Tilak had come back after completing his six years' incarceration and the nationalist forces had already begun to cluster round him. Mrs. Besant also, who had at her back the powerful Theosophical organization and commanded great resources in men and money, decided all unexpectedly to throw herself whole-heartedly into the political struggle. Her first achievement had been to bring about reconciliation between the moderate and the extremist parties by evolving a compromise formula for the Congress creed. Thus the Musalmans, the Extremists, the Moderates, all met together at the Lucknow Congress. By this time the Home Rule movement was in full swing. The Musalmans had joined the movement whole-heartedly, and so powerful was its sweep, that within a few months a situation was created which pushed the Government into a corner and compelled it to arrest Mrs. Besant. This incident convulsed the country like a tempest and the whole nation concentrated as one body on her release.

## THE ARRAB RIOTS.

While the movement was thus in full swing and the Hindus and Musalmans were acting with great co-operation and goodwill all over the country, an incident happened which was as strange as it was out of tune. It fell like a bomb on the movement and would have altogether broken its momentum had it not been irrepressible at the time in its onward course. Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in Arrah on a scale so extensive and with a virulence so startling that upto that time nothing like them had been heard of in the history of Hindu-Muslim quarrels. The riots began on the 22nd September 1917, and within two days rioting had begun throughout a large tract of 40 square miles which passed into the hands of the Hindu mobs.

The effect of an outbreak of this nature on the feelings of the two communities can well be imagined. The whole Muslim community was staggered at the unexpected nature and extent of the calamity, harrowing details of which continued to appear in the press for months together. But with a serenity praiseworthy and unprecedented, it passed the painful ordeal without permitting itself to be deflected from its political objective and effort. And the national movement continued as vigorously as before. History was repeating itself. While the calamity was still fresh, came a stroke of British policy calculated to divide the moderates from the extremists. Mr. Montagu, who had already made his famous announcement in August 1917, foreshadowing constitutional reforms, came about this time to India to see things personally and to create an opinion in its favour. An effort was made to divide the Muslim League from the Congress in making their demands. But inspite of it a joint memo-

randum was submitted by the leaders of both the organizations. As a result of Mr. Montagu's Policy of conciliating the people, Mrs. Besant was released. Her release was hailed by the whole country as its first unmistakeable victory, and the movement continued to grow and spread among the masses.

#### THE KATARPUR RIOTS.

In 1918 broke out another serious Hindu-Muslim riot in Katarpur, in the Saharanpur district of the United Provinces. The chief fact to be noted in this connection is that in 1918 Hindus and Muslims had been absolutely united in political objective and effort for almost five years, and that therefore their social relations had much improved and their religious bitterness much lessened. Still the nation as a whole remained helpless to save itself from external underhand machinations. The reason of this helplessness was that the upper and educated classes took no or little interest in the life of the common people, and the Congress, engrossed in political matters, could not take any effective line of action to save itself from these flank attacks. As a consequence, political unity of effort and objective failed to bring with it the indispensable social and religious security and peace. In spite however of the most powerful influences from outside and great distractions from within, the wave of Hindu-Muslim Unity and co-operation continued to rise higher and higher.

#### PUNJAB AND KHILAFAT.

The year 1919 marked the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the arena of Indian politics. From the beginning he

inspired a confidence in the Muslims which no leader had ever inspired. He led the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills and for the first time placed before the country his programme of offering Satyagraha as a means of obtaining redress against obnoxious measures of the Government.

Under the inspiration of this movement, Hindus and Musalmans came closer to each other than they had ever been after the war of 1857. A high point of comradeship was reached, when on the 29th March some Hindu and Muslim youths were killed as a result of firing by the authorities at Delhi. The funeral procession was joined by large crowds of Hindus and Muslims amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Swami Shraddhanand, who had till now confined his activities to social and educational reform, was drawn into the vortex of politics. By his brave defiance of the military picket, he became the hero of the hour both with Hindus and Muslims. The historic hartal on the 6th April evoked an astounding response and changed the face of Indian politics. It gave a new impetus to the nation and revealed its hidden strength. The Government, alarmed beyond measure, made up its mind to suppress the new movement. The crisis came in the Pūnjab. On the 9th of April the Rannaumi festival was celebrated at Amritsar. There was a huge procession in which Mohammedans joined in large numbers, and there were enthusiastic scenes of complete fraternization between the two communities. Stung and enraged by these popular demonstrations and manifestations of unity, Sir Michael O'Dwyer deported Drs. Satya Pal and Saifuddin Kitchlew the very next day. The deportations further excited the feelings of the people and led to a demonstration. The peaceful demonstrators were fired on. A number of people were killed and many were wounded.

This led to some retaliatory violence on the part of the mob. As a consequence, Amritsar was handed over to Military authorities.

Mahatma Gandhi decided to go to the Punjab to control the situation. He was arrested on crossing the Punjab borders and sent back to the Bombay Presidency. The news of his arrest created a convulsion all over the country. At Lahore in connection with Gandhiji's arrest a demonstration was held on the 10th, in the course of which a peaceful procession was fired on. Some lives were lost and several persons were wounded. General Dyer, to impress upon the people the might of the British Raj, enacted on the 13th April 1919, the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, in which innocent Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, men, women and children, were shot down without any distinction and without any warning. The fire was so directed as to kill and wound the largest number possible. Martial law was introduced in the Punjab, and the cruelties and humiliations to which people were subjected constitute one of the blackest chapters in the history of British administration.

Mahatma Gandhi suspended the movement as a result of some mob-violence in Gujrat. The Government had to appoint the Hunter Committee to enquire into the happenings in the Punjab. The Congress also appointed a Committee of Enquiry. The eyes of the whole country thus remained fixed on the intense sufferings of the Punjab. These common sufferings gave the nation a new determination and a new cohesion. Besides, there was the Khilafat grievance of the Muslims. Mahatma Gandhi, as president of a Muslim Conference at Delhi, helped in or-

ganizing the Central Khilafat Committee. At this Conference a decision was also taken to boycott the Peace celebrations. This decision was enthusiastically carried out by Hindus and Muslims jointly all over the country. Swami Shraddhanand, who had already become popular with Musalmans, was shown the unique respect of being asked to give a discourse from the pulpit of the Great Mosque (Jami Masjid) at Delhi. The climax came when after their release the Ali Brothers and other distinguished Muslim prisoners arrived, direct from their places of internment, at the Congress in Amritsar.

The year 1920 saw the fusion of the National and the Khilafat movements. Nationalist India had been moved to its depths by the Punjab wrongs, and the termination of the War had brought the question of the dismemberment of Turkey into prominence and roused great resentment among the Muslims. The latter approached Lokamanya Tilak, and he promised his whole-hearted support to the Khilafat cause. They then approached Mahatma Gandhi and requested him to lead the movement. He agreed on condition of his non-cooperation programme being accepted. By August 1920 the situation had clarified. A Khilafat Day was celebrated and the non-cooperation programme was adopted at public meetings all over India. The special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, which was joined by Musalmans in large numbers, also adopted the non-cooperation programme, and henceforward the Swaraj and Khilafat movements almost merged into one. In 1920 and 1921 the Congress Committees were full of Musalmans and Hindu Chairmen and Secretaries of Khilafat Committees could be counted by the score. The Hindus began to realize how closely was the problem of the Middle East

linked with the fate of India. And once the eyes of the Muslim intelligentsia turned towards their own country: they began to realize the great possibilities of Indian Nationalism both inside and outside India, and their participation in the national movement during the non-cooperation days of 1921 and 1922 was real, genuine and sincere. It was a glorious time in the history of Indian Nationalism.

### THE MOPLAH REBELLION.

But while this period was in full bloom, from a far-off corner of the country came all unawares the news that the Moplas of Malabar were in open rebellion against the mighty Government. Martial Law was declared; and when the offending district had thus been effectively screened from inconvenient intrusions from the outside, news began to pour in of this rebellion having suddenly turned against the Hindus. For some months the terrible episode filled the columns of the Press and inflamed and embittered the people. The Arrah and Katarpur Riots had tested the patience and patriotism of the Muslims; the Malabar riots set the same ordeal before the Hindus. The educated and the nationalist sections did their best to maintain the balance. But the joy of the union of the two communities was marred and the temper of the masses effectively disturbed practically all over India. All the same, their political life and effort remained united and irrepressible. The boycott of the Prince of Wales was marvellously successful, and when the Congress volunteer organizations were declared unlawful, Hindu and Muslim youths defied the measure with equal enthusiasm. But

then came Chauri-Chaura, in February 1922, and the Non-co-operation movement was suspended. Soon after Mahatma Gandhi was sent to jail. The Ali Brothers had already been imprisoned in 1921. The movement had passed its meridian and begun to decline. Both the communities were in the grip of war heat, and the sudden suspension of the movement left no legitimate vent for their excited feelings.

During the Mopla outbreak a number of Hindus had been forcibly converted to Islam. The Ulemas and leading Muslim leaders condemned these conversions and announced them as null and void. Even some orthodox Pandits who had nothing to do with Shuddhi so far, sanctioned the admission of such converts into the Hindu fold. Thus the question of the re-conversion of those who were known to have been converted to Islam comparatively recently came to the forefront. The stories of the forcible conversions in Malabar gave a fillip and a popularity to the Shuddhi movement which it had never possessed before.

On the political side also a reaction followed. Mutual quarrels and discussions rent the Congress into rival groups and parties. The Government again came into dominance and, comparatively free from the pressure of the movement, was in a better position to take advantage of the prevailing demoralization. With the weakening of the political pressure which had kept the disruptive social forces suppressed for the time came rapidly a resurgence of communal passions and communal motives. Before the Gaya Congress was held in December 1922, the country had been changed out of all recognition.

The Gaya Congress practically completed the rift between the political parties and divided the Congress as no-

thing had done since the Surat Congress in 1907. The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, appointed by the A. I. Congress Committee in that year, had already shattered all hopes of any aggressive political campaign, and the Swaraj Party which had emerged out of it had as its main objective the capture of the Indian Legislatures. A strong section of Congressmen regarded this as a fundamental departure from the principles which the Congress had adopted for carrying on the national fight. The new programme of Council entry initiated a powerful disruption in the Muslim ranks also, because the Muslim divines had based their programme of non-cooperation with Government on religious grounds. All this meant confusion and conflict. To top all, while the Session had scarcely concluded came the rumour of the conversion of a large number of Malkanas in the Agra district upsetting the minds of Musalmans and increasing the bitterness between the two communities.

#### SITUATION PASSING INTO THE HANDS OF REACTIONARIES.

On both sides the communal situation passed altogether into the hands of the reactionaries. Shuddhi and Tanzim became the order of the day, and the Tablighi Mullas on one side, and the Shuddhi leaders on the other, gained in popularity. Riots in various places, Multan, Ajmere, Sabaranpur, Agra and others, which inevitably followed in the wake of such activities, brought to the communal leaders new prestige and power. The Shuddhi Movement was further extended. Swami Shradhdhanand threw himself heart and soul into it. The Tablighis on their side redoubled their efforts. About this time a pamphlet issued by a Delhi religious leader came to light, in which he had asked the Musalmans indiscriminately to concentrate on

proselytization and had suggested how Muslims engaged in different professions and even the prostitutes could help in the fulfilment of this object.\* This pamphlet was condemned by all fair-minded Muslims, but it naturally created a revulsion of feeling among the Hindus. The pre-occupations of the political leaders left them little time or inclination to fight this rising tide.† The

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\* The letter of a Bengali leader himself, an exile in Europe, openly advocated the establishment of a Hindu raj and thereby greatly stirred Muslim feelings all over India. The bitterness caused by it could have been diminished if all fair-minded Hindus had condemned or disowned it.—Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk.

† This plea does not stand good. M. Premchand, the famous short story-writer and journalist, had clearly shown in his article published in the "Zamana," of Cawnpore, in 1924, that the All-India Hindu leaders failed to come out and openly fight these mischievous activities. He had greatly eulogized Muslim leaders, like Ali Brothers and other Khilafatists, who boldly tried to meet the situation and fought against their own co-religionists.

Indeed, if we care to see the facts in their true perspective and have courage enough to place them unreservedly before the country, it will have to be admitted that while the late lamented Maulana Mohammad Ali, his big brother, and numerous other Khilafat leaders and workers stood fast to the cause of Hindu-Muslim Unity and openly fought not only against the re-actionaries of their community, but also against such old and esteemed co-workers as Dr. Kitchlu, Maulana Abdul Majid of Badaun, and others who had started the Tanzeem movement in 1925, not one of the galaxy of the great Hindu leaders of the Congress came forward to combat the re-actionaries of the Hindu Community or such co-workers who had seceded from the Congress, or were openly abusing it and carrying a stormy propaganda against its accredited leaders.

programme of Council entry made them susceptible to the influences of popular mood. Consequently, the power of the Congress collectively and whole-heartedly to fight communalism was altogether undermined, and from 1922 to 1924 the latter grew luxuriantly and dominated every other public activity.

#### DELHI AND KOHAT.

The release of the Ali Brothers and of Mahatma Gandhi (1923-24) roused new hopes, but it was soon proved that the situation had become much too complex and much too irretrievable even for these great leaders to cope with it successfully. Soon after Mahatma Gandhi's release, occurred the Delhi riots, and while Mahatma Gandhi was trying to grapple with them came the Kohat tragedy, which drove the Mahatma to his historic twenty-one days' fast, through which he tried to expiate for the sins of the two communi-

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It was this very attitude of the Hindu leaders of the Congress that forced the Central Khilafat Committee in 1926 to reconsider its position and finally decide to make necessary changes in its constitution, so that Khilafat workers may be able to help the Indian Mussalmans in defending their rights, persons and property.

Had not the Hindu leaders all along failed in their duty and had they shown that strength of character and sincerity of purpose which was expected of them after they had passed through the great purifying and sacrificial ordeal of Non-co-operation, there is very little doubt that the attitude of Maulana Mohammad Ali and the bulk of Indian Muslims would have been quite different from what it was during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930.—Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk.

ties. Mahatma Gandhi's fast had a sobering effect on the situation. Maulana Mohammad Ali, whose guest Mahatma Gandhi was at the time, summoned a Unity Conference for finding a remedy for the Hindu-Muslim malady. The Conference, which met under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru, was the most influential and representative which had till then sat for considering this question. It met under the influence of the deep feelings roused by the long fast of the acknowledged leader of the country loved by both communities. But while nationalism received lip homage, communalism claimed the real devotion of those who held the key to the solution of the problem. The Conference continued for some days and passed a number of resolutions. But they lacked genuine effort and remained futile.

#### SANGATHAN AND TANZEEM.

Mutual recriminations filled the atmosphere. Friendliness had vanished. The Hindu mind was obsessed with a peculiar fear. The organization of the Congress and its influence on the masses was exclusively political. But the organization of the Khilafat movement and its influence on Muslims was in its essence exclusively religious. Hindus and Muslims had worked equally for its success but from different standpoints; the urge of the Hindus had been political, that of the Muslims religious. Therefore the Hindu communal leaders felt that the nationalists had helped to create a force in the country which was extremely dangerous for them in its potentialities. They therefore sounded the trumpet of Hindu Sangathan. The Muslims as a counterblast raised the war-cry of Tanzeem. Under names of Mahabir Dal and Ali Ghol, bands of volunteers began to be

trained and organized for mutual conflict. And as a counterpoise to the cow question, rose into prominence the question of music before mosque. This addition to the list of occasions for rioting was well-designed to serve its purpose. While the cow question could come up only once a year, and the Moharram and Ramlila synchronized only after long intervals, the mosque question could be available everywhere and at all times.

Thus the communal movement in India entered into its last era of armed and organized communal hostilities.

#### UNITY CONFERENCES.

As we have said, the complicated nature of the problem, the pre-occupations of the political leaders and the exigencies of electoral campaigns, all made it almost impossible for the Congress openly and directly to come to grips with communalism. But ceaseless, indirect efforts were made to bring about peace between the conflicting groups and to bring them to some sort of settlement on the dividing issues. In 1923, Desh Baudhu Das prepared a draft of a compromise. It came up before the Congress at Coconada. It was however not accepted. The task of making a new draft was entrusted to Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai. Their joint draft made its appearance in time but remained equally innocuous. After the virtual failure of the Unity Conference at Delhi, to which we have already referred, another All-Parties Conference was called in the end of 1924 which appointed a Committee of 100 members under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi to come to some conclusion on the communal issues. This Committee was more influential and much more representative than the Unity Conference which had preceded it. This Committee met in Delhi,

and after prodigious efforts its session was postponed sine die without having come to any decision on any matter whatsoever. The failures of these efforts continued to produce a worsening effect on the situation because it embittered the controversy still further and introduced an element of helplessness and despair in the minds of the people. Each failure was a confession of impotence on the part of the nationalist leaders and gave added prestige and power to those who taught the country that the real panacea for communal evils lay in the Shuddhi and Tabligh, Tanzeem and Sangathan. The year 1926 ended with the murder of Swami Shraddhanand on the eve of the Gauhati Congress, a tragedy which may well be taken as some indication of the communal temper of the period and its dangerous trend.

But the efforts at peace continued. In 1927, the famous Delhi proposals were formulated and another Unity Conference was convened. The results of all these confabulations were ultimately confirmed by the Madras Congress in December 1927 with some modifications. In this Session Maulana Mohammed Ali and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya embraced each other in tears, and it seemed as if, after all, the destiny of India was about to take a more favourable turn. But soon after the session, difficulties began to arise about the Madras decisions, and the whole question was ripped open again by the squabbles of the communal groups. Consequently, in 1928 another All-Parties Conference was summoned under the presidentship of Dr. Ansari. It appointed the Nehru Committee. When the Nehru Report appeared, the country went into rejoicing and it seemed as if the long-sought panacea had been found. But the Conference which was summoned at Lucknow to

consider the Nehru Draft sowed the seeds of those schisms between the Muslim political groups which are yet in the process of growth. This Conference drove Maulana Shaukat Ali into active hostility with the Congress and from this time his entire energies began to be devoted to undermine the influence of the Congress among the Muslims. To complete the story, we may mention that the Nehru Report was provisionally adopted by the Calcutta Session of the National Congress for a year in 1928 and was formally dropped by the Lahore Session in 1929. In the meantime, the historic Fourteen Points of Mr. Jinnah had come into the field and still constitute between the two communities the proverbial bone of contention.

#### THE WEAK POSITION OF THE CONGRESS.

The position which the Congress occupied in these efforts was that of an intermediary, and by implication it accepted the extreme communalists of both sides as true representatives of the interests of their respective communities. The more it clung to them for settlement, the more it abdicated its own undoubted right to arrive at final conclusion on communal matters on behalf of the nation. (The result was that the Congress, instead of crushing out communalism from the national life by giving direct and open fight for real leadership in communal matters, invested communalists with greater importance and prestige.) This course was bound to be infructuous, as it left no chance for the saner elements in society to assert themselves and in an organized way to subdue the mischievous activities of the communalists on both sides.

#### COMMUNAL RIOTS OF THE LAST DECADE.

The ineffectiveness of their policy in communal matters

can best be illustrated by a list of communal riots during the period of the Unity Conference which we have just passed in review. The following casual list of riots, which have been marked by increasing violence and cruelty, gives some idea of the proportions the problem has assumed during the last decade.

- 1921 ... Malabar.
- 1922 ... Multan.
- 1923 ... Ajmere, Saharanpur, Multan,  
Amritsar, Sindh, Jubbulpur,  
Agra, and Rae-Bareli.
- 1924 ... Delhi, Kohat, Nagpur, Indore, and  
Lucknow.
- 1925 ... Calcutta, Allahabad, and Sholapur.
- 1926 ... Delhi.
- 1927 ... Lahore, Multan, Betiah, Bareilly,  
Nagpur, and Cawnpore.
- 1928 ... Surat, Hyderabad (Deccan), and  
Kalijaty.
- 1929 ... Bombay.
- 1930 ... Azamgarh, Dacca, Muttra, Mymen-  
sing, and Daravi.
- 1931 ... Basti, Benares, Mirzapur, Agra, and  
last but not least, the great  
disaster at Cawnpore.

We have tried to show in this section how communalism has developed to its present proportions. In the next which deals with the Cawnpore Riots, we shall try to show its destructive processes in actual working.

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PART II.  
THE CAWNPORE RIOTS.

## CHAPTER. I.

### COMMUNALISM AT WORK.

#### THE CITY OF CAWNPORE.

HISTORY tells us that 150 years back, i. e., upto 1778 Cawnpore was a mere village known as Kanhaiyapur or Kanhpur. In 1801, this village was granted to the East India Company by the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and developed into a British Cantonment. As such, it played a prominent part in 1857. In 1863 it was connected with Calcutta by rail. Its industrial life which is at present its main feature and to which it owes all its prosperity and vigour, has been built up during the last two generations. There are whole Mohallas in the city inhabited by people from adjoining districts like Fatehpur, Farrukhabad, and Unao. These populations have generally shifted to Cawnpore en masse within the last few decades. Cawnpore therefore has got some of the virtues and vices of a modern industrial town. Its Municipality is the richest in the Province. At the same time it has got probably the biggest goonda organization in the Province and is positively one of the greatest centres, if not the greatest, of cocaine-smuggling in Northern India.

#### ITS GOONDA ORGANIZATION.

The following information about the goonda organization in Cawnpore is based on the evidence of witnesses who can be trusted on the point.

There are about a dozen gangs of these goondas in the city, half under Hindu and half under Muslim heads. Each

gang contains from fifty to a hundred goondas. Thus, their total strength is somewhere between 500 and 1000. On occasions, when there is any special need for them, their number is doubled or even quadrupled by importation from Cawnpore district or from adjoining districts.

Their main occupations are :—

1. Cocaine-smuggling and selling.
2. Keeping gambling dens.
3. Training boys for picking pockets.
4. Keeping brothels, acting as protectors of prostitutes and organizing sale of girls.
5. Keeping chandoo-khanas.
6. Giving evidence in criminal cases.
7. Intimidation and coercion during elections to the Municipal and District Boards and the Legislative Council.

Some of these goondas also engage ostensibly in trades like money-lending, commission agency, etc. We have been given the names of a dozen Hindu and Muslim head goondas which we refrain from publishing for obvious reasons. We could not ascertain the exact proportion of Hindus and Muslims amongst these goondas. But we were told that their numbers are fairly equal. What is more interesting to note is that these gangs usually include both Hindus and Muslims. Although since the beginning of the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements, i. e., during the last eight years, there has been a tendency towards separation yet, even to-day there are mixed gangs both under Hindu and Muslim heads. On several occasions during the recent riots Hindu and Muslim goondas were seen looting the same shop together and protecting each other. It is doubtful if a single goonda belonging to a regular gang was killed in the riot. These goondas are

sometimes protected and supported by rich and apparently respectable persons irrespective of their religion. Goondas who do the work of smuggling and selling cocaine or of keeping gambling dens mostly enjoy immunity from law by sharing their profits with some of the keepers of law and order. The greatest amount of cocaine-smuggling is done in the area directly under the City Kotwali and the biggest gambling dens are located within the same jurisdiction.

Some of the cocaine-smugglers in Cawnpore are said to be rich people owning lakhs of rupees. A shrewd businessman told us that in his estimate about twenty-two lakhs worth of cocaine is sold in Cawnpore every year, out of which one individual alone is responsible for about fifty thousand. This cocaine comes mainly from Calcutta. Between Calcutta and Delhi, Cawnpore is the chief distributing centre in Northern India and feeds a large number of districts all round.

#### BOGUS WIDOWS' HOMES.

Cawnpore also possesses an unusually large number of prostitutes—open and private. They are, as at other places, fruitful sources of quarrels, which when the Hindu-Muslim feeling runs high, easily take a communal turn. Some Goondas and women of ill-repute have established a few bogus Widows' homes with the ostensible object of doing social work but really for carrying on their nefarious trade under a respectable mask. The existence of these bodies—which should be clearly distinguished from the genuine Widow's Homes—has to be taken note of in the life of Cawnpore. Some of them by pretending to save Hindu women from the hands of Musalmans make money from

unsuspecting Hindus, and also intensify the ill-will between the two communities.

#### RELATIONS UPTO 1922.

In this city of Cawnpore, up till so late as the year 1922, the relations between Hindus and Muslims appear to have been fairly cordial. Before the annexation of Oudh by the British, Cawnpore formed part of it. The prosperity and the contentment of the Hindu subjects of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh is proverbial in history. The Nawabs of Oudh, and consequently their Muslim subjects, scrupulously refrained from killing or sacrificing the cow, and the majority of Hindu Kshatriyas of that province have inherited, and upto this day retain, an abhorrence for pork. That the Hindu subjects of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, from the poorest cultivator to the richest talukadar, sacrificed their all for the honour of their little kingdom during the war of 1857, has been admitted even by British historians. It was the marvellous tenacity and sacrifices of the people of Oudh during the Great Indian War of Independence, which compelled Sir W. H. Russel to admit that the people of Oudh were "engaged in a patriotic war for their country and their sovereign." (Russel's Diary, page 275.) It also made the well-known British historian Innes admit that "at least the struggle of the Oudhians must be characterized as a War of Independence." (Innes' 'Sepoy Revolt.') The little village of Kanhpur or the British Cantonment of Cawnpore, as the British had begun to mispronounce it by that time, reflected the cordial relations then existing between the Hindus and the Muslims of Oudh. During 1857 and '58 Nana Sahib and Azimullah Khan fought side by side under the green banner of Bahadur

Shah to save the town of Bithur and the Cantonment of Cawnpore for the Emperor of Delhi, to whom the Nawab of Oudh owed allegiance. Hindus and Muslims ranged themselves under these leaders as true comrades without the slightest thought of difference in their religions. Even after 1858, in spite of the working of the British policy of 'Divide and Rule,' cordial relations between the two communities continued in Cawnpore. So late as the opening of the present century, Hindus and Muslims stood shoulder to shoulder against the high-handedness of the local authorities, during the plague riots of 1900. Bengal was partitioned in 1905, with the object of creating a predominantly Muslim province as a set-off against the increasing political power of Hindus. In 1906 was born the Muslim League. The Hindu Sabha was started at Lahore in 1909, as a result of the reaction against the activities of the Muslim League. These had their effect in the opening of a branch of the Hindu Sabha at Cawnpore in 1911. About a year after, there was a small cow trouble, a thing absolutely new in the history of the city. A cow was beaten to death. This led to a serious situation. Enquiries, however, resulted in a strong suspicion that some local policemen were responsible for the act. The situation was thus eased, and the relations between the two communities again became cordial as before. In 1913, in the fight which the Mohammedans of Cawnpore had to put up against the administration in connection with the demolition of a part of a mosque in Meston Road, the Hindus stood by them and gave them the fullest support. In the Home Rule agitation of 1917, and again in the Non-cooperation and Khilafat movement of 1921, Hindus and Musalmans stood fast together. It appears that there was no percept-

ible tension between the two communities in Cawnpore before 1923. With the slackening of the National Movement and the out-break of communal riots at various places in the country, as described in an earlier chapter, communal leaders came to the front and organized Shuddhi, Sangathan and Tabligh movements.

The Secretary of the local Congress Committee tells us that "upto 1922 there was a good number of Muslims in the Town Congress Committee." He puts the percentage at about 25. As far as the social life of the people is concerned, upto 1922 the Hindus and Musalmans freely took part in each other's festivals and festivities. We are told that "previous to the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements, the Holi festival in Cawnpore was mainly celebrated by and through the efforts of the Muslims." During the Holi nights, the Kunjras (fruit-sellers), the Kasais (butchers), and all those other Muslims who now take part in Hindu-Muslim fights, organized Swangs (farcical tableaux) in honour of the Hindu festival. Ninety per cent of those who took part in these Swangs were Muslims. From 7 o'clock in the night to 3 in the morning, about 40 to 50 Muslim Akharas, in which Hindu young men took part, passed with their Chaukis and musical parties through all the main Hindu streets and were sumptuously entertained by the Hindu inhabitants.

During the Diwali, as we are told by a respectable resident of the town, Muslim ghoosis (milkmen) celebrated the festival by lighting lamps in their houses, buying Khil and Batasas for their children and bedecking their cows. Other Muslims also celebrated the Diwali festival.

Similarly, in the Maulud Sharifs of those days Hindus in every Mohalla freely subscribed for and sat in the gatherings. Members of each community freely joined in the marriage celebrations of the other. During the Moharram, Hindus took out Chaukis in procession. In Shab Barat Hindus played with crackers and other fire works. Ghazi-Mian ka Mela in Generalgunj, in the heart of the City, was a Muslim festival, but was held in a Hindu locality and joined by thousands of Hindus. There were similar Hindu festivals, like the Mela of Bara-Devi, in which Muslims as freely took part. All this meant not only social friendliness, but enhanced trade for shop-keepers, peddlers, and hawkers of both communities. Cawnpore has also always been known for its Akharas. Both Hindus and Muslims were Khalifas or Ustads, as they are called, of these Akharas. Innumerable Hindu young men have taken lessons in physical exercise and learnt the art of wrestling from Muslim Khalifas, and so have innumerable Muslim young men from Hindu Khalifas. Between 1923 and 1927, all this mutual intercourse gradually declined and has now almost become a thing of the past. \*

\* Strangely enough, one festival, called Barai-ka-mela, which is celebrated during one month in the year and four times in that month in boats on the Ganga, still continues to be the favourite of both Hindus and Muslims, almost in equal numbers. Songs that are supposed to be the composition of Kabir and several other Hindu and Muslim saints like "Jo Allah hai vahi Ram hai, ham to bande hain parvardigâr ke," are jointly sung at this festival. This festival has not yet been affected by communal propaganda, the reason for which, we are told, is that it is resorted to mainly by people of the lowest and therefore most unsophisticated strata of society.

## RISE OF COMMUNAL MOVEMENTS.

The Secretary of the local Congress Committee, who has been residing in Cawnpore since his birth, has described how all this began to change after 1922. After the suspension of the Non-co-operation Movement in 1922, a general reaction followed. As a result, a number of Hindus and Muslims who had joined the Non-co-operation Movement of 1921 left the Congress and began to organize communal movements outside. Cawnpore in this only acted like the rest of India. Shuddhi, Sangathan, and Tabligh movements were openly organized in Cawnpore about the year 1923. A part of the energy and influence developed during the Non-co-operation movement thus went towards feeding communal bitterness. Those Congress leaders who did not join the communalistic movements remained indifferent towards the same, and thus gave rise to the impression in the mind of the public that their silence meant inner sympathy.

Both Communities invited communal leaders from outside to fan the fire of communalism through their speeches in Cawnpore. Hindus began to preach to their co-religionists the boycott of Muslim festivals, and so the Muslims began to preach to Muslims the boycott of Hindu festivals. Bands of communal volunteers sprang up on either side. During Holi celebrations, new and unheard-of Chaukis were brought out by a section of the Hindus, for example, one depicting the persecution of Haqiqat Rai by Muslims. Muslim Maulavies and volunteers on their side began to preach to their co-religionists the boycott of the Hindu festivals. Thus, all Muslim Swangs and Chaukis that had for the last fifty years at least been a special feature of

the Holi celebration gradually began to disappear. Similarly, Muslim boys were lectured not to buy Kheel or Batasas at the Diwali, and Hindu boys were asked not to buy or play with crackers at the Shab Barat.

Thus, by the time of Swami Shraddhanand's deplorable assassination in 1926, most of the links of joint social life in Cawnpore had been snapped, and communal movements were in full swing.

After the passing away of Swami Shraddhanand, Shuddhi activities increased. An organization of the name of Akhil Bharatiya Kathâ Mandal was started in Cawnpore, in the beginning of 1927, because, in the words of one of its prominent workers, the organizers "had all got disgusted with the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha, thinking that these bodies did nothing for Hindu Sangathan." Organizing the Hindus for defence, and taking non-Hindus into the Hindu fold through conversion were the avowed objects of this organization. The Arya-Samaj also just at that time, according to the evidence before us, "was carrying on Shuddhi work very briskly." The Shuddhis made by the Arya Samaj were also announced at the meeting of the Katha Mandal, and it is admitted by some of the principal organizers of the Mandal that a lot of money was spent in bribing orthodox Pandits for reciting Kathas and for publicly blessing the converts on behalf of the Mandal.

The same worker of the Katha Mandal informs us that just at this time, i.e., early in 1927, Maulud Sharifs, with almost identical programmes, including open conversions, were also going on in the streets and Mohallas of Cawnpore. These were something quite different from the Mauluds of old days, of which we have spoken above, and in which

Hindus also took part. These Mauluds were announced in the City by Muslim volunteers, sometimes dressed in Military Khaki uniforms. At these Mauluds, speeches were generally delivered by communal leaders and Maulavis coming from Delhi and other places, and it was stressed how Hindus were doing harm to Muslims economically and through Shuddhi. The Hindu religion was ridiculed. Draupadi's polyandry and Sita's character were contemptuously mentioned. One speaker at one of the meetings announced that sweetmeats sold by Hindus were *haram* for Musalmans as Hindu Halwais sprinkled cow's urine on their preparations. Many worse things were said at these meetings. Prominent Hindu members of the Katha Mandal secretly attended these Mauluds "in order," as one of them confessed, "to know how Muslim speakers created enthusiasm in their audience, so that we might also enthruse Hindus by similar speeches on our side." Conversions from Hinduism to Islam were freely made at these Mauluds and were publicly announced.

Both sides carried on their propaganda through inflammatory pamphlets and poems distributed and sold broadcast.\*

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\* As a sample, one of the Hindu songs is given below :—

Terâ Maul bulâle Madîne tujhe  
 Yehân bhe'â fuzûl kisîne tu'he.  
 Yeh Arab hai na A'am, Fâris na Turkistân hai  
 Hindûon ke rehne kî 'â hai, yeh Hindustân hai ;  
 Nazar âye na yehân ke qarîne tu'he,

Terâ  
 Gar Musalmân hai to fauran chhor Hindustân ko,  
 Bhâg Makke kî taraf rakh deen ko iman ko,

## FIRST HINDU-MUSLIM RIOT IN 1927.

The result of all this was that for the first time in its history a communal riot broke out in Cawnpore in 1927. On the occasion of the Janmashtami festival, some trouble arose between Hindus and Musalmans at Lala Sangam

Pare chain yehān pe kabhī na tujhe,

Terā . . .

Dekh Makkā aur pakkā deen men ho 'aegā,  
Rah ke Hindustān men Hindū hi tū kahlaegā.  
Tal yehān se, bulāyā nabī ne tujhe,

Terā . . .

Jo Musalmān Hind men hain, vuh Musalmān bhī  
nahin,

Jo rahe Hindostān men unkā imān bhī nahin ;

Barā gham hai, na jīne veh degā tujhe,

Terā . . .

Āi hi tū dekh Makkā ehhor Hindustān ko,  
Varna lekar jaegā tū hasrat o armān ko,  
Bare ras ke mudām yeh pine tujhe,

Terā . . .

Baithtā uthtā chalā'ā rakhta roze aur namāz,

Bambāi tak rel jā ī āgē 'āte hai jahāz,

Baithtā uthtā chalā'ā rakhta roze aur namāz.

Karen sharm se tar yehān pasīne tujhe,

Tera . . .

—Pamphlet styled "Madīne kā Jalwā," published by R. G. Bhatta, of Agra.

Worse vulgarisms we refrain from quoting.

We have not been able to get copies of Muslim songs sung on these occasions. We have, however, later on given samples of such songs sung in the Tanzim processions of 1930, and we have been told that they may be taken as fair specimens of the versification in 1927. (See p. 209, *infra*).

Lal's temple. It is narrated by a respectable witness connected with the temple that one day as some Hindu women were coming out after darshau, a Mohammedan youth in the street gave some offence to one of them, at which he was beaten by some Hindus present there. This created a stir among the Muslims. After two or three days a drama was about to be played at the temple which, according to witness, was probably offensive to the Musalmans. Before it was actually played some Musalmans came and objected to its being played. Yet the drama was played. A day or two after this, some Musalmans threw brickbats at the temple and broke some of the ornamental glasses. This started a general communal riot. The rioting stopped within two days, on account of the prompt action taken by Mr. Munro, the then District Magistrate of Cawnpore. This action consisted in arresting a large number of suspects and miscreants on both sides in the affected areas.

#### MUTUAL BOYCOTTS.

Although the riot was suppressed, and some of the aggressive activities on either side naturally fizzled out, yet the atmosphere became more embittered and the suppressed feelings began to find expression in more dangerous and disruptive forms. Shree Ram Ratan Gupta, who is an office-bearer of the local Hindu Sabha, and a member of the Executive Committee of the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce, tells us that after the riot, "social and economic boycotts began between the two communities; Hindus boycotting Muslim vegetable-sellers, churiwalas, Rangrezes, and others; and the Muslims boycotting Hindu cloth-merchants, halwais, tambolies, grocers and others, and each community arranging for such shops being opened by the members of their

own community. This sort of economic boycott continued for about two years. During this period Hindus generally would not sit in a Mohammedan's ekka and Mohammedans would not sit in a Hindu's ekka." This spirit of mutual boycott affected even the learned professions. A Muslim advocate has told us that once a Hindu client engaged him. Some Hindus were amongst his witnesses. They were going to the court in an Ekka for giving evidence. On the way they came to know that the client was being represented by a Muslim lawyer. They at once jumped off the Ekka and went back. Other similar cases were mentioned to us by witnesses.

In times of communal bitterness the conflict generally begins to concentrate on processions and festivals. This phenomenon began to show itself in Cawnpore also. Shri Ram Ratan Gupta says: "The Dashehra and Moharram processions were all this time a source of danger, because the Dashehra procession passed through Mohammedan streets and the Moharram procession through Hindu streets. The attitude and the cries of the processionists were generally annoying to the opposite parties."

The same witness tells us that trouble was apprehended at the time of the Moharram procession in 1930 and was averted by some prominent Hindus who were also Congressmen arranging for Sharbat distribution at various places in the Muslim procession. It was under these circumstances and in this atmosphere that the great movement of Civil Disobedience was started in Cawnpore.

#### WHY MUSLIMS LEFT CONGRESS.

The pervading atmosphere had naturally not left the

local Congress organization unaffected. The Secretary of the local Congress Committee has given us some idea as to how communal feeling was finding its way into the Congress circle. He gives us three reasons why even before the commencement of the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 most of the Muslim members had left the local Congress Committee. We quote his own words—

“ Their reasons were :

“(1) When they saw that practically all Hindu leaders had joined the Hindu Communal organizations, their faith in the Hindu leaders and in the Congress began to diminish.

“(2) Strong party feeling had for a long time been raging between the Town Congress Committee and the District Congress Committee, Cawnpore. This also disgusted one or two Muslim workers. One of them, a very prominent worker . . . left merely out of this disgust.

“(3) Doctor Murarilal, who was then president of the Town Congress Committee, by standing for the Chairmanship of the Municipality, as against Hafiz Halim, a Muslim candidate and one of the richest Muslims of Cawnpore, also alienated the sympathies of many Muslim workers. As far as I can recollect, no Muslim voted for Dr. Murari Lal. Doctor Abdul Karim who was then Joint Secretary of the Town Congress Committee resigned for that very reason.”

#### EFFECT OF COMMUNALISM ON CONGRESS.

From the above it is obvious that one of the main reasons which roused the suspicions of the Muslim Congressmen against their Hindu co-workers was the fact of their joining the Hindu Sabha. As a matter of fact, the Hindu

Congressmen had joined the Sabha to neutralize its disruptive tendencies. But the atmosphere of distrust and friction made the misunderstanding inevitable.

Doctor Murari Lal, the most prominent Congressman in Cawnpore, has thus explained the position :—

“I was a member of the local Hindu Sabha for several years. After the present riot, I declined to remain on the Hindu Sabha Register. . . . I, and a band of Congress workers with me, joined the Hindu Sabha mainly with the object of capturing it, and we succeeded to a large extent. We were never enthusiastic about the object of the Sabha. We wanted to succeed in bringing a number of zealous Hindu Sabhaites to the Congress fold and the Sabha itself under the Congress influence.”

But, as explained by the Secretary of the local Congress Committee, “its effect upon the mentality of the people generally was that they thought all these people were in favour of communal organizations,” particularly because some Congress workers began to take part in the Shuddhi movement, and also because, while “formerly Shuddhi was limited to the Arya Samaj, . . . now the entire Hindu Community, that is, even the orthodox Sanatanists, joined it.”

Congressmen's joining the communal organization not only thus created misunderstanding in the minds of the public, both Hindu and Musalman ; but, what was worse, most of the Congressmen, though they had joined the Hindu Communal organization with a good motive, could not escape its baneful influence. In fact, as a number of responsible Congress witnesses admitted, the poison had spread very widely. Communalism seems to have divided

itself into two categories, the defensive and the offensive ; and most of the Congressmen, as alleged by the witnesses, seem to believe in the justness and propriety of the former, i. e., defensive communalism. The attitude of defensiveness, though apparently justifiable, is yet very dangerous. It is bound to lead through action and reaction to aggressiveness. A vicious circle is established from which there is no way out.

#### GRIEVANCE AGAINST MUNICIPALITY.

There were also several other causes of a general All-India character, mainly political, which kept the Musalmans of Cawnpore aloof from the Congress Movement. Muslim witnesses have one after another complained to us that the activities of the Cawnpore Municipality were a continual source of bitterness and resentment among the Musalmans. Our Committee had not time enough to investigate fully into the numerous complaints made by responsible Muslim members of the Board and other respectable witnesses. Yet, after receiving detailed statements of Muslim grievances we had opportunities of examining the Chairman, the Senior Vice-Chairman, as well as several Hindu and Muslim members of the Municipality at great length on these points, and there remains no doubt that whatever the element of truth in these charges, the Musalman Municipal Commissioners were dissatisfied, and the general impression in the Muslim Community was that the interests of the minority were not attended to.

#### SEPARATE ELECTORATES.

The introduction of separate representation in the Municipalities was, according to a large number of Muslim

witnesses, including the Senior Vice-Chairman, the source of this great evil, and they are convinced that the method of separate electorates ought to be abolished. Hafiz Muhammad Siddiq, the Senior Vice-Chairman, has expressed himself in the following words :

“ I believe that if separate electorates be abolished in local bodies, and joint electorates with some reservations as I have mentioned in my written statements, be adopted in its place, all these troubles would disappear. The one thing that I am anxious to be sure of through these reservations or safeguards is that no man who is either of narrow communalistic mentality or who is a sycophant of the other community should get a chance of being elected.”

In his written statement, he says :

“ *Intikhāb-i-judāgāna ko hālāk karke dafan kar diyā jāve,*” i. e., separate electorates should be killed and buried. Closely questioned, he said that ultimately the “*Hukūmat*”, i. e., the Government was responsible for all these communal troubles.

#### MUSLIM CONFERENCES.

In October 1928, a Muslim Conference was held at Cawnpore under the presidentship of Maulana Shaukat Ali, who had then started a virulent propaganda in the Muslim press against the recommendations of the Nehru Report. His presidential address and other speeches at the Conference caused great excitement in the Muslim community, which was led to believe that the Congress leaders, having surrendered to the Hindu Sabha influence, wanted to trample upon the rights of the Muslim Community. Muslims were exhorted to organize themselves for defend-

ing their religion and culture, which was said to be endangered by the alleged treachery of the Congress and the animosity of the Hindu Sabha. From this time onward, Cawnpore became one of the strongholds of this section of Muslim politicians, and the general feeling of the Muslim population of this unfortunate city against their Hindu brethren went on growing more and more bitter. The failure to bring about an adjustment of differences at the Calcutta All-Party Convention of December 1928, and the subsequent propaganda of Maulana Shaukat Ali and others of his cult, further intensified the animosity between the two communities.

In 1929, two other Conferences were held at Cawnpore under the names of Motamar-i-Islami and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema; and the speeches made at both these Conferences only added fuel to the fire of communal bitterness. The relations between the two communities became more and more estranged, and the minds of the Musalmans inhabiting the city of Cawnpore, both masses and classes, were further poisoned against their Hindu neighbours.

Such were the forces working on either side which kept the Musalmans of Cawnpore away from the Nationalist Movement of 1930.

#### CONGRESS ATTEMPTS TO DRAW IN MUSLIMS.

Some Congress leaders felt this weakness of their movement and made attempts to draw in Muslims. They tried ineffective palliatives. A separate Muslim Congress Committee was formed over which about Rs. 1,500 were spent for propaganda, so that Muslims might join through that Committee. But we are told by a respectable Musalman

gentleman, one of those who worked on that Committee, that the attempt failed. Complaints have been made by some Muslim workers that a few Muslims who joined the Congress Committee at Cawnpore during 1930 did not meet from their Hindu co-workers the sort of treatment that would have helped the growth of mutual love and confidence. We enquired into some of these complaints. We can only say that in the prevailing atmosphere, devoid of mutual trust or appreciation of each other's ways, such complaints would naturally arise.

Thus the gulf went on widening more and more.

#### THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF 1930.

Apart from these general considerations the Civil Disobedience Movement carried within itself elements which in the strained relations of the two communities were liable to create bitterness and friction. The chief activities in 1930 were the picketing of cloth shops, of liquor shops, and of schools and colleges, and the hartals. In these obviously there was ground enough for conflict with the Musalmans.

Picketing too was not always peaceful, in the sense of "purely persuasive." A very prominent Cawnpore Congress leader tells us :—

"In the picketing of cloth-shops, schools, colleges, liquor shops, I was ever in favour of really peaceful picketing. Hardly a few more amongst Congressmen were of my opinion. All the other workers openly and deliberately stood for and permitted obstruction by lying down before shops, etc., by forming cordons or stand'ng close together and thus obstructing the passage. They were conscious they

were going against instructions, therefore they did not preach that to the rank and file but contrived to let their wishes be known to their select lieutenants and carried out."

Muslim cloth-shops too had to be picketed, and were picketed. At liquor shops Muslim customers had to be dealt with. As Muslims had not joined the movement, they thought they ought to have been left alone. Conflict was inevitable.

#### CONFLICTS IN PICKETING.

More than once Congress volunteers picketing Muslim shops were provoked and even assaulted. Once at least people with pieces of cow's flesh in their hands passed significantly before the volunteers telling them plainly, "Will you let us go now and buy toddy? here is cow's flesh in our hands." It must be said to the credit of the volunteers that they remained non-violent under all such provocation. On the Meston Road and the Sadar Bazar some volunteers were actually beaten by Muslim rowdies and yet it is admitted that they remained non-violent. During the local Government School picketing, it is said that some Muslim hooligans who had nothing to do with education, insulted the volunteers, and threatened to assault them. There were some ladies too among the volunteers. It has been said by a prominent Congressman that a Musalman pleader, Mr. Sadik, and another Musalman gentleman, Mr. Mohammed Ayub, intervened and saved Congresswallas from being belaboured. It has been said by several witnesses that several times during the days of picketing of Muslim shops, the situation threatened to develop into a

Hindu-Muslim quarrel, but was always saved by the Congressmen studiously avoiding a conflict.

#### CONGRESS AVOIDING CLASH.

The District Magistrate, in his statement before the Official Enquiry Committee has admitted that "the Town Congress Committee had usually shown a marked tendency to placate the Muslims and avoid giving them offence."

#### ANTI-CONGRESS MOVEMENT AMONGST MUSALMANS.

But while the Congress generally was, in its own interests, anxious to avoid a clash, there were other forces at work as anxious to precipitate one. A few weeks after the start of the Civil Disobedience Movement, an anti-Congress movement appeared in most of the U. P. cities. Cawnpore perhaps afforded the most congenial ground for its growth. The Musalmans of Cawnpore are comparatively more prosperous than the Musalmans of any other city in the United Provinces. Out of a total population of about 1,95,000 within Cawnpore Municipal limits, about 60,000 are Musalmans, and two important and lucrative trades, namely, the leather trade and the Bisat-khana, are practically the monopoly of Musalmans. We are informed that Muslim Tanzim workers from Lucknow and other places, who could not find sufficient scope for their activities in their own cities, and whom, not to speak of the few nationalist Musalmans in their cities, even the general Muslim public there which was largely indifferent towards the national struggle, would not follow in actively opposing the Congress movement, found a congenial field amongst the prosperous but ignorant Muslims of Cawnpore.

## GOVERNMENT'S SHARE IN IT.

It was not possible for us to obtain legal proofs of the share of Government officials in this business. But certain circumstances and some statements in the evidence of witnesses, several of whom are title-holders and loyalists, or even semi-officials, and whose reliability in this matter is beyond question, gave us sufficient indication.

In a public meeting of the Musalmans of Cawnpore, held on the 21st of December 1930, in connection with the Rajabi festival, in which prominent outside Musalman communal leaders like Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni, Maulana Mazharuddin, ed'tor, "Al Aman," and Maulana Shafi Daudi were present. Maulana Hasrat Mohani openly challenged the bona-fides of the Tanzim movement, and said:—

"Main Tanzim ke program ká is liye qáil nahin hoon ke yeh tahrík hukumat ke ishâre se chaltî hai, aur báz is tahrík ke rûh-î-rawân C. I. D. se taalluq rakhte hain."

"I do not believe in the Tanzim programme, because this movement has been started at the instance of the Government and some of its leading spirits are connected with the C. I. D." \*

A gentleman, who was one of the early organizers of the Tanzim movement in Cawnpore tells us that "this Tanzeem movement was given money simply with this object, that the Muslims may not join the Congress." If we could have detailed information as to how the Secret Service Funds of the Government are spent, much light would be thrown on these matters.

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\* 'Sidaqat,' Cawnpore, dated 24th December 1930.

A Tanzim Conference was to be held in Lucknow on the 12th of August 1930. On the 9th of August the Council of the District Muslim League held a special sitting under the presidentship of Maulavi Inayatullah Sabib, of Firangi Mahal, and passed the following resolution :—

“Niháyat motabar zariye se málmûm huá hai ke Tanzîm Conference ka jalsá jo ba tarîkh bárah Agast san tees Ísavi Lucknow men hone wálá hai woh Government ke ishâre par aur Government ke aghráz ko pûrá karne ke liye ba imdád va zer sarparastí hukkámân í zila Lucknow kiyá já rahá hai. L'háza yeh jalsá District Muslim League Lucknow ká birádarán-i-Islám ko mutanabbeh kartá hai ke is jalse kî shirkat se parhez karen aur sáth hi Mauláná Shaukat Ali Sáhib ko ágáh kartá hai ke wuh hargiz aise jalse kî sidárat na karen.”

“We have been very reliably informed that the Tanzim Conference, which is to be held in Lucknow on the 12th of August 1930, has been convened at the instance, and for the purpose of fulfilling the objects of the Government, with the assistance and under the patronage of the officials of the Lucknow district ; therefore this meeting of the District Muslim League of Lucknow warns all Muslim brothers against taking any part in this Conference. It also cautions Maulana Shaukat Ali that he should in no case preside over such a Conference.”

This resolution was published in the Urdu Daily, the ‘Haqiqat,’ of Lucknow, dated 12th August 1930.

The Conference was held as announced, and Maulana Shaukat Ali presided inspite of the warning contained in the above resolution.

A letter written by a Muslim journalist, who is also a

good speaker and who took creditable part in the Civil Disobedience Movement at considerable sacrifice, has been produced before us. The said journalist in that letter says:—

“Zarâ Khân Bahâdur pârtý se mâlûm kijiye, Collector ne mujh par kis qadar dore dâle. Khitâb, honorary magistracy, mulâzimat, har chîz kî lâlach dî. Soobe ke ek bahut bare Hindû afsar ne jinhen âp bhî jânte hain derh sau rupaye mâhwar kî mulâzimat alâwa safar kharch is khidmat ke liye pesh kî ke Zila Cawnpore ke dehâton men sirf châr taqrîren har mahîne Congress ke khilâf kar diyâ karûn. . . .”

#### TRANSLATION.

“Please ask the Khan Bahadur party how much the Collector tried to throw nets round me. He tempted me with everything including title, Honorary Magistracy, and service. A very big Hindu officer of the province, whom you also know, offered me Rs. 150/- p. m., besides travelling expenses, for delivering in the villages of Cawnpore district only four speeches against the Congress, every month.”

No to speak of the general belief of the Hindu witnesses, the majority of Musalmans—about 40 in number—who appeared before us and who are all educated men, have said that there is a general belief in the minds of the Muslim Community that “the Tanzim or Jhanda organization was really financed by the Government.” Those who were organizing it were almost all favourites of the authorities, and the local officials always took active interest in

the movement. We have also been told by another witness who is a prominent advocate, and who says he is prepared to "make a statement on oath," that financial help was given to the Tanzim movement in Cawnpore through a non-Government British Association outside. He says:—"I say it from facts and figures." We questioned one of the prominent witnesses, a local leader of the Tanzim movement who, according to the general belief and also according to his own admission, was one of the principal organizers of the movement in Cawnpore, whether the Government was helping the movement financially either directly or through third parties. His reply was, "I cannot deny it."

While the Government was helping the movement from behind, communal leaders were openly carrying out a virulent propaganda. We have been told by witnesses that prominent Muslim leaders like Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. Mazharuddin, editor of "Al-Aman," Shah Sulaiman of Phulwari, Nawab Muhammad Ismail of Meerut, Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni, the Raja Sahab of Salempur, Baba Khalil Das of Benares, and others visited Cawnpore from time to time, and most exciting speeches were delivered against the Hindus and specially against the Congress. A respectable Muslim witness had also told us that at a private meeting Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Nisar Ahmad, Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni, and Raja Salempur pressed upon the Muslim cloth-merchants of Cawnpore not to yield to the Congress in the matter of the sale of foreign cloth.

#### THE TANZIM MOVEMENT.

The proportions of the Tanzim movement can be judged

from the fact that about 160 Anjumans sprang up in the city. "They began daily to parade the city in batches of twenty or more singing anti-national and anti-Hindu songs." These Anjumans had each their own volunteers, partly in Khaki uniforms and partly without uniforms. Each Anjuman was usually connected with a mosque. The number of volunteers gradually ran up to thousands. Their daily demonstrations assumed a threatening aspect and became a menace for the peace of the city. The ostensible object of all these organizations was to persuade Musalmans to say their Namaz five times a day. Parties of volunteers used to go to Muslim houses and forcibly wake up people at four o'clock in the morning to say their Namaz. But the Muslim gentleman whom we have referred to above says that "the unifying force of it (Tanzim) was the fear which pervaded the Muslim community that the Hindu community wished to trample down all the sentiments and the interests of Musalmans."

Some idea of the money spent on the movement can be had from the paraphernalia of the processions that were a part of it. In August 1930, on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday, a very large procession of Muslims was brought out; their number could not have been less than 25,000. There were about 150 big flags and a much larger number of smaller ones with the procession. Practically every individual carried a small flag. One of the big flags which was made of silk and embroidered with gold was worth about Rs. 350. Other big flags were worth Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 each. About 5,000 men in this procession were in Khaki uniforms of shirts and shorts. Another similar procession of about 15,000 persons, was taken out in December 1930,

on the occasion of Rajbi Sharif. Provocative songs against Hindus were also a common feature of these processions. \*

These Tanzim processions were no doubt brought out in answer to the Congress processions organized in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. But they differed from the Congress processions in that the Muslim processionists carried arms. Ballams (spears), Karaulis (daggers), Khantas (axes), and even drawn swords were always in evidence.

After the big procession of December 1930, in which all sorts of arms were sported on a large scale, some Hindu

\* A few samples are given below :—

- (1) Musalmáno, jigar men dushmanon ke khâr ban jáo,  
Tarap kar phir Alî kî tegh-i-jauhardâr ban jáo,  
Agar mauqa-i-Jihâd âye khushî se josh men âkar  
Katâkar sar Khudâ kî râh men sardâr ban jáo,  
Mitâne ke liye is Kufr ko Islâm kahtâ hai,  
Sharîyat kî taraf se dîn kî talwâr ban jáo.  
Qiyâmat phat pare in mushrikon par momino gar  
tum  
Alam-bardâr ke khâdim alambardâr ban jáo.
- (2) Hân, sâunne â jae is kufr kî kyâ táqat.  
Islâm ke hámi jab khanjar ko uthâte hain.
- (3) Jhagarnâ márnâ aur lootná kâfir ká jáyiz hai,  
Zarâsî bát men âmâda-i-takrâr ho jáo.
- (4) Ham hasti-i-kâfir ko dunyâ se mitâ denge.
- (5) Jab josh men wahdat ke âyenge dikhâ denge,  
Butkhânon kî dîwâren dam bhar men girâ denge.  
Kuffâr pe kar denge hamla ab agar milkar  
Ham khûn ke daryâ álam men bahâ denge ;  
Sharîat par raho qáyim adû ke qatl karne ko,  
Ab Álamgîr, Álamgîr, Álamgîr ban jáo.  
Mitâne ke liye is kufr kî hastî ko dunyâ se  
Alî-i-Haidar-i-Karrâr kî shamshîr ban jáo.

gentlemen complained to the authorities about the nature of these processions, and consequently an order was issued that swords, etc., should not be taken out in procession in the city of Cawnpore. There was practically no big Muslim procession after that, but small mohalla parties continued to parade the city every now and then, and some of them inspite of the official order still carried Khantas, Ballams, etc., and the authorities took no action.

#### INCREASING MUTUAL DISTRUST.

Thus, since the stopping of the Non-co-operation Movement in 1922, mutual distrust had been growing between the two communities. The year 1930 instead of improving the communal situation made matters worse. The Hindus, especially at Cawnpore, felt a grievance against their Muslim brethren for not only keeping aloof from the National movement but also in collusion with the enemies of the country trying to stand in its way. The Muslims, on their side, felt little enthusiasm for Swaraj in the hands of people whom they associated with the communal movements of the previous seven years and even thought that Congress interference with their business, when they had kept away from the movement, was unjustifiable. Distrust went on developing, and with it bitterness of feeling. Thus a magazine had been created which waited only for a spark to burst any time into a conflagration.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE INEVITABLE FOLLOWS.

#### BHAGAT SINGH'S EXECUTION.

THE spark that was needed was supplied by Hartal of the 24th of March 1931 called in connection with Bhagat Singh's execution. This incident greatly upset the younger minds, and weakened the hold of the Congress on them, particularly as the execution had been ordered at the psychological moment when Congress ranks were altogether depleted of responsible workers on account of their having gone to attend the Congress sessions at Karachi.

On the evening of the 23rd, Bhagat Singh and his companions were executed at Lahore. It was not unexpected. It appears that the local officials, at least at Cawnpore, knew it was coming.

That same evening, the City Kotwal went to Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and told him that Bhagat Singh and his comrades might soon be executed, that the Congress would very likely then observe a Hartal, and that there would be danger to peace on account of the general excitement. On this ground he requested Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi not to leave Cawnpore for the next few days.

On the 24th, at about 8-30 a.m. news reached the Congress Office, that Bhagat Singh and his companions had been executed at seven o'clock the previous evening in the Lahore Central Jail. A hartal was decided upon and proclaimed by beat of drum.

Says Shri G. G. Jog, a prominent member of the local

Congress Committee, in his written statement:—

“On the 24th morning, between 8 and 9, I got the information that the execution of Bhagat Singh and others had taken place on the 23rd evening. This I got corroborated on phone from Delhi. Thereafter I motored to the Pratap Office, where I found the City Kotwal with late Mr. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. I told Ganeshji about the executions. Then we two chalked out a programme for the observance of the Bhagat Singh Day which was as follows:—

“(1) Hartal as usual.

“(2) Bare-footed and bare-headed, silent procession.

“(3) Meeting in the evening.

“After seeing Ganeshji, I with the City Kotwal motored to Carshed Office of the Cawnpore Electric Supply Co., where we saw Mr. A. P. Curtis and suggested him to suspend the running of the tram cars for the day as, in our opinion, there was great excitement among the public. Mr. Curtis agreed with our view. . . . We returned to Congress Office. . . . I instructed the above-mentioned programme to be announced by beat of drum.”

#### PREVIOUS HARTALS IN CAWNPORE.

Like picketing, hartals also often created ill-will and friction, and their danger was increased at times by indiscretions and unwarranted compulsions to which irresponsible people sometimes resorted. Moreover, some time before the 24th March a new element had been introduced in these hartals which made them still more dangerous. The effect of the hartal observed on the death of Maulana Muhammad Ali is thus described by Shri Jog, in his written statement:

“The Congress had declared a hartal on Muhammad Ali Day, but anticipating trouble it was particular for its observance on that day. The object was that the Hindu shopkeepers should also close their shops and thus may not offer an opportunity to Mohammedan hooligans to force them for closing their shops. In spite of this precaution, the Parade Bazar shopkeepers were dispersed by Muslim hooligans by force, who also obstructed all vehicular traffic.”

This obstruction was in turn practised by the Congress Volunteers on the Pandit Motilal Day. Says Shri Narain Prasad Arora, President of the Cawnpore Town Congress Committee:—

“On the hartal of the 6th of April 1919, all vehicular traffic was stopped. Hindus and Muslims all joined willingly. After that several times we experienced that attempts . . . to stop vehicular traffic resulted in quarrels not only between Hindus and Muslims, but also between Hindus and Hindus, therefore latterly we always discouraged it until the Mohammad Ali Hartal Day (in January 1931).

“(On that day, the Musalmans stopped Ekkas, Tongas, etc., from plying, at the point of Khantas and Ballams. The Hindus did not want to lag behind them. They too, on the death of Pandit Motilal (February 1931), began forcibly to stop (vehicular) traffic.”

He also stated that on that day some boys spread brick-bats on the tram lines to block the way. There was some trouble, but “fortunately, responsible Congressmen reached Badshahi Naka just in time to stop it.”

On the 20th of March, Bhagat Singh's application

for mercy had been rejected by the Viceroy. A hartal was announced in the city under the joint signatures of the presidents of the Town Congress Committee and of the Youth League. There was in this hartal again obstruction to vehicular traffic. Dr. Jawaharlal, a prominent local Congress leader, was informed between 1 p. m. and 2 p. m. that near Badshahi Naka, some boys were obstructing tram-cars and that there was danger of a serious fracas. Dr. Jawaharlal went straight to the Badshahi Naka. The rejection of Bhagat Singh's application had upset some people's minds. When Dr. Jawaharlal reached the spot he found that people had obstructed the Tramway line by laying bricks over it and on either side the tramcars stood stranded. They were also stopping other vehicular traffic, such as motor cars, tongas, ekkas, etc. With some difficulty Dr. Jawaharlal got the line cleared and dispersed the crowd. Scarcely had he left the place when he was informed that the boys had again blocked the tram-line. He went back and got the line cleared with the help of some other Congressmen. Thus, somehow the trouble had been averted on the 20th March.

The above will give some idea of the working of hartals at Cawnpore. It also shows that of all places Badshahi Naka was the storm centre where every time there was trouble. On the 24th also it was here that the trouble seems to have begun.

#### THE HARTAL OF THE 24TH OF MARCH.

Shri Raghubar Dayal Bhatta, Secretary of the Hindu Sabha and a prominent member of the Local Congress Committee, states :

“On the 24th at about 9 o'clock I came to know of Bhagat Singh's execution. A man came to me and said that he had been phoned to from the Congress Office to the effect that he should request me to get the Nayaganj Bazar closed. I closed my shop and went to Nayaganj at once and asked the people to close the shops, and they did so. Then I went to the Badshahi Naka to get the cloth shops closed there. The Nayaganj shops were Kirana shops. In Nayaganj, there are four or five Muslim shop-keepers who always closed their shops at my request, and so they did that day also. At the Badshahi Naka I saw a great crowd. I asked the people to disperse, and some of them did disperse. I saw at the Badshahi Naka that some people were asking those who were passing that way in conveyances and cars to get down. I saw there was some coercion in it.

#### COERCION IN THE HARTAL.

“I persuaded those people not to compel any body to alight from his car and to leave it to their choice. In this persuasion I did not succeed every time. Sometimes I did succeed. In one case some Mohammedan ladies were going on an ekka. The men got down from the Ekka, but on my persuasion the crowd permitted the ladies to go in the Ekka. This crowd consisted of all sorts of people, khaddarites as well as non-khaddarites, boys as well as older people. No member of the Town Congress Executive was there at that time excepting myself. I was put to great trouble in trying to disperse the crowd. Every time I dispersed them they again gathered. I sent for Ganeshji.”

Another witness says that an Anglo-Indian gentleman and a lady passing through Badshahi Naka on a tonga were asked to get down, and, on their refusing to do so, were struck, and the gentleman bled from the head.

At various other places also matters were taking a similar turn.

At Gilisbazar :

Shri Jog says: "At about 12 noon I learnt that small boys were obstructing vehicular traffic near Gilisbazar Police outpost, so I went there in person to see that nobody stops vehicular traffic. While thus engaged I got telephonic messages from the City Kotwal that there was some trouble at Badshahi Naka. I requested late Ganeshji and Mr. Iqbal Krishna Kapoor, Advocate, to go to Badshahi Naka and see what the trouble was. Mr. Kapoor phoned from Badshahi Naka that the situation there and at Moolganj crossing was rather serious and that my presence there was necessary.

"In my opinion my presence at Gilisbazar crossing was indispensable."

At Mall Road :

Fida Ahmad Khan Sahib Sherwani, who passed the Mall on his way to the Civil Lines from the Railway station, between 12 a. m. and 1 p. m., noticed that many shop-windows and glass panes were broken.

He says: "When I was coming from the Railway Station I saw the shops of Munna Lal, Whiteaway Laidlaw, and others, having their window-glasses broken. The glasses had been broken, but the trouble had not certainly assumed the communal aspect. I also saw the glasses of Rustamjee wine-merchant's shop broken. When I reached

there I did not see the crowds there. I saw the glass panes broken. As all of the shops were closed, so I assumed that they must have been broken by the crowds."

Mr. E. V. David, Bar.-at-Law, says that "a lady on the Mall Road had a brick thrown at her and was hit, in a car. Another Christian lady was forced to get down from her tonga. Col. O'Neill, Civil Surgeon, had bricks thrown at him, . . . and his wind-screen smashed. Mr. Fischer was made to get down from his cycle. Another lady and her husband received injuries on the face and the back, and her little girl's face was cut. It was all before the rioting began." Mr. F. T. Fischer, Professor in the Christ Church College, says: "I was going on a cycle near the Currency Office. . . . Some one knocked off my topi, and began beating me. . . . Some one snatched off my sun-glasses. . . . Somebody was saying, Mat máro. Two college students somehow got me away."

At other places :

Shri Narain Prasad Arora, President, Town Congress Committee, relates :

"On the 24th, at about 10 a. m., as I was passing in a tonga towards the Railway Station I was stopped by a number of boys near Marwari Vidyalaya but allowed to proceed after being recognized. I saw people, mainly boys and one or two adults, stopping a lorry by obstructing the street by means of a rope. A little ahead on the other side of the canal bridge, I saw a thela stopped; it had some bales on it. Some boys were crying, Throw down the bales, and put fire to them. This was in Nayaganj near Marwari School. I saw one of these boys carrying the National Flag." But Shri Arora was in a hurry to catch the train for Luck-

now, so he could not assert himself and stop the mischief. Similar things were happening at other places and more or less exaggerated rumours about these happenings were increasing the tenseness of the situation and were reacting on the Muslim sections very strongly. Mr. Noor-i-Ilahi, who may be taken as an example of extreme Muslim sensitiveness, says in his written statement in English, as follows :

“On the 24th March, between 11 and 12 a. m. . . . a recognized member of the Congress Committee came to my shop and told me, ‘Āj Congress kā hukm hai tum dukān band kar do, varna tum jāno.’ ‘It is the order of the Congress Committee to-day to close the shop or be ready to bear the consequences.’ I went to an adjoining shop for consultation, and there the news was re-confirmed that the Congress Hindus are bent upon using extreme force to-day, if the Muslims are not going to surrender. This discussion was going on when we heard of forcible closing of traffic on Badshahi Naka, brickbatting on Kotwali, forcible closing of Muslim shops just behind Kotwali, Moolganj, Thatheri Bazar, Chowk Bazar, Sarrafa, etc. . . . However, all of us agreed upon the seriousness of the situation created by the Congress and decided to close down the shops having in view the safety of our shops and of our lives.”

While all this was going on, the situation at Badshahi Naka became critical. We have seen how Shri Raghubar Dayal Bhatta had been trying his best to control the situation there, and had sent for Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. The Congress Office was also alive to the danger and was concentrating its best workers there. Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor thus narates his story :—

“ At about 10. 30 a. m. on the 24th March 1931, I received a telephonic message from the Congress Office through Pandit Ramashray, directing me to go to Badshahi Naka via the Congress Office. I at once got on my cycle and reached Gills Bazar ki Chowki, where I found a group of two or three young men and two or three small boys. This group asked me to get down, but I refused saying that I had received no instructions from the Congress not to go on cycle. This group became indignant, but not minding their threats I reached the Congress Office where I was told by Ramashrayji that I was wanted by Lallomalji and Bhattaji at the Badshahi Naka, where some youngsters were giving them trouble.

“ Mr. Makund Charan Nigam, who was also at the Congress Office, accompanied me. We passed through Meston Road and Moolganj, and found most of the shops closed on account of the Hartal. On turning towards Badshahi Naka from Moolganj, I found that people had collected here and there, some of whom were rebuking the boys for their mischief. On reaching Badshahi Naka, I met Lallomalji and Raghubar Dayal Bhatta. I scolded the younger section among the rowdies for their foolish activities. These activities were :

“(1) Asking the men on ekkas or cycles, to get down.

“(2) Asking the policemen who happened to pass by to take off their pagris.

“(3) Throwing stones at the Kotwali, etc.

“I got hold of a few small boys, took them aside, and severely reprimanded them for the mischief they were doing.

“ In the name of the Congress I appealed to them to desist from their actions, which they did. They accompanied

me and got hold of other boys who began to stop their playmates from throwing stones, etc. Within half an hour the situation had become quiet at Badshahi Naka when I heard that stones were being pelted at the Kotwali. I hastened to the spot and found that a peculiar group consisting of one or two young men (and eight to ten boys were out for mischief. I scolded the leader of this mischievous gang, and they disappeared from Collectorganj. When I returned to Badshahi Naka I found this group again doing mischief. As soon as this group saw me they disappeared to some other quarter.

#### GANESHJI AT THE BADSHAHI NAKA.

“Just then (at about 11.30 or 12 noon, our leader Syt. Ganesh Shankarji Vidyarthi appeared on the scene. The City Kotwal also arrived from the Kotwali at Badshahi Naka. Ganeshji addressed the excited crowd in his usual tone, severely reprimanded them for their attitude, and appealed to them to disperse quietly and not molest people going on ekkas or motors. All along when the departed leader was addressing the crowd at the Naka the City Kotwal was present.

“People obeyed and quietly dispersed. Ganeshji and the Kotwal left the place then, instructing me to go to the Mall, as he had heard that small boys were throwing stones at the shops there. I requested Ganeshji to send Balkrishnaji there, as I was not in a position to leave the Naka. He agreed. After Ganeshji had left, a severe quarrel took place between two rival groups, both Hindus, consisting if I am not mistaken, of Dalals. They appeared with lathis, and the fight was to begin when I intervened and, in the

name of those for whom they were observing Hartal that day, appealed to them to disperse. The two sections quietly walked away. But the whole atmosphere appeared to be charged, and it appeared that the execution of Bhagat Singh and others had put a rather severe strain upon the public. Just then at about 12.30 a constable in uniform came from Moolganj. Two or three boys began to press him to take off his pagri which he did, but still they would not leave him. I ran to the place, rebuked the boys, dispersed them and accompanied the policeman to the Kotwali. On returning from there, I found that a group had again collected at the Naka and were forcing a thelawala to stop plying his thela which was loaded with parts of some machinery. I implored the crowd to be calm and let the thela proceed. With the help of the volunteers it was taken towards Collectorganj. I found at the Naka about this time that the few volunteers who were there were tired and were not enough to control the sort of mischief that was being done. I wanted to have more men from the Ashram."

#### TENSION DOMINANTLY POLITICAL.

But before Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor could arrange for some more volunteers from the Congress Office, things took a new and a most remarkable turn which changed the whole situation. So far as we have seen, the mischief in various places was being done generally by small boys and youngsters who had got too excited over Bhagat Singh's execution. They were also supported by the rowdy sections of the crowd. So far this whole mischief, as we have seen, had been directed against vehicular traffic and against some shops at the Mall. The police also had come in for their share and had been molested at Badshahi Naka. Stones

had been thrown at the Kotwali by small boys, and in some places even Europeans and Anglo-Indians had been molested, and in one or two cases severely handled. From all this it is obvious that upto 12 o'clock the tension was dominantly political in its nature and seemed to have little of the communal tinge. Suddenly about this time there was a radical change in the situation. The police, the Anglo-Indians, the Government, all recede into the background, and the Hindus and Muslims find themselves at grips with each other. The turn is so sudden and so overwhelming that before the Congress can fully grasp its nature and proportions, it loses its footing. We will try to give some idea as to how this change was brought about.

#### HOW IT BECAME COMMUNAL.

A number of witnesses have narrated before us facts which throw light on this question. Shaikh Ghazi Khizr Muhammad Sahib, who is a member of the Jamiatul-Ulama-i-Hind, has thus narrated his experience :

“ On the 24th at about 12 o'clock, I saw two persons clad in Khaddar, coming from the Gilis Bazar Chauki side, and passing over Meston Road on a tonga and crying all the way with their hands outstretched, ‘Hindus and Musalmans have begun fighting!’ When this tonga reached the Moolganj crossing, another tonga, in which another set of two similarly clad persons were seated, was also seen by me coming from the same direction, making the same sort of announcement in the same style. After a few minutes, I saw a third tonga in which also two persons similarly clad were seated and doing exactly the same thing. I recognize most of the Congressmen in Cawnpore and, as far

as I can judge, none of these six persons could have been a Congressman. I also know that upto that time not a single Musalman had quarrelled. I can say this of Meston Road, where I saw things personally, and not for the rest of Cawnpore ; but to the best of my knowledge, I believe my statement is correct (for the whole town). It was only after this that the fighting started between the Hindus and the Musalmans. I have often seen constables dressed in Khaddar from head to foot accompanying C. I. D. officers, both Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. I have often spoken about the same to the C. I. D. officers. Immediately after the tongas had passed, I observed here a Hindu, there a Muslim, running out from various lanes and corners, one abusing the Hindus and saying how they had killed the Muslims, another abusing the Muslims and saying how they had killed the Hindus. Immediately after this, the general fighting began. These men who ran out from lanes and corners were some of them looking like Hindus and some like Musalmans. Some were dressed in Khaddar and some in other kinds of clothes. I am morally sure that these people were the secret agents of C. I. D."

Shri Siddha Gopal Varma, who has been practising at the Cawnpore Bar since 1909, after discounting the theory that the quarrel began on account of the Hartal or on account of some Eurasians having been roughly handled, proceeds :

" It is reported by various reliable persons that on the evening of the 24th March, several people simultaneously proclaimed in various parts of the city that Hindus were assaulting the Muslims and vice versa. This started fighting and mischief in different parts of the city."

In addition to this general incitement, several cases have

been brought to our notice in which policemen or persons suspected as such took an active part in giving a Hindu-Muslim turn to the disturbance. Two of us, in the course of a local inspection, were informed by respectable eye-witnesses that a constable in uniform, about 200 yards from the Moolganj crossing, on the Butcherkhana side, some time after 12 noon, when the atmosphere was fairly tense, all of a sudden, began to beat a Hindu passer-by and to shout that the Hindus were murdering the Muslims on all sides, that mosques were being burnt, and that the cowardly Muslims of the locality were doing nothing to avenge their co-religionists. This spread excitement all over the locality which is almost exclusively a Muslim quarter.

#### THE C. I. D. INCIDENT.

Shortly after, another incident occurred at the Badshahi Naka which is universally believed to have definitely given a communal turn to the affair and started the rioting.

Shri Madan Mohan Pandey, who is a merchant and a contractor, and has his shop at the Badshahi Naka, says:

“Between 12 and 1 p. m., a man who was supposed to be a C. I. D. was trying to sit in an ekka. I do not know how he came there. But afterwards I saw a cycle there which people said belonged to him and had been left behind. People did not permit him to sit on the ekka and beat him. He also used his stick. Then he ran away towards Moolganj and people followed him.”

Many witnesses have described how this man deliberately provoked the crowd. He first passed through them on foot carrying a bicycle on hand, and then having gone a few hundred feet rode back and tried to pass through that same crowd. Not being permitted to do so, he tried the

ekka, and after a final scuffle ran towards Moolganj crossing chased by the younger elements in the crowd.

Rai Sahib Rup Chand Jain, a banker and an Honorary Magistrate, who was for five years Chairman of the District Board, and who resides at the junction of the Halsey Road, the Moolganj Road and the Chhappar Mohal Road, has given a written statement to us which contains the following :—

“There is no doubt that the trouble in the beginning was anti-Government but all of a sudden it took the turn of Hindu-Muslim riots.

“At about 1 p. m., I saw a noisy but unarmed crowd of about 50 to 60 boys following and jeering at a person alleged to be a C. I. D. On enquiry from some of the boys, I learnt that they were making a fun of him. There was no indication of any communal aspect in that. From the Chhappar Mohal Road this crowd passed to Roberts Park (i. e., Shera Babu's Park) across the Moolganj Road. Hardly the crowd had gone 30 to 40 yards from my house when the C. I. D. raised a cry. Immediately after that a large number of rowdy Muslims were seen scattered on the Halsey and Moolganj Roads armed with lathis, ballams, khantas, etc. They began to challenge and abuse the Hindus in general in a most filthy manner. The boys following the C. I. D. took to their heels, and ran away. One of these boys is said to have been given a lathi blow. The rioters began to attack the passers-by and throw brickbats on the shops and buildings. Some of them began to break open and loot the shops of Lala Ram Prasad Sarraf and of two betel-sellers in that vicinity which I could see. My house was also stoned. All this happened within a very short time.

The manner in which the rioters appeared, and the attitude that they took raises a strong suspicion that it was pre-arranged."

Shera Babu's evidence corroborates Rai Sahib Rup Chand's.

So, obviously, the ruse had caught, and a successful beginning made. The persons who got hurt in this incident ran away in various directions and were seen by different witnesses at different places. Shri Madho Prasad Agarwal, who is a merchant and a distinguished worker of a local Seva-Samiti, left his house at a quarter after twelve, wandered in various parts of the city, and saw no signs of any unusual commotion till he came upon a group of boys who had been hurt in the incident mentioned above. We will give his story in his own words:—

"When I left my house at a quarter past twelve, I was still unaware that riots had broken out in the town. I went towards Chowk Post Office. When I arrived at Meston Road and Sarrafa crossing, Congress volunteer Hamid Khan was announcing by beat of drum that in connection with the Hartal which had been observed that day on account of Bhagat Singh's execution, there would be a silent procession in the afternoon at three-thirty, and people would march in twos. On the way, I had seen that all shops from my place in Old Sabzi Mandi upto the Meston Road crossing were closed. When I proceeded from Meston Road crossing Post Office, I noticed that some Muslim shops also were being closed. Then I reached the Post Office. In the Post Office I noticed no signs of any commotion. From the Post Office I proceeded towards Moolganj, and I noticed that all the shops had closed in the meanwhile. Almost all those shops were Muslim

shops. Upto that time I had not heard anything about any disturbance having occurred in the city. The special thing that I noticed in Moolganj was that on both sides of the road Muslims were going about with lathis, ballams, khantas, etc. From there I reached Robert Park without being molested by anybody. There I saw some young men and some boys coming from Butcherkhana, excited and running. They were shouting that they had been beaten by Muslims in Butcherkhana. It was a group of about 25 persons, and two or three such groups came from the same side in the same condition. I tried to stop them from shouting that Muslims had beaten them, because I was afraid of the outbreak of communal riots. From there, I came back towards Indira Hotel. Then I saw other such groups from the same direction. I questioned those groups as to why they were beaten by the Muslims. They replied that they were pursuing a C. I. D., who ran into the Butcherkhana and there raised a great cry that he was a Muslim and was being beaten by Hindus, and so the Muslims at that place beat them in return."

#### AT BADSHAHI NAKA.

The injured boys returned to the Badshahi Naka and changed the whole atmosphere there. We have seen how Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor had left his post at Badshahi Naka to summon, if possible, some more Congress volunteers for his help. During his absence, the C. I. D. incident had happened. We will give below, in his own words, how the injured boys were received at Badshahi Naka :—

"I wanted to have more men from the Ashram. I went to Messrs. Rikhinath Manohardas' place to send a

telephonic message to the Congress Office, but the servant there would not open the shop. I then telephoned to the Congress Office from Messrs. Anandji Haridass's Office, near Coolie Bazar, and asked them to send Mr. G. G. Jog and a few volunteers to this side. I had hardly got down when I heard that two or three boys were following a constable in Mufti towards Moolganj. I did not see them myself, but I had hardly gone as far as the house of Syt. Madho Prasad Advocate, when I found two boys running back with injuries on their forehead. They told me that they were beaten by the Mohammedans who were collecting in Moolganj. I had hardly pacified the boys. I was arranging for the proper dressing of their injuries when stones began to be hurled from the Moolganj crossing side. Hindus, who had collected in groups of 20 and 30, also began to throw stones. I dissuaded them from doing so, but I was forcibly dragged to Lala Phoolchand's place."

#### ATTACK ON SHRI G. G. JOG

The next blow followed in quick succession, and was calculated to give the situation completely and irrevocably a communal turn. We are referring to the attack on Shri G. G. Jog under circumstances which we give below in Shri Jog's own words :

"Just after this, at about 1-30 p. m., news came to me that lathi fight had started at Moolganj. I immediately hurried to the spot. On my way to Chauk crossing, I successfully pacified Hindu and Muslim crowds.

"The road between the Chowk Post Office and Moolganj crossing was full of Mohammedans armed with deadly weapons and lathies, and they were beating every cow that

came there from Hindu side lanes. In that crowd I proceeded and tried to ascertain the cause. They informed me that Hindus were assaulting Mohammedans at Badshahi Naka, therefore I should go there and stop that. While pacifying the crowd, I was attacked by some Mohammedan hooligans, and they tried to assault me, but I was protected by some other Mohammedans at three places between Chauk Post Office and Moolganj crossing.

“Some Mohammedans were throwing stones at Lala Roop Chand Jain's house and had broken practically all window glasses. I successfully dissuaded the Mohammedans from throwing stones.

“———(witness named a person whom we shall call ‘A’) requested me to go to Moolganj crossing, as there was a huge crowd there. When I reached the crossing, I found a batch of about 12 constables or so with one head constable standing and a hostile Muslim crowd at Moolgunj crossing, and I could see Hindu crowd at Badshahi Naka. Seeing the position serious, I requested the head constable to disperse the crowd, but to no purpose. I myself then requested the Muslim crowd to go back, and they responded. I then turned towards the Badshahi Naka, signalling the Hindu crowd to go back. I had hardly gone 20 steps when ‘A’ came with 3 or 4 Muslims with lathis, etc., in their hands, and started giving me lathi blows. I could stand 3 lathies on the head, but the fourth blow probably with a khanta made me reel, and then I fell down. Thereupon I received six more lathi blows which made me unconscious.”

The question is, who is this ‘A’? and, when the Muslim crowd had responded to Shri Jog's entreaties, what special grudge had this particular individual against Shri Jog to

strike him? and, if he had any grudge, why did he strike him when Shri Jog was going to disperse the Hindu crowd? and why did he restrain himself when Shri Jog was remonstrating with the Musalmans?

The following statement of Shri Jog throws further light on the real nature of the incident :

“ The man who struck me with lathies is well-known to me. He is a goonda. He had no personal grudge against me, so far as I know ; when I was being protected by the Muslims at the third time, this man came to me and persuaded me to go to the crossing and persuaded the Muslims there to disperse.

“ I went to the crossing, but I did not notice whether he was following me or not. When the Muslims began to retire at my request, and I was proceeding towards the Hindus to disperse them, all of a sudden this man attacked me.”

As was inevitable, this attack on Shri Jog set the whole Hindu community ablaze. Within a couple of hours, the whole city was in the grip of a communal storm which shook it to its very foundations. But before we describe the progress of this storm, we would mention another incident of a like nature which followed shortly after.

#### LOOTING OF CONGRESS SECRETARY'S HOUSE.

This was the looting of the house of Shri Piareylal Agarwal, the Secretary of the Town Congress Committee. We give below the circumstances of this loot in the words of Shri Radhe Raman Agarwal, who is an uncle of Shri Piareylal, and who was in charge of the house in the absence of Shri Piareylal who had gone to Karachi :—

“ On the 24th of March at about ten o'clock, I was informed that Bhagat Singh had been executed and that the Congress had declared a hartal. I closed my shop and made straight for my house. On the way I saw Ram Nath Tandon, ex-Secretary of the Congress Committee and the Manager of the Khaddar Bhandar, dissuading boys from forcing the people to get down from conveyances. These boys were stopping tram-cars and forcing people to get down from conveyances. I saw all this on my way, reached home, took my meals and went to sleep.

“ At about two o'clock Piareylal's mother's sister woke me up and told me that there was a riot going on in the city. Piareylalji is Secretary of the Town Congress Committee. I am his uncle. I got up a little perturbed, went to the balcony and saw from there that on the Moolganj crossing Musalmans had collected on one side and Hindus on the other, in groups of one to two hundred each. The Musalmans had gathered in the direction of my house, and I was constantly hearing their cries of Allaho Akbar. I saw both Hindus and Musalmans throwing brickbats at each other and assaulting stray passers-by of the other community. Sometimes the fighting stopped, the crossing got cleared of the crowd for some time, and then the fighting was again resumed.

“ Just then about 50 policemen, armed with bayonets, were seen coming from the side of Dipty-ká-Parao over the La Touche Road. They stood in line near the Moolganj mosque, with their bayonets fixed. On seeing them, I thought that peace would now be restored, came down the staircase of my house, and went up to the shop of Dr. Abdus-Samad. From there I saw, and (witness gave two names) sub-inspect-

ors of the C. I. D., with a number of other policemen, some of whom were in plain clothes and armed with lathies, and others were in uniform but without bayonets, picking up brickbats and throwing them towards the Hindus with their own hands. These policewalas were mixed up with the Muslim crowd. On seeing them, I returned home.

“ At the time of leaving my house I had seen Shri Brij Narain Mehta, B. A., manager of the National Press (belonging to Shri Piareylal and located in the same house in which he lives), profusely bleeding and washing his head in the courtyard of the house. I had applied tincture to his wounds and had left him in the house to take rest. When I was returning I saw Dr. Shambhu Dayal going towards his house. I told him that there was a wounded man in my house and requested him to give first aid. Dr. Shambhu Dayal said that he was just returning after dressing the wounds of Shri Jog. I opened the doors of my house to let in light for the dressing of the wounds of Shri Mehta. I was just arranging for the dressing, when I saw a group of seventy or seventy-five Musalmans armed with khantas, ballams, and lathies coming from the Anwarganj side. I got afraid and began to close the doors of my house; but before I could close the central door, the group of Musalmans had reached the place and begun to batter the doors with their lathies. I ran up-stairs. Some others also, including the Hindu and Muslim employes of our press went up with me. The Musalmans entered and carried away all the account books, papers, ornaments, cash, etc. that they found in the shop below, including boxes.

“ When this incident was taking place, the City Kotwal was personally present at a distance of about 50 to 60 yards

from Piareylalji's house. Pittambar Lal Agarwal and Mahabir Ojha told the Kotwal that Shri Piareylal's house was being looted and requested him to save it. But the Kotwal paid no heed.

"Immediately after the looting of the house, a thanadar, with three constables, came to the spot. I told him what had happened, pointed out to him the people who were going away with looted property and requested him to take the property from them. I also told the thanadar that these people had wounded two of our men. The looters were at that time about 50 yards from the place where the thanadar stood. The thanadar and the constables were all Hindus. In reply to my request they advised me to close my doors and said they would see to the rest some other time. The fifty policemen, whom I have mentioned above, were also standing all this time about fifty yards from my house. The Kotwal too was standing in their midst. . . . The wounded in our house included one employe of the press, the manager Mr. Mehta, and a servant of Shri Kanhayalalji Hakim, treasurer of the local Congress Committee. Nobody else was wounded."

The following further particulars, which were gathered by him from eye-witnesses, were supplied to us by Shri Piareylal himself, who was away at Karaehi when the riots broke out, and returned to Cawnpore on the 28th.

"No Musalman of my Mohalla took part in the attack. On the other hand, the Musalmans of my Mohalla at once assembled and tried to persuade the invaders to go back. They partly succeeded. About half the invaders did go back, but the remaining 50 or so insisted upon looting my house. Two of my Musalman neighbours, Tlahi Baklish

Baliwala and Karim Nalband were beaten by the invaders while trying to protect my property. Two men in geruva clothes were guiding the rest in the loot. Just near my house there were richer Hindus than myself none of whom was touched. Those who looted took away cash and every small bit of paper including registers connected with the Congress Committee and with my press and also a box containing bonds connected with my money-lending business, but did not touch any other property like cycles, furniture and press materials. My press had long been under Government suspicion. During the movement of 1930-31, it had been searched 27 times within twelve months."

The incidents narrated above show how matters suddenly took a communal turn. The news of the attack on Shri Jog spread in the city in the form of a rumour that he had been killed, which further aggravated the situation. How this rumour spread and what its effect upon the people was would best be seen from the statement of Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor, which we give below :

#### THE FIRE SPREADS.

"The two boys whom I saw injured on the forehead were about 12 years of age each. As soon as these boys arrived, there was a hue and cry from all sides, 'The Muslims have come from the Rotiwali Gali!' 'Come out brother Hindus!' Thus the Hindus were gathering in groups between Badshahi Naka and Moolganj. On the other side, I noticed that the crowd of Muslims was collected with khantas and lathies. Just when Hindus were coming out in groups with lathies and before Ganeshji arrived, we heard the rumour that Mr. Jog had been killed in Moolganj. Some people went on proclaiming this rumour through Moolganj

Badshahi Naka, Generalganj, etc. I tried to stop them and to ascertain the truth from them, but they would not stop. Some time after this Mr. Jog was brought to the house of Mr. Mangli Prasad, advocate, wounded on the head. This incident reacted upon the Hindu mind most strongly, with the result that I saw some Hindus, grown-up people, full of a spirit of vengeance against all Muslims. They were so much blinded that when just in front of the house of Lala Phulehand a Hindu wearing pyjama was trying to take ice for Mr. Jog, some of these Hindu enthusiasts came down upon him and wanted to attack him thinking that he was a Muslim. His explanation that he was a Hindu and that he was taking ice for Mr. Jog was not believed by them until Mr. Phulehand had to intervene by giving the man his own dhoti and making him look like a Hindu. People were crying, 'Do not protect Muslims, bring them out.' It was after this that Ganeshji arrived there. The situation had become so tense that even I was feeling helpless. This was Ganeshji's coming to the Badshahi Naka for the second time. I had been there all through."

The fire spread all over the city. The best way to give some idea of the disturbances in various parts is to reproduce the narratives of a few eye-witnesses regarding principal localities. We have seen the condition at Badshahi Naka. We continue Shri Kapoor's statement from the point at which we left it:

"I left Lala Phoolchand's place and met him (Ganeshji) near Babu Mangali Prasad's gate on the Halsey Road. We then made an effort to force back the Hindu crowd towards Badshahi Naka. We were successful so far that the Hindu crowd stopped throwing stones at the Musalman crowd

opposite. But they would not leave the crossing. Ganeshji insisted that they should go back to their houses. One of crowd got enraged at Ganeshji and stated that he would even beat Ganeshji with a lathi if he forced them to go back. Ganeshji with bended head asked this 'Badmash' to hit him if he liked. We then formed a cordon in which we were assisted by Pt. Ganga Prasad Dube, Vakil, and others. After some time the crowd began to dwindle.

#### THE LOOTING OF SHOPS.

“We then came to the Naka and found that looting had begun. We saw some people (Hindus) bringing heaps of shoes, etc., with them. We snatched the looted property from them and scolded them severely. As soon as we entered the Jata-Bazar (shoe-market), people began to run. We saw one Muslim shop near the Elgin Mills Agency being looted, another was being broken open, we rushed to the shop which was being looted, dragged the persons out, and then ran towards the other shop. We were successful in driving away the crowd from there. We posted two volunteers to protect this shop. Just then we received information that 8 to 10 Musalmans were locked in a house near by and the crowd below was trying to force the house open. We ran to the house and had a talk with the Musalmans from below, and requested them to accompany us, but they were afraid to come out. We then posted a respectable-looking young man there and took word from him and from the mohalla people that the Musalmans there would not be molested in any way. I have reasons to state that all these Musalmans were protected to the very last and were safely sent out after a few days. As we were coming back, we saw the first shop again being

looted. We rushed to that shop and turned the people out. I asked my friend Shri Radhe Shyam advocate who lived close by to supply a lock and get this shop locked, which he did. A novel feature of this loot was that we found people rushing at the shops and taking out looted property and shouting 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai!' and 'Inqilâb zindâ bâd.' As Congressmen, we were ashamed at this conduct of the mob. Ganeshji addressed the people, asking them whether Gandhiji would be pleased to hear his 'Jais' while they were committing all sorts of robberies, dacoities, etc.

#### MURDER AND ARSON.

"It was now about four o'clock. From here we came to another painful spot, viz., the Ban Bazar Mosque, which had already been partly destroyed by the crowd. We went inside the Mosque and found two Musalmans there, one killed and the other having almost fatal injuries. The latter, a young boy, was crying for water. We sent for water, and finding his condition critical we approached the Kotwal, who was present on the Halsey Road. Ganeshji narrated the story to the Kotwal but the latter was of opinion that it was not the proper time to get the boy removed. However, when we came back to the mosque we found that a group had collected there, and with their help we tried to remove him, but we could not; he expired in our presence. An hour or so before this I had seen a Pathan lying severely wounded near a peepal tree at the turning of the Naka towards Generalganj. He was in a semi-conscious state with rather severe injuries. We could not wait to help him. We then left the place and again passing through Generalganj, Bazaza, Ghummi Mohal and other Mohallas, we reached

the corner of the Kotwalshwar Temple in the centre of Chowk. Here also we saw people ('Hindus'), even Sadhus with looted property, all over the road. We also found people collected in hundreds for the protection of the temple. They cried out, 'Mahatmaji ki Jai!' Ganeshji rebuked them, saying, that he would rather die than hear such cries from the mouths of murderers and dacoits. People round about became quiet. We passed on and found that a shop in front of the building of Rai Sahib Gopinath was being looted. We dashed to the shop, dragged people out and got the shop closed. We asked the Policemen and the Sawars there to protect the shop, but they said they had no orders to do so. We asked the Mohalla people to do so, and the efforts of Rai Sahib Gopinath, Shri Jang Bahadur, and a few others proved successful, and most of the property in his shop was saved. I came to know subsequently that it belonged to one Abdul Haq. . . . We then turned towards Sarrafa. Here people were very excited. We saw, with our own eyes, people taking out glasses, glass panes, etc., from shops, and throwing them on the road and breaking them to pieces. We rushed at those people, and they ran away. We were astonished that the policemen standing close by would do nothing. We then saw the mosque near the Naryal Bazar corner burning. The fire brigade was working at the temple in the middle of the Meston Road, which too had been set fire to. We saw that one or two men were being taken out of the temple. Arrangements were also made to get the fire at the Mosque extinguished by the Brigade."

The incidents which led to the burning of the temple have been described, in his own way by Munshi Nur Iahi. His statement seems to be a picture of how the happenings

all round were acting upon the imagination of extremist Muslims. There was no difference made between false rumours and actual happenings. The excited sections in both communities considered all rumours as God's own truth, and there was no dearth of people who were fabricating and promulgating such rumours.

We have seen how Munshi Nur Ilahi closed his shop under protest. We give, in his own words, the incidents which according to him followed afterwards:

“However, being terrified, as decided amongst ourselves, we were closing up the shops when we heard that the shop of Mr. Muhammad Sharif cap-merchant in Thathrahi only about one hundred yards from us had been looted and later in five minutes' interval I saw brickbatting on the crossing of Moolganj, Hindus on one side and Muslims on the other.

“By this time I had closed my shop and run to crossing of Meston Road and Joota Bazar, being safe point to me to watch the events; and from there I saw a great crowd in Chowk Bazaza which was all through visible. After a short interval, I noticed the crowd in Chowk Bazaza throwing torn leaflets and books up in the air, and with the exciting and insulting way of their throwing books and leaflets I concluded that these are the portions of Holy Korans and other religious books, as this was being done near about the mosque, where were the shops of Muslim booksellers dealing particularly in religious books, and a little after, this was confirmed.

“After closing the shop I had sent keys home per my man with the instructions to close the doors of the house. While I was watching the events in Chowk, my servant

came running and told me of there being fighting underneath my house. I tried to take one or two friends with me to restore the situation near my house, but none was seen. However, I turned to my house, and when turning I had learnt and seen as well, that the mosque in Chowk Bazaza was put on fire and flames were visible. I reached my house from lane door and found my female relations extremely terrified and most of them had thrown themselves in prayer, as I was the eldest male member of my house and I too was out, while, so to say, a battle was being fought underneath the house.

“Now I ran to Chhajja (projection) of my house on road-side and found the fighting going on, brickbats being thrown from either side. There were about fifty men on Muslim side while about four or five hundred on Hindu side according to their numerical value of population. I enquired in my house the cause of fighting, and I was told that all of a sudden they heard a great uproar that the Hindus had attacked the famous Machhli Bazar Mosque, and this caused a fighting. I had run to my house with intention that I will try to stop the fighting, but there I found myself quite helpless in the matter and rather inclined not to interfere with Muslims, as, if I had stopped them, the Hindus would have rushed in, and so to say our whole family's lives and houses were in danger. However, I stood silent watching the movement, and it so happened that in ten minutes' fighting, the Muslims going forward reached by the side of the mosque driving the Hindus back. A little after, a large crowd of Hindus again rushed in, throwing brickbats and saving themselves using shields of stretchers. This caused the Muslims to flee back, and Hindus came forward upto the mosque and broke open

the shop of Muhammad Fazil, and took away the goods as much as they could. In the meantime, we had heard the news that Chowk Mosque was put to flames and the Muazzin killed. The mosque was not visible to me, but I saw myself people taking out goods from Popular Tailoring Shop, under Gaya Persad Library, and machines as well, and put the whole thing on fire in the open air. The news of confirmation of burning the Chowk Mosque and even of fire of Tailoring Shop before my eyes had much terrified me while the Hindus were attacking Maehhli Bazar Mosque and a good number was rushing towards us. Now thinking myself and the family in great danger, I with my minor nephews ran up the third story of the house to throw bricks. We had thrown only a few brickbats that we saw the Hindus fleeing back to their quarters. We came down with joy of success, but here we came to know that it was not our few brickbats which forced the Hindus back, but when Muslims had the news of the third mosque (Meston Road Mosque) thus falling in the hands of the Hindus who were determined to put it on fire, which could not be disbelieved as two mosques had already been burnt, the Muslims rushed upon the Hindus, drove them back as far as Naryal Bazar Street and put the Meston Road Temple on fire. . . .

“In search of the S. P., I came on the Meston Road, and approached Mr. Ramkaran Singh, Kotwali Incharge, who was standing on the Joota Bazar crossing to enquire of him of the S. P. Here I found a number of Muslims surrounding him and appealing to him to watch the events of Chowk Bazaza where plundering and looting of Muslim shops was going on only at a distance of 50 yards from

where the Incharge with a number of constables was standing and everything was visible to him, but he did not attend to it. I also saw Mr. Abdul Haq, Proprietor of Messrs. Alla Bakhsh Abdul Haq, the biggest hosiery dealers in the whole province of U. P., with his folded hands and putting his cap on Incharge's feet and thus appealing to him to save his shop, but he, smiling, turned his face to the reverse side of the speaker at every appeal."

Munshi Abdul Haq referred to in the above, has the biggest hosiery shop in Cawnpore. It will be of some interest to hear from his own lips the story of the looting of his shop. He thus describes the incident :

#### LOOTING OF ABDUL HAQ'S SHOP.

"At about 4 o'clock my servant informed me that my shop was being broken into. On getting this news I came from my house and saw from the crossing, that is, from the Juta Bazar, that people were breaking the doors and the locks of my shop with lathies and bricks. Mr. Ram Karan Sinha, Officer-in-charge of the Kotwali, with a Deputy Collector, who was putting on a hat and knickers and twenty to twenty-five head constables and constables together with eight or ten mounted police were present at the crossing and were seeing all that was happening at my shop. I told Mr. Ram Karan Sinha that the doors and the locks of my shop were being broken, and requested him to save my shop. He replied that he could not do anything. In the meantime, the shop was actually broken into, and the goods inside began to be looted. I continued to do my utmost to draw the attention of Mr. Ram Karan Sinha and the Deputy Collector towards it, but each time they invariably replied, 'We cannot do anything.' After

about half an hour or three-quarters of an hour the loot suddenly stopped. On enquiry, I learnt that Ganeshji had reached my shop and had driven away from there people who were looting it. At this time, at a little distance from my shop, that is, upto Kunji Lal's temple, the Hindu crowd must have numbered about 800 to 1,000. Near this crowd, that is, about fifty steps from my shop eight or ten policemen were also present. They were facing towards my shop and were seeing the loot going on. I requested them also to save my shop from being looted. They replied, 'We cannot do anything unless the Officer-in-charge orders us.' About twenty-five steps from this place, about 100 to 150 Musalmans were collected on the A. B. Road. Between these two crowds of people, the police officer in-charge, the Deputy Collector, the policemen, and the mounted sowars were all standing and seeing the fun. Shortly after, when Ganeshji had left the place, my shop again began to be looted. In the meantime, Deputy Anand Swarup had come there. I beseeched him to save my shop. He at once went towards my shop, stopped the men from looting and drove them away. He then came back. After a short while the loot again began. Just then I happened to see Pandit Rameshwar Dayal, Deputy Collector. I showed to him my shop being looted. He too at once went to my shop and drove away the people. . . . The looting of my shop provoked the Muslims, who then attacked four Hindu shops on the A. B. Road and began to loot them. This looting continued upto about 7 o'clock in the evening. At about 7 o'clock, I saw with my own eyes the Superintendent of Police sitting on a chair near Ratan Lal's shop. About ten or fifteen steps from the place where he was sitting, Ratan Lal's shop was attacked by some people. The Su-

perintendent ordered the police to beat the miscreants and drive them away. The policemen advanced towards the shop and the looters ran away. After about ten minutes, this very shop was again attacked. Again, the Superintendent of Police ordered his men to beat the attackers and drive them away. The police advanced, the attackers again ran away. But not a single man was arrested."

While this was going on in the heart of the city and under the very eye of the Police and its high officials, incidents of a similar nature were happening almost in every part of the city. To give an idea of these, we will give some typical cases. Shri Kanhaiyalal gives the following account of Etawah Bazar happenings in the evening :

#### AT ETAWAH BAZAR.

"The Musalmans attacked Etawah Bazar. The Hindus also assembled. At this some Musalmans ran away and others climbed up the roofs and began to throw brickbats. Hindus too did the same. The Muslims then went away to their houses. Thereafter large crowds of Hindus and Muslims began to roam about. The shops and houses of the Musalmans in Etawah Bazar were broken open and the goods inside were thrown out and set fire to. The whole night I remained in my house, and I kept awake on my roof hearing noises from all sides. I also saw fires all round me. Cries from Hindus and Musalmans were alternately heard. Twice or thrice I also heard the sound of gun-fire."

Several residents of Anwarganj have submitted a joint statement from which a fair idea of the happenings in that quarter can be formed. They say :

#### AT ANWARGANJ.

"On the 24th of March, at about two o'clock, we saw

that some people were hurriedly coming from Nai Sarak towards Anwarganj after having received some injuries. They were all Hindus. Anwarganj is a Hindu Mohalla where there are some Musalmans also. On seeing this, we got a little upset, and at once concluded that there was a riot going on in the city. We closed the doors of our houses. Soon after the police came there. From a hundred to a hundred and twenty-five Musalmans collected there from all sides soon after the arrival of the police. The police included both Hindus and Muslims. These hundred to hundred and twenty-five Musalmans broke the temple, forced their way in, demolished the idols, and looted the belongings of the pujari. They also looted the property of Gaya Prasad, who lived in the temple. They did not beat any one. Then they looted the shop of the Halwai and so also of Dwarka Prasad who too lived in the same temple. The policemen were seeing all this and were saying to the looters, 'This is Swaraj, loot freely and make merry to your hearts' content.' No house was burnt that day. The policemen remained there from 2 p. m. to 7 p. m. The looters looted sweetmeats and feasted the policemen with the same. One of the policemen was hiding himself in the house of Kedar Nath. He was not in his uniform. The policemen standing on the road were in their uniforms. During all this time, with the exception of the Halwai's shop and the temple, no damage was done to any other house or shop, nor was any one assaulted.

"At about 8 or 9 o'clock in the night the house of Thakur Bhikam Singh was set on fire. This was done secretly by somebody, as there was then no Muslim crowd in Anwarganj. Both Hindus and Musalmans who resided in Anwarganj Mohalla were freely going and coming on the

Anwarganj Road between 2 p. m. and 7 p. m. At about 9 or 9.30 a police Daroga along with three or four constables came there and cried out, 'Whose house is burning here?' No one replied. The Policemen went away. After some time the fire brigade came and put out the fire."

We will give one more instance of the happenings in a portion of Baconganj, which shows the working of another process which was more or less active on both sides throughout the period of the riots. We will quote from a joint statement of six witnesses, who are all residents of Khapra Mohal. Shri Baldeo Prasad, who is mentioned in the statement, is one of the signatories.

#### AT BACONGANJ.

"Khaparah Mohal is populated by chamars, koris, and telis. On all the four sides of it are Muslim localities, which too are included in Khaprah Mohal. On the 24th of March we came to know of rioting in the city when some people invaded our Mohalla. It was about 7 o'clock in the evening. Their number was about 100. They included some people from our Mohalla and some from outside. Some of them were from Kanghi Mohal. They first attacked the house of Baldeo Prasad, who is an influential man in this locality. ... (witness named a person), who is a gambler and a previous convict and who has got under him a gang of about thirty to thirty-five badmashes, and... (witness named another) who keeps a gambling den all the year round and who too has got a gang of thirty to forty people under him and who lives in Kanghi Mohal, both these men talked to Baldeo Prasad, and said that if we agreed to give them a thousand rupees, then they would undertake not to molest any body in Khaprah Mohal. They spoke specially to Baldeo Prasad,

because he is a banker and a ghee-merchant and is well-to-do. Baldeo Prasad gave them Rs. 950 in cash and for the rest silver anklets of his wife weighing 21 chhataks. . . Abdul Razzak Mistri repeatedly said to these men, 'Why do you trouble these innocent people?' Another man who was trying to dissuade them was Jugga Darzi. One Muddan also, who is employed in the Fort, stood before these men, and said, 'First cut off my throat, and then harm these people.'—(witness named a person) incited those men to beat us. After this Baldeo Prasad gave them money, and they went away."

#### CRISIS OF FIRST DAY'S FIGHTING.

We have given a general idea of the riots on the 24th. In the burning of the Meston Road temple it seems that the crisis of the first day's fighting [was reached. The promulgation of the Curfew Order, and the intervention of night changed to some extent the nature of the riotous activities. After the temple incident, the Congress workers had met to reconsider the situation, and realizing their helplessness in the face of an eruption so sudden and so fearful, had come to the decision that they should now concentrate all their energies on the relief work. Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor thus describes the closing scenes:—

"We went to the Congress Office and discussed the situation there among ourselves, and decided that the utmost need of the hour was to send volunteers to the Prince of Wales Hospital, to which the wounded of the two unfortunate communities were being removed in considerable numbers. The best thing that we could do with our depleted numbers was to look to the injured rather than to the dead. Throughout the

riots our volunteers worked in the Prince of Wales Hospital, where voluntary help was most needed, the staff there being over-worked. We then went back to the Sarrafa, and found the fire at the mosque under control. We passed on and found that looting of the shops had almost stopped. But arson had developed by then. We found in Chowk that the mosque there was being set fire to in the very presence of Police Sawars. We asked these sawars as to what they were doing there. Their simple answer was, 'Nothing, we have got no orders.' Finding Ganeshji coming, the miscreants fled away. The Fire Brigade was called for. Ganeshji then left for Feelkhana. I, with Mahabir Pande, and one other volunteer, went to Etawah Bazar, via Feelkhana and Tapeshwari Devi, and reached my house at about 9 p. m. to find the Mohalla people excited. The whole night we had to remain on guard. Loud cries of 'Allaho Akbar !' 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai !' 'Bajrangbali ki Jai, etc. !' filled the air. The Hindus were afraid that Muslims were about to attack from this corner, while the Muslims were similarly afraid of an attack by the other community from the other corner.

"I was present during the 1927 riots, and worked for the Unity Board then ; but there can be no comparison between the two riots. The seriousness and magnitude of the present riots are unprecedented."

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## CHAPTER III.

### DARKNESS AND LIGHT.

THE terrific nature of the outburst on the 24th had altogether stunned the responsible sections of the residents of Cawnpore, and the open and deliberate inaction of the Police still more increased their feelings of helplessness.

#### THE GOONDAS PRACTICALLY MASTERS OF THE SITUATION ON THE 25TH.

The communal nature of the disturbance had visibly shaken the authority of the Congress, and with its depleted ranks it was difficult for it to re-assert itself immediately on the life of the City. The inevitable result of all this was that the situation altogether passed into the hands of the confirmed goondas of both communities. Persons of admitted public spirit and sincerity began to feel towards these goondas as if they were an invaluable asset to their respective communities.

“I have personal experience of several Mohallas,” says Shri Madho Prasad Agarwal, of the Seva Samiti, “that the same individuals who were guilty of excesses over the members of the other community, also protected the members of their own community. Most of these people passed by the name of goondas. I know of such examples both among Hindus and Muslims, which means they acted the part of soldiers, harming the enemy and protecting their own side, that is, the murderers on one side were heroes and protectors on the other. Not all of them had murder-

ed, some may not have, while many only protected and defended their own people.”

This was inevitable ; the forces of law and order having altogether broken down, people naturally began to look up to the strong man in the vicinity. But the heroism displayed by these sections was not always selfless, neither were their activities really beneficial to the communities whom they seemed outwardly to serve.

There had been an exodus of very large numbers of people from various localities ; hundreds of houses had been left vacant ; and in their hurry the inmates had no time to remove much of their belongings. Under cover of night, on the 24th and in open day-light on the 25th and succeeding days, these houses were rifled and many of them set on fire to cover this robbery. On the one side, these hooligans incited the Mohalla people, and by their outrageous doings made all chances of the restoration of peace and security impossible ; on the other, they took advantage of the resulting confusion to ply their nefarious trade without any let or hindrance. In the first chapter we have said that in Cawnpore there are separate Hindu and Muslims gangs of goondas as well as mixed gangs. What was most remarkable was that while the members of the separate gangs acted the part of soldiers to their respective communities as described above, those of mixed gangs, even in the midst of such a storm of communal passion, seem to have retained their feelings of comradeship, for often these Hindu and Muslim goondas were seen looting the same house in perfect harmony. Fida Ahmad Khan Sahib Sherwani has thus expressed himself on this point :

“ I add significant experiences of mine during the riots, which have not been covered by answers to these questions.

My impression is that the riots started on the basis of strained communal feelings ; but soon they developed into hooliganism and goonda rule, providing opportunities for loot by hooligans irrespective of their communities. I saw personally houses being looted together by Hindu and Muslim goondas, and they were not cutting each others' throats.

" Another fact I noticed was that the looting was done in broad daylight in a very leisurely and fearless manner owing to their consciousness that they were not going to be interfered with by the police."

Not alone were houses often looted jointly by these goondas ; at places they jointly attacked whole localities. Dr. Ganga Prasad Shukla has stated before us :

" In the raid on the Deputy ká Parao there were some Hindus also with the Musalmans who looted the houses of the Hindus along with their Muslim comrades. Both together looted the Hindu houses. "

The goondas, as we said, on the 25th were the practical masters of the situation. But even the goondas who belonged to separate Hindu or Muslim gangs seldom fought with each other. The brunt of the riot fell on the unfortunate poor and middle class families of the town. The communal atrocities that took place on the 25th were generally of a more organized and brutal type and perpetrated by huge gangs of hooligans who acted in a body and attacked selected localities.

#### GANESHJI'S LAST LETTER.

The only person who even in this crisis could command some moral authority and exercise some restraining influ-

ence was Shri Ganeshji. His ceaseless and selfless efforts on the 24th to save Muslim life and property from destruction had made a profound impression on the Musalmans. But he was almost single-banded, and the odds were against him. From amongst the Musalmans no leader came forward to take up work of the kind Ganeshji was doing. The attitude of the authorities was not only indifferent but in effect gave encouragement to the hooligans to go on with their nefarious work. Yet, inspite of all difficulties the morning of the 25th found him again at his duty, discouraged yet firm and untiring. A letter of Ganeshji, written in the forenoon of the 25th to a young lady in reply to a letter from her offering assistance in establishing peace, brings out clearly Ganeshji's feelings at the time. This was, to the best of our information, the last thing that he wrote in his life. We give a translation of the letter below : \*

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\* The original is as follows :—

“ Ádaraníyá bahinjí,

Sádar namaskár. Main ap se bhali bhanti parichit hun. Meri dháraná hai, ki main ne apko Calcutta mein áj se das varsh pahile dekhá thá. Us samay ap bahut chhoti thín. Yahan ki dashá nissandeh bahut buri hai. Hamlog shánti ke prayatna kar rahe hain. Ap ki yeh ichchhá ki ap pranon par khel kar bhí shánti ke liye prayatn karen bahut stutya hai. Kintu main abhi apko áge áne ke liye nahin kah saktá. Musalmán netáon mein se ek bhí áge nahin barhtá. Police ka dhang bahut nindaniya hai. Adhikári cháhate hain ki log achchhi tarah se nipat len. Police khari-khari dekhá karti hai. Masjid aur Mandir mein ág lagái játi hai. Log píte játe hain aur dukánon lúti játi hain. Yeh dangá to kal hi samápt ho játá yadi adhikári tanik bhí sáth dete. Main ne apni ánkhon se adhikáriyon

“Honoured Sister,

“My respectful namaskars ! I remember you well. I think I saw you in Calcutta ten years back. You were very young then. The condition of the City is undoubtedly very bad. We are trying for peace. Your desire to work for peace even at the sacrifice of your life is very praiseworthy. But at present I cannot ask you to come out. Not one of the Muslim leaders is stepping forward. The attitude of the police is very condemnable. The officials wish that the people may have it out amongst themselves. The police stands by watching unconcerned, while mosques and temples are burnt, people are beaten and shops are looted. The riot would have finished yesterday, if the authorities had given even a little help. I have seen this indifference of the authorities with my own eyes. Under these conditions, how can I say that you should come forward. For the authorities it is a God-sent opportunity. They are pleased over it. That God may break this pleasure of theirs, will be the desire of all good persons.

Pratap Office,

25/3/1931.

Humbly yours,

(Sd.) Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi ”

We resume the narrative in the words of Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor, from where we left it in the last chapter.

ki is upakshá ko dekhá hai. Aisi avasthá mein main ap se kaise kahún ki ap áge áyíye. Adhikáriyon ko to yeh ishvardatt avasar prápt huá hai. We ispar santusht haiñ. ishvar unke is santosh ko bhang kare, is bát ko sabhi bhale ádmi cháhenge.

Vineet,

Pratap Káryálaya,  
Cawnpore, 25-3-31.

(Sd.) Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi.

He continues :—

#### HIS DISAPPOINTMENT WITH OFFICIALS.

“Early in the morning, at about 6, I went to Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi’s place, and accompanied by him came to the ‘Pratap’ Office. Others also arrived. We discussed the situation with Ganeshji. He was thoroughly disgusted with the behaviour of the police on the previous day. He was also sorry that no prominent Musalman was coming forward to help him to quell the riots although they had come to know that he, Jog, and others were out and were doing their best to stop the trouble. He asked me to go to the Kotwal on the Meston Road and find out from him as to whether he needed his (Ganeshji’s) co-operation and would actually do something to stop further trouble. He also requested me to narrate to the Kotwal the experiences of the last evening. I agreed and went to the Meston Road. I took the Kotwal aside and narrated everything to him. His reply was, ‘Hán, á jáen to achehhá hi hai,’ (Yes, it would be good if he comes). I could see from his talk that the local officials were not at all anxious to take non-official and specially Congress help to quell the riots. I came back to Chatai Mohal where I met Vidyarthiji. I narrated the talk which I had with the Kotwal. Vidyarthiji was much disappointed. Just then there was an attack on the Chatai Mohal from the Muslim quarters. The Rashtriya Vidyalya boys who were in an excited mood were asked by Vidyarthiji and Guru Raghubar Dayal to go back to their School. We intervened between the Hindus and the Musalmans, and they both dispersed. Just then at about 8 a. m. the Superintendent of Police arrived on the spot, accompanied by Deputy

Anand Swaroop. Vidyarthiji stopped him and said, 'Do you realize the seriousness of the situation? Last evening when we were at a Muslim shop in Chowk we saved the shop from being looted. The constables and the Sawars who were near by were asked to stop the loot and guard the shop. They would not, saying that they had no orders to do so. How is it that this loot and arson is going on in the very presence of the police, both officials and subordinates? You have made no arrests either, so far. In 1927, Mr. Munro had made arrests in the very beginning and mischief-makers had no time to play their game. The whole thing has been discouraging this time.' The Superintendent of Police replied, 'As soon as we approach people flee into bye-lanes. Regarding the behaviour of the police, I am not prepared to believe you!' This was the curt reply given by the most responsible Head of the local police on the morning of the 25th to one who was dearly loved and respected by the people, for whose help he had come out in spite of great discouragement from all quarters. The Superintendent of Police left on the same car on which he had come. Just then Mr. Taqi Ahmad, Deputy Collector, accompanied by a few constables arrived there. Ganeshji narrated to him the talk which he had with the Superintendent of Police."

By this time a huge gang had started mischief at Etawah Bazar. It had burnt several shops, killed several Musalmans, and proceeded towards Bengali Mohal. News of this was brought to Shri Ganeshji, and he hurried to the spot.

#### IN ETAWAH BAZAR.

"At this time," proceeds Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor,

“ a Muslim came and stated that Musalmans were being killed in Etawah Bazar. Vidyarthiji, I, and Mr. Taqi Ahmad, with the constables, went there and found two Muslim women and two small boys, aged 3 or 4 years each, lying in the drain severely wounded. The two women were unconscious, covered with blood all over their faces. One of the children was unconscious and the other still conscious. He clung to me as I took him out of the drain. A few houses were also burning. We wanted first to send the injured to the Hospital. I went inside a house to bring a Charpai when some Muslim women and children inside that house began to shriek. I asked Ganeshji to come in. Then these men, women and children who were about 30 in number were taken out and sent to Ramnarain Bazar. I must mention that a Hindu aged about thirty was standing just at the gate of the house. He had stood there all night protecting these thirty Muslim men, women and children from the madness of his co-religionists. When we took these Musalmans out of the house, they appeared deeply indebted to this man. A girl of nine and some other men and women actually clung to him and wept to give expression to their sense of gratitude. Then we got the Charpai. Ganeshji and I took out the wounded women and children from the drain and placed them on the Charpais with difficulty. Even then the two or three constables standing there with dandas in their hands would not help us. We were in a fix as to how to remove the two Charpais to the Hospital when Shri Kanhayalal of Etawah Bazar arrived there. Ganeshji asked him immediately to bring his lorry. Kanhaiya Lalji asked what Ganeshji was doing for the relief and rescue of the Hindus in Muslim quarters. Ganeshji said he would go

there also. Arrangement for the lorry was made and we were about to proceed to the Hospital on the same when a Muslim's house just there began to burn furiously and other houses were also getting affected. Ganeshji asked me to send a telephonic message to the Fire Brigade from Shri Ramratan Gupta's place. I requested him not to leave the place in my absence. It took me hardly 15 minutes. When I came back I found Ganeshji had left the place on the lorry and had left word that I should wait for him at Ramratanji's room in Chatai Mahal."

Ganeshji had left in the meanwhile with Shri Kanhaya Lal, who has given us a connected account of his activities, which we give below in his own words :

#### RESCUE WORK.

"On the morning of the 25th, between 9 and 10, Vidyarthiji came to the Etawah Bazar with Deputy Collector Taqi Husain, four or five constables and one or two other persons. They sent for me. Near the Gol-Kamra five Muslim women and children were lying wounded. Vidyarthiji asked me to arrange for sending them to the hospital. I arranged for two Charpais. We placed the wounded on them, and the Deputy Collector asked the Policemen to carry the Charpais to the hospital. The Policemen refused. Then Vidyarthiji suggested that I should take them on my lorry. I was afraid of passing through Muslim quarters with my lorry. Deputy Collector Taqi Hussain assured me that he would give me one Sub-Inspector and a few armed constables to accompany me, and suggested that I should go in my lorry and do rescue work. I agreed and I took out my lorry. The Deputy Collector either would not or could

not keep his promise. I rescued from that Mohalla about 30 Musalmans who had shut themselves up in their houses and took them to a Muslim locality near Rau Narain Bazar. After that, in company with Vidyarthiji, I took the five wounded Muslim women and children to the hospital. Then Ganeshji and I came to the A. B. Road. There we requested the City Kotwal to give us armed constables so that we might safely do rescue work. The Kotwal asked me to wait with my lorry at a distance. I did so. Then he took Vidyarthiji aside, had some talk with him, and took him towards Misri Bazar. They returned from there with a couple of Muslim volunteers who had been prominent in Tanzim work. The Kotwal said to us, 'Take these two with you, they will prove more helpful to you than policemen.' Knowing the antecedents of these volunteers I protested against going with them, but Vidyarthiji as well as the volunteers tried to assure me. Vidyarthiji said, 'We must trust each other, God is with us and He will help us.' I then took these volunteers with Ganeshji in my lorry and left the place. . . . I took the lorry first to the Muslim lane near Girdhar Das's house. We all got down there and Ganeshji entered the lane with those volunteers. Some Musalmans ran towards Ganeshji to assault him. From the other side some Hindus too advanced. Ganeshji stopped the Hindus, and the Muslim volunteers stopped the Musalmans, saying, that Ganesh Ji had already rescued thirty or thirty-five Musalmans. After this Ganeshji and the volunteers brought from that lane about 25 to 30 Hindus, who all appeared greatly frightened and out of whom 4 or 5 were wounded, two rather seriously. I offered to take them to my house, but at their desire I took them in my lorry to Generalganj where some of them had their relations,

while Vidyarthiji and the two volunteers remained in that same lane trying to rescue other Hindus. On my return I found some other Hindus collected there wanting to go to other places of shelter. I took some of them to Gaju Mal ki Dharamshala and others to a ghat near the Ganga. In the meantime, Vidyarthiji went to Bengali Mohal and asked me to bring the lorry there."

The crowd that had left Etawah Bazar and gone towards Bengali Mohal had perpetrated the most horrible atrocities there. A glimpse of the conditions in Bengali Mohal on the 24th and the morning of the 25th, and a general idea about the attack will be had from the following joint statement made to us by two Hindu residents of Bengali Mohal :

#### CONDITIONS IN BENGALI MOHAL.

"On the 24th there was no disturbance in our Mohalla. At about three o'clock that day rumour reached our Mohalla that Hindu-Muslim rioting had begun in the City, and loot and murder were going on. With my own eyes I saw some people taking away looted property, as for example, umbrellas, books and other goods of general merchandize. These men were of the goonda class and included both Hindus and Muslims. We, Hindus and Musalmans of our mohalla, had decided amongst ourselves that just as in 1927 we jointly maintained the peace in our mohalla, and there was no trouble there, similarly this time also whatever might happen in the rest of the City we would jointly protect our mohalla and maintain peace there. On the night of the 24th we were all undoubtedly somewhat anxious, but we had the satisfaction of feeling that in 1927 we had kept our mohalla safe from all trouble.

Upto the morning of the 25th, there was no special cause of quarrel in our mohalla, and some of us, as usual, went to our job. In the morning the people of our mohalla again met together and reassured one another, as a result of which the Musalmans, who are in a very small minority in our mohalla, remained, to some extent, satisfied and free from anxiety."

"At about 10-30 in the morning, I, Lalman, went to the pipe for bathing. . . I had hardly been able to wet my hands and feet when I heard a great noise coming from the Etawah Bazar side. In the same condition I advanced towards the side from which the noise was coming. I saw a group of two hundred to two hundred and fifty Hindus coming from the Etawah Bazar side towards the Lala Lajpat Rai Park. . . . I took my lota from the pipe, went through the Park, told those Hindus that there was no trouble in our Mohalla and went away to my house."

"I (Nand Kishore) live in that part of Bengali Mohal where the big mosque is situated. On the 25th at 11 o'clock in the day, I saw a few people running from the Park towards the mosque. . . . Seeing this, . . . some ten to fifteen men and ten to twenty women assembled on the roof of the mosque. I saw it from my place and proceeded towards the Park. There I heard voices of Muslim women pronouncing curses. I also saw brick-bats showering and houses burning. Seeing all this I turned back and climbed up the house of Mangli Teli. From there I clearly saw all that was happening in the Park and in the mosque. All the men, women and children inside the mosque, were panic-stricken and frightened.

They were seeing their houses burning and other atrocities being perpetrated in front of the Park. The crowd had broken into the houses and set fire to them. After this I ran away to my house. . . . At about 1 or 1-30 p. m., when Vidyarthiji came there all the Musalman men, women and children who had taken shelter in the mosque went away with Vidyarthiji. Vidyarthiji was very thirsty at that time as he had taken no water since morning. Some Hindus of the place prepared Sharbat and wanted him to take it. Vidyarthiji refused, saying, that he could not take water (in that Mohalla) at the hands of murderers (hattyára). . . .

“Even we the Hindus of that mohalla had got so much frightened that those of us who could quietly leave the place with our belongings left it, because we were afraid the rioters might next turn against us.”

Shri Ganeshji, when he came to Bengali Mohal, had left instructions that Shri Kanhayalal should meet him there with his lorry. Shri Kanhaya Lal, in obedience to those instructions, went to Bengali Mohal after him. He says :

#### GANESHJI IN BENGALI MOHAL.

“In the meantime Vidyarthiji went to Bengali Mohal and asked me to bring the lorry there. It was already about 1-30 p. m. I took the lorry to my house which is very near Bengali Mohal, left it there and then went to Bengali Mohal. There I saw that a number of houses were burning and Vidyarthiji was trying to rescue Muslims from them.

#### THE RESCUE WORK AGAIN.

“He was able to rescue about 40 to 50 Musalmans from

there, and sent some of them to Misri Bazar and others to Ram Narain Bazar. Then I told him that it was rather late and that he should come with me and take some refreshments. He then came to my house with these volunteers and five or six others. Ganeshji insisted that unless I first fed the Musalmans and gave them water to drink in my own utensils, he (Ganeshji) would not take water at my place. At this I gave the Musalmans with us water in my own tumbler and then took Ganeshji to the pipe inside. After taking some refreshments we all again entered the lorry and went to Naya Chowk, via Makhania Bazar. Vidyarthiji left the lorry at Makhania Bazar. From there the two Musalman volunteers disappeared, but a Muslim named Hasan Ali painter, who had accompanied Ganeshji from Ram Narain kâ Bazar, remained with him. These men rescued Hindus from Muslim localities and brought them to the lorry. Soon the lorry became full and reached Naya Chowk. Vidyarthiji asked me to take them to places of safety and to come back with the lorry. I took them to Naryal Bazar which is a Hindu quarter and left them there in a place of safety. Then I went back to the place and repeated the operation four or five times, each time filling my lorry with Hindus rescued from Musalman quarters and each time leaving them in a place of safety in some Hindu locality. One such group I took to Shri Dwarka Prasad Singh's Bungalow. In another trip I rescued the wife and children of a Musalman Head Constable from Naya Chowk and removed them to Doodhwala Bangala. When I took my lorry there for the fifth time, my lorry was at once filled with Hindu refugees from Misri Bazar. As there was a hostile crowd in, I asked my driver to back the lorry and

take a turn from the other lane. The driver found it difficult. A Deputy Collector with a Sub-Inspector of Police and a few constables were there. The Deputy Collector advised me to take my lorry straight and promised to accompany me. My lorry proceeded. As soon as my lorry reached near the mosque somebody gave a lathi blow to one Kali Prasad's nephew sitting on my lorry. I was standing on the footboard. A Mohammedan came running out of the lane and fired at me with a pistol. The bullet struck my lorry. He fired a second time. This time the bullet passed without touching the lorry. In the meantime, somebody gave me a lathi blow from behind. It struck my head, and blood began to flow from the wound. I asked one of my companions to quicken the speed. One man came out of the lorry and struck a Muslim outside with a khanta. His khanta was snatched from him. He again entered the lorry and we proceeded. At the crossing of the Naryal Bazar I asked the people inside to get down. A Hindu who sells ice came forward and put some ice over my head and bandaged it with a piece of my dhoti. Then I was laid on a Charpai. The ice gave me great relief. I was ready once more to take my lorry to the affected quarters. Some friends tried to stop me, but I said that as Ganeshji and other friends were still there, and as I had to rescue people from Anandi Prasad's house which was on fire, I must go. I went with my lorry to Naya Chowk and called out to people who wanted to be taken to places of safety. At once my lorry was again full.

#### RUMOUR ABOUT ATTACK ON GANESHJI.

“But before I could start I heard a great noise. A man came running to me and said, ‘Ganeshji has been killed.’”

I tried to go to that side ; but seeing that there was a large crowd of Musalmans in Chaube Gola and on the Nai Sarak, my companions insisted upon my driving the lorry away in another direction, as there was a number of women and children with us and there was danger in going towards the Muslim crowd. I at once turned my lorry and quickened its speed. I left the people in the lorry near Rai Sahib Gopinath's place and sent a friend to the police officers on the A. B. Road to inform them of the rumour about Ganesh ji and also to ascertain its truth. As I was wounded and fired, I came in my lorry to my house."

#### FRANTIC SEARCHES FOR THE BODY.

The news that Shri Ganeshji was missing and the suspicion that he had been killed began to spread and to cast its own shadow on the unfortunate city. Frantic searches began to be made and continued till late in the night. We will give the results of a few of these searches in the words of those who made them, as these will throw some further light on the condition of the city and will show that some special efforts were made to hide his body. Shri Madho Prasad thus records his experiences of the 25th :

On the 25th, "I was working all day trying to help the wounded, carrying them to the hospital, and worked only in Hindu area. I did not go into the Muslim area, because I had no police escort. From the Hindu area I carried away some 15 or 20 Hindus and some 50 Muslims to the hospital. All the 15 or 20 Hindus had been injured by shot. The Muslims wounded had been mostly wounded by axes or spears or lathis. At about 5 p. m. on the 25th, I heard that Vidyarthiji was missing. I first went in search of him to the Coolie Bazar, then to the Maida Bazar

and Misri Bazar. I asked people to give me more definite information. They mentioned Chaubey Gola. The Kotwal gave me four armed police to escort. I went on foot. Near Choubey Gola in a gully I saw a Congress volunteer lying on the ground seriously wounded. I went on looking for Vidyarthiji. A little further on, I saw another Congress volunteer lying dead on a Chabutra by the side of the gully where it opens on the broader road. A Hindu belonging to that locality, who had come out of his house and was accompanying me, told me that these two Congress volunteers, one wounded and the other dead, had been with Vidyarthiji. I went forward again and searched about. I saw houses burning but could not find Vidyarthiji. I began examining the surface of the Choubey Gola lane and I observed marks of a body having been dragged. That mark ended near a house which was burning fiercely, at the crossing where the lane opens on the Halsey Road. Pandit Sheo Narayan Vaidya, Ram Ratan Gupta, and Deputy Rameshwar Dayal came there. It was about 5 p. m. but I was so harassed that I did not observe the time particularly. They asked me if Vidyarthiji was found. I told them that I had not, but I had observed the marks ended there. I said to them that it was possible a body might have been cast into the burning house. I said this to Deputy Rameshwar Dayal in particular, mentioning all the circumstances which made me think that the body dragged was probably Vidyarthiji's. Deputy Rameshwar Dayal refused to make any further enquiry. A Muslim there said there were three Hindu women hiding in his house, and asked Rameshwar Dayal to take them away, but he declined, saying he would take them up when he returned, but

he ultimately did not. I went on doing my work of carrying the wounded away to the hospital."

Shri Jog, who had been attacked the previous day and been in bed since then, on hearing the news that Vidyarthiji was missing immediately started to search for him. He says :

"On the 25th at about 4 p. m, . . . I went to the Kotwal on the Meston Road and asked him about Vidyarthiji. He said he had sent two policemen with Vidyarthiji, but that Vidyarthiji had sent them back shortly after. I asked the Kotwal to make a search. He said, 'I am making a search.' Then I turned to Deputy Abdul Rauf Sahib, who happened to be there, and I requested him to go with me to make a search. It was past 5 by th's time; just then some 5 or 10 Muslims came to us and said a house was burning in Bengali Mohal and that there were women and children inside it. When Dy. Abdul Rauf Sahib and I went to Bengali Mohal with those Musalmans we saw the burning house, but we made sure that there were no people in that house. We enquired of persons near there, and they said that they had seen the inmates going out. Dy. Abdul Rauf and I went round many other places in the neighbourhood, for example, Patkapui, Kursawan, Pilikothi, Etawah Bazar, etc, and then reached Meston Road again at about 10 o'clock in the night. There I asked the Kotwal to supply us with armed guards for going into other Mohallas. I saw that armed guards were there, but the Kotwal said he could not spare any. Then Dy. Abdul Rauf said we can do without armed guards. He had a revolver with him. We two again left for Choubey Gola. We passed through Misri

Bazar, then to Naya Chowk, and then to Choubey Gola. We searched every lane in this locality, but could not find Vidarthiji. Then we came upon the Halsey Road and saw a house burning on the corner of the Choubey Gola and the Halsey Road. Then we proceeded straight on towards Karim ki Chauki; there we met two or three Musalmans armed with lathis. Dy. Abdul Rauf Sahib asked them about Vidarthiji; they could give no information. Then we went to Butcherkhana; there we met whole crowds of Musalmans armed with ballams, khantas and lathis, etc. Their number must have been thousands. Dy. Abdul Rauf Sahib warned them from a distance not to come further, saying that if they advanced further he would fire at them. At this the crowd dispersed. The time was about 11 in the night. Then we proceeded towards Sisamau, Chamanganj, Premnagar, and met with similar crowds all over the way and Dy. Abdul Rauf Sahib dispersed them all in the same way. We were all through on foot and all by ourselves. In Sisamau in one place Dy. Abdul Rauf Sahib asked the crowd to disperse in his usual way. I simultaneously asked them to leave their lathis where they were before dispersing, and some of them did leave their lathis before leaving that place. At one place in Sisamau, one crowd when warned by Deputy Abdul Rauf Sahib kept standing for a little while, one of them shouting out, 'Do not stir,' but when we two advanced upon them after this, Dy. Abdul Rauf Sahib lifting up his revolver in his hand, then they dispersed. Then we went on to Bans ki Mandi and found a crowd of Muslims gathered in a mosque there. Just before we arrived in Bansmandi, two constables joined us who were unarmed except for lathis. They were in uniform. Dy.

Abdul Rauf Sahib questioned the people gathered in the mosque what they were doing there at that time. They replied they were praying. He told them to make haste and disperse, saying that otherwise he would fire. They dispersed. The lathis which they had left inside the mosque in a corner were removed by the two constables. They might have been 30 or 40 people.

“Between 6 and 10 p. m. on the 25th evening, while Dy. Abdul Rauf Sahib and I were going round in Bengali Mohal, Patkaptur, and other Hindu Mohallas, we found groups of 20's and 30's of Hindus standing about on the street here and there and Deputy Abdul Rauf Sahib dispersed them also just as he did later in the Muslim crowds in the Muslim quarters. The Hindu groups when asked said that they were there for defensive purposes. On the Muslim side we had no time to ask people such a question, because as soon as they were warned they dispersed. We saw two dead bodies in different places while going to Bengali Mohal. I infer they must have been Muslims because they were in the Hindu Mohals. In Bengali Mohal and Etawah Bazar the houses were burning although there were no crowds before these houses at that time. In one place we saw some 5 or 10 men trying to put out fire with the help of rubber pipe. On Sisamau side we saw many houses burning, but we did not actually see anybody setting fire to the houses. I judge from what I saw that the work of looting and burning houses was being done by organized gangs of people who could do it in an organized way because somehow or other they were sure that they would not be interfered with in their nefarious task by the police.”

“Then we came back to Meston Road again via LaTouche Road reaching Meston Road at about one in the night.”

A similar search by Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor also proved fruitless. He says:

“ . . . At 3 p. m. I came to the Congress Office. There I heard that Ganeshji had gone to Chaube Gola. I got hold of a small car at about 3-30 p. m. My impression was that Chaube Gola was somewhere near the mosque on the Meston Road. I passed through Maohli Bazar, Makhania Bazar, etc., but could not find him anywhere. The scenes that I witnessed in these lanes, which are inhabited mainly by Musalmans were simply horrible. Groups of ruffians were seen at every place and assaults were frequent. One or two corpses were also seen lying about. The reply which I received from different groups at different places to my enquiries regarding Ganeshji was, ‘Â gae sâle Gândhî wâle, hamko nahîñ mâlum.’ At about 5 p. m. I came back and had hardly reached the Congress Office when I was told definitely but confidentially by a responsible person who learnt it from the Kotwali that Ganeshji had been killed. In vain did some of us search for the departed leader for several hours. When we came back to the Hindu quarter we found people collected in groups at this corner and that. All were making fervent enquiries about him. I could see from the attitude of the people how deeply he was loved by them. I could not disclose anything as I had instructions not to disclose it. I came back to my house at about 9 p. m. The whole night I had to remain at the phone at Shri Bhartiya’s house,

near my own, attending to enquiries from here, there and everywhere regarding Ganesh Shankarji. It was one of the most terrible nights I had to pass through being conscious that I had lost one of my dearest friends and Cawnpore its uncrowned king. At about 12 midnight I came to Ganeshji's place. Hari Shankar asked me the whereabouts of his father, but I could not give any reply. The frenzy of the mob on either side that night was terrible."

Maulana Khizr Muhammad has given us an account based on information supplied to him by an eye-witness who was with Ganeshji during the period covered by the account. This carries us to a particular point. He says:

#### GANESHJI'S LAST SACRIFICE.

"On the 25th March, when Ganeshji reached Patkarpur he was bareheaded and barefooted. There he appealed to both Hindus and Musalmans to live amicably. Two police constables accompanied him from there. One of them was a Hindu and the other looked like a Musalman. They were in uniform. Out of the Musalmans living near by, Kadir Dad Khan, Mustafa Khan, Chhotey Khan and Husain Ali also, accompanied him. It was probably 8, or 8-30, in the morning. When they reached near Bengali Mohal they saw brickbats raining from all sides. Ganeshji cried out at the top of his voice, 'What are you doing?' Chhotey Khan also cried out, 'Ganeshji wants to say something to you, please listen to him.' At this the brickbats stopped, and they entered Bengali Mohal. As soon as they entered they saw a head separated from the trunk, and the dead body of a child which had been pierced through with a spear. Seeing this Ganeshji wept loudly, and said, 'Ishwar, in dush-ton

aur pápiyon ká to tû násh hî karde,' 'O God! destroy these evil-doers.' Chhotey Khan who heard him crying like this was so much affected by Ganeshji's words that he also began to weep. Others also began to weep. Ganeshji clung to Chhotey Khan, and both of them wept. Then they came across some women who were lying half-burnt; their hands and feet had been tied with pieces of cloth soaked in kerosine oil and set fire to. They were thus burning at both ends. Ganeshji with his companions tried to extinguish the fire and was weeping all the time. Somehow he took them all to the Muslim club, Patkapur, and again went out on his noble mission. This time he rescued 50 to 60 Musalmans on his way. Then he proceeded towards Naya Chowk. There he met a group of Musalman rowdies, but nobody interfered with him. The two constables were still with him. At a place near Misri Bazar he took out some Musalman men and women. At first he tried to persuade both the Hindus and the Muslims there to live peacefully and protect each other, but some Hindus said, 'It will be safer if you take away these Musalmans to some other place of safety.' Ganeshji put them in a lorry and sent them away with Mustafa Khán and Kadir Dad Khan. Proceeding further, he came across another group of Musalman rowdies near Choubey Gola. There were one or two Hindus too in that group. Seeing this group both the constables returned towards Naya Chowk."

According to the Maulana Khizr Muhammad Sahib, it was this group that killed Shri Vidyarthiji.

We now give the statement of an eye-witness, Shri Ganpat Singh, regarding Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's last activities and his last sacrifice.

“I live near Karim ki Chakki on the Nai Sarak. On the evening of the 24th, I stayed out of my house at a place in Naya Chowk, because some Muslim friends had told me that there was danger in the vicinity of Karim ki Chakki. I was there upto the afternoon of the 25th. Between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, about six volunteers came there, one of whom I can say was a Musalman. About the others I am not positive whether they were Hindus or Musalmans. The Musalman volunteer when he entered the lane cried aloud, ‘If there are any Hindus in Muslim localities who want to be rescued, we are prepared to take them away.’ I went to him and told him that my father, my wife, and some other Hindus living in the same house, were shut up in a house near Karim ki Chakki on Nai Sarak, and that I did not know whether they were then alive. I requested him to take me there and to help me in rescuing them. The Muslim volunteer told me that he was working under Ganeshji and that I should wait for Ganeshji who was talking to somebody near by and would soon come there. Shortly after, Ganeshji, with two or three others, came to the spot. I put my case before him. He and the Muslim volunteers at once offered to accompany me to the Chakki. We then all came to Mahabir ki Mathia in Chaube Gola. The Mathia is about 20 steps from Nai Sarak, where the Bakar Nandi lane meets Chaube Gola. Karim ki Chakki is just in front, on the opposite side of Nai Sarak. We saw a large Muhammadan crowd gathered on Nai Sarak. Seeing them the Muslim volunteer asked Vidyarthiji and all of us to stop at the Mathia, saying that he himself should first go to the Muslim mob and tell them that Ganeshji was coming that side so that there

may be no risk to his life or to that of any of us. Ganeshji agreed. The Muslim volunteer went and talked something to his co-religionists. He came back to us in Chaube Gola and said to Ganeshji, 'Now you can come along. I have explained things to them.' Then all of us went up to the place where the Muslim mob had gathered. There I saw one Chunni Khan, who is Khalifa in the Akhara of Bhakku Pahalwan. There were about 200 Musalmans. Chunni Khan and five or seven other prominent Musalmans shook hands with Ganeshji and embraced him. He told them that some Hindus were shut up in Karim ki Chakki. Chunni Khan and a few other Musalmans accompanied us to my house. We were probably a dozen, including myself, Ganeshji, that Musalman volunteer, a few other volunteers, Chunni Khan, and a few others with him. As soon as I reached near my house I called aloud for my father. When I had called twice or thrice, my father replied from the second storey. I asked him to open the door and come out. My father asked me as to who was there with me for our protection and also if there was any officer with me. I told him that Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and a few other volunteers were with me and that there was no danger. My father opened the door and came out with my wife and twenty four other Hindus, including six women, four children, and fourteen men, all belonging to the vicinity, some of whose shops had been looted. As soon as we had gathered there, Chunni Khan and his companions took away Ganeshji and his companions to some other place. I do not know where. I with my father and other people came to the road. We could not see Ganeshji and the volunteers there. Chunni Khan and his friends asked me to

take shelter in the house of some Pathans who live just near the Chakki on the upper storey of a house. The Pathans also asked us to go up. It was a little after 3 o'clock then. We persistently refused to take shelter in that house. Seeing this, Chunni Khan and his Muslim friends asked us to leave that place and go to Kanhaiyalal plumber's house which is near the crossing of the road and on the gali just opposite to the Chakki. We went there and waited for about 10 minutes. Then we saw Ganeshji and his volunteers coming rapidly from the side of Chaube Gola.\* Ganeshji then took us all with him and proceeded towards the Chaube Gola street. We were men in front, women after them, and Ganeshji following. Behind Ganeshji there were a couple of hundred or so Musalmans on the road. When we reached Mahabir ki Mathia, about 25 paces from the road, we saw 15 or 20 Musalmans armed with khantas, pharsas, etc., coming from the Bakar Mandi side through the lane which joins Bakar Mandi with Chaube Gola at the Mathia. A number of Muslims with Chunni Khan also followed us from Nai Sarak. On seeing the Musalman group coming from Bakar Mandi side, some of our women began to cry with fear. Hearing this, Chunni Khan, a Musalman doctor, and a few others rapidly came towards our women to protect them. The Musalmans from the Bakar Mandi side had raised their weapons against our women, but Chunni Khan at once came in between and stopped them by raising his hands and asking them not

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\* According to another witness, Ganeshji in the meantime had gone to rescue some Muslim families from Chaube Gola and adjoining Hindu area.

to attack our party. Chunni Khan and his Muslim friends led us towards Naya Chowk. Ganeshji, with some volunteers, had, in the meantime, been left behind. I therefore asked my father to proceed onwards with the rest of the party, and myself stayed a while near the Mathia waiting for Ganeshji. Chunni Khan and his few Muslim friends went away with my father and party. The Muslim mob from the Bakar Mandi side also now reached Nai Sarak. Ganeshji was again in the midst of these two crowds. I stood at a distance of 15 steps from him. One of the Muslims there whom I recognize cried out, 'This is Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. Let us kill him, let him not escape.' Another said, 'Let none of these escape.' I recognize several of the Muslims who were there. One of them was a man who had once been sentenced to nine years' imprisonment for murder. Two of them were Pathans who first attacked one of Ganeshji's companions with lathies. The man died on the spot within ten minutes. After this one of the Muslims stabbed with a knife a volunteer who was wearing a coat of black stripes. He was a boy of about twenty years. He was also of Ganeshji's group. He fell down, but after a few minutes got up. Some Muslims then ran towards Ganeshji. Ganeshji bent his head before them, and said something which I could not hear. A man stabbed him on the back. Another attacked him with a khanta. Ganeshji fell down. Some others began to strike. At this I fled towards Naya Chowk. The boy with the black striped coat had disappeared. Others were probably still there. I cannot say where that Muslim volunteer, of whom I have talked, was at that time. It was about 4 o'clock when I left Ganeshji lying wounded on the road. I then joined my father and other people in Naya Chowk."

Thus ended the life of that great martyr. He was not only the soul of the Congress organization in Cawnpore, but also the President of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee, and, as such, the head of the Provincial organization. By his life and by his death he has raised the head of his Motherland and added a glorious page to her history. May his example inspire his countrymen, Hindus and Muslims, to similar service in the great cause for which he died !

#### A MUSLIM'S HOMAGE.

Many Muslim witnesses have offered their heartfelt homage to his memory. We give below the fervent tribute paid by Maulana Riaz Ahmad, a merchant of Cawnpore, which shows the feeling of deep devotion which Sri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's selflessness was evoking in the hearts of many a Musalman :

“Ek hastî jiskâ shumâr farishton meñ kiyâ jâ saktâ hai, jo na sirf Hinduon balki Musalmânon kâ bhî sartâj thâ, woh insâniyat kâ mujassama, akhlâq kâ paikar, ittihad kâ alambardâr, taraptî aur bechain hâlat meñ kabhî Hinduon ke mohallon meñ aur kabhî Musalmânon ke muhallon meñ nazar âtâ thâ, jisko ham dushman-i-insâniyat aur vahshî log Ganesh Shankar Vidyârthî kahte the, Hinduon ke bachâo aur Musalmânon kî himâyat meñ nazar âtâ rahâ jisko kisî vahshî aur andhe ne hamse chhîn liyâ, jiskâ ham Musalmânon ko bhî utnâ hî afsos hai ki jitnâ kisî dūsre ko ho saktâ hai. Sahîb maanon meñ woh jhagre ko khatam karne kî koshish kar rabe the, unke sivâ mujhe do lâkh se ziyâda âbâdî meñ aur koî nazar nahîñ âtâ.

(Translation.) “He was one who could be counted amongst angels. He was an ornament not only of the Hindu but also of the Musalman community. Humaneness personified,

embodiment of social morality, standard-bearer of unity, he, whom we savages and enemies of humanity knew as Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, was seen restless and full of anguish, now in Hindu quarters, and now in Musalman localities, sometimes protecting the Hindu and sometimes defending the Musalmans. Some blind savage snatched him away from us. His death grieves us Musalmans as deeply as any others. In the true sense, he was trying to end the quarrel. In this population of over two lakhs I see none like him."

We have given some idea of the happenings in Cawnpore on the 24th and the 25th of March and of the suffering and sacrifice which the people of this unfortunate City had to undergo. But our picture is but a faint shadow of the dire reality. We do not propose to follow the happenings of succeeding dates. Gruesome incidents continued to repeat themselves till the storm subsided almost automatically. But before closing this chapter we wish to give some idea of the brutality which communal passion can engender and the enormity of the crimes that may be committed under its influence. We will take three incidents and narrate them as far as possible in the words of the witnesses themselves. These three will be sufficient to illustrate the horrors that were raging.

#### A TRAGEDY IN PHOOLWALI GALI.

We begin with the statement of Shri Hari Ram Saxena :

"On the evening of the 24th March, at about 7 p.m., we saw the flour mill of one Raja Ram Bania near our house in Phoolwali-gali being looted. We felt afraid. A Musalman head constable lived in our neighbourhood. He

called us all into his house. We took our valuables with us and went to his house. He asked us to leave our valuables in his charge. On this point we remained silent, but passed the night comfortably in his house. Early in the morning, he told us that the whole night Musalmans had surrounded his house and had pressed him to turn us out. We implored his continued protection and even offered money, but in vain. Ultimately we had no other alternative than to come back to our house at about 5 a.m. on the morning of the 25th.

“ At about 8 a.m., a Musalman Police Officer with a number of constables came to our place. My father Master Shri Ram requested them to take us to some safe locality, as our house was situated in an almost entirely Musalman locality. My father even offered them as much money as they might ask for. Instead of helping us, they in a harsh tone said they could not do anything and went away. As soon as they left and my father bolted the house from within, a number of Musalmans surrounded our house. We all went to the upper storey, and by means of a ladder silently descended into the house of a Musalman neighbour Mirza . . . The men outside broke open our gate, came in and looted our house.

“ After looting all our property, they came to the house in which we had taken shelter, and threatened to break open the doors unless the Mirza turned us out. The Mirza concealed our women in his women's compartments and then began to find place for us. In the meantime, they began to break open his doors. The Mirza then said to us :

“ ‘ You now descend into your own house, there is nobody there. When these people will go away disappointed after searching you here, then you may again come back to this house.’ ”

“ We did so. But those people saw us descending into our house and at once rushed in. (We were three, my father Master Shri Ram, my uncle Doctor Ramchandra, and myself.) They came upon the roof and threw Doctor Ram Chandra down. Then they began to beat me and my father and brought us down. Then I became unconscious. When I regained my consciousness I found that my father Master Shri Ram had died and my uncle Doctor Ramchandra had received very serious injuries. My aunt had by that time come back from the neighbouring house and was giving us water, etc. In the evening other women of our house also came from the Muslim neighbour's house to our own.

“ At about 8 o'clock in the night, some people again entered our house and began to beat me and my uncle Doctor Ram Chandra. The women implored them not to beat us further, saying that we were already half-dead. In reply, they said to our women, ‘ You remain silent, we shall do what we like, and if you interfere we shall beat you also and shall dishonour you.’ The women became silent, and I and Doctor Ram Chandra became unconscious.

“ When I regained my consciousness on the morning of the 26th of March I found myself lying in another neighbour's house together with the women of our family. I also saw some of our looted property lying about in that neighbour's house. I now came to know that in the morning they had come and beaten Doctor Ram

Chandra for the third time, and had this time killed him. Two days we passed in that neighbour's house. On the third day, i. e., the 29th March, he sent us on to another neighbour's house. . . . On the evening of the 29th, with the help of this other neighbour, we somehow reached the Railway Station, where my wounds were bandaged for the first time and from where by rail on the morning of the 30th we safely reached the house of my uncle in Fatehgarh, who is a Jailor there."

#### A SECOND TRAGEDY IN BACONGANJ.

The following is a summary of the evidence of Pandit Kanhaiya Lal, of Baconganj:

"I, my father, mother, and wife lived on the ground floor of a house in Mannapurva which belonged to a widow named Siddha Kunvar. Batashi, a bharbhunji, aged about 40, lived with her husband in an outside room of the same house, and on the first floor lived Rameshwar Brahman and his family. We had been living there for about six years. On Friday, 27th March, at about 7 or 8 in the morning, some Musalmans attacked the outer door of our house which was shut from within. This door opened into a small passage or dahliz, which had another inner door opening into the courtyard. Between the two doors in the passage there is a small well. The Musalmans broke open the outer door and came to the inner door. They called upon us to open it. I replied, 'We are living here depending upon ——'s (he named a Muslim whom we shall call 'A') protection. We shall do what he asks us to do.' A is a neighbour of ours. We have been neighbours since we came into this house. A was with the party. He called out from outside, 'Khol, Satahi

kiwára, na khole to torkar ghus jáo.' Satabi is a term of abuse and was intended for my mother. Fearing that the door would be broken open and recognizing . . . A's voice, I opened the door. About twelve persons came in. About four remained in the passage. I recognized six of them as they had been my neighbours. I can give their names. Those who were in front said, 'Give us your property.' My mother replied, 'Take from us whatever we have got, only leave one dhoti for each of us, and spare our lives.' My wife also said the same thing. Batashi was also with us at the time. Her husband had gone somewhere outside of Cawnpore. Batashi said, 'I have nothing to give.' Three Pathans who were in front said, 'Give us what you have hoarded.' They said to Batashi, 'Give us five hundred rupees.' A said, 'Take whatever these people have got and kill them.' Batashi had silver anklets on her feet weighing about 120 tolas. One man said, 'Take off her anklets or cut off her feet.' Another man tried to take off the anklets from Batashi's feet, and when he could not easily do so, he asked a third man to cut the feet. Some flesh from each of the two heels was cut. The two feet began to hang loose. The anklets were taken off. Batashi became unconscious. I was seeing all this with my own eyes. One man said, 'Throw her into the well.' Another man caught hold of her cloth, dragged her by her wounded leg, and threw her into the well between the two doors. She was dragged like a dead dog. I and my father all this time kept imploring for mercy with folded hands, but to no avail. While some of them were thus assaulting us, others were searching our house and looting our property. One man struck my wife in the chest with a karoli. She was sitting in the yard.

She was slightly wounded. The man again thrust the karoli between her two legs. . . She was lifted up with the karoli thrust in her body and the handle in the hand of the murderer. Her feet left the ground. Her head came down on the floor. The same man, whom I recognize, now drew off my wife's dhoti. She became half naked. At this one man said, 'Throw her also into the well or kill her.' At this the former dragged her to the well half wrapped in her dhoti. The man again said, 'Cut off her breast.' I did not see anybody doing it. Nobody did it. But she was dragged and thrown into the well. Then they attacked my mother. Before they throw my wife into the well, they took off all the ornaments she had on her hands and feet. My mother also had silver anklets on her feet and a gold sutia round her neck and also silver bracelets round her wrists. They attacked my mother with pharsas, karolis, and sticks, and took off all her ornaments. She fell down and became unconscious. My wife and Batashi were murdered in the courtyard, and my mother was wounded in the verandah near our cooking place. Then they attacked my father and me. They said to each other, 'Kill these men, do not spare them, otherwise they will stand witnesses against us.' We were attacked with pharsas, lathis, karaulis, and ballams. We became unconscious. They left us and went upstairs. There were, on the upper storey, Rameshwar, his son Ram Krishna, a daughter, Rameshwar's wife, and a cousin of his. I was told later that all these people were beaten but none received very serious injuries. The woman saved herself and the family by giving up all her ornaments and cash to the extent of Rs. 900. When I regained consciousness these people were upstairs. I

heard the noise. I felt thirsty. There was none to give me water. I tried to go up to the pipe in the little courtyard but fell down on the way. Again I tried to get up, took some water, felt chilly, and fell down again unconscious. I did not see the attackers going out of the house.

“Between 9 and 10 o'clock Lila Maharaj, who lived near our house, came there. I called for help. He came in with Dr. Bachchu Lal and a sergeant (a policeman). I, my father, and mother were removed in a lorry to Prince of Wales Hospital. The five persons from the upper storey were also taken to the Hospital in the same lorry. We have all survived. One of my wounds in a leg is still unhealed. We have not yet gone to the house again. The two dead bodies were taken out of the well after ten or twelve days. I do not know what happened to the dead bodies. Probably they were thrown into the Ganga.”

Kanhaiya Lal's father Prag, and his mother Parvati Bai, confirmed the above statement. Kanhaiya Lal's mother said that their total loss was about eleven to twelve hundred rupees. Danku, husband of Batashi, was present when the two dead bodies were taken out of the well by the authorities and told us that he recognized them both. He told us that his total loss was about Rs. 700. Prag, the father of Kanhaya Lal, said that when these people were committing murder and loot in the house, one Rustam Musalman, who is a draftsman in the Municipal Board, three or four times cried from his house addressing one particular Musalman in this group and saying, 'So and so, . . . what are you doing in in your mohalla? This is bad.' At this the man retort-

ed, 'Sále! sit quiet in your room, otherwise I will get your house burnt and kill you.'

Some of us personally visited the place of occurrence, saw the hair of the two women which had fallen off the skulls on account of decomposition of the bodies in the well. It was lying near the well. We also saw a mass of clotted blood in the verandah and marks of the tragedy all over the walls and pillars.

### A THIRD TRAGEDY IN BENGALI MOHAL

The following is a summary of the statement of Musammát Babbo, a pardaushin Muslim lady :

"We lived in Bengali Mohal which is mainly a Hindu locality.

"On Tuesday ( the 24th of March ), hearing that there was quarrel between Hindus and Masalmans in the City, we thought of going to Bacongani, a Muslim quarter, for safety. ——— (a Hindu whom we shall call 'A' ) whose door was just in front of ours and ——— and ———, (two Hindus whom we shall call 'B' and 'C' ), and also A's tenants, who were all Hindus and all our neighbours, stopped us, saying, 'You need not go anywhere ; we will all protect one another.' In the evening, I saw some twenty or twenty-five Hindus coming from outside and sleeping in the house of A. We got afraid and expressed our doubts to A. He satisfied us, saying, 'Do not be afraid ; I have sent for these people for protecting us both.' We remained in our house that night. We were four women, four children, and four men. The house was our property. At about 9 or 10, on the morning of Wednesday (the 25th), my brother advised us to leave the

place, as the condition of the City was bad. My husband retorted, 'Such a thing never happened in our Mohalla before, there is no need of our going anywhere.' Shortly after, —— (another Hindu whom we shall call 'D'), who was a tenant in the house of A, came with about 20 people. D had two brickbats in his hands, others had lathis and ballams. I saw them from the upper storey of my house. I at once went to my husband and spoke to him about what I had seen. My husband went out of the house and asked D as to why those people had assembled. D said, 'You rest satisfied: these people are all our men.' My husband asked him why he had brickbats in his hands. At this, D took A aside and said something to him. Then they all went away towards Lajpat Rai Park. After this, A entered his house, bolted it from within and went upstairs. Then he placed a ladder against the wall between his house and B's. B is a cocaine-wala. I was seeing all this from the upper storey of my house. I cried out to A, 'Lala, yeh kyá kar rahe ho?' (What is this that you are doing?) He reassured me. Then he removed all the luggage from his house to that of B from over the wall. I again cried out to A, asking if he meant any treachery (daghá) to us. He again assured me. I again expressed my doubts to my husband. . . . B drew away the ladder from the house of A. Thus, nothing was left in A's house. All his people and goods were removed to B's house, which is a much bigger and three-storied building.

"After this, about five hundred people came from the side of the Park, beating something like daphlas. Some of them carried lathis, gandasas, ballams, etc. They were crying, 'Kill all, let none escape!' At this, the men of

our house, who were outside, came in and bolted the house from within. We went upstairs, and I again asked A as to why they were doing all that. He again assured us and advised us all to go to the house of Yasin from inside. Between our house and the house of Yasin was the house of Fakir Muhammad tenant. We all crossed that house and went to the house of Yasin. Fakir Muhammad's people also came to the same house. All included, we were there 12 women, 3 men, out of whom one boy was aged 18, and six children. Total twenty-one. A's men all along continued assuring us of safety.

"Some of the people outside came to Yasin's door. They broke open the gate, and came into the courtyard. We were all on the upper storey. It was probably 11 o'clock at that time. They cried to us from below, 'You all come down, sipahis have come and will take all women and children to a place of safety. Let all come down. At this, Yasin and his sister-in-law, both cried out to A and B for protection. They recognized them both. Then brickbats began to fall from all sides. With the exception of our three houses, all the houses around were those of Hindus. When the people below cried out, 'Come down, come down,' we all went down. When we saw ballams and khantas in their hands, all the women got afraid and entered a small room. The children also entered there. Yasin also entered that room. Only one man, a nephew of Yasin named Abdur Rahim, tried to escape. He was caught on the way. When Yasin received three or four latbi blows, my husband ran back upstairs. At this, those people came to the door of our little room, and said, 'Tell us where your property and ornaments are.' The door was opened. The courtyard and the

verandah was full of these people. They might have been about 30. I recognized in their midst a young Brahman (whom we shall call 'E'), who is a tenant of A. I also recognized some others. E used to address me as Chachi (aunt). As soon as I saw him I clung to him for protection. Another man asked me to put off my ornaments. I left E, put off my ornaments and gave them to E who handed them over to another. I said, 'We will just give you all our ornaments, pray do not lay hands on us.' I also took off the ornaments of my daughter-in-law and of my grand-daughter and other women and gave them to E. The ornaments of myself, my daughter-in-law and my grand-daughter, all together were about 18 tolas of gold. My grand-daughter was to be married in this very lunar month and her ornaments were newly made. The ornaments of the women of Yasin's house were about 40 tolas of gold. The looted property that belonged to Yasin's house was worth about Rs. 15,000; part of the property belonged to a brother who had come recently from Europe.

"Then those people piled all our extra clothes at the door of our room. Then they prepared a wick with a piece of cloth, soaked it in some liquid which they poured out of a bottle that they carried with them, and set fire to the pile. When the clothes began to burn and we all began to feel suffocated with smoke we began to run towards the verandah, where we had given them our ornaments. At first three boys, one aged 18, the other aged 10, and the third aged 6, came out. They attacked these boys with pharsas and other weapons and killed them in the courtyard. The neck of Chunnua, aged

about 18, was with difficulty separated from the body. They gave several strokes of gandasas over his neck before they could separate it. All the three boys became cold in death, I was seeing this with my eyes. In fact, we were all seeing it. After this the women all came out in confusion. The room was burning. Then these people gave Yasin's sister-in-law (bhawaj) a lathi blow. She fell down. They again attacked her with a pharsa or a gandasa. Her neck began to hang loose. She was about thirty years of age. Then they struck Fakir Muhammad's wife with a pharsa or some such weapon. Her head was also separated. Then they killed Fakir Muhammad's nephew's wife (bhatij bahu). She was aged about twenty. She had a daughter aged about an year and a half in her lap. Somebody thrust a ballam into the skull of the baby. The ballam passed through her head. Fakir Muhammad had a daughter aged twenty-two. She had in her lap a boy-baby of seven months. They killed the girl and cut off her ears. The mother and the child of seven months both lay dead before us. Another daughter of Fakir Muhammad was sixteen years of age. She was married. They dragged her away alive out of the house. None of us yet knows where that girl is. A grand-daughter of Fakir Muhammad, aged about six years, was also killed while she clung to her mother and was weeping. I, my daughter-in-law, and my grand-daughter aged about thirteen, and Yasin's nephew named Matroo all, the four, were still trying to save our lives in the midst of smoke and confusion. When these people were looting property from another room I first laid down Matroo and my grand-daughter Mangli in the midst of the corpses. Then I and my daughter-in-law also lay there.

“Those men again came out. They piled over our bodies two libafs, one razai, and one cot, set fire to them and went away. We remained silent. Our feet were burning. One of them poked with his ballam. It wounded the cheek of my grand-daughter. Our shirts and trousers were all wet with blood. After this those people went away, leaving us lying there, motionless through fear.

“Somehow in this turmoil my husband had escaped from the house. Some time after, some Muslims from another Mohalla came with my husband. They took us cut half-burnt and wounded and removed us to the Muslim club in Patkapur. There we were kept in the library hall. From there on Friday night at about 9 o'clock, Deputy Abdul Raof removed us to this hospital. Another grand-daughter of mine, named Sum-Sum, aged six, was saved by a Hindu Kahar named Munna, by wrapping her up in his quilt. Munna's house is also near our's.

“Abdur Rahim who escaped from that house was killed, and burnt in front of the adjoining mosque.”

Out of the twenty-one in Yasin's house, thirteen were killed; of these, two were male adults, the rest women and children; one young girl is still missing.

Babbo, her young daughter-in-law, and her grand-daughter, aged about 13, were, on April 30, in the Prince of Wales Hospital, where one of us took down the above statement. Babbo's legs were all burnt and bandaged. There were bandages at several places on the body of her thirteen-year old grand-daughter and the mark of the

ballam wound on her cheek. Babbo's daughter-in-law was in the seventh month of her pregnancy; her legs were all bandaged, and there were wounds too on various parts of her body. They were all improving.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE OFFICIAL AT WORK.

#### THE OFFICIALS KNEW OF THE COMING RIOTS.

WHAT is the share of the local authorities in these riots? We will proceed to discuss this question now.

The District Magistrate of Cawnpore appeared as a witness before the Official Commission of Enquiry on the 17th of April 1931. The Chairman put to him: "It was not in your mind about the communal disturbance. You looked forward to anti-Government agitation?"

The District Magistrate replied: "Yes; no communal disturbance was expected."

In reply to another question, he said that "he did not expect any communal trouble and took it as an anti-Government demonstration."

To a further question, he replied that "no special communal ill-feeling existed before the riots. No preparations came to his notice as having been made before the riots by the two communities." \*

Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Commissioner of Allahabad Division, examined by the same Commission on the 25th April 1931, said, "In a report which was confidential (dated 21st March 1931) the Collector had stated that the situation remained quiet. He mentioned incidentally that

\* 'The Leader,' dated 19th April, 1931.

truce having been declared between the Congress and the Government, it was possible there would be less anti-Government agitation and possibly more communal trouble on account of the bad feeling created by the riots in Benares, Mirzapur, and Agra." \*

The utter contradiction between the two statements is obvious. It gives rise to grave suspicions. If no special communal ill-will existed, and the District Magistrate did not expect any communal trouble, how and why did it occur to him to make such a definite forecast to the Commissioner? And the forecast did not remain confined to high officers of the State; it found echoes in places so dissimilar as the vestibule of a church and a den of habitual criminals. Mr. Hoon, M. L. A., Bar-at-Law, was questioned by the President of the Official Enquiry Committee about the likelihood of a communal outbreak at Cawnpore. The question and his answer are thus reported in the "Leader" of the 5th May, 1931.

"President: Did you expect that there would be any communal outbreak in Cawnpore?"

"Mr. Hoon: It is very strange that this thing started on Tuesday. On the preceding Sunday, a European lady known to me went to the church and she was told by the priest to be on the lookout, as there was likely to be communal trouble. She met me on Monday and told me about it."

Like the priest who warned the lady, the goondas of Cawnpore also knew of the approaching storm. A Hindu

\* 'The Leader,' dated 27th April, 1931.

witness, who is a clerk to a local advocate and who, as a preventive to some sort of pains in his chest, has for the last 20 years been using chandu, and for that purpose been going to a smoking-den, situated in a purely Muslim quarter, has made the following statement before us :

“ On the 20th March, at about 8 p. m., when I went to the chandoo-khana in —, a Muslim quarter, a woman from inside came to open the door. She opened the door and at once told me not to come there for 4 or 5 days, as there was soon going to be a quarrel between Hindus and Muhammadans. I entered. — (name of a goonda,\* who had overheard our talk said, ‘She is right, you should not come for 5 or 6 days, as a Hindu-Muslim quarrel is sure.’ . . . I again asked why there would be a quarrel. — (another goonda of Cawnpore whom we shall call ‘A’) said, ‘To-day there is a Hartal. On the next Hartal day there will be a quarrel between Hindus and Muslims. You should not come for 5 or 6 days.’ I asked him, ‘Hartals are made on behalf of Congress, what has Congress to do with Hindu-Muslim quarrel?’ He said, ‘Since — (an official whom we shall call ‘B’) has come, he is making great efforts to suppress the Congress.

\* Throughout this report we have purposely omitted the names of persons against whom specific allegations of criminal conduct were made. We have done so for two reasons : (1) the public mention of names would only prolong bitterness and create feelings of revenge, and (2) the individuals were only puppets of the system, on which the attention of the public should be fixed rather than on any individual. For the same reasons we did our best at Cawnpore to get criminal proceedings against individuals stopped.

He recently sent for some prominent Muslims, and said to them, 'You sell foreign things and Congress stops you. Thus you suffer loss. Therefore you should suppress them. Government will help you.' After talks about Bhagat Singh's execution, B sent for — (a subordinate official), and said, 'Bhagat Singh will be hanged, and on that day a Hartal is certain, and then Congresswallas, Hindus and Muslims, will attack Englishmen; therefore it is necessary to create on that day a quarrel between Hindus and Muslims to such a extent that a hundred to a hundred and twenty-five men on either side may be seriously wounded. Then we will suppress the Congresswallas.'—(The subordinate official) talked of it to — (a non-official), and the latter sent for us and talked to us to arrange. I warned — (the non-official) that the quarrel my increase, many may be killed and we may have to grieve. — (The non-official) said, 'Whatever happens, we have to carry out what we are asked to.' After saying this, A asked me, 'Do you believe me now?' I said, 'Yes.' I came out and talked to some people in Sarrafa about it the same night."

In his written statement in answer to question No. 15 of our questionnaire, he has stated :

"Four or five days before the commencement of riots, I had come to know that whenever there is again a hartal and a procession, the Musalmans will attack the procession. My idea about it was that they will interfere in the procession. I had, therefore, informed a number of people in Sarrafa and Generalganj of this news, because in the past processions had generally passed through these localities."

On the 23rd, the witness sent a postcard to his younger brother in the mofussil in which he mentioned the immi-

ment likelihood of a Hindu-Muslim quarrel in Cawnpore, and told him not to be anxious about his safety. We have got the postcard on our file. We have also the confirmatory evidence of a clerk of another advocate, to whom the witness repeated his conversation with the goondas immediately on his return from the smoking-den on the 20th.

From all this it is obvious that a Hindu-Muslim riot was in the air. The Collector, the Commissioner, some European men and women, and certain sections of goondas in the city knew that it was coming. That there was no overt sign of any immediate crisis is patent from the fact that the Congress did not at all suspect it. Most of the members of the Congress had gone to Karachi. The President of the Town Congress Committee left for Lucknow a couple of hours before the outbreak, and when the outbreak came, the Congress crier was, as we have seen, making the announcement in the city that there was going to be a procession at 3 p. m. and a meeting at 5 p. m. Shri Ganeshji and a few others had not gone to Karachi. The Kotwal had repeatedly requested Ganeshji to be present in the city to control the situation which was likely to arise on the execution of Bhagat Singh.

Thus, while the Government's higher officials were aware of the coming trouble, the Congress was altogether unaware of it. Says Mr. Hoon, in his written statement to the Official Enquiry Committee:

“If it is suggested that the communal riots on the 24th took the authorities by surprise, I would submit that the proposition is wholly untenable. That the communal tension was on the rise, that the Mohammedans had in-

advertently got themselves mixed up with an aggressive propaganda against the Hindus, that the Mohammedans had in their possession a large quantity of weapons, that the Congress people were bound to commit their usual acts of annoyance over Mohammedans in connection with the Bhagat Singh hartal, are facts which were fully known to the Collector and the district authorities before the riot broke out. In his statement, the Commissioner has admitted that about the 21st of March the Collector of Cawnpore had given an inkling of the possibility of communal trouble in the near future, and this leaves no doubt in my mind that, considering the knowledge of the prospects of a communal fight that the District Magistrate possessed about the 21st March, his want of preparation to meet the contingency was simply inexcusable." \*

DISTRICT MAGISTRATE NON-COOPERATED WITH HIS OWN OFFICERS.

Even assuming that the District Magistrate was unprepared, it was open to him to co-operate with the Congress in quelling the riots, for it was a period of truce; and obviously the Government and the Congress were both equally interested in keeping peace between the Hindus and the Musalmans. But instead of co-operating with the Congress, the District Magistrate non-co-operated even with his own subordinate officers. "No police force was allotted to any magistrate, nor was he given any definite area which he was expected to look after." †

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\* 'The Leader,' dated 8th May 1931.

† Evidence of Pt. Rameshwar Dayal, Deputy Magistrate, before the Official Commission.

Like Seva Samiti volunteers, the magistrate, no doubt, did some rescue work and saved some Hindus and some Musalmans. But it is proved by incontrovertible evidence that they were kept helpless upto the 29th. Pandit Rameshwar Daval, Deputy Magistrate, in his statement before the Enquiry Committee, stated :

“The difficulty of the magistrates was that they had no police force at all under them with which to enforce Sec. 144. The magistrates exposed themselves to danger many a time by rushing single-handed into crowds. Messrs. Islam Nabi, Abdul Rauf, and himself, had told the District Magistrate at 5 p. m. that the situation was very serious and that only military control could stop rioting, arson, plunders, and murders. He had emphasized that the Hindu police connived at the doings of Hindus, and the Mohammedan police at the doings of the Mohammedans. . . . There was arson in every part of the city, and the magistrates submitted they could do nothing without sufficient force being given to them and ‘charges being made out.’ The District Magistrate promised to give due consideration to their representation. . . . On the morning of the 29th, he was given Circle No. 2 with Mr. Abdul Rauf. ‘Had these circles been formed earlier and some armed force given to us, the situation may not have become so serious.’ \*

The representation referred to above was made by the Magistrates on the 25th, and the District Magistrate took full four days to make up his mind to accede to their

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\* ‘The Leader,’ dated 26th April 1931.

request. Why did he hesitate so long in the face of the terrible crisis through which the unfortunate city was passing?

#### INACTIVITY OF THE POLICE.

( We have seen how practically in every part of the city, loot, arson, and murder were all perpetrated under the very eye of the police, and whenever they were asked to interfere and to help the innocent victims, the invariable reply was, "We have no orders to interfere." R. B. Vikramajit Singh, M. L. C., Chairman of the Municipal Board, in his statement before the Government Enquiry Committee, clearly says, "The police must have had instructions not to do anything." )

Under the ordinary law no special orders are needed for the police to interfere and prevent cognizable offences. Therefore, Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh drew the only possible conclusion from this inactivity of the police, that they had positive instructions not to interfere.

This inactivity on the part of the police was explained before the Official Commission of Enquiry by the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police. In his written statement submitted to the said Commission on the 16th April 1931, the District Magistrate says :

" . . . the rioting was all of the 'burn and run' or 'stab and run' type, and the rioters invariably ran away as fast as they could, when any troops or police appeared, into the narrow side-lanes amid a labyrinth of houses where they could not be caught up or traced out."

The Police Superintendent says :

“ Arrests were extremely difficult because the rioters ran whenever the police made lathi charges. It was not possible for the police to leave Moolganj, Meston Road, and Chowk, and pursue these rioters into gullies. By the time the rioters had thus split up into many different parties, the police would have split up into correspondingly small parties of 2 or 3 and would have been insufficient to arrest them even if they came up with them.”

Unfortunately, it is the common habit in criminals to do their work and run. The thief, the robber, and the murderer, always try to save themselves, howsoever inconvenient this may be for the police. But in Cawnpore, we have seen, this was not always the case. In Cawnpore, the thief, the robber, the murderer, did their work and stood, and the police instead of giving them chase often enjoyed the fun and on occasions joined them in their criminal deeds.

Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh gave expression to a feeling which was almost universal in the Indian sections of the population of Cawnpore, when he said :

“ But what passes one’s comprehension is the ease, the calmness, and the facility with which the hooligans went on doing their work everywhere, unmolested and unchallenged. The troops remained as reserve in large numbers, and so did the police, and they were not sent out to quell the disturbance or help the people.”

Shri S. Bhasin, Advocate, Secretary, U. P. Kerana Seva Samiti, speaking of his experience on the 25th, says :

“ The houses were being looted in the very presence of the police in Bengali Mohal as well as Butcherkhana,

The constables were merely watching. I asked them to arrest the persons who were in possession of stolen property, but they would do nothing of the kind, and they said, they had no orders. I could not understand this policy.

“On my return at about 4 p. m., I saw by the Canal range a large number of persons coming from General-ganj side loaded with new pairs of high-class and costly shoes, umbrellas, hosiery, and various other articles of value, and they were marching past the police standing close by, and it appeared that the police constables were most unconcerned.

“The worst happened when at about 4.30 p. m., I saw that even thelals loaded with goods were being brought from the Canal Range from the shops on the Canal bank, on Dalmandi side, after looting these shops and setting them on fire. The police was still standing and watching. This was near the sub-station power house. I told these constables to arrest the robbers, but they pleaded want of orders. I told them that these were cognizable offences and no orders were necessary, but to no effect.”

#### THE COMMISSIONER'S ATTITUDE.

Even the expectation by the people that the police should perform their functions properly seemed to have been resented by high-placed officials. Shri Ram Ratan Gupta, one of the most prominent businessmen of Cawnpore and a member of the Executive Committee of the U. P. Chamber of Commerce, tells us:

“On the 26th, when the Commissioner Kunwar Maharaj Singh, accompanied by R. B. Vikramajit Sinha and Hafiz

Mohammad Siddiq, visited my residence, my uncle complained to him that the police was very inactive, and requested him to bring the situation under control. The Commissioner immediately replied, 'The people have so long abused the police, and now they seek their help.' And he went away."

Almost every witness who came before us had seen instances in which murder, loot and arson had been committed in the presence of policemen who had refused to take any notice of them. Instances too are not wanting in which these policemen themselves were directly concerned in these crimes. We will mention some typical cases.

#### POLICE PARTICIPATION IN THE RIOTS.

Lala Mathura Prasad, Sarraf and Banker, stated :

"On the 25th, in my own Mohalla Baconganj, from 10 o'clock in the morning to about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, I saw that the shops near about were freely being looted by Muslims, most of whom belonged to that very Mohalla. Tins of oil and other provisions and things were coolly being carried away by small urchins of 10 or 12 and even by bigger men on their backs, sometimes in dolis and sometimes even in lorries. One such lorry that I myself saw being used for this purpose belonged to — (gives the name), Circle Inspector of Police, who resides in that very mohalla. When all this was going on, policemen occasionally passed from before the shops that were being looted. People cried for help. I myself once asked the police men for such help, but no policemen ever came to the help of people who were being looted."

Shri Badri Nath Kapoor describes an incident which he saw on the Meston Road on the 24th :

“About 5.30 p. m., I saw that the doors of Messrs. Ratanlal Santlal were being broken, and some Muslims were looting the shop. This was being done before the very eyes of two Deputy Collectors, who were standing at a distance of about 60 yards from the shops, with the City Kotwal. Although a strong police force was at their disposal, they did nothing to stop the loot.” Shortly after, about half a dozen armed constables were “posted in front of the said shop,” but, the witness tells us, that “the constables, instead of protecting the shop, were eating English sweetmeats and using vegetable oil which they took out from that shop.”

Another witness, Shri Banwari Lal, whose own shop was looted in Baconganj, the loot continuing for full two hours, states :

“Besides the head constable —, I recognize four other police constables, one of them a chief, who took part in looting Baconganj on the 24th, the 25th, and also on the 26th morning.”

Pandit Mathura Prasad Bajpei, a well-known citizen of Cawnpore, in his written statement, makes reference to incidents of a different and more atrocious type :

“The police, in addition to the observance of non-intervention policy, sometimes helped themselves in filling their pockets and sometimes in taking men seeking their help and protection to the quarters where the Badmashes were stationed, and asking them to give that person Swaraj, meaning thereby, that they were to be belaboured, which

they did freely and to their hearts' content. It was on very rare occasions that such a person after receiving some injuries escaped with his life to tell the tale of such protection meted out by the police. The policemen would see from a safe distance the burning of houses, temples, and mosques, and the murder and loot by hooligans. On being questioned as to why they were not arresting them, they used to reply that they had no orders to do so."

The case of Shri Rambharose, of Baconganj, is an instance of this type. On the evening of the 24th, he had taken shelter in a temple, with some others. He remained there all night. On the 25th, he says:

"At 7 or 8 in the morning, about 5 policemen came there and offered to escort us to our homes. I think three of them were Musalmans and two Hindus. I came down and said that I wished to go to Phulbagh. Seven other man came down with me. They mentioned different places. The policemen said that they would first escort the persons who wanted to go to Baconganj Takia and to Minamal ká Shiwala, and then take me to Phulbagh. I went with them. On the way we passed through an open space where some two hundred Musalmans were gathered. Two of the policemen with us, one belonging to the armed police and the other to the civil police, said to that crowd, 'These men want Swaraj.' Some people from the crowd asked the policemen, 'Tumhárá hukum hai, Swaráj den inhen?' (Is it your order we give them Swaraj?) Then the two policemen said, 'Hán, deo inko Swaraj.' (Yes, give them Swaraj.) Then some people from the crowd began striking us with lathis, ballams, khantas, etc. We were eight Hindus. Three died in my presence. I received blows

from a lathi and a ballam on the head, which is still bandaged, and also blows over the body. I ran away towards Colonelganj Khatikana."

#### PARTICIPATION BY BRITISH SOLDIERS.

As the riot developed, British soldiers were appointed at some places in the main Bazar on patrol duty. Instances of their breaking open liquor shops are many. A number of eye-witnesses have also described how these British soldiers broke open shops even at night and looted them with the help of electric torches, and in the morning sold away goods such as watches at ridiculously low prices.

Shri Hridaya Narayan Hridayesh, a teacher in a Municipal Middle School, in his statement, says :

"British soldiers looted several Hindu and Muslim watch shops in Chowk and Thatrai Bazar. I have myself seen them looting watches. British soldiers also stole away the typewriter of the Municipal Board. They caused a loss of several thousands to the District and Municipal Boards."

We have a number of complaints from persons whose property was thus looted or destroyed, but will only confine ourselves to two outstanding instances.

Shri Dwarka Prasad Singh, advocate, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Municipal Board, states :

"The Military people had occupied the Town Hall and put the Board to a loss of over Rs. 7,000 by destroying the articles locked up in various departments of the Board."

Lists of property looted and destroyed were submitted to proper authorities. Pandit Mathura Prasad Bajpai told us that, " Mr. Barron, the Joint Magistrate, enquired into their conduct on the report of the Chairman of the Municipal Board. He came to the conclusion that the tearing of cheques and the other matters complained of were the acts of the British soldiers, for it was in their exclusive custody during the riots."

The same thing happened at the District Board Office.

#### IMMUNITY GRANTED TO GOONDAS.

From the above instance it is clear that the Magistracy remained generally inactive, and the police, and the soldiery, by their own criminal acts, added to the conflagration that was raging round them. We have seen how on the 25th the situation had passed into the hands of the goondas of both communities. Several witnesses have told us how during the riots of 1927, the District Magistrate, Mr. Munro, on the advice of some of the prominent citizens, promptly arrested a large number of miscreants. This action at once stopped the trouble from spreading. Witness after witness has complained how on the present occasion a number of respectable citizens, both Hindus and Musalmans, pressed the District Magistrate to take similar action, but no such action was taken. Shri Narayan Prasad Nigam has thus narrated his experience in this connection :

" On the morning of the 26th, I and two other friends went to the worst affected area, viz., Colonelganj. I saw a number of houses on fire. It was about noon. . . . People said the mob had just gone off, and it had been

using an unlicensed gun in the hands of a noted badmash. They said it was all known to the Thanedar. One or two policemen were visible, but not doing anything. Thana was 2 furlongs from where I was. I went to the Thana. I found the Thanedar in his house. . . . I also spoke to him of the unlicensed gun being used by the badmash ( gives name ) whom he ought to arrest. . . . Next day, I went round, with the Commissioner and Collector, showing them the places, and came to that Thana again. . . . I told him (the Collector) ; then he admitted the man was a badmash. He also admitted that there was a gang headed by — ( gives the same name ). But upto this day that badmash has not been arrested. He is said to have looted any number of houses and murdered any number of men.”

Shri G. G. Jog says he had a talk with two magistrates on this point, and the answer he received is significant.

“ In the course of my wanderings with Deputy Abdul Rauf Saheb, and next day with Deputy Rameshwar Dayal Sahib, I repeatedly suggested to both of them to have the badmashes immediately rounded up. I also suggested that they should ask the Hindus for the names of the Muslim badmashes and the Muslims for the names of the Hindu badmashes and then have both rounded up, but both the Deputy Collectors told me that they were helpless because, as they said, inspite of their repeated requests to the Collector to this very effect, the Collector had refused to act up to this advice.”

Thus, it obvious that the whole machinery of Law and Order had been brought to a stand-still by the heads of

the executive, who deliberately avoided adopting measures that could help in tranquilizing the situation. The people were being ground down between a police and a soldiery, demoralized and brutalized by their surroundings, on the one side, and the goondas with an unbridled freedom of action on the other. Utterly helpless and bewildered, they ran to the Kotwali and other official centres asking for help, but here also the same rebuff and the same disappointment met them. Generally, all assistance was refused, and in some cases persons repeating their requests for help were threatened with expulsion and even arrest. Mr. Barron, the Additional City Magistrate, in his statement before the Official Enquiry Committee, is reported to have stated :

#### REFUSAL OF ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE.

“ There had been complaints of inactivity in refusing assistance, and one specific instance had been given to the Commission. Some of these complaints were not unfounded. It appeared to be the ambition of every resident of Cawnpore to have an armed guard at his door-step, during the days of riots, irrespective of whether any rioting had taken place in the locality or not. To all and sundry he ( I ) explained with great patience. . .

“ To such as accepted this answer I was quite civil. To those who made a nuisance of themselves by repeatedly asking for quite unnecessary help I had to speak brusquely. . .

“ Mr. Barron stressed that on no single occasion throughout the whole riot was police assistance refused

when available, in any case which he believed to be genuine."\*

The use of the word "ambition" in the circumstances in which it was used shows the spirit of the official. Himself beyond all danger, surrounded by armed guards, he thinks fit to mock at the helpless householders who seek protection for their homes from this well-paid 'protector of the poor,' in a time when obviously no citizen's person or property was immune. Moreover, the latter part of his statement is shown to be untrue by the happenings we have described in the last two chapters. The Executive heads did not give the assistance they could give and ought to have given. We will give only a few more instances.

Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh tried his best to secure some help, but with no result. On the 24th and the 25th, he wrote letters, one after the other, to the District Magistrate. He phoned to the Chief Secretary to the local Government, "drawing their attention to the fact that murders, looting, and burning of houses were going on unchecked." He also continued phoning to Mr. Sale about the incidents as they happened. "But no relief was given." He sent a couple of friends to Mr. Sale, "they all returned disappointed." He sent his son on a motor-car. This was followed by his third letter to Mr. Sale in which, among other things, he said :

"There are families to be rescued in various quarters. If armed police is given to help in this task of rescuing

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\* 'The Leader,' dated 9th May, 1931.

the lives of women and children, I can supply lorries and motors which are waiting for rescue. I estimate that twenty-five armed constables will be wanted at least for the present by me."

But no action was taken.

Haji Fakhruddin, of Patkapur, relates how he personally went to the District Magistrate four times for help and was each time refused.

An Indian businessman, who is the son of one of the richest mill-owners of Cawnpore, says :

"On the 25th of March, at about 2 p. m., I tried to phone to the District Magistrate from my bungalow asking for help for the protection of our quarters. At first nobody replied. On my ringing a second time the bearer replied that Mr. Sale, the District Magistrate, was not there. I thought that no attention would be paid from the District Magistrate's place to a call from an Indian firm, while a call from a European firm would be soon attended to. I, therefore, told the bearer that I was speaking from the West Mill. My surmise proved correct. The bearer at once replied that his Saheb was there. I put down the receiver, and again phoned after a few minutes. This time Mr. Sale himself spoke to me on the phone. I told him that I was speaking from so-and-so's bungalow. I requested him that out of a hundred or so armed military stationed at Burmah Shell Oil Depot, some should be asked to extend their patrol area by a few furlongs, thus covering upto our bungalow. Mr. Sale replied that he could not do so as the Military were not under his charge. I said it was unfair, and

asked as to whom we should approach in such a difficulty. He retorted, "Go to Mahatma Gandhi." I very well recognize both Mr. Sale and his voice, as I have talked to him so often."

In his statement before the Official Enquiry Committee, Mr. Islam Nabi, Deputy Magistrate, is reported to have said :

"On the 26th, 27th and 28th March, from 5 to 9 a.m. and from 5 to 9 p. m., I was on duty with the military at the Municipal Office. The rest of the daytime I spent at the Meston Road, where appeals for help and rescue from different mohallas used to arrive. On every occasion, I and my colleagues offered to go for rescue, but could not do so as almost every time we were refused police escort on some excuse or other. The chief was that unless peace and order were restored throughout the city, the police could not be spared for individual cases. This policy is responsible to a great extent, in my opinion, for the large casualties, especially among women, children, and old men, and for the burning of the houses, because no pitched fighting took place anywhere, and it was only defenceless persons who were attacked and their houses burnt and looted." \*

Approaches to the Civil Lines were jealously guarded. Shri Mathura Prasad Bajpai states :

"The British soldiers at the outset were posted in such centres that the conflagration may not spread in the Civil Lines. This mandate they strictly observed.

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\* 'The Leader,' dated 26th April, 1931.

Any one coming out of the city towards the Civil Lines was strictly searched, whether he had any arms or fire-arms with him. I was myself searched several times."

#### UNLICENSED FIRE-ARMS.

But so far as the Indian quarters were concerned, no care was evinced to seize unlicensed fire-arms. Says R. B. Vikramajit Singh :

"The attackers in many cases had fire-arms and most of the injuries are gunshot wounds. No efforts have been made to seize unlicensed arms, although in many cases licensed arms of respectable citizens have been taken under Curfew Order. The Curfew Order had effect only against the respectable and law-abiding citizens, but it had none against the badmashes whose number was large."

The Official Commission of Enquiry has reported that within four days two thousand crimes were registered. A large number must have remained unregistered. We can thus safely say that over a thousand crimes were occurring every day.

We have given a general view of the situation, and have indicated the nature of the various forces that had created it. We have also given an idea of the various aspects of the policy which the local authorities were following. The conditions disclosed are much too serious to be explained away by the theories of incompetence, unpreparedness, or error of judgment.

#### A GLIMPSE INTO OFFICIAL MOTIVES.

Numbers of witnesses appearing before us have attributed various motives for the policy which the Govern-

ment followed at this juncture. Some have said that the local authorities wanted to punish the businessmen of Cawnpore on account of the support they gave to the Congress in its Civil Disobedience activities. Shri Narain Prasad Nigam has said, "It all makes us suspicious that the authorities were purposely indifferent. The purpose could be only to show that India was helpless in respect of the Hindu-Muslim question and requires the help of a third party." Another witness says, "The indifferent attitude on the part of the authorities shows that they wanted to make use of the present riot for some ulterior motive." We do not wish to discuss these aspects further. But we have to take note of the fact that, throughout the riots, the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi were on the brains of all the officials in Cawnpore. We will give some instances.

#### CONGRESS AND MAHATMA GANDHI ON THEIR BRAINS.

We have already mentioned the instance of a mill-owner. Another businessman, who is connected with a very rich and important firm, related the following incident:

"On the 24th March, between 10 and 11 in the night, I phoned to Mr. Sale, the District Magistrate, from my Kothi in Chatai Mohal, saying, 'Musalmans have attacked our temple and have set fire to one of the houses belonging to the temple, we want your help. Please send Military or Police.' Mr. Sale replied, 'I cannot do anything. Please go to Mr. Gandhi.'"

Shri Ram Ratan Gupta, from whose evidence we have

already quoted, relates the following incident about the Commissioner :

“ On his return his car got punctured, and I could get a chance to talk to him personally. In the course of conversation, the Commissioner said, ‘What are the Congressmen doing now? Why do they not come forward to control the situation?’ I replied that given authority and arms, Congressmen could control the situation within twenty-four hours, if police were withdrawn.”

Shri G. G. Jog had a similar conversation with Mr. Barron:

“ When I myself on one occasion requested the City Kotwal for giving police escort to do rescue work, Mr. Barron, City Magistrate, who happened to be there, said, ‘Well, Mr. Jog, what is your Congress doing now?’ to which I replied that the Congress was doing its best to pacify people and to restore peace, but the authorities were indifferent.”

Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor went to get a pass for lorries, and was referred to a European A. S. P. He has thus given the conversation that took place between him and the A. S. P. :

“ I asked the A. S. P. for passes for the lorries. Finding us both, me and Bajpai, wearing Khaddar and Gandhi caps, the A. S. P. remarked, ‘You Congressmen do not mind our warnings and create mischief, and then come to ask for passes for rescue work. Look at the case of Ganesh Shankar.’ My reply was, ‘I have not come here to discuss with you, I only want passes for the lorries.’ He said, ‘I am only in charge of the Kotwali Circle,

Baconganj, Bengali Mohal, etc., are not in my Cirele, go to Kotwal on the Meston Road.'”

Shri Madan Mohan Pandey, some time a dictator of the Cawnpore District Congress Committee, relates :

“The Kotwal came with four armed police at about 4 p. m. I asked him to establish peace. He replied, ‘Yeh sab tumháre Inqiláb Zindábád ne kiyá hai,’ and went away towards Moolganj without dispersing the crowd or taking their lathies or arresting any body.”

Our enquiries show that such were the replies which the officials usually gave to all those who approached them for help. Thus, it is obvious that their studied inactivity was coloured with a secret exultation over the discomfiture of the Congress which they could not conceal. The presence of this feeling in all grades of officials and the unrestrained expression which they gave to it were responsible for its transmission to the rank and file of the police and for the creation in them of a spirit of vindictiveness towards the Congress and the people. The stereotyped and significant replies which the policemen gave to those who approached them, were modelled on the conduct of their superiors. Says Shri Salig Ram, a respectable merchant of Cawnpore :

“At least fifty policemen must have told me, ‘Call Mahatma Gandhi : shout, Lál pagrú hái hái!’ Shrif Ganga Prasad, an eye-physician in Colonelganj, says, ‘I have often heard constables saying, ‘Take Swaraj.’”

Dr. Dharendra Nath Banerji, and Shri Pooran Singh of Dhobi Mohal, with three others, saved a Muslim constable from the fury of a Hindu mob at Badshahi Naka on

the 24th. They got a beating from the mob, but they managed to carry the policeman safely to the Kotwali. When they reached the Kotwali, the policemen there gave them a beating also for their being Congressmen.

#### ABSENCE OF ALL SYMPATHY.

Such replies and such treatment did not remain confined to the Congressmen, but were meted out to the people generally. This vindictiveness in the midst of the grim tragedy that was being enacted all round, and this callous disregard of human agony have created, as we said, a profound impression all round, that it was something more than mere incompetence and unpreparedness which was shaping the policy of the executive. Mr. Hoon, from whose statement we have already quoted, in another place in the same statement, says :

“I am very restless to think of what may not happen in the future. No amount of Military or police can control such situations if the policy of those who are in power is not sympathetic to the future of the fighting crowds. . . . I am not in a position to say if the policy of the District Authorities is the policy of the Government of India, but I must say that the policy of the officials in Cawnpore was extremely lacking in sympathy.”

But it is no use stressing this point further. Our main task is to discover our own weaknesses and cure our national ills from within. The Congress Committee of Cawnpore, no doubt did its best under the circumstances. The odds were great and its efforts commendable. Still much remains to be done. The evidence of many of its respon-

sible members has shown that it has come out much purified and much strengthened through the fiery ordeal.

SELF-EXAMINATION AND SELF-PURIFICATION  
[INSIDE THE CONGRESS.]

But this process of self-examination and self-purification has to continue, and side by side the Congress organization has to be made stronger, more representative and worthy of the trust and confidence of every section of the community. That the Congress on such occasions can do something more effective, is being felt by Congressmen themselves.

"I believe firmly," said Dr. Jawaharlal, "that if the Congress organization in Cawnpore had been united and alert, then inspite of all that the Government or any body could do, there would have been no riots in Cawnpore."

We asked Shri G. G. Jog, a prominent local Congress worker, his views about this matter. He says:

"I am confident that if we Congressmen could have organized ourselves in time against communal riotings as we organized against the Government for the Civil Disobedience Movement, and if we had offered Satyagraha against the rioters in batches of ten each, we Hindus and Muslims mixed, I am confident, we would not have lost more than a hundred volunteers before the riot was absolutely quelled, and it would have been a brilliant victory for the Congress and for Non-violence."

THE ONLY WAY.

Syed Aminuddin Haidar, in his statement, has still

more plainly indicated the direction in which our real remedy lies. He says :

“Mujhe yaqín hai ki jis waqt ki ibtidá hui thi agar usi waqt Congress ke wuh beshumár ‘fidákár’ jo julús ke mauqon par police ki láthiyáñ kháne ke liye apne saron ko kham kiye tayyár khare rahte the, aur gora faujon ki bandúqon ke sámne síne tán kar khare ho játe the, yá police sawáron ke ghoron ke age let kar apni ján de dene ko fakhr samajhte the, apni apni jáneñ hatheliyon par le le kar har har Muhalle men un logon ke khiláf Satyágrah shurú kar dete jo jang o jadal men masroof the, to das bees razákáron ke shahíd ho jáne ke bád yeh hangúma faro ho játa. Mujhe kámil yaqín hai ki Hindú Musalmánon ká koí giroh bhí nibatthe Satyágrahiyon ke khiláf ek arse tak apni insániyat-soz harakat jári na rakhtá. Kyá main un hazarát se poochh saktá hún jo diyánatdári se Congress ke Satyágrah ke harbe ko sab mádlí harbon par fauqiyat dete haiñ aur is harbe ke muassar’hone par dilse kámil yaqín rakhte haiñ, kyá yeh waqt na thá ki wuh is harbe ko aise mauqe par istemal karte jab ek bhái doosre bhái ká galá kátkar duniyá men apni zillat wa ruswái ke sémán baham pahunchá rahá thá? Mere khayál men waqt thá, aur zaroor thá. Yehí vajah thi ke Cawnpore ká wuh ek, aur sirf ek, sachchá Satyágrahí, Ganesh Shankar Vidyárthi, jise Khudá jannat men jagah de! apni ján ká khayál na kerke maidán-i-amal men kood pará aur jisne duniyá ko dikhlá diyá ki sachche Satyágrahí kí shán yeh hai.”

That is, “I am sure that if just when the riots began, those innumerable self-sacrificing Congress volunteers, who in Congress processions stood with their bended necks

ready to receive lathi blows from the police, faced the guns of white soldiers with their chests uncovered, and who took pride in ending their lives by lying down before the horses of mounted police, had taken their lives in their hands and began Satyagraha in every mohalla against people who were busy in fighting each other, then after the martyrdom of ten or twenty such volunteers the disturbance would have ended. I am absolutely sure that no group of Hindus or Musalmans would have continued its inhuman activities for any length of time against unarmed Satyagrahis. May I ask people who honestly prefer the Congress weapon of Satyagraha to all material weapons, and who in their heart of hearts fully believe in the effectiveness of this weapon, if, when brothers were cutting the throats of one another and were thereby earning disgrace and ignominy for themselves before the whole world, was it not the time for them to use the weapon of Satyagraha? In my opinion, it was pre-eminently the time, and that is why the only true Satyagrahi of Cawnpore, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, (may God grant him a place in heaven!) without caring for his life, jumped into the field of action and showed to the world wherein the glory of a true Satyagrahi lies."

This is the only way that can lead the nation to the desired goal.

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE SILVER LINING.

#### THE END.

THE volcanic eruption after having spent its force began naturally to subside. About 80,000 persons left Cawnpore during the first few days through rail alone. Whole Mohallas lay desolate with the debris of burnt and smouldering houses interspersed. The entire conservancy arrangements, public and private, had been dislocated. Inside the houses, in the lanes, and on public roads, lay dead bodies of human beings in an advanced stage of decomposition. And amidst this scene of horror and devastation military patrols and bands of police made their marches on the principal roads of the town.

Whole masses of population had shifted their quarters, and Hindu and Muslim areas had become well-demarcated, and well-defended from each side. The mixed areas had suffered the most and had practically ceased to exist for the time being. All easily available property had been looted and hundreds of goondas had retired with their booty into villages and adjoining districts. Further reprisals could only be made by huge bands and after pitched and bloody battles, and the exhausted condition of the people made such reprisals increasingly difficult and impossible. Stray cases of assault and murder grew fewer, because people had become cautious and avoided places of danger. We give below an extract from the statement of Mr. Hoon, M. L. A., before the Government Com-

mission of Enquiry, published in the 'Leader' of 8th May 1931:

“The policy of the authorities on the 24th March was the same as on the 26th. The greater the number of policemen and soldiers in the city of Cawnpore (the more) imperceptible was the difference in the number of murders and assaults. I am convinced that if the combatants had not exhausted themselves by fighting, the results would have been much more disastrous.”

Search-lights from all over India were falling upon Cawnpore and scrutinizing in a most uncomfortable way the doings of the local officials and the Government policy. In Cawnpore itself, the Indian sections of the services too were becoming visibly moved and suspicious—feelings which found some unexpected vent in their depositions before the Government Commission of Enquiry. The Hindu-Muslim feeling was beginning to infect the police and threatened to create a situation full of danger even for the higher officials and the European sections of the population. We mention some instances :

#### HINDU-MUSLIM FEELING INFECTING THE RANKS OF THE POLICE.

Shri Kailash Nath Dvivedi states :

“A Hindu constable named Mahadeo, as far as I can recollect, got infuriated on seeing that the Musalman Head Constable near him was taking away sticks from the Hindus and not from the Musalmans passing that way. Mahadeo said on this that all the head-constables in this Chouki are Muslims and must be killed. On an alterca-

tion, the Inspector-in-charge came and took away Mahadeo to the Kotwali.

“The second case that came to my notice is that at the Gilis Bazar Police Chowki there were two head-constables, one a Muslim, Akbar Husain, and the other a Hindu named Mahabir. They both strongly spoke against each other. Mahabir was saying to people, ‘Do not go with Akbar Husain in Muslim locality, otherwise he will get you killed there.’ Ultimately these two men quarrelled. Other people intervened, and thus they were saved. . . . In Kachhiana, near Shutarkhana, on the other side of the Canal, there was a batch of armed Hindu constables from Allahabad. They were put under the charge of a Muslim Sub-Inspector. This Sub-Inspector, whenever he saw a Muslim carrying a lathi softly took away the lathi, but whenever he saw a Hindu carrying a lathi he took it and beat the Hindu with it. At this, the Hindu armed constables under the Sub-Inspector began to beat Muslims whom they saw carrying lathis. The Sub-Inspector protested. . . . There was an altercation between them which ended by both ceasing to beat people from whom they took lathi’s. . . . In the Kotwali, a Musalman constable wanted to send a Hindu constable to a locality where Hindus were being beaten. The Hindu constable protested. There was an altercation between the two, resulting in some Hindu policemen taking the side of the Hindu and some Muslim policemen taking the side of the Muslim. Ultimately some officers came and pacified either party.”

Developments even more serious from the point of view of the authorities and of which they could not have

been altogether ignorant were taking place. Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor informs us :

“Some of us applied to the police for armed guards to escort our lorries doing rescue work, as the drivers were afraid to go in troubled areas, but the police officers consistently refused to give us help in this direction. I do not make a complaint of it, but the armed escorts were seen going with Tanzeem and other Muslim volunteers with their lorries. It soon appeared that there was developing a very bad communal feeling amongst the police forces in the city. The Hindu policemen felt it their duty to help Hindus doing rescue work even against the orders of their superiors, and I presume from what I have narrated above, the Muslim policemen were also similarly inclined. We did take advantage of this feeling and accepted the offer of help of some Hindu policemen for escorting our lorries through troubled areas. Policemen concerned plainly told us that they were doing something against orders, but that they were prepared for consequences, even for dismissal. I am pretty sure that if the riots had continued for a couple of days more, the Hindu and the Muslim policemen would have fallen out with each other even more seriously than the Hindu and Muslim population of the town.”

It was time for the authorities to make a definite move, and we find that on the 29th of March, when “looting and arson had practically ceased, the city was divided into three circles, each under a Hindu and a Muslim Magistrate. They were given a lorry and an armed police guard and were instructed to do what they could in the direction of rescue work, general reassurance and pacification. One

immediate result of this was the cessation of the constant shouting at night which had tended to keep up a state of panic.

"The disposal of dead bodies, many of which in an advanced state of decomposition were still left lying in some houses and enclosures, had become a matter of grave urgency, necessitating special sanitary arrangements on a large scale; from this morning bodies were disposed of direct instead of being brought to the hospital as hitherto, in many cases bodies having to be burnt on the spot."\*

From the 24th to the 29th, the Government could not supply three lorries and three armed police-guards of about five each to three Magistrates to enable them to do what they could in the work of pacification. We have seen how the District Magistrate could not make up his mind to take this step inspite of its being insisted upon both by the public and the subordinate Magistracy. There was obviously no question of any dearth of resources.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES TOWARDS RELIEF AND RESCUE WORK.

But more significant is the fact that upto the 29th the authorities had done nothing at all in the way of rescue work, medical relief, or the disposal of the dead bodies. On the contrary, it appears from the evidence of Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor, from which we have quoted above, that they had given special instructions to the police not to help in such work. The fate of those who came to ask for such relief can best be described in the words of Mr.

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\* " Report of the Official Commission of Enquiry," p. 21

Barron. Referring to a case in which Mr. Barron had been approached by a respectable citizen of Cawnpore to secure help in the removal of a dead body, Mr. Barron said before the Commission of Enquiry :

“In the case which has been brought to the notice of this Commission, I was requested in the middle of a riot to supply an armed guard for the removal of bodies from the hospital to the burial-ground along a road which does not lead through the city. I explained to the applicant that the main concern was for the living and that the dead must look after themselves for the time being. He continued to worry me for about half an hour. Each time I gave him the same answer. A little later, I caught him worrying the Kotwal Sahib for assistance for the same object. The Kotwal Sahib was engaged on some urgent work, so I warned the applicant that if he did not leave the place I would place him under arrest. Fortunately for himself, he left.” \*

What is even more reprehensible, the local authorities, while they did nothing themselves in the way of rescue work, medical aid or relief, went in fact to the length of hampering the activities of others in this respect in many ways.

We have already seen how impossible it was for people to get police escorts for relief work. Written permits had to be obtained for lorries and cars, and we have ample evidence before us which shows that it was very difficult for people to secure such permits, and that

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\* ‘The Leader,’ dated 9th May, 1931.

for the Congress it was well-nigh impossible. The Curfew Order constituted another great handicap in rescue work, as the following quotation from the evidence of Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor will show :

“Q. Had you any difficulty in your rescue work on account of the Curfew Order, or could you easily get night passes for such work ?

“A. Our difficulties were immense, in fact, we did not get night passes inspite of our best efforts to the very last day. I personally went to the Kotwal, and requested him to issue a few passes for our workers. Mr. Jog, in fact, recommended my case to him, but the Kotwal said, ‘Are Bhái, main Fílkháne ki Chuki ko likhúngá, wuh tumháre páson ká (passes) intizám kará denge.’ Mr. Jog insisted on the Kotwal to issue passes there and then, but he would not, although I had seen many who were busy in rescue work getting passes from the Kotwal. Our main difficulties were these :—

“(1) The drivers of the lorries could not work after 6 p. m., because of the Curfew Order.

“(2) The doctors who were working in the Congress Hospital could not remain there after six or six-thirty p. m., and could not attend to the serious cases at night.

“(3) Our workers could not come out during the night to other Mohallas, where people were in trouble because of the Curfew Order. We, in fact, wrote to the Collector, requesting him to issue some passes for Town Congress Committee or some workers of the Town Congress Committee who were busy in rescue work. We got the reply that he was not in a position to issue passes for the Town Congress Committee. I file the copies of the letters.”

This was not all. Attempts were even made by the authorities to requisition Congress Ambulance lorries.

“On the 27th, we continued our rescue and relief work. The Police Sergeants on occasions interfered with this work and threatened our drivers that their lorries were to be commandeered for police work, but I would not let these lorries go. In fact, I had a regular tussle with a Sergeant on the Meston Road who wanted to take the lorry for police duty in the presence of Mr. Radhe Kishen Khanna.”

The authorities had obviously a grudge against the Congress, and their attitude against its rescue activities may be regarded as an expression of their irrepressible ill-will. But this attitude was not confined to the rescue work of the Congress only. Shri Sewaya Ram Bhasin, advocate, Secretary of the Kerana Sewa Samiti, which is an absolutely non-political body and has no connection with the Congress, has thus recorded his experiences :

“On the 25th March 1931, at about 5 a. m. I went to Badshahi Naka and Moolganj, and found a few dead bodies lying on the Tram track and the whole road strewn with stones and brickbats, and some thelas broken, and a cow and an ass lying dead on the road. Near Badshahi Naka, I found a few Bahi Khatas still burning. An ekka was also burning. The whole place looked desolated. I at once hurried to my office, and taking one of our lorries came to Meston Road and asked for police help, but the same was refused for reasons best known to the authorities, inspite of the fact that a large number of police men were standing by idly and doing nothing.

“Although during 1927 riots, and on all other occa-

sions, the authorities had always given us every possible assistance, and every kind of relief work undertaken by the Government or the public jointly with the Government was done in co-operation with us. In fact, we used to carry on the relief measures. Why this policy of non-cooperation had been adopted, was not at all clear to me. The impression created in the mind of every one was, that it was no business of the police to interfere, and they wanted the people to have it out amongst themselves. . .

“We went to Moolganj crossing at about 7-30 a. m. where we found two Deputy Collectors, and requested them to give us police help in order to enable us to work in more seriously affected areas, but even they expressed their helplessness in the matter. We picked up the dead from Halsey Road (Badshahi Naka side) and the Kotwali, where Ram Karan Singh Sub-Inspector had asked us to remove the dead that had been lying close to and also inside the Kotwali. We removed all the dead bodies in our lorry to the hospital.”

We have given some idea as to how the authorities refrained from giving help in relief work. The following statement by Shri Kanhayalal will throw some light on the nature and volume of the relief work that had to be tackled with.

#### THE NATURE OF RELIEF WORK DONE.

“The people of Sukhai Lala's family began to get into the lorry and I went inside the Ahata. I saw there two to three hundred persons huddled together like sheep and goats, hungry and panic-stricken. On seeing their condition tears came into my eyes. They said, ‘You see

nothing here, if you want to see something, go inside the garden.' I went inside. There I saw from two thousand to two thousand and five hundred people in an unspeakable condition. They all told me they were very hungry. I assured them that if I could go and come back alive I would bring them some food next morning.

"On the 27th of March 1931, I reached Hoolaganj. All the shops there were closed. With great difficulty I procured Sattu and fried gram from the Bharbhujas, filled two lorries with them and proceeded to distribute the same. I again requested the police officers for help, but they again refused. It was after great entreaties that Deputy Collector, Islam Nabi, permitted me to take provisions in my lorry and distribute the same amongst those people. . . . Then I took Guru Raghubar Dayal with me. We went to Gwaltoli and distributed gram, etc., . . . amongst the labourers there. . . . From there I went to Kalloomal-ka-Baghicha. We found the number of people there had increased since the previous evening. They were afraid of the spread of Cholera. I distributed Sattu, etc., amongst them. I also distributed some food to the employees of Kokla's Mill. From there I proceeded to Colonelganj, where I met many Hindus who were wounded. I stopped my lorry in front of the house of Karorimal. . . . I continued this work of supplying food, etc., to people upto the 28th, when this work was taken up by the Congress."

#### VARIOUS AGENCIES WORKING.

Upto the 27th, the relief work was being carried on by Congress workers and volunteers who were in the city, by the sympathizers, and by the Sewa Samities, pre-

eminently the Kirana Sewa Samiti and the Agarwal Sewa Samiti, also by the Muslim Relief Committee and the Tanzeem and other volunteers. The volume of work put in by these agencies was remarkable. The work done by the Kerana Sewa Samiti was brought to our notice by its able Secretary, Shri S. Bhasin, and considering the circumstances under which it was done deserves special mention. According to his report, the Kerana Sewa Samiti between the 24th and 29th of March sent 102 dead bodies to the Prince of Wales Hospital, burnt 60 on the spot under orders of the authorities, sent 110 wounded men, women and children to the Prince of Wales Hospital, and rescued 187 families and 86 persons from affected areas.

#### THE CONGRESS.

From the 26th the Congress relief work was put on a more organized and extensive basis. It was centralized in the Congress Office. Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor says :

“ . . . Various Sub-Committees were formed, and a Congress Hospital was opened in the Arya Samaj Hall, just close to the Congress Office. With the help of Mr. R. S. Pandit, of Allahabad, we were able to organize this work more successfully. Drs. R. P. Kapoor, Banwarilal, Sethi, and others, rendered great help in the Congress as well as the Prince of Wales Hospital. Our Congress volunteers did immense service in the Prince of Wales and the Congress Hospitals. They made no distinction of caste or creed in this work. When the Muslim volunteers reached the Prince of Wales' Hospital our volunteers were asked to leave the Muslim patients there. At a time when the relatives of the patients were not prepared

to leave their houses the task which our volunteers had to cope with was very heavy, and I have nothing but admiration for this devoted band of Congress volunteers who worked day and night for more than a fortnight to relieve the agonies of those who were in distress. . . . We all know that the Congress was holding its Annual Session at Karachi when people at Cawnpore were breaking each other's heads. Most of our workers had left the station as early as the 23rd. Messrs. Kailash Behari Misra, Ganga Sahai Chaube, Hariharnath Shastri, Pyarelal Agarwal, the Secretary of the Congress Committee, Balkrishna Sharma, Nand Kishore Bhartia, and others, numbering more than 50, were not at the station. . . . Even the President, Secretary, and other influential boys of the Banar Sena were not in station. They had also left for Karachi with their bigger colleagues. . . .

“On the 28th, the work became more systematically organized when some of our best workers returned from Karachi in pursuance of a telegram sent by me to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Syt. Purushottam Das Tandon, and others, at Karachi.”

“Q. Could you give us an idea of the number of families rescued by the Congress Committee during the riot days ?

“A. It is difficult for me to give an idea of the total number of families. This sort of rescue work continued on lorries from the 26th to the 3rd or 4th April, and 5 to 6 lorries were engaged every day. Of these, one was reserved for Hospital work in which Dr. Kapoor and other medical men used to go round the affected areas giving medical aid on the spot and bringing those whose cases

were serious to the Hospital. One or two lorries were deputed for supplying provisions. The remaining three or four were utilized in rescue work, and for the first two days almost all were engaged in rescue work, but after the 31st the rescue work had practically ceased, and for the next few days we had to supply provisions and bring people's luggage from deserted houses. This work went on upto the 6th. One lorry doing rescue work generally saved about 40 people on an average at one time. Sometimes this number went up as high as 70, but the average I think must be somewhere near 40, and each lorry could do it 5 or 6 times during the day. Thus, on a very rough estimate, the total number of persons, men, women and children, rescued by the Congress lorries, must be about  $5 \times 40 \times 4 \times 6$  equal to 4,800."

Considering the handicaps under which they worked, and the very arduous nature of the work they had to perform, we have no hesitation in saying that the Congress Committee, the Sewa Samities, the Tanscem Anjumans, and volunteers, and the public-spirited citizens of Cawnpore succeeded in affording relief to their stricken city to an extent of which any city might well be proud. In fact, while the riot reveals the great disease of our body politic at its worst, this organized, selfless, humanitarian effort shows its redeeming feature and its strength. It shows that even under a blow which might well have overwhelmed any city, Cawnpore and its brave inhabitants did not altogether lose their morals, but continued to struggle against the calamity. The authorities did not really stir till "the looting and arson had practically ceased." It was mainly due to the efforts of the

people themselves that this city was saved from complete destruction.

### SCENES OF FELLOW-FEELING BETWEEN HINDUS AND MUSLIMS.

This was not all. We have still to refer to an even brighter, more humane and more encouraging feature of the happenings during the dark days of the riots. While communal passion was raging on all sides in Cawnpore, scenes of fellow-feeling and human sympathy were being also enacted, in a measure almost unimaginable, practically in every nook and corner of the city. We did not visit a single locality where, for every house destroyed or man killed by the hooligans of a particular community, ten or even twenty had not been saved by its saner and more humane members. Whole localities were saved, thousands of families received protection, and countless individuals owed their lives to the members of the other community. What is more significant is the fact that, in a majority of cases, those who rendered such protection risked their own life and property. It is not riot but this aspect of the life of the citizens which gives us a real insight into the actualities of the situation. At a time when communal fury had been fanned to a pitch almost unprecedented, when political issues had been utilized to intensify the existing bitterness, when the rowdy elements were playing havoc with the lives and property of an unarmed population, and when the forces of law and order had entirely broken down in the face of such a crisis, the fellow-feeling and the active help given to each other by both communities show that the crisis, in a great measure,

was artificial in its nature and created by interested parties.

It is not possible in these pages to give any adequate idea of the aspect we have referred to above. Wherever we went, we came across so many cases of this nature that we could not, in the time available, record and investigate all of them. We decided therefore to appoint a Committee to investigate this aspect and to give us some idea of it. The Committee was surprised by the extent of the phenomenon. In its report, it has regretted its inability to do real justice to the work. It says that "volumes of evidence . . . of the existence of . . . noble souls in Cawnpore, who at great personal risk saved the life and property of persons belonging to communities other than their own, could have been supplied," if they had had better opportunities of securing corroborative evidence. But on account of the general exodus from Cawnpore such opportunities were not available. We feel that we cannot well incorporate even all the material that they have sent us, in this report without lengthening it unduly.

The Committee has supplied us well-ascertained instances from the following Mohallas :

- |                             |                    |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Parmat.                  | 8. Moolganj.       |
| 2. Colonelganj.             | 9. Farrashkhana.   |
| 3. Sisamau.                 | 10. Misri Bazar.   |
| 4. Baconganj.               | 11. Narial Bazar.  |
| 5. Anwarganj.               | 12. Dhobi Mohal    |
| 6. LaTouche Road.           | 13. Sarrafa.       |
| 7. Nai Sarak (Halsey Road). | 14. Bengali Mohal. |

- |                     |                                 |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 15. Etawah Bazar.   | 20. Generalganj.                |
| 16. Maheshri Mohal. | 21. Patkapore.                  |
| 17. Hatia.          | 22. Feelkhana.                  |
| 18. Lathi Mohal.    | 23. Harbans Mohal.              |
| 19. Badshahi Naka.  | 24. Sadar Bazar,<br>and others. |

It is obvious that this list covers practically every part of the city. The instances given by the Committee, those ascertained by us during our visits of inspection, and those contained in the evidence of the witnesses who appeared before us, are so numerous that it will require much space to include even a fair portion of them. We propose to conform to the plan followed so far in dealing with the other aspects of the riots. We will choose some typical cases and then try to give a general idea of the whole.

Roughly speaking, the material before us may be divided into three types of cases : ( 1 ) where some landlord, Hindu or Muslim, or some other influential person, rose to the occasion and protected tenants or other residents of a locality from the attacks of the hooligans of his own community ; ( 2 ) where members of the two communities joined together, or the dominant community took it upon itself to defend its own locality against all outside attacks ; and ( 3 ) where individuals defended members of the other community at personal risk. We first give some examples of the first two types selected from the lists before us. Examples of the third type will follow.

( 1 ) Syed Ahmad Husain, an old man and an owner of many houses in Anwarganj, protected the life and

property of his fifty-five Hindu tenants including men, women, and children, and also provided them with food, at his own cost, during the days of the riots. His tenants acknowledged his generosity.

There is a small lane in Anwarganj inhabited by Hindus and surrounded on all sides by Musalmans. Unlike some other parts of the Mohalla, there was absolutely no loot or any other trouble in this lane. Nobody deserted his house either. It is admitted that this was all due to the efforts of one man, Syed Ahmad Husain.

(2) Kanhaiyalal and Bhairo tenanted a shop in Baconganj owned by Musalmans. They also lived with their wives and five children in apartments behind the shop. The shop was attacked by a Musalman mob. Their Musalman landlords, Abu Tahir and Abu Muhammad, saved the lives of these nine Hindus, together with all their property, by helping them in breaking the wall at the back of their lodgings and removing themselves and all their belongings to a Khanqah at the back belonging to the same landlords.

(3) Shri Jeewan Ram, of Sisamau, in his place called Anandbagh, gave shelter and protection to a number of his Musalman tenants.

(4) Shri Saligram, a Bans merchant of Sadar Bazar, gave shelter to about fifty Musalmans in his go-down, and through his personal influence about two hundred other Musalman men, women and children, were given shelter in the houses of several other Hindus of the locality. Thus, he saved the life and property of a large number of Musalmans and created an atmosphere there which resisted all contagion. Shri Ram Ratan Gupta testifies that

in Sadar Bazar, about 50 Musalman families were bottled up amidst a population of about 25,000 Hindus, and that "not a single Musalman was injured in that area." He says that credit for this is also due to Shri Ratan Singh.

(5) In Colonelganj, Munshi Dildar Khan Sahib, one of the most highly respected citizens of Cawnpore, saved the lives of a large number of Hindus by giving them shelter and food in his own big house. Besides these, he protected the lives and property of hundreds of his own tenants, whom also he fed at his own expense for nearly ten days.

A large number of Hindu and Muslim witnesses have borne testimony to this humane conduct of Munshi Dildar Khan Sahib.

(6) Mr. Abu Muhammad Saqib, a young Musalman landlord, of advanced views, sheltered in his own house fourteen of his Hindu tenants, who broke open the back walls of the shops they tenanted and transferred all their belongings to Mr. Saqib's house. They remained there for nine days until all danger was over. Mr. Saqib also protected, from injury, at the hands of his co-religionists, hundreds of Hindus, who were fleeing from his Mohalla and who had to pass through Muslim crowds before reaching safer Hindu quarters.

(7) In a part of Sirki Mohal, an old but stout Hindu, named Chhakkoolal, through his single-handed effort, saved the entire locality from the contagion. The locality is mainly Hindu with a fair number of Musalmans.

(8) Chhakkoolal gave shelter to three Musalman families, viz., of Habib, of Pahloo Manihar, and of Gulli Rangrez, in his own house, saved a large number of other

families, and, lathi in hand, walked up and down his locality all those fearful days, permitting neither outsiders to invade the Mohalla nor any body inside to molest a brother-man. With a strong will he kept the Hindus in his locality under perfect control. There are five mosques in that locality, and not one was even touched.

(9) In Harbans Mohal, some Hindus and Musalmans met together on the evening of the 24th, and jointly guarded and protected their mohalla that night.

(10) A number of Hindus and Sikhs in Hoolaganj, Bhanera, Moti Mohal, Siqlimohal, Manniram-ki-bagia, Lathimohal-ki-sarai, and Latouche Road, saved the lives of a large number of Musalmans; and similarly, the Musalmans of Talaq Mohal, Gammukhan-ká-aháta, Misri Bazar, Topkhana Bazar, Hiraman-ká-purwa, Makhania Bazar, Bansmandi, Quli Bazar, Butcherkhana Kalan, and Latouche Road, saved the lives of a large number of Hindus.

(11) So far as the Mohallas to the eastern side of the Canal are concerned, namely, Sitaram Mohal, the major portion of Gadaria Mohal, Kachhiana Mohal, Moti Mohal, Harbans Mohal, and others, the Hindus there rendered every possible help to the Musalmans in protecting them and in seeing them safely conducted to Mohallas on the other side of E. I. Ry. lines.

(12) In some places, Hindus and Musalmans decided that they would not fight, and they succeeded in saving their localities. The following are examples :

- (1) Nasir Ali-ka-chhatta, and its vicinity;
- (2) Part of Feelkhana;
- (3) Part of Sadar Bazar;
- (4) Part of

Kursavan, and (5) Part of Patkapur.

(13) In Parmat, mainly a Hindu locality, a Hindu named Kanthu saved the lives of eleven Musalman women. A Hindu named Mathura saved the lives of one man, one woman, and four boys. One Munshi Parmeshwari Dayal saved the families of two Muslim milkmen from massacre. Jay Dayal Chamar gave shelter to a Musalman darzi for three days in his house. There were several other similar cases of Hindus saving the lives of Musalmans in that locality which was otherwise badly affected by the riots.

(14) A Musalman named Mirza Ayub, in Farrashkhana, together with some other Musalman friends of the Mò-halla, gave shelter to and protected the lives of 283 Hindu men, women and children. The list is in the possession of Mirza Ayub and was confirmed by Hindu witnesses present on the spot when we visited the place.

All the Musalmans in adjoining localities bordering on Hindu quarters most gratefully and touchingly described to us how Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi saved the lives of a large number of Muslim women in that part of the city. Their words are, "Ganeshji ne is mohalle kí bhí pacháson máñ bahnon ko bacháyá."

Several well-informed witnesses have estimated the number of Muslim men, women and children, rescued by Ganeshji as between 100 and 150.

(15) Shri Brij Narain Mehrotra, advocate, tells us in his statement that the Punjabi residents of Lathi Mohal ki Sarai saved the lives of about 40 Muslims, men, women, and children, by at first keeping the front gate

of the Sarai closed, and when the Hindu mob partially broke open the gates, then by removing them by a back door. These Musalmans later on were sent to their people outside Cawnpore. The Hindus who rescued them have since received telegrams and letters from them in acknowledgement of their good deeds.

(16) In Anwarganj, there is an Ahata in which six families lived as tenants. Five of them were Hindus and one Musalman.

The Musalman family belongs to Nadir Husain, leather merchant. One of the Hindu families included 2 men, 3 women, and 4 children. The locality is mainly Muslim. On the afternoon of the 25th, a Musalman mob came and attacked the Hindu houses.

Nadir Husain took all the men, women, and children of the five Hindu families to his own quarters upstairs, concealed them there, fed them for all 3 days, and thus saved their lives. When we visited the place, people of all these five families, including some women, expressed their gratitude towards Nadir Husain.

We must mention here that we have quoted the above cases casually and we mean no injustice to the larger number of cases known and unknown to us, many of which may be deserving of much greater credit. We must repeat that it was the existence of these bright traits, which, in the main, constitutes the saving grace of the situation, and but for which the total losses in life and property would have been infinitely more heavy.

Our Committee has supplied a list of some of the Muslim hide merchants, who employ Hindu thelá-walas

and skin-workers, and who during the riots protected their employees and some others in their godowns, etc. We give the list below. The number in brackets after each name shows the number of persons thus saved.

1.	Moula Bakhsh	...	(3)
2.	Hazir Bakhsh and Kadir Bakhsh	...	(3)
3.	Muhammad Musa and Wajid Ali	...	(3)
4.	Sadraddin	...	(3)
5.	Shaikh Salimuddin	...	(8)
6.	Haidar Bakhsh	...	(7)
7.	Bashir	... 2 servants and 13 families.	1
8.	Abdul Latif	...	(3)
9.	Muhammad Ismail	...	(23)
10.	Karimuddin	...	(13)
11.	Sufi Ali Raza	...	(7)
12.	Abdul Ghaffar	...	(7)
13.	Abdul Hakeem	...	(5)
14.	Halim Tannery	...	(18)
15.	Omar Khan	...	(4)
16.	Haji Abdul Karim	...	(1)
17.	Abdul Karim	...	(9)
18.	Muhammad Ishaq	...	(3)
19.	Abdul Ghafoor	...	(4)
20.	Halim's compound	...	(14)
21.	Qadir Bakhsh and Muhammad Saeed		(2)
22.	Hidayatullah	...	(2)
23.	Nizamur-Rahman	...	(3)
24.	Shahabuddin	...	(8)
25.	Abdus Salam	...	(2)
26.	Mian Muhammad Lateef	...	(7)
27.	Haji Abdullah	...	(5)

28.	Lal Muhammad and Abdul Wajid	...	(4)
29.	Muhammad Amin	...	(2)
30.	Hidayatullah Muhammad Anwar	...	(15)
31.	Muhammad Zakir	...	(13)
32.	Shafiur-Rahman	...	(6)
33.	Mohammad Saleh Khan...	...	(4)
34.	Munshi Habib	...	(6)
35.	Aziz Ahmad Khan	...	(4)
36.	Mr. Sharafuddin	...	(3)
37.	Shah Wasif Husain	...	(10)
38.	Munshi Tajammul Husain	...	(30)

The Committee could not personally see each person saved to get each case corroborated, but cases that were so tested were found to be true.

#### DEEDS OF INDIVIDUAL HEROISM.

Now we turn to cases more or less of individual effort. Scarcely a witness came to us who had not a number of such incidents to relate, and wherever we went, instances of such noble conduct were brought to our notice very often by those who had benefited by it. Their number exceeds by far the number of crimes committed on each day. In the midst of a dance of destruction, such shining deeds stand out prominently. We give below a few examples to show the nature of these efforts and the circumstances under which they were made.

(17) The house of Shri Pratap Bahadur Singh, Vakil, in Sisamau, was several times attacked by Muslim mobs. His neighbours Syed Amjad Ali, Vakil, and Mr. Ali Ahmad, intervened on every occasion. Each of them received some lathi blows, but they successfully saved the family from injury.

(18) On the evening of the 24th March, at about 5 p. m., the mosque in Narial Bazar was attacked by a Hindu mob of about 200 persons. Hafiz Yasin Khan, the Imam of the mosque, with his family, including five women and eleven children, lived in a house at the back of the mosque. This house too was surrounded by the mob. Hafiz Yasin Khan shouted for help. A Hindu neighbour, Sampat Lal Sunar, with the help of his nephew, Banarsidas, and one Gokaran Maharaj, at once intervened, and somehow managed to remove all the seventeen to Sampat Lal's house. As soon as the mob came to know of this, they began throwing brickbats into Sampat Lal's house. Apprehending danger, Sampat Lal again secretly transferred them all to the house of his nephew Banarsidas. Here they were comfortably kept until the next day, when they were all removed to a safe Muslim quarter.

(19) Dr. Charu Chandra Banerji, a medical practitioner, with his family consisting of 14 men, women and children, lived in Sisamau, in the midst of a Muslim population. Several attempts were made by Muslim mobs to attack his house on the 26th of March, but four of his Muslim neighbours, Messrs. Amjad Ali, Ahsan Ali, Bashirullah, and Jafar Husain, protected them all through. Mr. Jafar Husain all through the riots helped the besieged family with supplies from the market. On the nights of the 26th and 27th, Mr. Ahsan Ali slept on the roof of Dr. Banerji's house, while Mr. Ahsan Ali's servant Chhotey Khan slept with them for several days after. Dr. Banerji and his wife, who also is a medical practitioner, rendered free medical help to the wounded of both the communities without any distinction.

(20) A mosque in Colonelgani was thrice attacked by

the Hindu mob, and each time a neighbouring Hindu Vakil, Shri Kunwar Bahadur, saved the mosque from destruction by firing his gun and dispersing the crowd. The Musalmans of the locality, when we visited the spot, expressed great gratitude towards Shri Kunwar Bahadur.

( 21 ) In Anwarganj, a Muslim Pahalwan, named Basha-rat Ghosi, rescued 15 Hindus, including two women and four children, from a house that was besieged by a Musalman mob. He took them to his Akhara near by called Misra ka Akhara. There they were given shelter and food for three days, after which they left for Lucknow.

( 22 ) Agha Mirza's mosque, in Patkapur, is situated in the midst of a large Hindu habitation. A number of Hindus from the vicinity kept watch throughout the riots, and thus saved the mosque from all attacks.

( 23 ) When on the 20th of April, we visited Farrash-khana, a predominantly Muslim quarter, Dr. Hulas Rai, an old and highly respected resident of Cawnpore, aged about 60, who was also Congress dictator for some time during the movement of 1930, said to us, touchingly pointing to a young Musalman boy of twenty, named Khalil, " I tried to remonstrate with the people not to fight. They began to attack me with lathies. This boy came in, and warded off with his lathi the blow that was aimed at me and was just about to fall on me. Even after this I appealed to the people not to fight. "

( 24 ) In Bengali Mohal, where the worst atrocities were committed on the Musalmans, a Musalman's house was set fire to by the Hindus. Some of the inmates escaped. But one man, two old women, and five girls remained inside. The front side of the house, which was

two-storeyed was burning. Apparently, there was no way for the eight persons inside to escape. On one side of the house there was a latrine with its outer wall towards a narrow lane. A Hindu neighbour cried out to the distressed to come to the latrine, broke a portion of the outer wall, dragged the eight persons out through the opening, and thus saved them from being burnt alive.

In this very Mohalla, a Hindu woman named Ramkumari, a man named Ramswaroop, and his three brothers, saved several Muslim men, women, and children, by jumping into a burning house, getting themselves scorched, and dragging the victims out, or sometimes by jumping over a terrace or roof and transferring the victims to another house. All the four brothers were beaten by their co-religionists.

(25) Shabba, an old Musalman aged 75, living in Sisamau, with a few other Musalman companions, successfully protected the lives and property of about fifty to sixty Hindus living in four houses near his own. When we visited the place on the 14th April, the four houses were still being guarded by Shabba and his companions. The Hindus present gratefully acknowledged their indebtedness to Shabba.

(26) Abid Husain, a young Musalman resident of Colonelganj, and his old father of 80, gave shelter in their house to a number of Hindu families, including the family of one Ganga Prasad, eye-physician. This Ganga Prasad told us that Abid Hussain and his father assured them, saying, "So long as we are alive, nobody would be able to touch any of you." They kept their word.

Abid Husain, at great personal risk, often went out of his house during the riots and remonstrated with both Hindus and Musalmans not to fight. Sometimes he succeeded and at other times got beaten in reply, even by his own co-religionists. On the 26th, some Musalmans from another locality went there and wanted to set fire to some Hindu houses. Abid Husain remonstrated with them and even said, "If you want to burn any house, burn mine first."

In the struggle with his co-religionists at that time, Abid Husain was wounded in his hand by a pharsa. Yet on several occasions, we are told, Hindus and Musalmans who had come to fight, parted after embracing each other on account of Abid Husain's touching appeals. The old father touchingly and with some pride described his son's efforts for peace and said he never stopped him from going out and risking himself for such a cause. All Hindus of the locality corroborated the above facts and spoke admiringly and gratefully of both father and son.

(27) On the morning of the 25th March, at about 9 o'clock, the house of a Musalman vegetable-seller, named Kallu Chaudhri, in the same locality, was attacked by a mob of some 200 Hindus. There were seven men, six women, and six children in the house. The people inside raised an alarm. Three of their Hindu neighbours, Pt. Kailash Nath Divedi, Thakur Puran Singh, and Shri Purshottam Sunar, went to their rescue. They remonstrated with the mob, and said, "Kill us before you lay your hands on these innocent persons." But the mob would not leave. Then Pt. Kailashnath, who is a young man, managed to enter the house, bolted it from within,

took the whole family to the upper storey, and from there removed them by way of the roof to his own adjoining house. He kept them there till the evening, when they were handed over to a Musalman friend, who sent them to their home in Bahraich. After some days, Kallu Chowdhri, from Bahraich, sent a letter in Urdu to Pt. Kailashnath and Shri Purshottam Suvar a part of which we translate below :

“Kazipura, Bahraich,  
13th April 1931.

“Friend of Muslims : May your generous spirit ever increase. With respects, I beg to say that neither pen nor tongue can adequately express our gratitude for your having saved our lives at a very critical juncture. We shall remember this obligation as long as we live. If we remain alive, we shall invite you to Bahraich once and shall serve you in the best manner, we may be capable of. Every street of Bahraich is echoing with admiration for you. . . . All of us, old and young, men and women, pray for your long lives and pay you our respects. The women of our family send their salutations to your mother and sister.”

#### HOW NORMAL LIFE WAS RESTORED.

It was in the midst of these deeds, outrageous savagery on one side, and gallant comradeship and fellow-feeling on the other, that the riots came to an end. Before they ended, about 400 persons had been killed, 1,200 wounded, over 500 houses burnt, including 23 mosques and 37 temples, which would cost at least five lakhs to restore to their original condition, and moveable property to the

extent of about 20 lakhs, by moderate estimate, had been looted or destroyed.\* This, of course, does not include the loss involved in the general exodus, and the utter dislocation of business and normal life. After such devastation the storm subsided. The exhaustion of the people, the partial satiation of the lust for murder and loot of the goondas, the relief and rescue work of the various organizations and individuals, the exodus of Hindus and Muslims to places of safety inside and outside Cawnpore, the resumption by the authorities of normal functions—all helped to bring the tragedy to a close. The arrival of several Congress leaders on the scene helped more than anything else in the restoration of normal life in the city.

But, inspite of this colossal loss and suffering, the brave city still showed signs of life and vigour. On the Hindu-Muslim question itself, the sense that they were being wire-pulled seemed to have deepened almost in every section of the population. During our local inspections and enquiries, small crowds of Hindus and Muslims used naturally to gather round us. While we questioned, their heads would grow hot and recriminations begin. Then we used to ask them, "Do you really hate each other so? Have you really been fighting of your own free-will?" At this, they would become silent, hang their heads, and after a while sigh, and say, "Khufya-wálon ne laṛwayá hai," (The C. I. D. have caused the fighting.) They realized that they had been the dupes of others and had brought this disaster on themselves by their own hands.

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\* Lists are given as Appendices.

Their faith in the Government had been shaken greatly. Their faith in the Congress remained. This is pointedly brought out by the manner in which the normal life of the town was restored on the 7th April.

Shri Ram Ratan Gupta says that "inspite of all the effort of the local officials, the market could not be opened upto the 6th April."

Shri Brij Narain Meharotra, advocate, says :

"The situation was brought under control partially with the posting of military and police pickets, and when members of the Unity Board went round the city on the 29th March, but substantially when Sardar Patel, and other Congress leaders, addressed meetings and went in procession through the main roads and persuaded people to open the Bazar."

Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh has further cleared the issue in his statement before the Official Commission of Enquiry. He says :

"The District Magistrate did not enjoy any confidence which is clear from the fact that, inspite of his great efforts, he could not get more than half a dozen shops of Mohammedans opened, while Congress leaders made appeal and got all the shops opened within a few hours."

All this shows that there was a silver lining to the dark and heavy clouds that enveloped Cawnpore.

We have now described all the aspects of the riots and tried to indicate the working of the various forces which are responsible for the present communal situation. In our next section, we shall try to suggest some remedial measures which, in our opinion, can radically cure the communal malady.

PART III.  
THE REMEDIES.

## REMEDIES.

### FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF RELIGIONS.

WE now come to the most important part of our task, viz., that of suggesting remedies.

Surely there is nothing in their religions which makes it impossible for Hindus and Muslims to live peacefully as good neighbours and fellow-citizens.

‘Mazhab nahīṅ s’khātā úpas meṅ bair rakhnâ,  
Hindí haiṅ ham watan hai Hindostāṅ hamārâ.’

(Religion does not teach us to bear ill-will towards each other. We are all Hindis, and Hindustan is our motherland.)

So sang the poet Iqbál in his better and loftier days.

There is a fundamental unity of religious thought underlying the varying forms of Islam and Hinduism (or, in fact, of all the chief religions of the world) and this has been recognized by the seers of both religions, the Sants and the Sufis. This unity is well brought out in the following verses which we cannot resist the temptation of quoting. We circulated printed copies of these verses in Cawnpore, Benares, and other places, and they have also been sung at public meetings, with good effect.

1. ‘Tum Rám kaho, wo Rahím kahen, donon  
kî gharaz Alláh se hai,  
Tum deen kaho, wo dharm kahen, manshú to  
usí kî ráh se hai.

Tum ishq kaho, wo prem kahun, matlab to usi  
ki chah se hai.

Wo yogi hon, tum salik ho, maqsud dil-i-  
agah se hai.

Kyon larta hai, murakh bande! yeh teri  
khamkhayali hai.

Hai per ki jar to ek wahi, har mazhab ek ek  
dali hai.

2. Banwao shivala ya masjid, hai int wahi,  
chuna hai wahi,

Memar wahi, mazdoor wahi, mitti hai wahi,  
gara hai wahi;

Takbir ka jo kuchh matlab hai, naqus ka bhi  
mansha hai wahi,

Tum jinko namazen kahte ho, Hindu ke liye  
puja hai wahi.

Phir larne se kyaa hasil hai? Zi-fahm ho tum,  
nadan nahin.

Jo bhai pa dauren ghurra kar, wuh ho sakte  
insan nahin.

3. Kyaa qatl o gharat khunprezi tarif yahi iman  
ki hai?

Kyaa apas men lar kar marna talim yahi Quran  
ki hai?

Insaf karo, tafsir yahi kyaa Vedon ke farman  
ki hai?

Kyaa sachmuch ye khunkhari hi aala khaslat  
insan ki hai?

Tum aise bure amal par apne kuchh to Khuda  
se sharm karo,

Patthar jo baná rakhá hai 'Saeed' is dilko  
zará to narm karo.\*

### A COMMON HINDU SENTIMENT.

The real cause of the conflict does not lie in the basic doctrines of the two religions. There are many sects which, within the general fold of Hinduism, present differences, not only of ritual and worship but even of what we may term secondary principles, which are sometimes greater than those existing between some of them and Islam. For instance, the root conception of one God is common to Islam and most of the sub-divisions of

\* Translation of the above :

1. Say Ram, or say Rahim, both mean but God ;  
Say Dharm or Din, both are the Way to Him ;  
Prem or Ishq, both mean the Love, Him ;  
Salik or Yogi, both are Heart in touch with of Him ;

Why will ye fight, then, like the mindless brute ?  
All creeds are branches, God is the One Root.

2. Build mosque or temple—water, earth, brick, lime,  
Labourer and architect all are the same.  
The Azan and the conch, both call to Prayer,  
To puja or namaz, both mean the same.

Why fight then ? Are ye not endowed with mind ?  
Scaree e'en the animals are so purblind.

3. Murder and plunder, are these meant by " Faith " ?  
Does God's word in the Quran or the Ved  
Command you thus to burn and loot and slay ?  
Is such blood-thirst the highest grace of man ?

Brothers ! soften your stony hearts, take shame  
A little; and foul not His Holy Name.

Hinduism (Ekamevādvitīyam, there is but One without a second, Lā ilāha illAllāh, Walḥadhū lā sharīkalahu, there is no god other than God.) But this conception varies amongst Hindus from that of a personal God, a beneficent Father and Ruler, to that of a mere mechanical natural force guiding the creation. There are some sects whose philosophy takes no account of the God-idea but whose followers, from the point of view of the Hindu-Muslim question, are regarded as Hindus. Apart from these differences of secondary principles, there are wide differences in regard to details of religious ceremonies and worship. These differences have in the past often led to fierce persecutions and sanguinary conflicts, and have left traditions of bitterness behind. Ancient history points to certain periods when in our land there were serious conflicts for power between Aryas and Anaryas, between Brahmans and Kshatriyas, Hindus and Buddhists, Hindus and Jains, and Shaivas and Vaishnavas. But in spite of these ancient rivalries and conflicts, time has cemented these peoples and sects, and ages of comradeship have evolved what may be called a common Hindu sentiment.

#### A COMMON MUSLIM SENTIMENT.

Amongst Muslims also there are various sub-divisions, which differ from one another in the interpretation of the Quran and the Hadis on certain matters. These differences of interpretation have led to differences of ceremonials and usages which have caused most deadly conflicts and social persecution. Shias, Sunnis, Ahmadias, Ahl-i-Iladis—they all have their tale of woe to relate. But these sects, though the inherited elements of religious bitterness against each other are even more deeply marked in some of

them than among the sub-divisions of Hinduism, have, on the whole, learnt to live together peacefully, and have evolved a common Muslim sentiment.

#### INSISTENCE ON SEPARATE HINDU-MUSLIM CULTURES A WRONG OUT-LOOK.

Now inspite of the clash of kings and generals in the past, there has in the course of centuries been a distinct tendency towards the merger of these two sentiments into one common culture. If this had gone on unhampered, things would have been different from what they are; but interested parties have played their game so well that Hindus and Muslims have begun to think of themselves as separate units and to insist on their separate sentiments as entities requiring individual and separate presentation and preservation. This outlook, it seems to us, is the real cause of all Hindu-Muslim differences. It has been aggravated within the last five decades. Side by side with a rising surge of nationalism, an insidious attempt has been carried on not only to prevent the process of fusion but to widen the gulf under the guise of friendliness. English writers and politicians have, on the one side, sung praises of Hindu philosophy and culture, and stressed the necessity of keeping that culture intact and well-preserved, and have, on the other side, laid similar stress on the necessity of preserving Muslim culture as a separate entity. Some of the best intellects among Hindus and Muslims have taken up the tune. Not that they do not desire Hindu-Muslim unity. They speak and write about it eloquently and with sincere feeling, but they base it on the virtue of toleration and the doctrine of 'Live and let

live.' It appears to us that this whole outlook is fundamentally wrong and must be changed. This insistence on separate cultures is the rationale of the separate educational institutions, and the latter have gradually helped to build a cultural wall and to prevent the currents of their social life from mingling with each other.

#### FUSION OUR OBJECTIVE.

To bring about a fusion of these so-called 'separate' cultures, to remove all barriers which prevent these streams from commingling and flowing in the one direction which nature has marked out for them, would, therefore, be the final object of all our recommendations. And we feel that, though the goal may appear distant to many, it is not impossible of attainment within a reasonable period of time. Our chief reason for entertaining this feeling is that the things that bind them and are common to them are stronger than the things that separate them. Hindus and Muslims come from a common stock. They have in all essentials a common language. Poetry, music, painting, architecture, these have been developed by common efforts, and they belong as much to Muslims as to Hindus. The common folk, particularly in rural areas, observe many common local practices and rituals in their daily lives and also on ceremonial occasions, such as festivals, marriage and death. There are great differences also on such occasions, and we are not blind to them, and do not minimize them. These differences have grown stronger within the last few decades with the growing consciousness of separateness. All that we emphasize is that common bonds have existed for centuries and are even now very strong, and the differences that have been recently created

or have existed for some time, are most of them removable or reducible to such an extent that they may be confined within very narrow limits and may not affect the common social and political life of the two communities. If leaders and workers of the Indian National Congress who have faith in this common culture and social life, and who can resist the temptation to work for their own separate communities, come forward and organize themselves with courage, devotion, and selflessness, and appeal to the imagination of the masses, both by teaching and example, we feel assured of success. The cause is worth the lives of the best amongst us.

#### A SUGGESTION TO GOVERNMENT.

Before considering remedies, however, we think that we might briefly refer to one practical and effective method of preventing communal riots. If the Government sincerely desire that these communal riots should not occur, they have only to let it be clearly understood that the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police of the district, where a communal riot occurs, shall be forthwith suspended and then allowed to submit explanations. If this procedure is adopted, we are convinced that there will be very little possibility left of such riots. Magistrates and Police officers ought to know and do usually know the mischief-makers and promoters of such trouble. They have only to take preventive action against them. If they do not, then they are not worth their salt.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF REMEDIES.

We group the remedies recommended by us under three heads : (1) Religio-educational, (2) Politico-economic,

and (3) Social. We are conscious that some of the radical remedies that we have in view cannot be put into immediate practice on a large scale; some will meet with opposition from one community, and some from the other. But our duty has rendered it imperative for us to indicate them, so that they may not only be always kept in view as the goal of all our efforts, but that a beginning may be made in adopting practical measures to make them a part of our national life. We will now take these heads *seriatim*.

We begin with Religio-Educational Remedies.

### I. RELIGIO-EDUCATIONAL.

(1) We feel that it will be very helpful in bringing about better relations between the different religious groups if emphasis is laid on the essential truths common to all religions, and if the minds of the people, particularly of the younger generation, are attracted towards these common truths. We advise that the Congress should take it upon itself to bring out a series of graded books in which these essential truths are presented in an impartial and attractive manner, as far as possible, and are illustrated by parallel passages from the scriptures of the several religions with translations. Efforts should then be made for the inclusion of these books in the courses of study prescribed for primary and higher classes of all educational institutions.

The need for such a series of books was recognized by all the thirty-six Hindu, Muslim, and Christian witnesses (with one single doubtful exception) whom we questioned on this point.

We also suggest that the Congress should, from time to time, issue appeals to the religious leaders of all communities to lay particular stress on the common essentials of all religions when giving discourses to their followers.

(2) In the view that we take of the whole question, the denominational institutions for the education of the youth of the country should be nationalized. It is there that the seeds of separatism are sown. It is a matter of common knowledge that Hindu and Muslim students who have received their early education sitting side by side in non-denominational schools and under Hindu and Muslim teachers, possess a broader outlook on Hindu-Muslim relations than those brought up in the atmosphere of exclusiveness which is inseparable from denominational institutions.

Our definite recommendations on this matter are :—

(a) In future, no new school or college should be opened bearing the name of Hindu, Muslim, Christian, or any other community, or any of its sub-divisions.

(b) Wherever possible, the names of existing denominational institutions should be altered in such a manner that they may not appear communal ; where some delay is inevitable steps should be taken to bring about the the change as early as possible.

(c) Members of other communities should gradually be taken on the governing bodies of these institutions, and be given a real voice in the management.

(d) The courses of study and lectures should be so

framed as to bring about a broad cultural and national outlook, as distinguished from a communal one.

(e) Students of other communities should be invited and especially encouraged to join. All existing preferences in favour of students of any particular community should be abolished.

(f) During the period of transition, students of Muslim institutions such as the Aligarh Muslim University, or the Islamia College, Lahore, should be invited by Hindu institutions, such as the Benares Hindu University, or the D. A.-V. College, Lahore, on festive and other important occasions for a period of a week or ten days, and vice-versa. These occasional visits should be sources of enjoyment and profit to the students, and the visitors should be made to feel that they are loved and honoured guests of the receiving institutions, and should be encouraged to mix freely in its social life. Most of the national educational institutions, though not denominational, are, in fact, limited to students of one or the other community ; they should take a lead in removing these limits.

(3) New books on history should be written in such a way that while adhering to truth, they may not only not tend to create a communal mentality, but may help in the evolution of a national outlook by regarding the heroes of history and mythology as the common heroes of all the communities inhabiting the motherland. Most of the standard books have been written by or under the influence of foreigners with the purpose of embittering the feelings of Hindus and Muslims against each other, and the text-books which are taught in schools and colleges are generally written under their influence. If error and

bias are unavoidable in human authorship, then let them go in the direction of—not opening up healed sores—but of forgiving and forgetting the “old, unhappy, far off things and battles long ago,” and of promoting love and brotherliness.

In other departments also, such as poetry and fiction, literature surging with a new life and bearing a new message of hope and unity should be created by the scholars of the two communities. Writers of short stories could be particularly helpful in this direction. The great educational institutions, such as the Benares and the Aligarh Universities, should take up part of this work and give a lead to other scholars and writers.

(4) Intimately connected with the above question is that of the national language. Hindustani is now, by common consent, recognized as the national language. It is a language which has been evolved by the contact of Persian and Arabic with the indigenous language of the land. Its two forms, Urdu and Hindu, have been developed by both Hindus and Muslims working side by side and writing for both communities. Kabir, Khusrau, Rahim Khan Khanikhanan, Raskhan, Malik Muhammad Jaisi, Anis, are among the master builders of Hindi poetry. Similarly, Daya Shankar Nasim, Chandulal, Ramchander, Jwalaprasad Barq, Ratannath Sarshar, Bishan Narain Dar, and Brijnarain Chakbast, are among the great names of Urdu literature. We feel that, with the gradual fusion of the two communities, these two streams of literature which emerge from a common source should merge into one, the Hindustani literature, written in a language which would combine the best elements of Urdu and

Hindi and which could without difficulty be understood even by those of our countrymen whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani.

The cause of nationalism would have been much farther advanced, if it had been possible for the Congress to insist more strongly, and sooner than it has done, on the use of the Hindustani language in all proceedings of the Congress and its subordinate bodies. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Congress at its annual session held in 1925, added a clause to its constitution recognizing Hindustani as the language of the Congress. We strongly recommend that full effect should be given to this part of constitution. Our further recommendations on the question of language and script are—

(a) Both Hindi and Urdu, written in Nagri and Persian scripts, should be compulsorily taught to all students in Hindustani-speaking areas.

(b) All Congressmen in Hindustani-speaking provinces should seriously try to know both Hindi and Urdu, and all Congressmen in other provinces, whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani, should learn Hindustani through the medium of either the Nagri or the Persian script.

(c) Notices and circulars issued by the All-India Congress Committee, or its subordinate bodies in Provinces where both scripts are prevalent should be in both scripts.

(d) Hindi and Urdu authors, speakers, and newspaper-editors should help in the evolution of a common Hindustani language by making greater use of common

phraseology and eschewing, as far as possible, difficult Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit words.

(e) The Persian script should, in our opinion, be somewhat simplified and made more phonetic. We are glad that the attention of Urdu scholars has already been drawn towards the subject.

(f) We think it very desirable that the Congress may undertake the work of issuing a large weekly paper. This paper should be mainly devoted to articles educative of public opinion on all the serious questions of life with which Congress has to deal. These articles should be written by Hindus and Muslims in the common Hindustani language which we have advocated above, and every article should be printed in both Nagri and Persian scripts. In this way (1) knowledge of the Hindustani language and its two scripts will spread widely all over India, and (2) both communities will come to learn, understand and appreciate, and reconcile each other's views and viewpoints, as they do not at present, because each community mostly reads its own view in its own papers and in its own favourite script.

(5) Some Hindu youths should from time to time be induced to study Islam in all its bearings, through original Arabic sources, if possible, and some Muslim youths should similarly be required to study Hinduism on the same lines. Stipends should be given to such students during the period of their study.

A comparative study of religions and cultures should also generally be promoted in all higher educational institutions.

The national educational institutions should give a lead in these matters.

(6) Speakers, writers, and editors of newspapers should regard it as a sacred duty to refrain from speaking, writing, or publishing things that may tend to incite one community against the other.

Attempts by any individual to inflame communal feeling should be condemned by the leaders of the community to which that individual belongs.

(7) The Shuddhi and the Tabligh movements, as conducted during the last 10 years, have been the main cause of discord between Hindus and Muslims in this country, and should be discontinued. This is not intended to stop any person from propagating his religion by all honest, fair, and above-board methods, nor to take away from any individual the right of changing his religion. We strongly recommend that persons changing their religion, should not change their names. In the Indian Christian community, we often see persons, of high status too, preserving their old names. This greatly helps to preserve the spirit of Pan-Indianism from being narrowed into communalism, and makes social relations easier, without in the least interfering with the sincerity of religious conviction. True religion is a matter of the heart, and not of name or dress.

Local joint Panchayats referred to in Para. II (12) *infra*, should see that no unfair or underhand means are employed by any one in making conversions.

Minors under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents and guar-

dians, and if any minor under 18 is found stranded by a person of another faith he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith.

## II. POLITICO-ECONOMIC.

We now take up Politico-Economic Remedies.

(1) Our task has been lightened by the labours of the Fundamental Rights Committee. At the same time we think that the Congress should place before the Indian people the outlines of a more complete scheme of Swaraj, mentioning the fundamental rights and duties of individuals, embodying its economic policy, and indicating its methods for securing an upright and honest as well as able and experienced legislature. This scheme should convince Hindus and Muslims alike that the Congress strives impartially for the moral and material good of all, and does not favour any one community or section at the expense of another, Hindu or Muslim, landholder or tenant, capitalist or labourer. It should allay the fears of the minority communities and sections while assuring the poorer classes of all communities that their welfare will be the first consideration of the Swaraj Government.

When this Scheme is ready a vigorous propaganda should be organized in favour of it.

(2) Changes should be introduced in the Congress constitution with the object of laying down certain qualifications for persons proposed to be elected as office-bearers or members of an executive body. We suggest the following—

(a) They must be at least 25 years of age, for the

Provincial and Subordinate Committees, and 30 for the All-India Committee.

(b) They must have been members of the Congress for at least five years.

(c) They must not be members of any communal organization which works for safeguarding the political rights of the Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh community as such.

(d) They should have the faith that, under the present conditions of our country, the path of non-violence is the only one which should be followed for the attainment of Swaraj, and that all acts of violence committed in our political fight injure our cause.

(3) The policy and methods of communalistic leaders should be exposed, especially by members of their own communities. It should be diligently explained how communalistic bodies injure the interests of all, while the Congress works for the benefit of every one in the land, trying to bring about such a distribution of necessities and worldly comforts that poverty may be banished and a living wage may be secured for all, and thus the danger of internecine clashes between creeds and classes, between "haves" and "have nots," may be avoided.

(4) We are strongly of opinion that the system of separate electorates on the basis of religion should be abolished, and the Congress should on no account agree to its continuance. Out of 26 Muslim witnesses whom we questioned on this point, 19 condemned the system of separate electorates and ascribed to it most of the present communal bitterness, while seven supported the system. On principle, we are also opposed to the idea of

reservations of seats on a religious basis, but having regard to the suspicions and fears entertained by a large number of persons among some minority communities, we think that, for a fixed period, reservation of seats may be permitted to minority communities. Our faith is that a better and more national outlook, born of a new confidence and hope, will ere long render reservation unnecessary.

(5) The Congress should cease to deal with separate communal organizations for the settlement of communal rights. It should, as the body representing the whole nation, negotiate, when necessary, with the Government.

(6) All attempts at organizing Hindus and Muslims separately, such as the Sangathan and the Tanzeem, for defending one community from the attacks of the other, should be stopped.

(7) All communal volunteer corps, like Mahabir Dals and Ali Ghols, should be abolished and Joint volunteer corps consisting of both Hindus and Muslims should be organized.

(8) Every Congress volunteer should be made to take a vow that in case of a Hindu-Muslim riot occurring in his locality, he will do his utmost to bring about a reconciliation and to help both Hindus and Muslims impartially, and will, even if attacked personally, not retaliate but suffer in the cause of unity.

(9) Every attempt at the economic boycott of any section of one community by members of the other community is a lasting source of bitterness and conflict and injures the best interests of both. It should be strongly put down.

the other community. This will help in bringing about a better understanding of the view-points of each community by the other.

(2) Hindus and Muslims should join more and more in each other's festivals; some of the present festivals, such as Holi, Diwali, Idul-fitr, and Shab-barat should be regarded as common festivals of both communities, and new common national festivals should be created.

(3) Joint clubs for recreation and sports, and joint reading rooms and societies should be established.

(4) All inhabitants of our country should call themselves Hindis or Hindustanis, and differences in dress and appearance which tend to make obtrusive the distinction between Hindus and Muslims should be abolished, or, at least, minimized. This will be a strong factor in bringing about unity of sentiment and fellow-feeling.

(5) Special efforts should be made for the abolition of Purdah, but with such restraints as are demanded by the best traditions of Indian society. Hindu and Muslim women should see more of each other, and women should be generally encouraged to take greater part in public matters. The abolition of the Purdah would, we are convinced, remove one of the greatest barriers to Hindu-Muslim unity. \*

\* If Muslim women come out and mix freely with Hindu women, antagonisms and conflicts are sure to abate; the great success of the Mixed Women's Conference is conclusive evidence; the main reason why Hindus object to the presence of Muslims at, e. g., bathing ghats, and typically Hindu melas, etc., is that, while

(6) Untouchability, except when it attaches to uncleanness and particular diseases, should be abolished. No man and no man's food or water should be so sacred as to become polluted merely by the touch of another individual who belongs to a particular caste or faith.

(7) Complaints are often made that in Municipal and other local bodies, wherever one community is in power, communal partiality is shown in the matter of distribution of elected offices, of paid services, of money grants, and of contracts, of the framing of byelaws affecting the social or religious practices or the trades and vocations of a particular community, of permission to open meat-shops, and of the teaching of Indian languages in schools, etc.

Such tendencies, wherever and to whatever extent they exist, are extremely reprehensible and anti-national. They should everywhere be discouraged and stopped. Local joint Panchayats can be very helpful in this matter.

(8) All slaughter of quadrupeds for whatever purposes, including that of religious sacrifice, should be governed by the general laws of the land, based on grounds of hygiene, sanitation, and public decency.

Cow-sacrifices should not be interfered with by any one, any more than the sacrifices of goats, sheep, buffaloes, etc.

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Hindu women go there, Muslim women do not, but only Muslim men—whence annoyance to Hindus. If Muslim women also went, all cause for annoyance would vanish at once; for similar reasons, the risk to both sections of women being equalized, *riots* would be *minimized*.—Bhagavan Das.

Wherever there is such an interference by any one, it should be the duty of Congressmen to offer Satyagraha against it.

This should not interfere with any arrangement arrived at or any custom maintained through mutual consent.

(9) . The playing of music should not be interfered with by any one in the vicinity of mosques, any more than any other sorts of sounds near mosques or temples.

Wherever there is such an interference by any one, it should be the duty of Congressmen to offer Satyagraha against it.

This should not interfere with any arrangement arrived at or any custom maintained through mutual consent.

(10) The Hindus should abolish the present hereditary caste system, with the countless sub-castes, and shift the system of the four main castes (Varnas) from the basis of rigid heredity to that of vocational temperament and class, namely, (1) the learned professions for men of knowledge; (2) the executive professions for men of action; (3) the wealth-producing and wealth-managing professions for men of desire; and (4) the labouring professions for men who are not intellectually evolved and educable as the other three, and who can only assist them in minor capacities. It will be for the Swaraj Government to divide equitably the main prizes or rewards of life, (namely, (1) honour, (2) power, (3) wealth, and (4) amusement), and the main means of livelihood (1) public and private honoraria, (2) rents, or public salaries, (3) trades, and (4) ample wages between these four classes, so as to reduce extremes of poverty and wealth, ensure necessities

to all, minimize jealousies, and maximize incentives to good work.

Such a transformation of the present internally divided, mutually exclusive, caste system into a "Social organization" of mutually helpful vocational guilds, all interdependent, will enable Muslims and Christians, and persons of all creeds whatsoever to enter those guilds without changing their creeds in any way.

#### SUGGESTION FOR A STANDING CONGRESS BOARD.

We have indicated the remedies that we consider would be of help in curing the social, political, and religious antagonism which is dividing the Hindus and Musalmans at present. It is our conviction that the disease has gone deep into the social system, and the method of cure must necessarily be slow and progressive. Most of our remedies must therefore obviously be such as cannot be applied at once in their entirety. Their application would require incessant care, watchfulness and perseverance. Therefore, our last suggestion is that the Congress should create a standing Board consisting of such members as are deeply interested in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity and are prepared to work for it. This Board should work exclusively for the attainment of this particular objective. Its comparative freedom from political preoccupations would enable it better to work even among those sections of the people who are outside the direct political struggle, and on whom the disease has taken the greatest hold.

The Congress has, no doubt, from time to time applied its attention to this question. But the lines of its policy

have so far been concerned mainly with the political aspect of the problem, and with specific situations as they have arisen. We feel that the Congress should now begin to influence in a constructive manner the social life of the people as strongly and effectively as it is influencing their political life. No doubt, we are suggesting a new experiment. But it is an experiment which we earnestly urge ought to be tried. If successful, it would mean a permanent solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, and even if it fails to achieve this end completely, it would have gone some way in solving the difficulties.

To such a Board may be entrusted the working out of the remedies we have suggested.

Bhagavan Das

(subject to supplementary note.)

Sundar Lal.

Purushottam Das Tandon.

(subject to separate note.)

Manzar Ali Sokhta.

Abdul Latif Bijnori.

Zafarul-Mulk.

(subject to separate note.)

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**PART IV**  
**APPENDICES.**

## APPENDIX I.

### LOSSES DURING THE RIOTS.

IN reply to question No. 19 of our printed questionnaire, various witnesses have given various estimates. Shri Dwarka Prasad Sinha, Vakil, Chairman, Education Committee, Municipal Board, has given us a list according to which the total number of houses burnt or otherwise destroyed is 508, out of which 282 belong to Hindus and 226 to Muslims. They are distributed over 45 Mohallas. His list does not include 'ahatas' (blocks of buildings containing many small houses for renting out), mosques and temples.

The Municipal Board also prepared a 'List of houses burnt or damaged during the communal riot of March 1931.' According to this list, the total number of buildings affected is 418, which includes 18 mosques and 42 temples, 248 Hindu houses and 110 Muslim houses.

We appointed a Committee of our own, under Shri Piaray Lal Agarwal, Secretary, Town Congress Committee. Men who were expert in estimating losses to buildings were sent to every Mohalla. Care was taken that generally a Hindu and a Muslim went together. A list of the damaged buildings was prepared, and an estimate made of the amount of damage done to each. According to the report of this Committee, 372 buildings were damaged or destroyed during the riots, either through fire or otherwise. This includes 18 'ahatas.' Each 'ahata' has a number of small cottages in it. Our Committee did not report as to the number of cottages contained in each

'ahata.' They, however, gave the figures in the case of four. These were 24, 35, 11, and 4. This would give an average of 18 to each 'ahata.' But even making a low estimate of ten per 'ahata,' we get a total of 180 cottages for the 18 'ahatas.' Thus, the total number of large and small houses and cottages affected comes to 534. This includes 23 mosques and 37 temples. Out of the 372 buildings and 'ahatas' mentioned above, 144 were owned by Musalmans and 229 by Hindus. Many of these houses owned by Musalmans had Hindu tenants, and vice-versa. According to the report of our Committee, the damages done to Muslim buildings come to Rs. 1,81,000, and that to Hindu buildings come to Rs. 2,67,000, the total being Rs. 4,48,000. The Superintendent of the Municipal Fire Brigade tells us that "the number of houses on fire visited by the brigade may be taken to be roughly between 250 and 275; but in case individual houses in 'ahatas' are taken into account the number would swell to about 450 to 500." The Superintendent also says that, according to his official report, the value of houses and temples and mosques destroyed by fire during these days comes to about 15 lakhs of rupees.

We may here give a word of praise to the work done by the Municipal Fire Brigade during those days. But for the Brigade's incessant activity the loss to property in Cawnpore would have been at least three times what it actually has been. Hundreds of partly saved houses and localities bear out the truth of the following statement of the Superintendent:

"From 1 p. m. on the 24th, to 7 p. m. on the 28th, we had not a minute's rest, nor a moment of sleep, or

time even to answer calls of nature. Constantly attending to fires, we could attend to almost all fires, except probably say a dozen or two which were not very serious."

The pressure of work was so great that the Brigade could not keep a complete record of the buildings attended. As for the estimate of 15 lakhs, it may be near the truth, if the total cost of buildings affected is taken into consideration; but if only the amount of actual damage done and the cost of repair is taken into account, then we think the estimate of our own Committee is nearer the truth. We would, therefore, considering certain discrepancies which may have crept into the estimate of our Committee, and taking all the evidence before us into consideration, say that roughly the total damage done to buildings alone in Cawnpore comes to about 5 lakhs, in which the proportion of Muslim losses to Hindu losses is nearly 2 to 3. While, no doubt, some very large three and four-storeyed houses were completely gutted, and one fine and large mosque and an almost equally large temple near it were very badly damaged, almost destroyed, the majority of the buildings damaged were of cheaper quality, and inhabited by poor people.

The above estimate does not include moveable property looted or destroyed. We may mention here that it is very difficult, almost impossible, to give a correct estimate of the total loss of moveable property. While there are a few cases in which people suffering losses have not reported them to the authorities, or sometimes have even minimized them, in a large number of cases, they have exaggerated them greatly.

The estimates of total losses, through arson and loot

and otherwise, given to us by various witnesses, range between seven and a half lakhs and ten crores. We think the statement of Shri Iqbal Krishna Kapoor is nearest the truth. He says: "We have prepared charts, for certain Mohallas, of immoveable and moveable property looted or destroyed. The total in those Mohallas goes to about 5 lakhs. From that my idea is that in the whole of the city the loss of moveable and immoveable property, both included, cannot be more than about 25 lakhs. I think it is somewhere between 20 and 25 lakhs."

As for the loss of lives and the number of wounded, the task of estimating is still more difficult. A number of dead and wounded were sent to the hospital, but a large number could not go. A number of dead bodies were burnt in the debris or thrown into the drains; and many wounded persons did not care to go to the hospital. Whole Mohallas are lying deserted, and the people who could have given some information about their dead or wounded are now scattered far and wide in various districts. We can therefore form only a rough idea of the total losses. According to the statement of Mr. S. M. Bashir, B. Com., Bar-at-Law, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, the hospital admitted dead bodies till the 27th, and a complete record of Hindus and Musalmans was found there. The figure upto the morning of the 28th, of the killed were 41 Hindus and 99 Musalmans. After that the hospital refused to take any further dead bodies. It is also alleged that each community tried to show the number of its own dead as greater than that of the other. Several Muslim witnesses stated that a number of Muslim corpses were burnt and counted as Hindu; and a Hindu lady doctor who once

happened to be present at the burning-ghat has deposed that a lorry-full of corpses was unloaded there before her, and she recognized through the dresses and other distinctive marks that there were "a few Muslini corpses" among them. The figures officially given later were 166 Hindus, and 109 Musalmans. Adding to these, the bodies that could not be recorded, the majority of witnesses before us have mentioned figures ranging from 500 to 700 for the total number killed. Allowing for the possibility of over-statement on the part of witnesses, we estimate the murdered at about four hundred. The wounded were probably three times as many. There were in all 61 Mohallas affected. They cover practically the whole of the city, with the exception of the Civil Lines, and a few other small areas. There were some quarters where the suffering was intense, but scattered incidents occurred all over this area.

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## APPENDIX II.

## DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Note.—As the proper names in this list have been transcribed into Roman from Urdu and Hindi lists, it is likely that some mistakes have crept in.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description.	Cost of damages. Rs.
1	41-182 Misribazar	Gouri Shanker (1)	Pucca House	25
2	45-44 Moolganj	Suraj Narain alias Shera Babu (1)	„	3,000
3	44-57 Misri Bazar	Nirmal Teli (1) Dwarka (2)	„	15
4	42-89 „	Parbhu Dayal (1) Munni and others	„	10
5	44-53 „	Gouri Shanker (1) Ram Prasad (2)	„	3
6	44-46 „	„	„	20

7	41-17	Choubegola	Parbhu Dayal (1)		
			Shyam Sundar (2)	„ Temple	35
8	44-7	„	Nandan lal (1)	„	250
9	44-6	„	Jiwan Ram. (1)	„	500
10	44-4	„	Anandi Prasad (1)	„	100
11	44-3	„	Ram Charan (1)	„	150
12	44-107	„	Khushal (1)	„	150
13	42-199	Misribazar	Debilal (1)	„	10
14	40-23	„	Raghubar Dayal (2)	„ House	3
15	44-25	„	Lala Dwarka Parshad (1)	Temple	500
16	41-112	Choubegola	Shakroo Halwai (1)	Kutchra House	150
17	44-1	„	Chunni Lal (1)		
			Mohan Sonar (2)	Pucca House	2
18	44-450	„	Anandi Prasad (1)		
			Rameharan Nai		
			and Ruiwala (2)	„	1,000
19	41-113	„	Ganga Charan (1).		
			Mahabir and others (2)	„	7,000
20	41-114	„	Ganga Charan Nigam (1).	„	15,000
			Dulare Mahraj (2)		

## APPENDIX II. (Contd.)

## DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.
21	41-117 Choubegola	Baburam Gangacharan Nigam (1)	Pucca House	18,000
22	40-1 Parade	Gandhilal Moolchand (1). Doctor Baijnath (2)	"	500
23	42-63 Makhania Bazar	Mangli Prasad (1)	" House found locked.	
24	99-14 Munnapurwa	Kalloomal (1) Sheobharam (2)	"	20
25	99-138 "	Mukundcharan Vakil (1)	Pucca Temple	10
26	99-128 "	Manna-Gangadin Kumar (1)	Pucca House	500
27	99-94 "	Ishq Sahai (1)	"	10
28	99-95 "	Dulare Mahraj (1)	"	10

29	99-96	„	Lalta Prasad		
			Suraj Prasad (1)	„	2,500
30	99-120	„	...	Pucca Temple	100
31	99-414	„	Ram Sewak (1)	Pucca House	20
32	101-166	Baconganj	...	Pucca Temple	50
33	99-1	„	Sukhailal (1)	Pucca House	10,000
34	99-2	„	Dwarika Prasad (1)	„	10,000
35	101-46	„	...	Pucca Temple	30
36	99-8	„	Puranlal (1)	„	4,000
37	99-14	„	...	„	500
38	99-15	„	Bhagwandin (1)	Pucca House	1,000
39	99-5	„	Puranlal (1)	Pucca Temple	200
40	99-20	„	...	„	10
41	99-21	„	...	„	500
42	99-23	„	Babulal Chhedilal (1)	Pucca Temple	200
43	99-24	„	...	„	5
44	97-210	„	...	„	10
45	97-206	„	Munnu Khairati (1)	Pucca House	500
46	97-205	„	...	„	1,000
47	97-120	„	...	Pucca Temple	500

APPENDIX II. (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description.	Cost of damages Rs.
48	98-12 Baconganj	Tasadduk Husain (1) Maheshri Prasad (2)	Pucca House	20
49	97-213 „	...	„	50
50	97-12 „	...	Pucca Temple	30
51	97-11 „	Ram Balak (1)	Pucca House	5,000
52	97-50 „	Ram Balak (1)	Pucca Temple	400
53	97-108 „	Gulab Chhoa (1)	Kutchra House	400
54	98-29 „	...	Pucca House	10
55	98-30 „	Kallomal (1) Hidayat (2)	„	400
56	97-107 „	Kalloomal (1)	„	50
57	92-140 Hiranman-ka- Purwa	Sanwaldas Debidin (1)	„	15

58	92-218	„	Ishwaridas (1)	„	15
59	92-233	„	Kalka Prasad (1)	Pucca Temple	50
60	98-70	„	...	„	50
61	92-235	„	Chhedij (1)	„	500
62	92-31	„	Makhan Chamar (1)	„	300
63	92-243	„	Sanwaldas (1)	„	400
64	90-4 Phulwaligali		Doctor Ramehander (1)	Pucca House	10
65	12-440 Gwaltoli		Mehdi Hasan (1)	„	2,000
66	12-440	„	Pachkauri (1)	„	500
67	100-418 Kanghimahal		...	Pucca Temple	500
68	99-270 Khapromahal		Munna Tamoli (1)	„ House	200
69		„	Orilal Manhgu etc. (1)	„	500
70	99-312 Sisamau		Permeshwari (1)		
			Bhola Badal (2)	„	100
71	99-310	„	Pt. Gauri Shanker (1)		
			Ramkrishna (2)	Kutchu House	100
72	99-306	„	Kalicharan Kayasth (1)	Pucca House	10
73	13-271 Parmat		Municipal Board (1)		
			Kalka (2)	„	20

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.	
74	13-273	Parmat	S. M. Kazim (1)	Pucca Houre	40
75	13-267	„	Hasan Mistri (1)	„	1,000
76	13-282	„	...	Pucca Mosque	500
77	13-252	„	Ataullah Jamadar (1)	„	
		„	Achhan Khan (2)	„	1,500
78	13-248	„	Binod Halwai (1)	„	
		„	Modhilal (2)	Kutchra House	10
79	13-179	„	Jiwan Singh (1)	Pucca House	10
80	13-180	„	Qadir Bux (1)	„	2,500
81	11-23	Gwaltoli	Badri Ahir (1)	„	
		„	Raghuraj Singh (2)	„	100
82	11-67	„	Bhikha Tamoli (1)	„	1,000
83	11-66	„	Ghisu (1)	„	500

84	11-63	„	Antu Ram (1)	„	50
85	11-34	„	Muzaffaruddin (1)	„	5,000
86	11-25	„	Mangli Prasad (1)	„	
			Rameshwar Dayal (2)	„	200
87	11-22	„	Durga Prasad (1)	„	10
88	11-21	„	Ramphal Mistri (1)	„	
			Durga Singh & others (2)	„	100
89	17-471	„	Ladhusingh (1)	„	200
90	17-470	„	Abdul Majid (1)	„	
			Ladhu Singh (2)	„	500
91	12-239	„	Abdul Ghani (1)	„	
			Kundilal, Lalaram & others	Pucca Mosque	4,000
92	12-230	„	Shakir Husain (1)	„	
			Rajaram & others (2)	Pucca House	4,000
93	11-102	„	Shakir Ali Khan (1)	„	6,000
			Abdu (2)	„	
94	11	Gwaltoli	Shakir Khan (1)	„	
			Durga (2)	Pucca House	6,000
95	12-80	„	Muhammad Siddiq (1)	„	1,000

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description.	Cost of damages Rs.
96	12-72 Gwaltoli	Gabbu (1) Nazir (2)	Pucca House	400
97	12-72	Sharifuddin (1)	"	100
98	12-70	Haji Ghulam Husain (1) Bechu (2)	"	25
99	12-66	Jumman (1)	"	25
100	12-65	Husaini (1)	Kutchu House	30
101	12-68	Manohar (1) Durga Dhobi (2)	"	75
102	12-19	Gabbu (1) Maiku and others (2)	"	400
103	12-15	Ganga Sahai (1)	Pucca House	10

104	12-21	„	Mangal (1)		
			Babbu (2)	Kutcha House	50
105	12-11	„	Madari (1)	„	100
106	12-101	„	Mahmud Ali (1)	„	50
107	12-120	„	Kallu (1)	Pucca House	10
108	12-166	„	Ateemullah (1)		
			Alauddin (2)	„	100
109	12-168	„	Nabban (1)		
			Amjadali (2)	„	15
110	12-266	„	Abdul Rashid (1)		
			Saeedullah (2)	Kutcha House	300
111	12-445	„	Ramzani (1)		
			Muhammad Bux (2)	„	25
112	12-444	„	Abdul Wahid (1)		
			Jumman and others (2)	Pucca House	300
113	12-441	„	Abdullah Master (1)	Kutcha House	100
114	12-438	„	Matru (1)	Pucca House	15
115	12-437	„	Shabrati (1)	„	1,500
116	12-435	„	Babu Fida Husain (1)		
			Nabi Ahmad (2)	Pucca-Kutcha House	1,500

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of Damages Rs.
117	12-480 Gwaltoli	Rahim Bux (1) Ghazi (2)	Kutchra House	200
118	12-273 „	Nawab Mnhammad Ali Khan (1) Rajab (2)	Pucca House	1,000
119	12-253 „	Babu Fida Husain (1) Ali (2)	„	400
120	12-273 „	Abdulla (1)	Pucca-Kutchra House	1,500
121	12-276 „	Ghabbar Ahmad (1)	Kutchra House	1,000
122	12-274 „	Babu Fida Husain (1)	„	2,000
123	12-440 „	Munshi Mehdi (1)	„	2,000
124	12-440 „	Abdullah Master (1) Walidat (2)	Kutchra House	500

125	...	Gwaltoli	Abdullah Master (1)	„	100
126	99-366	Sisamau	Bhawani Lodh (1)	„	25
127	99-365	„	Chhoteylal (1)	Pucca House	25
128	99-367	„	Mannilal Nigam (1)	„	1,000
129	99-368	„	Chandermal (1)	„	50
130	99-309	„	Gouri Shanker (1)		.
			Workshop (2)	Kutchra House	100
131	99-311	„	Parmeshri (1)		.
			Bhola (2)	Pucca House	1,000
132	99-311	„	Parmeshri (1)		.
			Bhola (2)	„	15
133	99-369	„	Musammatt Janki (1)		.
			Bhola (2)	Kutchra House	50
134	99-370	„	Hulas Kunwar (1)		.
			Manna Sunar (2)	Kutchra House	25
135	99-375	„	Munshi Lalmahraj (1)		.
			Ramkrishna Jamadar (2)	Pucca House	6,000
136	100-478	„	Mathura Prasad (1)		.
			& Pargilal	„	3,000
137	100-479	„	Motisain Jogar (1)	Kutchra House	
			Ramchandi (2)	„	50

APPENDIX II. (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.		House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description.	Cost of damages. Rs.
138	100-480	Sisamau	Kudrat (1) Ramcharan	Kutchra House	25
139	100-481	„	Ramautar (1) Bhagirath (2)	Pucca House	1,000
140	100-481	„	Ramgopal (1) Bhagirath (2)	„	50
141	100-483	„	Ganga Pd. Bholra Prasad Baburam (1) Mullu (2)	„	10
142	100-482	„	Puttan (1) Mullu (2)	„	25
143	100-530	„	Kashi Prasad (1) Kishun Bihari (2)	„	10
144	100-531	„	Dayamal (1) Baldeo Hiradas (2)	„	10

145	99-359	„	Din Dayal Peshkar (1)	„	15
146	...	„	Lachhman (1)	Kutchra House	25
147	99-360	„	Lachhmi Sharman (2)	Pucca House	25
148	99-361	„	Gajraj Singh (1)		
		„	Din Dayal Kachhi (2)	Kutchra-Pucca House	500
149	99-354	„	Gaji Din (1)		
		„	Din Dayal Kachhi (2)	„	10
150	99-352	„	Gaji Din (1)		
		„	Shobha (2)	Kutchra House	300
151	99-342	„	Sukai (1) Agnu (2)	„	20
152	Ahata	„	Ahata of Baldeo Singh (1)		
		„	Koriana Kori (2)	„	2000
153	99-333	„	Bhupat (1)		
		„	Koriana Kori (2)	Pucca House	200
154	99-335	„	Achhu Thelawala (1)		
		„	Samai (2)	„	20
155	100-439	Colonel- ganj	Ramjan Ghosi (1)		
		„	Samai (2)	„	100
156	100-166	„	Kalka Prasad (1)		
		„	Samai (2)	Kutchra House	200

164	101-315	„	Kunwar Bahadur Vakil (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (2)	Pucca House	2,000
165	101-314	„	Mathura Prasad (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (1)	„	20
166	101-316	„	Bankelal Mannilal (1)		
			Kandhailal, Maqbul Husain (2)	„	15
167	101-8	Colonelganj	Lala Minamal (1)	Pucca Temple	2,000
168	96-63	„	„	„	2,000
169	101-257	„	Munnilal (1)	„	10
170	101-289	„	Balao (1)	„	2,000
171	100-18	„	Misrilal Chamar (1)	„	2,000
172	202-300	„	Jarvai Teli (1)		
			Babbu Munshi (2)	„	35
173	103-45	„	Samad (1)	Kutch House	2
174	100-23	„	Shankerlal (1)	Pucca Temple	50
175	100-442	„	Badal Haji Ghosi (1)		
			Patan Pasi (2)	Pucca House	3,000
176	100-476	„	Ali Bux Ghesi (1)		
			Gaya Singh (2)	„	50
177	100-477	„	Qudrat (1) Mahabir (2)	„	1,000

164	101-315	„	Kunwar Bahadur Vakil (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (2)	Pucca House	2,000
165	101-314	„	Mathura Prasad (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (1)	„	20
166	101-316	„	Bankelal Mannilal (1)		
			Kandhailal, Maqbul Husain (2)	„	15
167	101-8	Colonelganj	Lala Minamal (1)	Pucca Temple	2,000
168	96-63	„	„	„	2,000
169	101-257	„	Munnilal (1)	„	10
170	101-289	„	Balao (1)	„	2,000
171	100-18	„	Misrilal Chamar (1)	„	2,000
172	202-300	„	Jarwai Teli (1)		
			Babbu Munshi (2)	„	35
173	103-45	„	Samad (1)	Kutch House	2
174	100-23	„	Shankerlal (1)	Pucca Temple	50
175	100-442	„	Badal Haji Ghosi (1)		
			Patan Pasi (2)	Pucca House	3,000
176	100-476	„	Ali Bux Ghosi (1)		
			Gaya Singh (2)	„	50
177	100-477	„	Qudrat (1) Mahabir (2)	„	1,000

164	101-315	„	Kunwar Bahadur Vakil (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (2)	Pucca House	2,000
165	101-314	„	Mathura Prasad (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (1)	„	20
166	101-316	„	Bankelal Mannilal (1)		
			Kandhailal, Maqbul Husain (2)	„	15
167	101-8	Colonelganj	Lala Minamal (1)	Pucca Temple	2,000
168	96-63	„	„	„	2,000
169	101-257	„	Munnilal (1)	„	10
170	101-289	„	Balao (1)	„	2,000
171	100-18	„	Misrilal Chamar (1)	„	2,000
172	202-300	„	Jarvai Teli (1)		
			Babbu Munshi (2)	„	35
173	103-45	„	Samad (1)	Kutch House	2
174	100-23	„	Shankerlal (1)	Pucca Temple	50
175	100-442	„	Badal Haji Ghosi (1)		
			Patan Pasi (2)	Pucca House	3,000
176	100-476	„	Ali Bux Ghosi (1)		
			Gaya Singh (2)	„	50
177	100-477	„	Qudrat (1) Mahabir (2)	„	1,000

164	101-315	„	Kunwar Bahadur Vakil (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (2)	Pucca House	2,000
165	101-314	„	Mathura Prasad (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (1)	„	20
166	101-316	„	Bankelal Mannilal (1)		
			Kandhailal, Maqbul Husain (2)	„	15
167	101-8	Colonelganj	Lala Minamal (1)	Pucca Temple	2,000
168	96-63	„	„	„	2,000
169	101-257	„	Munnilal (1)	„	10
170	101-289	„	Balao (1)	„	2,000
171	100-18	„	Misrilal Chamar (1)	„	2,000
172	202-300	„	Jarvai Teli (1)		
			Babbu Munshi (2)	„	35
173	103-45	„	Samad (1)	Kutch House	2
174	100-23	„	Shankerlal (1)	Pucca Temple	50
175	100-442	„	Badal Haji Ghosi (1)		
			Patan Pasi (2)	Pucca House	3,000
176	100-476	„	Ali Bux Ghosi (1)		
			Gaya Singh (2)	„	50
177	100-477	„	Qudrat (1) Mahabir (2)	„	1,000

164	101-315	..	Kunwar Bahadur Vakil (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (2)	Pucca House	2,000
165	101-314	..	Mathura Prasad (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (1)	..	20
166	101-316	..	Bankelal Mannilal (1)		
			Kandhailal, Maqbul Husain (2)	..	15
167	101-8	Colonelganj	Lala Minamal (1)	Pucca Temple	2,000
168	96-63	..	..	..	2,000
169	101-257	..	Munnilal (1)	..	10
170	101-289	..	Balao (1)	..	2,000
171	100-18	..	Misrilal Chamar (1)	..	2,000
172	202-300	..	Jarv, ai Teli (1)		
			Babbu Munshi (2)	..	35
173	103-45	..	Samad (1)	Kutch House	2
174	100-23	..	Shankerlal (1)	Pucca Temple	50
175	100-442	..	Badal Haji Ghosi (1)		
			Patan Pasi (2)	Pucca House	3,000
176	100-476	..	Ali Bux Ghosi (1)		
			Gaya Singh (2)	..	50
177	100-477	..	Qudrat (1) Mahabir (2)	..	1,000

APPENDIX II. (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

396

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description.	Cost of damages Rs.
157	103-276 Colonelganj	Kashi Prasad (1) Dhani Ram (2)	Pucca House	400
158	103-48	Kashi Prasad (1) Binda (2)	"	3,000
159	103-649	Kashi Prasad (1) Ashiq Husain (2)	Kutchra House	4,000
160	103-133	Doctor Dost Mohd. (1) Shahadat (2)	"	500
161	103-134	Karimu'llah (1) Mannu Mistri (2)	"	200
162	...	Temple	Pucca Temple	5
163	102-59	Bankelal Mannilal (1) Mangal (2)	Kutchra House	4,000

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164	101-315	„	Kunwar Bahadur Wakil (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (2)	Pucca House	2,000
165	101-314	„	Mathura Prasad (1)		
			Lachhman Halwai (1)	„	20
166	101-316	„	Bankelal Mannilal (1)		
			Kandhailal, Maqbul Husain (2)	„	15
167	101-8	Colonelganj	Lala Minamal (1)	Pucca Temple	2,000
168	96-63	„	„	„	2,000
169	101-257	„	Munnilal (1)	„	10
170	101-289	„	Balao (1)	„	2,000
171	100-18	„	Misrilal Chamar (1)	„	2,000
172	202-300	„	Jarvai Teli (1)		
			Babbu Munshi (2)	„	35
173	103-45	„	Samad (1)	Kutch House	2
174	100-23	„	Shankerlal (1)	Pucca Temple	50
175	100-442	„	Badal Haji Ghosi (1)		
			Patan Pasi (2)	Pucca House	3,000
176	100-476	„	Ali Bux Ghesi (1)		
			Gaya Singh (2)	„	50
177	100-477	„	Qudrat (1) Mahabir (2)	„	1,000

## DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.
178		Chamanganj Maula Master (1)	Pucca House	7
179	126	Premnagar Suraj Narain (1)	"	7
180	95-1	Lachhman Teli	"	25
181	71-2	Kalka Prasad (1)	"	25
182	54-7	Shivalal (1) Bhurji	"	3,000
183	...	Musammatt Bittan (1)	Kutchra House	1,000
184	88-146	Manmohanlal (1) Champaram (2)	Pucca House	100
185	88-93	Narain <sup>3</sup> Chamar (1) Lala (2)	"	500
186	68-5	Manna (1), Lala (2)	"	5

187	66-7	..	Pt. Kali Charan (1)		
			Lala (2)		20
188	78	..	Kalicharan (1)	Pucca Temple	100
189	147-7	..	Sanwal, (1)		
			Bhola and others (2)	Pucca House	10
190	33-2	..	Matadin Teli (1)		
			Raghubar (2)	..	1,000
191	104-19	Sisamau	Puttilal (1)		
			Husaini (2)	..	100
192	104-17	..	Din Ilahi (1)		
			Husaini (2)	Kutch House	50
193	104-16	..	Mansaf (1)		
			Husaini (2)	..	50
194	104-28	..	Rukmin Shah (1)		
			Husaini (2)	..	150
195	104-33	..	Jamil Babu (1)		
			Husaini (2)	..	50
196	104-34	..	Musey Shah (1)		
			Husaini (2)	..	25
197	104	..	Maula Master (1)		
			Mulli Jogi (2)	..	25

APPENDIX II. (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description.	Cost of damages. Rs.
198	87-67 Bhaloojpurwa	Hasim (1), Mohamad Basir, Tulsi (2)	Kutchu-Pucca House	500
199			"	500
200			"	500
201			"	500
202				500
203				500
204		Dhanuk (1) Basir, Tulsi (2)		5
205		Momi Faqir (1)		
		Rahim Bux (2)	"	100
206		Yusuf (1) Factory (2)	Kutchu House	1,000

207	...	..	Rahmatullah (1) Factory (2)	Kutchha-Pucca House	400
208	87-65	..	Hafizuddin (1) Factory (2)	Kutchha-Pucca House	150
209	...	..	Alla Rahim Bux (1) Factory (2)	..	200
210	699	..	Badlu Badhai (1)	Pucca House	1,000
211	...	..	Dildar Khan (1)	Kutchha-Pucca House	5,000
212	205-454	Anandbagh	Haji Abdullah (1)	Pucca House	10,000
213	105-405	..	Haji Abdullah Gafoor (1)	..	10
214	105-455	..	Rahmatullah's sister (1)	..	15
215	...	Muslim High School.	Haipur Thekedar (1)	Pucca Mosque	25
216	99-1	Dalelpurwa Rambagh	Baba Mangaldas (1)	Kutchha House	200
217	88-239	Kokils Mills	Kunj Beharilal (1)	..	100
218	89-107	Dalelpurwa	Gurcharan Gurdayal (1)	Pucca House	5,000
219	89-109	..	Kunj Beharilal (1)	Pucca House	100

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.
220	91-129 HIRAMAN-KA- PURWA.	Kunj Beharilal (1)	"	50
221	59-119 Dalel Purwa	Kunj Beharilal	Pucca House	500
222	91-124 HIRAMAN-KA- PURWA	Dayashanker (1) Mosammat Tulsi (2)	Kutchha House	10
223	... Dipti-ka PARAO	Mannalal (1)	Pucca Temple	25
224	105-683 ..	Akbar Binda (1) Rambharose (2)	Pucca House	100
225	105-684	Nanakchand Sadiram (1) Jawahar Durgadatt (2)		500
226	...	Chhedilal (1) Rambharose (2)		200

227	58-239	„	Lala Kashi Ram Badri Prasad (1) Buddhu (2)	„	100
228	...	Iskulpurwa	Dulare Maharaj (1)	Pucca Temple	200
229	...	„	„ Misri Halwai (2)	Pucca House	25
230	697	„	Gouri Shanker Thekedar (1)	Kutchra House	70
231	...	„	Bhure Kumhar (1) Ajuddhi (2)	„	200
232	...	„	Babu Rajnarain (1) Newul (2)	„	200
233	...	Basayu Purwa	Sukham (1)	„	25
234	1-45 2-47	Bhaloapurwa	Mannalal Misra (1) Malkhan (2)	Pucca Houses (two houses)	500 500
235	87-80	„	Shivanarain (1) Ramcharan (2)	„	2,000
236	...	„	Mohd. Kasim (1)	„	1,500
237	105-793	Anandbagh	Noor Mohd. (1)	„	400

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.
238	105-712 Anandbagh	Mehdi Hasan (1) Lachhman (2)	Kutchra House	100
239	33-157 Chaklamohal	...	Pucca House	1,000
240	77-41 Kulubazar	Munney Dariwale (1)	Pucca Mosque	50
241	76-359 "	Nannu Kunjara (1)	Pucca House	50
242	76-247 Tarkarimandi	Alladin (1)	Pucca Mosque	50
243	81-70 "	Khalifan (1) Wajid (2)	"	50
244	74-99 "	Parbhudayal (1)	School	25
245	75-72 Ranjitpurwa	Bundi (1)	"	100
246	75-63 "	"	"	50
House found locked.				

			School	House found locked
247	75-64	Ranjitpurwa	Bundi (1)	
248	75-65	„	„	„
249	75-68	„	„	500
250	77-83	Kulibazar	Ghanshyam Jainarain (1) Sitaram Gopal (2)	Pucca House 200
251	77-86	„	Sitaram (1) Sitaram Gopal (2)	Kutchra House 75
252	77-87	„	Debi Choudhry (1) Sitaram Gopal (2)	„ 75
253	77-88	„	Sitaram (1) Sitaram Gopal (2)	„ 25
254	77-70	„	Thakur (1) Sitaram Gopal (2)	„ 2,500
255	77-99	„	Chhedi (1)	Pucca House 1,000
256	77-90	„	Munnial (1)	Kutchra House 3,000
257	76-412	„	Sundar Kunwar (1) Onkarnath (2)	„ 1,000
258	76-407	„	Baldeo (1) Onkarnath (2)	Pucca House 3,000

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.
59	76-106 Kulibazar	Raghubar (1)	Kutcha Pucca House	3,000
		Jagannu Tamoli (2)		
60	" "	Ramdayal Tamoli (1)	Pucca House	10
		Kaushalya (2)		
61	6-393	Mauka Teli (1)	Pucca Temple	500
		Bhagwandin (2)		
62	76-307 "	Durga Prasad (1)	"	25
263	78-200 Latouche Road			
	Khatikana	Lachhmandas	Pucca House	70
		Champaram (1)		
		Khuman (2)		
264	90-92 Anwarganj	Gujaini (1)	..	100
		Ganga Prasad (2)		

265	78-253	„	Maniram (1)		
			Jhinguri Kahar (2)	„	2,000
266	78-254	„	Hajarilal (1)		
			Jhinguri Kahar (2)	„	1,500
267	90-248	„	Ramcharan (1)		
			Bhikhan Singh (2)	„	50
268	93-168	„	Ramcharan Lal (1)		
			Mangal-Ramlal (2)	...	...
269	93-163	„	Ramprasad (1)	Pucca Temple	2,000
270	93-162	„	Lachhminarain Pujari (1)		
			Bisheshar Misra (2)	Pucca House	100
271	78-257	„	Ram Prasad (1)		
			Premnarain Cboubey (2)	„	5
272	78-266	„	Bhairava Prasad (1)	Pucca Temple	500
273	93-132	„	Baburam (1)	„	1,000
274	19-16	Ramnarain Bazar	Ajodhya Prasad (1)		
			Beni Prasad (2)	Pucca House	150
275	24-9	Gandhi Road	Kirasmat Ali (1)	Pucca Mosque	2,000
276	23-12	Patkapur	Ramswaroop Khanna (1)	Pucca House	4,000

APPENDIX II. (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description.	Cost of damages. Rs.
277	23-11 Patkapur	Seth Mahadeo (1)	Pucca House	2,000
278	23-27 ..	Chhoteylal Dalal (1)	"	20
279	23-18 ..	Narain Prasad (1)	"	300
280	23-19 ..	Umrao (1)	"	
		Ijad Ummaid (2)	"	10
281	23-3 ..	Annapurna Temple (1)	"	20,000
282	23-21 ..	Mangulal (1)		
		Girls' School (2)	Pucca House	8,000
283	22-26 ..	Ramswaroop Doctor (1)	Girls' School	6,000
284	26-16 ..	Karim Choudhury (1)	"	2,000
285	20-230 Chataimahal	Amjad Choudhry (1)	Pucca House	4,000
286	63-1 Harbansmohal	Narosa Saheb (1)		
		Hiralal Tilak Singh (2)	Kutchra Pucca House	500

287	63-35	Mughalsarai	Abdul Rashid Hamid (1)		
			Midhai Teli Mian Jan (2)	Pucca Mosque	3,000
288	63-34	„	Husain Bux Tobacco Merchant (1)		
			Ghani Ismail (2)	Pucca House	4,000
289	64-17	Gadariamohal			
		Ahata Gur Pd.	Gurprasad Mandirwale (1)	Kutchha House	5,000
290	64-11	„	Nannu (1) Gopal (2)	„	10
291	65-44	Motimohal	Ram Prasad (1)		
			Ramjan (2)	„	25
292	70-49	Mathurimohal	Badlu Teli (1)		
			Bandim (2)	Pucca House	2,000
293	70-50	„	Khyali Teli (1)		
			Baburam (2)	Kutchha Pucca House	1,000
294	70-66	„	Bhagwandin (1)		
			Durga Teli Mahadeo (2)	Pucca House	6,000
295	70-65	„	Maiku (1) Phullu (2)	Kutchha House	5,000
296	70-51	„	Chitana (1)		
			Phullu (2)	Pucca House	25

APPENDIX II. (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.	
297	70-85	Suturkhana	Ramjani (1) Phullu (2)	Pucca Kutcha House	2,000
298	71-94	„	Saidulla (1) Khairati (2)	„	2,000
299	72-88	„	Mohd. Sadiq (1) Munnekhan (2)	„	100
300	72-22	„	Rama (1) Kewul (2)	„	25
301	71-25	„	Mahtab Sahib (1)	Kutcha Mosque	200
302	71-24	„	Ahmad Abdullah (1) Asmat-Ullah (2)	Kutcha House	25
303	21-25	Chataimohal	Ghasu Matbadli (1)	Pucca Mosque	100
304	46-33	Lathimohal	Panchayati (1) Shakur, Hinna and Vaidhya (2)	Pucca House	100

305	48-266	Lathimohal	Vazir (2)	...	100
		Sarai	...	Pucca Mosque	10
306	55-83	Kahukothi	Nasrat (1)	Kutchha Pucca	
				Mosque	3,000
307	55-82	Nayaganj	Gurin Guru (2)	Pucca Mosque	200
308	49-51	Banbazar	Wajid Ali (1)	„	2,000
309	39	Nayaganj	Kallumal Pathshala (1)		
			Mohd. Hafiz, Mohd.		
			Nasir (2)	Pucca House	6,000
310	52-35	Collectorganj	Beharilal Mannilal (1)		
			Tobacco Merchant (2)	„	20,000
311	46-79	Banbazar Hatia	Bachchu Tobacco-Merchant		
			(1) Imam Bux (2)	Pucca Mosque	4,000
312	32-59	Ghumnimohal	Khalil (1) Imam Bux (2)	Pucca House	500
313	32-58	„	Karim Choudhry (1)		
			Hamid Thekedar (2)	Pucca Mosque	1,000
314	32-23	„	Karam Illahi Abdulla (1)	Kutchha Pucca	
			Hamid Thekedar (2)	House	200
315	32-61	Ghumnimohal	Alarkhan (1)	Pucca House	100
			Jamal (2)		

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.
316	32-22 Ghumnimohal	Maula Bux (1) Hanuman (2)	Pucca House	5
317	34-52 Churimahal	Abdullah Kunjra (1) Bhagwandas (2)	..	50
318	34-49	Banno Maniharin (1) Chunna (2)	Pucca Mosque	100
319	... Chauk Sarrafa ka Nukkar.	Gaya Prasad Library Darzi (2)	Pucca House	50
320	43-176 Chauk Sarrafa	Khairati Butcher (1) Ahmad, Karimulla, Achhan (2)	Pucca Mosque	100
321	... A. B. Road	Babu Teli (1) Munna Banarsi Sunar (2)	Pucca Temple	1,000

322	43-228	„	Piareylal Agarwal (1) Santlal Ratanlal (2)	Pucca House	25
323	43-229	„	Ramkumar Shivakumar (1) Sarju Prasad Kali Prasad (2)	„	25
324	33-25 Chowk		Kallan Rangrez (1) Kallu (2)	Pucca Mosque	150
325	38-5 Khasbazar		Anjuman (1)	„	50
326	38-73 Nariyalbazar		Razzak (1) Razzak Tobacco-merchant (2)	„	2,000
327	43-147	„	Abdul Jalil (1) Girdhari Manni (2)	Pucca Mosque	50
328	43-144	„	Yasinud-din Banswale (1)	Pucca House	5
329	38-68	„	Abdul Jalil (1) Abdul Rahman Hakim (2)	„	500
330	35-46 Bengali Mahal		Maula Bux Tailor (1)	Kutecha House	1,000
331	35-68	„	Rambharose Postman (1) Baij Nath (2)	Pucca House	1,000

## APPENDIX II. (Contd.)

## DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description.	Cost of damages Rs.
332	35-69 Bengalimohal	Jugalkishore (1) Kanhaiyalal Nasiban (2)	Pucca House	5,000
333	35-66 ..	Mahboob Kunjra (1) Shahamat (2)	..	2,500
334	35-49 ..	Gunge (1) Ahmadul Matabe Press (2)	..	1,500
335	35-65 ..	Jugalkishore Kanhaiyalal (1) Mangal (2)	Kutchu House	200
336	35-61 ..	Haji Abdul Aslam (1)	..	5,000
337	35-50 ..	Rasharat Tailor (1)	..	1,250

338	35-51	..	Bisat Khalifa (1)	..	1,250
339	35-52	..	Liaqat (1)	Kutchha and Pucca House	1,500
340	35-57	..	Fakhrud-din (1)		
			Bhula Kahar (2)	Pucca House	4,000
341	35-58	..	Amjad Choudhry (1)	Kunjra	
			Maulana Yasin (2)	..	1,000
342	...	..	Majid Kalan (1)		
			Piru, Piare, Badlu		
			Tillan, Batte, Chootey (2)	Pucca Mosque	25,000
343	21-60	..	Manni Jan (1)		5
344	21-61	..	Sohan Guru (1)		
			Munnijan (2)	Pucca House	300
345	21-62	..	Saijadi Jan (1)		
			Bullakan Jan (2)	..	5
346	21-63	..	Mianni Jan (1)		
			Baigum (2)	Pucca House	500
347	21-10	..	Usman Mian (1)	..	1,500
348	21-72	..	Yar Mohammad (1)		
			Baishya (2)	..	4,000

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.
49	21-66 Etawahbazar	Chhabbo Bibi (1) Mullu, Shammu, Bukkan and Chhotey (2)	Pucca House	5,000
	..	Umrao Jan (1) Badloo, Shamsu (2)	..	1,500
	..	Shyam Baishya (1) Sadan Chamar (2)	..	500
147	Mall Road	Moulvi Khaliluddin Ahmad (1) Suraj Prasad & others (2)	Kutchra House	20
86	Raipurwa	Rajnarain (1) Nawal and others (2)	Pucca House	300

354	27-27	Ruigodam	Salamat (1)		
			Faiyaz Husain (2)	Kutchra House	25
355	27	"	Bhaggan Shah (1)		
			Husaini & others (2)	"	50
356	73-23	Sadarbazar	Jamnadas (1)		
			Dwarka Kahar & others (2)	Pucca House	800
357	73-3	"	Jamnadas & others (1)		
			Gobind Prasad (2)	"	20
358	36-45	Khasbazar	Nawab Matru (1)		
			Piru & others	"	4,000
359	88-146	Premnagar	Suraj Narain (1)		
			Nanne Kahar (2)	"	10
360	88	"	Lachhman Teli (1)	"	100
361	88-186	"	Pandit Kalicharan (1)	"	150
362	88-67	"	Munna Sonar (1)	"	10
363	88-95	"	Maula Master (1)	"	10
364	88-33	"	Matadin Teli (1)	"	6,000
365	88-55	"	Tiyulal Halwai (1)	"	5,000
366	99-270	Kerana	Mohan Chamar (1)	Kuotha Pucca House	100
367	100-439	Colonelganj	Ehsau Ghosi (1)	Pucca House	100
368	100-438	"	Kalka (1)	Kutchra House	200

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

DETAILS OF BUILDINGS DAMAGED.

Serial No.	Mohalla and House No.	House-owner (1) Tenant (2)	Description	Cost of damages Rs.
369	100-441	Haji Badal (1)	Kutchha Pucca House	2,000
370	100-401	Pandit Ramautar	Pucca House	1,000

## APPENDIX III.

### LIST OF WITNESSES.

(a) Witnesses, examined on the spot.

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	Date of examination.
			1931
1	Syed Nawab Hasan Rizvi	Gwaltoli	Apr. 12
2	Nawab Nawab Ali	"	"
3	Shri Malkhe	Tamboli, Gwaltoli	"
4	„ Babu Lal Teli	Gwaltoli	"
5	„ Mahku Teli	"	"
6	„ Ravi Datta	"	"
7	„ Munnulal Siyaram	"	"
8	„ Hori Lal	"	"
9	„ Antu Bania	"	"
10	„ Vazir Mohammad	Shopkeeper, Bisatkhana	"
11	„ Shakir Ali	Gwaltoli	"
12	„ Alauddin	Tailor, Gwaltoli	"
13	„ Abdulmajid	Ahata Abdul Rashid, Gwaltoli	"
14	„ Nizamuddin	Cook, Gwaltoli	"
15	„ Chhotelal	Gwaltoli	"
16	„ Mubarak Ali	"	"
17	„ Gayadin	Colonelganj, Khati- kana	Apr. 13
18	„ Banwari Khatik	"	"
19	„ Ahmad Khan	"	"
20	„ Allah Bakhsh	"	"

No.	Name of the witness	Address of the witness.	Date of examination. 1931
21	Shri Kallu Mukhia	Colonelganj Khatikana	Apr. 13
22	„ Sanktu Prasad	„	„
23	„ Ganga Prasad	Eye-Physician, Colonelganj	„
24	„ Yusuf Husain	Colonelganj, Khatikana	„
25	„ Mohammad Saleem	Mohalla Jogiyana, Colonelganj	Apr. 14
26	„ Ajodhya	„	„
27	„ Dulichand	Colonelganj	„
28	„ Audan Galaria	Baldeo Singh ka Ahata, Sisamau	„
29	„ Muthra	„	„
30	„ Ram Charan	„	„
31	„ Abdussattar	„	„
32	„ Shabba	Thekedar, Colonelganj	„
33	„ Hai Fakhruddin	Patkapur (Mohamedan side)	Apr. 16
34	„ Badlu Chataiwala	Etawah Bazar, Patkapur (Mohamedan side)	„
35	„ Jawahar	Patkapur (Mohamedan side)	„
36	„ Kalicharan Teli's wife	„	„
37	„ Wahid Ali	Bengali Mohal	Apr. 17
38	„ Sadanand	„	„
39	„ Tameezuddin	Head constable, Parmat	Apr. 18
40	„ Girdhari	Dhobi, Parmat	„

No.	Name of the witness	Address of the witness.	Date of examination
			1931
41	Shri Shriram	Parmat	Apr. 18
42	„ Bashir	S/o Hafiz Halim, Parmat	„
43	„ Abdulgafoor	Jamadar, Parmat	„
44	„ Mathur	Parmat	„
45	Munshi Parmeshwari Dayal	„	„
46	Shri Khalil	Farrashkhana	Apr. 20
47	„ Mirza Ayub	„	„
48	„ Natthu	„	„
49	„ Abdussalam Khan	94/24 Farashkhana	„
50	„ Lakshmi Narayan	Shopkeeper, Generalganj	„
51	„ Riaz Ahmad	Farashkhana	„
52	„ Mahmud Mian	Munshi of Shri Ahmad Husain Mukhtar, Farashkhana	„
53	„ Basbarat Ghosi	Farashkhana	Apr. 20
54	„ Beni Madho	„	„
55	Hakim Abdul Hayi	Hiraman ka Purwa (Farashkhana)	„
56	Shri Devi Prasad	Anwarganj	„
57	Doctor Ganga Prasad Shukla	Deputy ka Parao	„
58	Shri Mahadeo	Shera Babu's Park	„
59	„ Ram Balak	Baconganj	Apr. 21

No.	Name of the witness	Address of the witness.	Date of examination.
			1931
60	Shri Sita Ram	City Kotwali, Collectorganj	Apr. 21
61	.. Noneet Lal Gujrati	..	..
62	.. Radha Mohan	..	..
63	.. Hafiz Abdul Ahad	Collectorganj, City Kotwali	
64	.. Bansidhar	C/o Saligram, Nand Kishore, Nayaganj	..
65	Dr. J. N. Dass	Shopkeeper, Dal- mandi crossing on the corner side	..
66	Hafiz Fakhrud-din	Ranjit Purwa	Apr. 22
67	Pandit Saligram	Cundaniwala Phatak, Generalganj	..
68	Shri Shanabud-din	Vegetable seller, Kahu Kothi, Shatranji Mohal	..
69	.. Ram Lal	Crosthwaite Hospital	..
70	Mangal Singh	Harbaus Mohal and Mogal ki Sarai Crossing	
71	Musammat Babbo	Bengali Mohal	Apr. 30
72	.. Satana Kunwar	Kotwali Gali	May 10
73	Wife of Lalla Mal Singh	99-171 Khapara Mohal	..
74	Shrimati Kashi Kunwar	Kanghi Mohal, Colonelganj	

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	Date of examination.
			1931
75	Shri Hiralal Singhanian	C/o Seth Kamalapati Singhanian	May 14
76	„ Kailashpati Singhanian.	„	„

*N.B.*—Besides these, eighty other witnesses were examined whose names have for some reason been omitted.

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### APPENDIX III. (Contd.)

(b) Witnesses examined in the Committee room most of whom also submitted a written statement.

No.	Name of the witness	Address of the witness	First date of examination.
			1931
1	Shri F. T. Fisher	Professor of English C. C. College. Cawnpore	Apr. 11
2	.. Narain Pd. Nigam	Advocate, Vice- Chairman, Muni- cipal Board, and Secretary of Bar A s s o c i a t i o n , Cawnpore	Apr. 12
3	.. Jai Gopal Dvivedi	Superintendent, Fire Brigade, LaTouche Road	..
4	.. Balkrishna Mahesh- wari	Shopkeeper, General- ganj	..
5	.. Muin-ud-din Ahmed Siddiqui	Vakil, Weston Road	Apr. 13
6	.. Sevaram Bhasin	Advocate, General Secretary, Kirana Seva Samiti	Apr. 13
7	.. Amarnath Tandon	Student of First Year D. A.-V. College Mathura Pd. Bajpai	Apr. 14 ..

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	First date of examination.
			1931
9	,, Masud Ahmed	14-4 Civil lines	,,
10	Hakim Hazirali	Editor, Nizam-i-alam LaTouche Road	,,
11	Shri Ramkrishna Nigam	Phoolmati Devi, Sisamau	Apr. 15
12	,, Murtuza Husain Abdi F. T. S.	Building Inspector, and Trust Attor ney, Improvement Trust, Patkapur	,,
13	,, Fida Ahmed Sher- wani	Civil Lines	Apr. 16
14	,, P. D. Gupta	Professor of History, Christ Church College	,,
15	,, Bhagwati	Khapara Mohal, Ba- conganj	,,
16	,, Bhagwandin	,,	,,
17	,, Chote	,,	,,
18	,, Ramswaroop	,,	,,
19	,, Hinga	,,	,,
20	,, Ram Shankar Avasthi	Civil Lines	,,
21	,, Baldeo Prasad	Khapara Mohal, Ba- conganj	,,
22	,, Lalman Vaisha	Bengali Mohal	Apr. 17
23	,, Nand Kishore	,,	,,
24	Shekh Wajid Ali	Ram Narain ki Bazar	,,
25	Shri Dwarka Prasad Singh	Vakil, Chairman Edu- cation Committee, Municipal Board	,,

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	First date of examination.
			1931
26	Shekh Mohammad Yasin	Bengali Mohal	Apr. 17
27	Lady Doctor C. B. Kamle	President, Cawnpore Women's Association, Mall Road	..
28	Shri Ramnath Seth	Advocate, Civil Lines	Apr. 18
29	.. Uma Shanker Nigam	Mukhtar and Revenue Agent, Nala Road Mosque, Sisamau	..
30	Khwaia Abdul Salam	Editor, Sadaqat, Residence Topkhana Bazar	..
31	Shri Sidh Gopal Verma	Pleader, Trusty of Anglo-Vernacular School	Apr. 19
32	Syed Mohammad Jamey	Feelkhana	
33	Shri Daresh Bahadur Raijal	Advocate, Shradhdhanand Park	
34	Doctor Hulas Rai	Medical Practitioner, Halsey Road	Apr. 20
35	Pandit Devi Prasad Tewari	Priest and Teacher, Anwarganj	Apr. 21
36	Pandit Hari Har Nath Shastri	Shradhdhanand Park	
37	Shri Madanlal Chowdhri Cloth Merchant, Rotigodam		
38	Syed Abu Mohammad Saquib	Khankah Shant, Baccanganj	..

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	First date of exam.
			1931
39	Shri Radha Raman Agarwal	C/o B. Pyarelal Agarwal 78-15 La-Touche Road	Apr. 21
40	„ Madho Prasad Agarwal	Churi Mohal	Apr. 22
41	„ Kedarnath Agarwal	Anwarganj	„
42	„ Dwarka	„	„
43	„ Gaya Prasad	„	„
44	Shekh Abdul Haq	Makhania Bazar or Shop-keeper, Chowk	„
45	Shri Abdul Wahid	Civil Lines	Apr. 23
46	Pandit Hriday Narain Hridayesh	Teacher, Municipal Middle School, Colonelganj	„
47	Shri Brij Narayan Mehrotra	Meston Road	„
48	„ Kanhaiyalal	Mutoolal ka Phatak, Etawah Bazar	Apr. 24
49	Maulana Riaz Ahmad	Bisatkhana	„
50	Shri Irfan Ahmad	Kala Khan's Ahata or Shop-keeper Misri Bazar	„
51	Hafiz Mohammad Siddiq	Bisati Bazar, Meston Road	Apr. 25
52	Munshi Bala Prasad	C/o. Ram Chandra Gupta, Advocate	„
53	Shri Mathura Prasad	Sarraf and Banker, Baconganj	Apr. 26

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	First date of exam.
			1931
54	Shri Kashi Nath Rao	Advocate, Hoolagauj, (Gadaria Mohal)	Apr. 26
55	.. Banwari Lal	Dhapali Mohal	Apr. 27
56	.. Satya Narayan Vaidya	Baconganj	..
57	.. Ganpat Singh	Karim ki Chakki	..
58	.. Jagannath Singh	..	..
59	Syed Ahmad Husain	15-132 Civil Lines	Apr. 28
60	Shri Ahmad Abdul Halim	Leather merchant, Colonelganj	..
61	Doctor Bishambhar Nath Bhalley "Free Mason"	Medical Practitioner Philkhana (Patkapur)	May 2
62	Shri Shyam Behari Lal	Advocate, Choubeygola	..
63	Shaikh Mohammad Ibrahim	Hony. Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner.	Grand Parade May 3
64	Maulana Shaikh Ghazi Khizar Mohammad	Patkapur	..
65	Khan Bahadur Bashir ud-din Ahmad	Municipal Commissioner, Bashirganj	May 4
66	Pandit Ram Ashray Bajpai	Hatia Mohal	May 5
67	Shri Ram Ratan Gupta	Chatra Mohal	
	.. Cloth Merchant		

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	First date of Exam.
			1931
68	Shri E. V. David, Bar.- at-Law	Civil Lines	May 6
69	„ Hemant Kumar Chatterji	Advocate, Municip- al Commissioner, Patkapur	„
70	„ Ram Bharose	Baconganj	May 7
71	„ Raghubar Dayal Bhatta	Nanghara	„
72	„ Gangadhar Ganesh Jog	Meston Road	May 8
73	„ Rai Bahadur Vikra- majit Singh	Civil Lines	„
74	Chowdhri Amjad Husain	Sabzi Mandi	May 9
75	Syed Zakir Ali	Near Kashmiri Hotel, Meston Road	„
76	Shri Mahadeo Prasad Srivastava	Proprietor, 87 Can- tonment	May 10
77	„ Bashir, B. Com. (London) F. R. E. S., Bar.-at-Law	Hony. Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner, Civil Lines	„
78	„ Hardeo Shastri	Kallumal ka Bagh Manna Purwa	May 11
79	„ Bhudeo Sharma	Moolganj Crossing, Hosley Road	„
80	Pandit Kishore Lal	Shraddhanand Park	„

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	First date of Exam.
			1931
81	Maulvi Abdul Wajid	Professor of Persian, Christ Church College	May 11
82	Shri Dijendra Swaroop	Advocate	..
83	Lala Suraj Narain alias Shera Babu	Moolganj, Shera Ba- bu's Park	May 12
84	Shri Daya Narain Nigam	Editor, 'Azad' and 'Zamana,' Naya Chowk	..
85	Rai Saib Rup Chand Jain	Hony. Magistrate Halsey Road	..
86	Maulana Peer Khan	Mauza Gabraha District	..
87	Shri Narain Prasad Arora	President, Town Congress Commit- tee, Patkapur	May 13
88	Doctor Murari Lal	Medical Practitioner. Civil Lines	
89	Shri Ram Narayan Rohotgi	C/o. Dr. Murari Lal, Civil Lines	May 14
90	.. Pyare Lal Agarwal	78/133, LaTouche Road	
91	Jang Bahadur Mehrotra	Municipal Commis- sioner, Chowk	
	Gangaratan Misra Jiwan Lal	Etawah Bazar Contractor, Sabzi- mandi Market	
91	Harj Mal	..	

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	First date of Exam.
			1931
95	Shri Kailash Behari Dwivedi	Chowk, Sarrafa	May 15
96	„ Balkrishna Sharma	Editor, “ Pratap,” Pratap Office	„
97	„ Iqbal Krishna Kapoor	Karachi Khana	May 19
98	„ Madan Mohan Pande	Badshahi Naka	„
99	„ Kanhaiyalal	Manna Purwa Baconganj	May 22
100	„ Prag	„	„
101	Shrimati Parvati	„	„
102	Shri Dhanku	„	„
103	Doctor Jawahar Lal	Civil Lines	„

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APPENDIX III. (Contd.)

(c) Witnesses who submitted written statements but for some reason, could not be examined by the Committee.

No.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	Date of statement submitted.
			1931
1	Shri Kunj Beharilal Gupta	Alwar (Rajputana)	Apr. 4
2	Professor Abdur Rahim	1, Jamnagar Lane, Calcutta	Apr. 16
3	Shri Kunja Beharilal Baipai	Purana Feelkhana	Apr. 20
4	Syed Aminud-din Haider	Humayun Bagh, Madrasa-i-Ilahi-ya'	Apr. 23
5	Shri Pooran Mistri	Public Works Department, Municipal Board	Apr. 24
6	Kazi Mohammad Inam-ullah	Ex-Editor, 'Sadqi-Muslim.'	Apr. 28
7	Shri Raghubar Dayal Misra	Shop-keeper, Collectorganj	"
8	" Nur Illahi	C/o. Haji Mahboob Bakhsh Ehsanali, Meerton Road	May 2
9	Hafiz Abdul Rahman	Pesh Imam, Hoolaganj Mosque	

N o.	Name of the witness.	Address of the witness.	Date of statement submitted.
			1931
10	Shri Mobammad Sharif Parcha	Cawnpore	May 8
11	Doctor J. P. Narula, M.B.B.S.	Medical Practitioner Generalganj	May 11
12	Shri A. Hoon	C/o. Dr. Jawaharlal, Civil Lines	May 13
13	,, Liakat Husain	Humayun Bagh, Opp. Muslim School	May 14
14	,, Goswami Narayan	Bhagalpore	May 16
15	,, Badri Prasad Pande	President, District Committee, Balhor	May 18
16	,, Ram Swaroop Gupta	Secretary, District Board	,,
17	,, Lachchu	Badshahi Naka	,,
18	,, Meva Lal	,,	,,
19	,, Balkrishna	No. 101-343, Colo- nelganj	,,
20	,, Durga Dutt Misra	Cawnpore Textiles, Ltd.	May 19
21	,, Lachmi Narayan Sharma	S/o. B. Chiranjilal, Premnagar, Sisa- mau	,,
22	,, Badri Nath Kapoor	Shop-keeper, Meston Road	May 30
23	Shri Mahadeo Prasad	Chowk Bazar, Fatehpur	June 25

*N.B.*—Thus the total number of witnesses examined is as under :—

Examined on the spot	...	156
Examined in the Committee Room...		103
Who sent only written statements ...		23
		<hr/>
Total	...	282
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## APPENDIX IV.

### CONGRESS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

(Appointed to discover the causes of Hindu-Muslim tension in Cawnpore and to suggest remedies for the same.)

### QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1 When did the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims begin to get strained in this city ?
- 2 Since when has the communal tension been especially increasing ? What have been the causes thereof ? What are the especial forms it has taken ?
- 3 When and what new communal organizations were started by either community ? What effect did such organizations produce on the relations between the two communities ? What measures were taken by them for producing such effects ?
- 4 What individual communal leaders, either local or from outside, have been working here, and what steps taken by them, if any, have tended to produce undesirable effects on the relations between the two communities ?
- 5 What was the attitude of the Government officials towards the activities of such organizations ?
- 6 What other causes have contributed towards the embittering of communal feelings ?
- 7 What was the immediate cause or occasion of the starting of the recent riots ?

- 8 Did the Government officials do anything before the commencement of the riots, on the 24th March 1931, which tended to accentuate communal feelings?
- 9 After the tension had begun, what measures, if any, did the Government authorities take to relieve it?
- 10 What efforts were made by the Government officials to restore peace after the disturbances had begun, and when was peace re-established?
- 11 What was the attitude of the District authorities, the police, and the military during the days of the riots?
- 12 Is it a fact that the local authorities refused to give timely help to responsible Hindus and Muslims, saying, "Take help from the Congress," or "Call Mahatma Gandhi," or other similar things? What inference do you draw about the attitude of the Government from such remarks?
- 13 During the days of the riot, what was the attitude adopted by the Hindu and Muslim leaders of the city and by local communal organizations? and what were the steps taken by them for restoring peace?
- 14 Did the local Congress workers, or any one in the name of the Congress, do anything before the riots, which could be regarded as a cause of the riots? What was the attitude of the Congress workers during the riots?
- 15 Was any fear of disturbance felt in the city before the riots actually broke out? If so, since when? Were any steps taken and by whom, to allay the same?

- 16 Is there any economic question at the bottom of these riots? If so, what?
- 17 Is there any general political question involved in these riots? If so, what? Is any other local problem connected with these riots?
- 18 Is there any purely religious quarrel at the bottom of these riots?
- 19 Approximately how many lives were lost altogether? How many persons were injured? How much worth of property was looted or destroyed? How many women and children were killed or are missing? What were the causes of the attacks on women and children?
- 20 How many incidents do you know of, in which Hindus gave help to or protected Muslims, or Muslims gave help to or protected Hindus?
- 21 Can it be inferred from the class of people who took part in these disturbances and from the manner in which the disturbances were carried on, that any previous preparations had been made for the same? Do we find any indication of pre-meditated or pre-organized action in the disturbances?
- 22 What measures can be taken (1) of a temporary and immediate nature, and (2) of a permanent character, for the prevention of such riots in future?
- 23 Did the students or teachers of local educational institutions take any part in the recent riots or in the endeavour to quell them?

- 24 Do you consider it desirable or necessary to take educational measures to banish communal antagonisms and prejudices from and promote feelings of unity and brotherhood in the hearts of the rising generations during their years of study? If so, what measures do you propose?

Cawnpore,  
9th April 1931.

SUNDARLAL,  
Member and Secretary,  
Congress Enquiry Committee.

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## APPENDIX V.

Map of Cawnpore (copy forwarded to the President,  
All-India Congress Committee).



## APPENDIX VI.

### Printed Papers.

1. Hindi Translation of our Questionnaire.
  2. Urdu Translation of our Questionnaire.
  3. Invitation letter to witnesses (in Urdu and Hindi).
  4. An appeal issued by us to the citizens of Cawnpore (in Hindi and Urdu).
  5. A notice issued by two of us concerning the Moharram dispute in Hindi).
  6. The above in Urdu.
  7. An appeal by the citizens of Cawnpore to His Excellency the Governor regarding withdrawal of cases.
  8. "Ram aur Rahim." a short Poem.
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## कांग्रेस जांच कमेटी

जो कानपुर के हिन्दू-मुसलिम-फसादात के असवाब की तशखीस और उनके इलाज की तजबोज के लिए मुकरर की गई है।

### सवालान्त

- १—हिन्दू मुसलमानों के पारस्परिक संबन्ध में यहां कबसे खराबो शुरू हुई ?
- २—फिक्रवाराना तअस्सुब और जोश कब से ज्यादा बढ़ा ? उमके बढ़ने की वजह और शकल क्या हुई ?
- ३—दोनों जमाअतों की नई नई फिक्रवाराना सभायें, संस्थायें, दल, गोल, जमीयतें, वगैरा कब कब और कौन कौनसी कायम हुईं; और उन्होंने दोनों फिक्रों के तअल्लुकात पर क्या असर डाला ? और इस गरज के लिए क्या खास कारवाइयाँ कीं ?
- ४—कौन कौन सी मुकामी (स्थानीय) या बाहर के खास खास फिक्रवाराना लोडर यहां रहे ? और उन्होंने ऐसी क्या क्या कारवाइयाँ कीं जिनसे फिक्रवाराना सम्यन्धों पर असर पड़ा ?
- ५—गवरमेण्ट का खय्या इन सभाओं वगैरा की कारवाइयों के मत-अल्लिक क्या रहा ?
- ६—जोश के भड़कने की और क्या क्या वजहें हुईं ?
- ७—इस मरतबा लड़ाई शुरू कैसे हुई ?
- ८—लड़ाई शुरू होने से पहिले यानी २४-३-३१ से पहले गवरमेण्ट की तरफ से कोई कारवाइ ऐसी तो नहीं हुई जिससे फिक्रवाराना जोश बड़े ?
- ९—जोश पैदा होने के बाद गवरमेण्ट की ओर से उमके रोकने की क्या तद्बोर की गई ?
- १०—लड़ाई शुरू हो जाने के बाद गवरमेण्ट ने अमन कायम करने की क्या क्या कोशिशें कीं ? और कब अमन कायम हुआ ?
- ११—जिले के अफसरों व पुलिस और फौज का खय्या भगड़े के दिनों में कैसा रहा ?

- १२—क्या यह सच है मि मुकामी हुकाम यानी स्थानीय अधिकारियों ने जिम्मेदार हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों को वक्त पर मदद देने से यह कह कर इन्कार किया कि कांग्रेस से मदद मांगो या महात्मा गांधी को बुलाओ, या इसी किस्म की दूसरी बातें कहीं ? इस किस्म के जवाबों में आपने गवर्नमेन्ट के मन्शा को निम्नतया क्या नतीजा निकाला ?
- १३—भगड़े के दिनों में शहर के हिन्दू मुसलमान लीडरान और जो सभायें और अंजुमनें वगैरा शहर में हैं, उनका क्या रवैया रहा ? और अमन कायम करने के लिए उन्होंने क्या काररवाइयां कीं ?
- १४—यहां के कांग्रेस के काम करने वालों ने या कांग्रेस के नाम पर किसी ने इस भगड़े से पहले कोई बात ऐसी तो नहीं की जिसे भगड़ा शुरू होने का सबब करार दिया जा सके ? भगड़े के ज़माने में कांग्रेस के काम करने वालों का रवैया कैसा रहा ?
- १५—भगड़ा शुरू होने से पहले शहर में भगड़ा हो जाने का क्या कोई अन्देशा था ? अगर था तो कब से ? और उसके रोकने की कोई तद-बोर की गई या नहीं ?
- १६—काई आर्थिक यानी मन्शाशी सवाल इन भगड़ों की तह में है या नहीं ? अगर है तो क्या ?
- १७—काई राजनैतिक यानी आम सियासी सवाल इस भगड़े की तह में है या नहीं ? अगर है तो क्या है ? या कोई और ख़ास मुकामी (स्थानीय) सवाल इन भगड़ों से तअल्लुक रखनेवाला है ?
- १८—काई ख़ालिस मज़हबी भगड़ा भी इस फ़साद की तह में है या नहीं ?
- १९—अन्दाज़न कुल कितनी जानें गईं कितने आदमी ज़ख्मी हुए कितने का माल नुक़सान हुआ ? और कितनी औरतें और बच्चे मारे गये ? कितने लापता किये गये हैं ? औरतों और बच्चों पर हमले की क्या वजह थी ?
- २०—आपकी जानकारी में ऐसे कितने बाक़यात हैं जिसमें हिन्दुओं ने मुसलमानों को या मुसलमानों ने हिन्दुओं को मदद दी हो या उनकी हिफ़ाज़त की हो ?
- २१—इस लड़ाई में जिस तरह के लोगों ने हिस्सा लिया और जिस तरीके पर दंगे हुए उनसे क्या यह अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि इसका पेशतर से कुछ बन्दोबस्त किया गया था ? और लड़ाई में कुछ तर-तीब और सोच बिचार की सूरत पाई जाती थी ?

२२—इस तरह के भगड़ों की आह्वानों को रोक थाम के लिए आपकी राय में फौरी यानी तात्कालिक तद्बोरे और मुस्तकिल (स्थायी) तद्बोरे क्या क्या की जा सकती हैं ?

२३—क्या इस भगड़े में या उसे रफ़ा करने में मुकामी तालीमगाहों यानी स्थानोय विद्यालयों के तालिमइतमों या शिक्षकों ने कोई हिस्सा लिया ?

२४—क्या आप जरूरत समझते हैं कि तालीमगाहों यानी विद्यालयों से फ़िर्क़ेखाराना तअस्सुब को दूर करने और आनेवालों नसलों के दिलों में मेल जोल के खयालान के तरक़ो देने के लिए हमें कोई खास शिना सम्बन्धा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये अगर करना चाहिये तो क्या ?

कानपुर,

ता० ६-४-३१

सुन्दर लाल

मेम्बर तथा मन्त्रो,

कांग्रेस तहकीकाती कमेटी ।

## کانگریس جانچ کمیٹی

جو کانپور کے ہندو مسلم نسادات کے اسباب کی تفصیص اور  
انکے علاج کی تجویز کے لئے مقرر کی گئی ہے۔

### سوالات

۱ — ہندو مسلمانوں کے تعلقات میں یہاں کب سے خرابی شروع  
ہوئی؟

۲ — فرقہ وارانہ تعصب اور جوش کب سے بڑھا؟ اُسے بڑھانے کی  
وجہ اور شکل کیا ہوئی؟

۳ — دونوں جماعتوں کی نئی نئی فرقہ وارانہ سبھائیں سلسلے میں  
دل مول جمعیتیں وغیرہ کب کب اور کون کون سی قائم  
ہوئیں، اور انہوں نے دونوں فرقوں کے تعلقات پر کیا اثر  
قائل اور اس فرض کے لئے کیا خاص کارروائیاں کیں؟

۴ — کون کون سے مقامی یعنی استھانویہ یا باہر کے خاص خاص  
فرقہ وارانہ لیڈر یہاں رہے اور انہوں نے ایسی کیا کارروائیاں  
کیں جن سے فرقہ وارانہ تعلقات پر اثر پڑا؟

۵ — گورنمنٹ کا رویہ ان سبھاؤں وغیرہ کی کارروائیوں کے متعلق  
کیا رہا؟

۶ — اشتعال یعنی جوش کے بھڑکنے کی اور کیا وجہیں  
ہوئیں؟

۷ — اس مرتبہ لڑائی شروع کیسے ہوئی؟

۸ — لڑائی شروع ہونے سے پہلے یعنی ۲۴ مارچ سنہ ۱۹۳۱ء سے

پہلے گورنمنٹ کیطرف سے کوئی کارروائی ایسی تو نہیں ہوئی

جس سے فرقہ وارانہ اشتعال بڑھے؟

۹ — اشتعال پھدا ہونے کے بعد گورنمنٹ کی جانب سے اُسے روکنے

کی کیا تدبیر کی گئی؟

۱۰ — لڑائی شروع ہو جانے کے بعد گورنمنٹ نے امن قائم کرنے

کی کیا کیا کوششیں کیں اور کب امن قائم ہوا؟

۱۱ — ضلع کے افسروں، پولیس اور فوج کا رویہ جھگڑے کے دنوں

میں کھسا رہا؟

۱۲ — کیا یہ سچ ہے کہ مقامی حکام نے ذمہ دار ہندوؤں اور

مسلمانوں کو وقت پر مدد دینے سے یہ کہہ کر انکار کیا کہ

کانگریس سے مدد مانگو یا مہاتما گاندھی کو بلاؤ یا اسی

قسم کی دوسری باتیں کہیں؟ اس قسم کے جوابوں سے

آپ نے گورنمنٹ کے ملشا کی نسبت کیا نتیجہ نکالا؟

۱۳ — جھگڑے کے دنوں میں شہر کے ہندو مسلمان لہڈروں اور

جو سپہائیں اور انجمنیں وغیرہ شہر میں ہیں انکا کیا

رویہ رہا؟ اور امن قائم کرنے کے لئے انہوں نے کیا

کارروائیاں کیں؟

۱۴ — یہاں کے کانگریس کے کلم کرنے والوں نے یہ کانگریس کے

نام پر کسی نے اس جھگڑے سے پہلے کوئی بات ایسی تو

نہیں کی جسے جھگڑا شروع ہونے کا سبب قرار دیا جا

سکے؟ جھگڑے کے زمانہ میں کانگریس کے کلم کرنے والوں کا

رویہ کھسا رہا؟

۱۵ — جھگڑا شروع ہونے سے پہلے شہر میں جھگڑا ہو جانے کا

کہا کوئی اندیشہ تھا؟ اگر تھا تو کب سے؟ اور اُسکے  
روکنے کی کوئی تدبیر کی گئی یا نہیں؟

۱۶۔ کوئی آرتھک یعنی معاشی سوال ان جھگڑوں کی تم میں  
ہے یا نہیں؟ اگر ہے تو کیا؟

۱۷۔ کوئی راجنیتک یعنی عام سیاسی سوال اس جھگڑے کی تم  
میں ہے یا نہیں؟ اگر ہے تو کیا ہے؟ یا اور کوئی خاص  
مقامی سوال ان جھگڑوں سے تعلق رکھنے والا ہے؟

۱۸۔ کوئی خالص مذہبی جھگڑا بھی اس نساد کی تم میں  
ہے یا نہیں؟

۱۹۔ تھمبلاً کل کتلی جانیں گئیں؟ کتلی آدمی زخمی ہوئے؟  
کتنا مالی نقصان ہوا؟ اور کتلی عورتوں اور بچے مارے  
گئے؟ عورتوں اور بچوں پر حملے کی کیا وجہ تھی؟

۲۰۔ آپ کے علم میں ایسے کتلی واقعات ہیں جن میں  
ہلدڑوں نے مسلمانوں کو یا مسلمانوں نے ہلدڑوں کو مدد  
دی ہو یا اُنکی حفاظت کی ہو؟

۲۱۔ اس لڑائی میں جس طرح کے لوگوں نے حصہ لیا اور جس  
طریقہ پر دنکے ہوئے اُن سے کیا یہ تپاس کیا جا سکتا ہے  
کہ اُس کا پیشتر سے کچھ بلدوبست کیا گیا تھا؟ اور  
لڑائی میں کچھ توتھب اور سوچ بچار کی صورت پائی  
جانی ہے؟

۲۲۔ اس طرح کے جھگڑوں کی اُٹلندہ روک تھام کے لئے آپکی  
دائے میں فوری یعنی تاتالک تدبیریں اور مستعلل یعنی  
استہائی تدبیریں کیا کی جاسکتی ہیں؟

۲۳ — کہا اس جھگڑے میں یا اے رفع کرنے میں مناسب تعلیم  
 لاکھوں یعنی استھانہ و دیالہوں کے طالب علموں یا استادوں نے  
 کوئی حصہ لیا؟

۲۴ — کہا آپ ضرورت سمجھتے ہیں کہ تعلیم لاکھوں سے ترقی وارانہ  
 منصب کو دور کرنے اور آنے والی نسلوں کے دلوں میں  
 مہل جول کے خیالات کو ترقی دینے کے لئے ہمیں کوئی  
 خاص تعلیمی انتظام کرنا چاہئے؟ اگر کرنا چاہئے تو  
 کیا؟

سلندر لال

کانپور

ممبر و سکریٹری

۹ اپریل سنہ ۱۹۳۱ء

کانگریس تحلیقیاتی کمیٹی



مہرنت ڈاکٹر جواہرلال

کانپور

مؤرخہ ۹ اپریل ۱۹۳۱ء

جواب من

تسلیم - آپ نے اخباروں میں پڑھا ہوگا کہ گرانچی کانگریس نے ایک تحقیقاتی کمیٹی اس غرض سے بلائی ہے کہ کانپور کے فساد کے اسباب (یعنی کارن) دریافت کرے اور ایسی تدبیریں تجویز کرے جن سے باہمی تعلقات (یعنی آپس کے سمبندھ) میں جو خرابی پیدا ہو گئی ہے وہ دور ہو سکے اور اس پاس کے مقامات اس مصیبت سے محفوظ رہیں۔

اس کمیٹی کی کارروائی سلہچر ۱۱ اپریل ۱۹۳۱ء کو تین بجے دن سے گھا پرشاد لائبریری میں شروع ہوگی اور اس کے بعد روزانہ تین بجے دن سے آٹھ بجے رات تک جاری رہے گی۔ کمیٹی نے سوالات کی ایک فہرست تیار کی ہے جس کی ۱۹۱۹ ہوئی نقل آپ کی خدمت میں بھیجی جاتی ہے۔

آپ سے درخواست ہے کہ اس کو ملاحظہ فرماکر ہر سوال کے متعلق ایسا فور کہا ہوا جواب تصویر فرمادیں۔ اور سکریٹری کانگریس جانچ کمیٹی کے پاس روانہ فرمادیں۔ اور اس فرض کے لئے کہ ان جوابوں کی روشنی میں آپ سے اور باتوں دریافت کی جا سکیں ازراہ کرم ۱۱ اپریل کو یا اس کے بعد جس دن آپ مناسب سمجھیں گھا پرشاد لائبریری میں تشریف لاکر کمیٹی کے رویرو اچھے بہانات قلمبند کرا دیں۔

اگر آپ چاہیں تو سوالات کے جوابات خود کمیٹی کے رپورٹ  
 بھجھ فرمادیں تاکہ اسی وقت اور باتیں دریافت کر لی جائیں -  
 آپ کی اس امداد سے کمیٹی کو اپنے نہک مقصد مہن بہت  
 کچھ کسبابی کی امداد ہے - اس لئے استدعا ہے کہ آپ اتلی سی  
 زحمت گوارا فرمانے مہن پس و بھھ نہ فرمادیں گے -  
 آپ کے خادم

بھگوان داس ( صدر )

ظفر الملک علوی ( ممبر )

سندر لال ( ممبر و سکریٹری )

کانگریس جانچ کمیٹی



माफ़त डाक्टर जवाहर लाल  
सिविल लाइन्स, कानपुर ।  
ता० ६-४-३१

जनाब मन,

तसलीम । आपने अख़बारों में पढ़ा होगा कि कराची कांग्रेस ने एक तहकीकाती कमेटी इस ग़रज से बनाई है कि कानपुर के फ़साद के अस्-बाब यानी कारण दर्याफ्त करे, और ऐसी तदवीरें तजवीज़ करे जिनसे बाहमी तअल्लुकात यानी आपस के सम्बन्ध में जो खराबी पैदा हो गई है वह दूर हो सके और आसपास के मुकामात इस मुस्लीबत से महफूज़ रहें ।

इस कमेटी की काररवाई शनिवार ११ अप्रैल सन् १९३१ ई० को तीन बजे दिन से गयाप्रसाद लाइब्रेरी में शुरू होगी, और उसके बाद रोजाना तीन बजे दिन से आठ बजे रात तक जारी रहेगी । कमेटी ने सवालालात की एक फेहरिस्त तैयार की है, जिसकी छुपी हुई नकल आपकी ख़िदमत में भेजी जाती है ।

आप से दरखास्त है कि इसको मुलाहिज़ा फ़रमा कर हर सवाल के मुतअलिक़ अपना गौर किया हुआ जवाब तहरीर फ़रमाएँ और सेक्रेटरी कांग्रेस-जांच-कमेटी के पास रखाना फ़रमा दें, और इस ग़रज के लिये कि उन जवाबों की रोशनी में आपसे और बात दर्याफ्त की जा सके कृपा करके ११ अप्रैल को या उसके बाद जिस दिन आप मुनासिब सभमें गया प्रसाद लाइब्रेरी में तशरीफ़ लाकर कमेटी के रूबरू अपने बयानात क़लम-बन्द करा दें ।

अगर आप चाहें तो सवालालात के जवाबात खुद कमेटी के रूबरू पेश फ़रमावें ताकि उसी वक्त और बातें दर्याफ़्त कर ली जायँ ।

आपकी इस इमदाद ( सहायता ) से कमेटी को अपने नेक मकसद में बहुत कुछ कामयाबी की उम्मीद है; इस लिये इस्तिदआ (प्रार्थना) है कि आप इतनी सी ज़हमत ( कष्ट ) ग़वारा फ़रमाने में पसोपस न फ़रमायेंगे ।

आपके खादिम—

भगवानदास (सदर)

जफ़रल मुल्क (मेम्बर)

सुन्दर लाल, (मेम्बर व सेक्रेटरी)

कांग्रेस जांच कमेटी ।

## प्रार्थना-दरखास्त

कानपुर शहर के हिन्दू मुसलमान भाइयो !

खुदा ईश्वर जिसका भला चाहता है जिससे मोहब्बत करता है उस पर पहले मुसोबत भेजता है और उसकी तरह तरह से जांच करता है। आग में डाल कर सोना साफ किया जाता है, उसका मैल जल जाता है, खालिस सोना बच जाता है। आज दस बरस से हमारे प्यारे मुल्क हिन्दोस्तान में खास किसिम के हिन्दू मुसलमान दंगे किये कराये जाते हैं। यही हमारे आखिरी जांच है कि हम इन दंगों से सच्चा सबक लेकर इनको दूर कर सकते और आपस में मेल और एका कायम कर सकते हैं या नहीं। अगर नहीं तो स्वराज्य भी नहीं। अगर हाँ, तो स्वराज्य हिन्दोस्तान के हाथ में रखवा है।

सब लोग जानते हैं कि कोई भले आदमी क्या हिन्दू क्या मुसलमान इस चाल का दंगा नहीं चाहते। मतलबी लोगों के वहकाने में आकर सीधे साधे मेहनत से रोटी कमानेवाले आदमी जांश या तैश में पड़ जाते हैं और एक दूसरे का भारी नुकसान कर डालते हैं और पीछे रोते हैं। मतलबी लोग अपना मतलब निकालते हैं, फायदा उठाते हैं, हँसते हैं, बगल बजाते हैं। उसका खमियाजा सकड़ों और हजारों बेगुनाहों को उठाना पड़ता है और शहर, मुल्क और काम की हर तरह बरबादी होती है।

कांग्रेस ने, यह देखकर कि झगड़े की जांच करके उसकी तह तक पहुँचना, इस झौमी बीमारी को ठोक ठोक तशखीस करना, और उसके दायमी इलाज की तजवीज करना जरूरी है, एक जांच कमेटी मुकरर की है जिसने गयाप्रसाद लाहवरी में हर गेज पिङ्गले फसादा के सम्बन्ध में प्रतिष्ठित हिन्दू मुसलमानों की और शहर के दूसरे लोगों की गवाहियां लेना शुरू कर दिया है, और जो उन गवाहियों पर विचार करके अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश करेगी। लेकिन इस बीच अब हिन्दू मुसलमानों के दिलों से एक दूसरे पर अविश्वास और एक दूसरे से डरको निकाल देना और इस उजड़े हुए शहर को फिर से आबाद करना जरूरी है।

इसके लिये सब से पहली चीज शहर के अमन चाहनेवाले हिन्दू और

मुसलमानों की मिली हुई पञ्चायतों कायम करना है जो अपने अपने मुहल्लों में फसाद करनेवालों को समझायें, फसाद को रोकें और मेल मुहब्बत कायम रखने को तरकीबें करें। इन पंचायतों की मदद के लिये हिन्दू और मुसलमान रजाकारों के मिले हुये दल भी जरूरी हैं। यही मुस्तकिल मुहब्बत पैदा करने का तरीका है। नगर के कुछ प्रतिष्ठित हिन्दू मुसलमान इस प्रयत्न में लग गये हैं। आप सब भाइयों का फर्ज है कि इसमें उनकी मदद करें।

दूसरी बात यह भी जरूरी है कि जो मुकदमे अदालतों में चल रहे हैं वह सब एक दम वापस ले लिये जायँ। जब तक यह मुकदमे चलते रहेंगे तबतक शहर में अमन की उम्मीद करना महज एक स्वप्न है। मामूली तौर पर इन मुकदमों में, अगर यह शहर की वद किरमती से चलते रहे, तो कई साल लगंगे, दोनों तरफ से लाखों रुपया खर्च होगा, अगर दस गुनहगार पकड़े जायँगे तो सैकड़ों बेगुनाह फँसेंगे, शहर के व्यापार और कारोबार पर बरसों के लिये मट्टी छित जायगी, आये दिन इस तरह के फसादों का डर रहेगा और किसी की जान व माल महफूज न रह सकेगी। इस लिये अब दोनों तरफ से रिपोर्त्स व शिकायतों का बन्द होना और अब तक के मुकदमों में किसी हिन्दू मुसलमान का पैरवी न करना और उनकी वापसी की सरकार से कोशिश करना जरूरी है। हमारी कमेटी की सलाह के मुताबिक शहर के कुछ मोअज्जिज हिन्दू मुसलमान इसके लिये कोशिश कर रहे हैं। आप सब भाइयों का फर्ज है कि आप उनकी इस शुभ और आवश्यक कार्य में मदद करें और उन सब भाइयों को जो शहर छोड़ छोड़ कर चले गये हैं मुहब्बत के साथ तसल्ली देकर बुलाबुला कर फिरसे शहर को आबाद करें।

तीसरी बात, वदी में से नेकी पैदा करने को यह बहुत जरूरी है कि गुरुसा बढ़ानेवाली बातों को भूल कर मेल मुहब्बत बढ़ानेवाली बातें जाहिर की जायँ। आप लोग अखबार में पढ़ते होंगे कि तूफान आया और जहांज डूब गया। एक घन्टे के अन्दर करोड़ों रुपये के माल का नुकसान हो गया और सैकड़ों जानें जाया गईं। या कहीं भूडोल, जलजला आया शहर का शहर गायब हो गया। एक एक दफे में दो दो लाख जानें जाया हो गईं और सैकड़ों करोड़ का नुकसान हो गया। इसी तरह से हम लोगों को समझना चाहिये कि इस शहर पर भी पागलपन या जुनून का

भूडोल आया था, या कोई बर्बाद बीमारी आई थी जिसमें इतना जानो माल का नुकसान हो गया। हमारे गुनाहों का ही यह नतीजा था कि जो खुदा की तरफ से यह गज़ब आया। अगर गुस्सा करना ही हो तो अपने ऊपर कीजिये और कौशिश मेइन्त से यह याद कोजिए कि मुस्लीमन में किसने किसकी मदद की, अपने ऊपर जोखिम उठाकर दूसरे के जानोमाल की किस किस ने हिफ़ाज़त की।

ऐसी बातों की याद करने से और इनका चर्चा चारों तरफ फैलाने से लोगों के दिल ठंडे होंगे और मन में एक दूसरे के लिए मुहब्बत जागेगी। मुहब्बत जागने से इस दुनिया में सुख मिलेगा और दूसरी दुनिया में भी खुदा ईश्वर खुश होगा।

इन बातों का ध्यान में रख कर कांग्रेस की जाँच कमेटी ने—

- १ श्री इकबाल कृष्ण कपूर, वकील
- २ ,, एस० एम० सादिक ,,
- ३ . मुकुन्द चरण निगम ,,
- ४ ,, मुईनुद्दीन अहमद सिद्दीकी ,,
- ५ ,, गोपीनाथ सिंह ,,

की एक कमेटी मुकर्रर की है जो मोहल्ले मोहल्ले घूम कर ऐंमें बाक़यात के हाल जमा करेगी जिनमें मुसलमानों ने हिन्दुओं की और हिन्दुओं ने मुसलमानों की अपने ऊपर जोखिम उठा कर मदद की है और जानो माल की हिफ़ाज़त की है।

सब हिन्दू मुसलमान भाइयों से प्रार्थना दरखास्त है कि ऐंमें बाक़यात के जमा करने में मदद करें और जहां तक हो सके जिन लोगों की हिफ़ाज़त की गई है, उनके मुंह से इस सब-कमेटी के नामने सच्चा हाल बयान कराएँ ताकि वह ज़ाफ़ कर मुस्तहर किया जाय। आग से आग नहीं बुझनी, पानी से आग बुझनी है। गुस्से से गुस्सा शांत नहीं होता। मुहब्बत से

गुस्सा शांत होता है। एक दूसरे की बुराई की बातें बहुत हो चुकीं, अब एक दूसरे की भलाइयों की बातों को याद कीजिये और कराइये जिससे गुस्से पर पानो पड़े और मेल मोहब्बत जागे और आपका व मुल्क का सब का भला हो। इस सब-कमेटी के काम में दिल खोल कर मदद कीजिये।

भगवानदास,

सभापति ( काँग्रेस जाँच कमेटी )

जफरुल मुल्क अलवी ।

अब्दुललतीफ़ ।

पुरुषोत्तमदास टंडन ।

मंजरअली सोख्ता ।

(मेम्बर)

सुन्दरलाल

( मंत्री )

कानपुर २६—५—३१

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## پوارتھنا - درخواست

کانپور شہر کے ہندو مسلمان بھائیو!

خدا ایشور جس کا بھلا چاہتا ہے جس سے محبت کرتا ہے اُس پر پہلے مصیبت بھیجتا ہے اور اُس کی طرح طرح سے جانچ کرتا ہے۔ آگ میں ڈال کر سونا صاف کیا جاتا ہے۔ اُس کا مہل جل جانا ہے اور خالص سونا بچ جاتا ہے۔ آج دس برس سے ہمارے پوارے ملک ہندوستان میں خاص قسم کے ہندو مسلم دنگے کئے کرائے جاتے ہیں۔ یہی ہماری آخری جانچ ہے۔ کہا ہم ان دنگوں سے سچا سبق لے کر ان کو دور کر سکتے ہیں اور آپس میں مہل اور ایسا قائم کر سکتے ہیں؟ اگر نہیں تو سوچا جی بھی نہیں، اگر ہاں تو سوچا جی ہندوستان نے ہاتھ میں رکھا ہے۔

سب لوگ جانتے ہیں کہ کوئی بھلے آدمی کہا ہندو کہا مسلمان اس طرح کا دنکا نہیں چاہتے۔ مطلبی لوگوں کے بھکانے میں آکر سہدے سادے محنت سے روٹی کمانے والے آدمی جوہں وطمش میں آ جاتے ہیں اور ایک دوسرے کا بہاری نقصان کر ڈالتے ہیں، اور بہد میں روتے ہیں۔ مطلبی لوگ اپنا مطالب نکالتے ہیں، فائدہ اٹھاتے ہیں، ہلستے ہیں، بناہیں بجاتے ہیں۔ اس کا خمیازہ سیکڑوں اور ہزاروں بے گناہوں کو اٹھانا پڑتا ہے، اور شہر، ملک اور قوم کی ہر طرح بربادی ہوتی ہے۔

کانگریس نے یہ دیکھ کر کہ جھگڑے کی جاتی کڑے

نہ تک پہنچتا، اس قومی بیماری کی تھک

کرنا اور اُس کے دائمی علاج کو تجویز کرنا ضروری ہے ایک جانچ کمیٹی مقرر کی ہے جس نے گیا پرشاد لائبریری میں ہر روز پچھلے نساد کے سلسلہ میں معزز ہندو مسلمانوں اور دوسرے شہر والوں کی گواہیاں لینا شروع کر دیا ہے ، اور ان گواہیوں پر غور کر کے اپنی رپورٹ شائع کرے گی -

لیکن اس اثنا میں ہندو مسلمانوں کے دلوں سے ایک دوسرے کی بے اعتمادی اور تڑکوں نکال دینا اور اس اجڑے ہوئے شہر کو پھر سے آباد کرنا ضروری ہے -

اس کے لئے سب سے پہلی چیز شہر کے ہر محلے کے اندر امن چاہنے والے ہندو اور مسلمانوں کی ملی ہوئی پنچایتیں قائم کرنا ضروری ہے جو اپنے اپنے محلوں میں نساد کرنے والوں کو سمجھائیں ، نساد کو روکیں ، اور میل محبت قائم کرنے کی ترغیبیں کریں - ان پنچایتوں کی مدد کے لئے نوجوان ہندو اور مسلمان رضاکاروں کے ملے ہوئے دل بھی ضروری ہیں - یہی میل محبت قائم کرنے کا طریقہ ہے - شہر کے کچھ معزز ہندو مسلمان اس کام میں لگ گئے ہیں ، اور آپ سب بھائیوں کا فرض ہے کہ اس میں اُن کی مدد کریں -

دوسری بات یہ بھی ضروری ہے کہ جو مقدمے عدالتوں میں چل رہے ہیں وہ سب ایک دم واپس لے لئے جائیں - جب تک یہ مقدمے چلتے رہیں گے تب تک شہر میں امن کی اُمید کرنا محض ایک خواب ہے - معمولی طور پر ان مقدموں میں اگر یہ شہر کی بدقسمتی سے چلتے رہے تو کئی سال لگھیں گے ، دونوں طرف سے لاکھوں روپیہ خرچ ہوگا - اگر دس گنہگار پکڑے

جانہیں گے تو سہکڑوں بے گناہ پھنس گئے، شہر کے ہویار اور کاروبار مہینہ برسوں کے لئے خرابی پڑ جائے گی۔ آٹے دن اس طرح کے خوفناک فسادوں کا تہرہ رہے گا اور کسی کی جان و مال محفوظ نہ رہ سکے گی۔ اس لئے دونوں طرف سے اب رپورٹوں اور شکایتوں کا بلد ہونا اور اب تک کے مقدموں میں کسی ہندو مسلمان کا پھرو نہ کرنا اور اُن کی واپسی کی سرکار سے کوشش کرنا ضروری ہے۔ ہماری کھتی کی صلح کے مطابق شہر کے کچھ معزز ہندو مسلمان اس کے لئے کوشش کر رہے ہیں۔ آپ سب بھانہوں کا فرض ہے کہ آپ انہیں اس نہک اور ضروری کام میں مدد دیں اور اُن سب بھانہوں کو جو شہر چھوڑ کر چلے گئے ہیں تسلی دے کر بلا کر پھر سے شہر کو آباد کریں۔

نہسوی بات یہ ہے کہ بدی میں سے نہکی پیدا کرنے کے لئے اب یہ ضروری ہے کہ غصہ بڑھانے والی باتوں کو بھول کر مہل صحبت بڑھانے والی باتوں کی جانوں۔ آپ لوگ اخبار میں پڑھتے ہونگے کہ طوفان آیا اور جہاز تہرہ گیا۔ ایک کھلتے کے اندر کروڑوں روپہہ کے مال کا نقصان ہوا اور سہکڑوں جانوں ضائع ہو گئیں۔ یا کہیں بھونچال اور زلزلہ آیا اور شہر کا شہر غائب ہو گیا۔ ایک ایک دفعہ میں دو دو لاکھ جانوں ضائع گئیں اور سہکڑوں کروڑ کا نقصان ہو گیا۔ اسی طرح ہم لوگوں کو سمجھنا چاہئے کہ یاگلین یا جلون کا بھونچال آیا تھا یا کوئی دہائی بھاری۔ یہی جس سے اٹلے جان و مال کا نقصان ہو گیا۔ ہمارے گناہوں کا ہی یہ نتیجہ تھا جو خدا کی طرف سے یہ فسط آیا۔ اگر فصد کرنا ہو تو اپنے ہی اہل کھتے اور کوشش و مصلحت

سے یہ یاد کیجئے کہ مصیبت میں کس نے کس کی مدد کی، اپنے اوپر جو کہم اُٹھا کر دوسروں کے جان و مال کی کس کس نے حفاظت کی۔

ایسی باتوں کے یاد کرنے سے اور اس کا چرچا چاروں طرف پھیلانے سے لوگوں کے دل ٹھنڈے ہونگے اور من میں ایک دوسرے کے لئے محبت جائے گی۔ محبت جاننے سے اس دنیا میں بھی خدا ایشور خوش ہوگا۔

ان باتوں کو دھیان میں رکھ کر کانگریس کی چنانچ کمیٹی نے

- ۱۔ جناب اقبال کرشن کپور وکیل
- ۲۔ جناب ایس۔ ایم۔ صادق
- ۳۔ جناب مکند چرن نمک
- ۴۔ جناب معین الدین احمد صدیقی
- ۵۔ جناب گوپی ناتھ سنگھ

کی ایک سب کمیٹی مقرر کر دی ہے جو مسئلہ محلہ گھوم کر ایسے واقعات کے حال جمع کرے گی جن میں مسلمانوں نے ہندوؤں کی اور ہندوؤں نے مسلمانوں کی اپنے اوپر جو کہم اُٹھا کر مدد کی ہے اور جان و مال کی حفاظت کی ہے۔

سب ہندو مسلمان بھائیوں سے پرارتھنا درخواست ہے کہ ایسے واقعات کے جمع کرنے میں مدد دیں اور جہاں تک ہو سکے جن لوگوں کی حفاظت کی گئی ہے ان کے منہ سے اس کمیٹی کے سامنے سچا سچا حال بیان کروادیں تاکہ وہ چھاپ کر مشہور کیا جائے۔ آگ سے آگ نہیں بجھتی، پانی سے آگ بجھتی ہے، غصہ سے غصہ رفع نہیں ہوتا، محبت سے غصہ رفع ہوتا ہے۔ غصہ کی بانہیں اور

ایک دوسرے کی برائیوں کی باتیں بہت ہو چکیں۔ اب ایک دوسرے کی  
 بھلائیوں کی باتوں کو یاد کیجئے اور یاد دلائے جس سے قصہ پر  
 پانی پڑے، مہل صحبت جائے، اور آپ کے ماں کا اور سب کا  
 بہا ہو۔ اس سب کمپنی کے کام میں دل کھول کر مدد کیجئے۔

بھگوان داس

(صدر کانگریس جاتج کمپنی)

ظفرالملک علوی

عبداللطیف

ملظرف علی سوختہ

پرشوتم داس تلتن

مہراں

سلندر لال

(ممبر و سکریٹری)

کانپور ۲۸ اپریل سنہ ۱۹۳۱ء

## कानपुर शहर के वाशिन्दो,

कल शाम को जनरलगंज के चौरास्ते पर जो घटना हुई वह हम सबको फिर एक बार गहरी चिन्ता में डालने वाली है। तथापि इस बात के लिए ईश्वर को धन्यवाद है कि किसी प्रकार ज्यों त्यों करके सहयोग से मामले का निपटारा हो गया और कल की रात शहर में अमन से कट सकी। आइन्दा के लिये विचार करने से पहिले कल की घटना का ठीक ठीक हाल हम सब को जान लेना आवश्यक है जिससे कोई गलत फहमी न रहे।

शाम को छ बजे के कुछ बाद अलम का जुलूस जनरलगंज के चौरस्ते पर आकर रुक गया। हम लोग उस समय कुछ पीछे थे। अधिक देर होने पर हमने आगे बढ़ कर जुलूस के रुकने का कारण पूछना चाहा। मालूम हुआ कि जुलूस के साथ के कुछ मुसलमान भाइयों को दो साइनबोर्डों पर पतराज था। इनमें से एक गांधी सेवा-समिति वाचनालय का बोर्ड था जो चौरस्ते के इस ओर सड़क के बीच में लटका हुआ था। और दूसरा खहर भण्डार का था जो इसी तरह सड़क के दूसरी ओर लटका हुआ था। वाचनालय वाला बोर्ड इतना ऊँचा था कि जाहिरा उससे जुलूस में किसी तरह की रुकावट नहीं पड़ सकती थी। दूसरा बोर्ड इससे कुछ नीचा था। यह हम नहीं कह सकते कि उससे रुकावट पड़ती या न पड़ती किन्तु जिस तरह हो भण्डे का निपटारा करने के लिए हमने और कुछ मित्रों से तुरन्त यह फैसला किया कि खहर भण्डार वाले बोर्ड को एक तरफ सरका दिया जाय। चुनावे ऐसा किया गया।

हमारा ख्याल था कि अब मुसलमान भाइयों को अपने जुलूस के बढ़ाने में किसी तरह का पतराज न होगा। किन्तु इसके बाद जुलूस के साथ कुछ लोगों ने फिर वाचनालय वाले बोर्ड के हटाये जाने पर ज़िद को। हम लोगों ने और दूसरे भाइयों ने उन्हें समझाया कि बोर्ड से जुलूस में कोई रुकावट नहीं पड़सकती। उन्हें यहाँतक समझाया गया कि बोर्ड के चन्दगज आगे जो बिजली के तार लगे हुये थे वे बोर्ड की निस्वत कहीं नीचे थे और उन तारों पर उन्हें कोई पतराज नहा था। शहर के जो प्रतिष्ठित मुसलमान नेता वहाँ पर मौजूद थे उन्होंने भी इस बात को ठीक समझ कर अपने दूसरे मुसलमान भाइयों को समझाने का पूरा प्रयत्न किया। थोड़ी सी

बातचीत के बाद वे लोग समझ गये और बिना बोर्ड के हटवाये जुलूस का आगे ले जाने पर राजी हो गये। सब से आगे का हरा झण्डा जो रुका झड़ा था बढ़ा। यह झण्डा बोर्ड के नीचे से होकर कई गज साफ आगे निकल भी गया। ठीक इस समय दुर्भाग्यवश पास के एक छत्र से कुछ नासमझ हिन्दू भाइयों ने वजय की खुशी में आकर ताली पीट दी। जो मुसलमान भाई झण्डे के साथ थे उन्हें इसपर गुस्सा मालूम हुआ। उन्होंने फौरन तेजी के साथ झण्डे को दस पांच गज पीछे हटाकर रोक लिया और इस बात पर जिद्द की कि जब तक बोर्ड का एक तरफ हटा न दिया जायगा जुलूस आगे नहीं बढ़ेगा। यह देखकर कि इस तरह के मौकोंपर बार बार समझानुभाकर गुस्से को शान्त कर लेना इतना आसान नहीं है और कुछ हिन्दू भाइयों की ओर से भी नासमझी की बान की जा चुकी थी, हम लोगों ने तुरन्त वाचनालय वाले बोर्ड का भी थोड़ा सा एक तरफ को हटवा दिया। इस पर वहाँ के कुछ हिन्दू भाइयों का गुस्सा आया। कुछ लोगों ने ऊपर चढ़ कर बोर्ड का फिर बीच की ओर सरका देना चाहा, दूसरी ओर कुछ मुसलमानों ने इस पर जिद्द की कि बोर्ड का थोड़ा और एक तरफ को सरका दिया जाये। दोनों तरफ के भाव कुछ कुछ विगड़ने लगे यहाँ तक कि जब कुछ हिन्दुओं ने शांति बनाये रखने की नियत से ऊपर चढ़कर बोर्ड का थोड़ा और सिरे की तरफ खींचना चाहा तो दूसरे हिन्दू भाइयों ने उसे फिर बीच में को धक्का दे दिया और बोर्ड के ऊपर आपस में खींचा तानो होने लगी। इस स्थान पर हम कुछ सज्जनों के धीरज, उनकी नेक समझी, और उनके प्रयत्नों की तारीफ किये बिना नहीं रह सकते। एक तो शहर के जो प्रतिष्ठित मुसलमान नेता शांति बनाये रखने के उद्देश्य से ही जुलूस के साथ चल रहे थे उन्होंने अपने कमसमझ मुसलमान भाइयों का यह साफ साफ समझाने में कि उनकी जिद्द बेजा थी कोई परिश्रम उठा नहीं रखना, यहाँ तक कि चौधरी अमजद हुसैन साहब ने जिन का कास तौर पर वह अलम था साफ आकर सरकारी कर्मचारियों से जो मौके पर मौजूद थे हमारे सामने अपने दूसरे मुसलमान भाइयों की तरफ इशाग करने हुए यह कहा कि यह लोग न हमारा झण्डा हमें देते हैं न आगे बढ़ते हैं और एक बेजा जिद्दपर डटे हुए हैं। इस लिए हमारा अलम है हम उसे पीछे झोटाये लिये जाते हैं, हम आगे नहीं जाना चाहते।

इस पर हम लोगों का दुःख हुआ और चिन्ता भी बढ़ी। हम में से एक ने चौधरी साहब का रोना और केवल यह विचार करके कि हम झोटी

सो बात पर भाई भाई में आपस का वैमनस्य न बढ़े और बात की बात में फिर एक बार शहर की शान्तिभङ्ग न होने पावे मुसलमान भाइयों को विश्वास दिलाया कि बोर्ड को बिल्कुल एक तरफ सरका दिया जायगा। यहां हम शहर कांग्रेस कमेटी के उस मुख्य मुख्य कार्यकर्ताओं की जो मौके पर मौजूद थे और जो शुरू से अखीर तक किसी तरह दोनों ओर की ना-समझी दूर करने और गुस्सों को शान्त करने के लिए सराहनीय धीरज और दृढ़ता के साथ जी जान से अपने कर्त्तव्यपालन पर डटे रहे, और खास कर मुकामी हिन्दूसभा के मन्त्री पं० गधुवरदयाल भट्ट की प्रशंसा किये बिना नहीं रह सकते। जो सरकारी कर्मचारी वहाँ मौजूद थे उनका व्यवहार भी जहां तक हम देख सके हमें समझ और शान्ति की तरफ ही झुकता हुआ दिखाई दिया। केवल थोड़े से नासमझ या जिद्दी लोगों के कारण शहर के अमन में फिर एक बार खलल पड़ जाने का भय था। ज्यों त्यों कर मामला फिर शान्त क्रिया गया। कुछ हिन्दू युवकों ने बड़ी हिम्मत के साथ अपने दूसरे भाइयों के जिद्द करने पर भी बोर्ड को एक ओर सरका कर मजबूती से पकड़े रखा। किसी प्रकार जुलूस उस जगह से निकला। हम शहर के लोगों को भी इस बात के लिये प्रशंसा और बधाई के पात्र समझते हैं कि इतनी अधिक देर तक परस्पर भावों के बिगड़ने के बाद भी जुलूस शान्ति के साथ तमाम शहर में हो निकल गया और शहर में अमन कायम रह सका।

उन हिन्दू या मुसलमान भाइयों से हम नम्रता से क्षमा चाहते हैं जिनके भावों को कल के हमारे व्यवहार से किसी प्रकार चोट पहुँची हो। हमारा अभाग्य शहर पिछले भयङ्कर फसादों के घुरे नतीजों से अभी तक पनप नहीं पाया। हिन्दू और मुसलमान भाइयों के परस्पर वैमनस्य को दूर करने के लिए हमने अपने नगर के सब से महान् सर्वथा निष्पक्ष और सब से अधिक प्रिय व्यक्ति का बलिदान तक दे दिया। दोनों ओर के जख्म अभी तक हरे हैं। ऐसी दूरत में हमारा एकमात्र उद्देश्य केवल यह था और है कि हमारे हरे जख्म कहीं फिर से बहने न लगे।

आयन्दा के लिये दोनों ओर के समझदार लोगों से यह हमारी विनम्र प्रार्थना है कि वे इन छोटो छोटो बातों के ऊपर अपनी अपनी तरफ के ना समझ लोगों की जिद्दों को जिस तरह हो सके समझा बुझा कर किन्तु पूरी दृढ़ता के साथ रोकें। शहर के नेताओं और विशेष कर कांग्रेस कार्यकर्ताओं से हमें पूरी आशा है कि वे शहर में अमन कायम रखने के लिए

कल की तरह धीरज और दृढ़ता के साथ अपने कर्तव्य पर डटे रहेंगे और यदि आवश्यक हो तो नासमझ भाइयों के हर प्रकार के वार सह कर भी अपनी आत्मा की सच्चाई का परिचय देंगे और ईश्वर हम सब को बुद्धि और बल दें कि हम अपने और देश के हिताहित को समझ सकें।

ता० २६—५—१९३१

सुन्दरलाल

मंजरअली सोस्ता

(मैम्बरान कांग्रेस नाँच कमेटी)

## کانپور شہر کے باشندو

کل شام کو جنرل گلج کے چوراہے پر جو واقعہ ہوا ہے وہ ہم سب لوگوں کے لئے نہایت پریشان کن ہے۔ اس امر کے لئے خدا کا شکر ہے کہ کسی طرح جیوں نہیں سب بھائیوں کی امداد سے معاملہ طے ہو گیا۔ اور کل کی رات شہر میں امن سے گذر سکی۔ اب یہ مناسب معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ آپ سب لوگوں کو کل کے واقعہ کا تھیک تھیک حال بتا دیا جائے تاکہ کوئی غلط فہمی نہ پیدا ہو سکے۔

شام کو ۶ بجے علم کا جلوس جنرل گلج کے چوراہے پر رک گیا۔ ہم لوگ اس وقت کچھ بے چہرے تھے۔ زیادہ دیر ہونے پر ہم نے آگے بڑھ کر جلوس رکے کا حال دریافت کیا۔ تو معلوم ہوا کہ جلوس کے ساتھ کچھ مسلمان بھائیوں کو دو سہن بورتوں پر اعتراض ہے۔ ان میں سے ایک گاندھی سپوا سمیتی ریڈنگ روم کا سہن بورتہ تھا جو چوراہے کی سڑک کے درمیان لٹکا ہوا تھا اور دوسرا کھدر بھندار کا تھا جو اسی طرح سڑک کے درمیان لٹکا ہوا تھا۔ ریڈنگ روم والا بورتہ اتنا اونچا تھا کہ ظاہراً اس سے جلوس میں کسی طرح کی رکاوٹ نہیں پڑ سکتی تھی۔ دوسرا بورتہ اس سے کچھ نیچا تھا۔ یہ ہم نہیں کہہ سکتے کہ اس سے رکاوٹ پڑتی یا نہ پڑتی لیکن جس طرح ہوا جھگڑے کو طے کرنے کے لئے ہم نے اور کچھ دوستوں نے فوراً یہ فیصلہ کیا کہ کھدر بھندار والے بورتہ کو ایک طرف ہٹا دیا جائے چنانچہ ایسا کیا گیا۔

ہمارا خیال تھا کہ اب مسلمان بھائیوں کو اپنے جلوس کے

بڑھانے میں کسی طرح کا اعتراض نہ ہوگا۔ لیکن اس کے بعد جلوس کے کچھ ساتھ والوں نے پھر ریڈنگ والے بورڈ کے ہٹائے جانے پر اصرار کیا۔ ہم لوگوں نے اور دوسرے بھائیوں نے اُن کو سمجھایا کہ بورڈ سے جلوس میں کچھ رکاوٹ نہیں ہو سکتی۔ اُن کو یہاں تک سمجھایا گیا کہ بورڈ کے بعد جو بجلی کے تار لگے ہوئے ہیں وہ بورڈ کے بہ نسبت زیادہ نیچے ہیں اور اُن تاروں پر اُن کو کچھ اعتراض نہیں ہے۔ شہر کے جو ذمہ دار مسلمان وہاں موجود تھے انہوں نے بھی اس بات کو درست سمجھ کر اپنے دوسرے مسلمان بھائیوں کو سمجھانے کی انتہائی کوشش کی۔ تھوڑی بات چیت کے بعد وہ لوگ سمجھ گئے اور بلا بورڈ کے ہٹائے جلوس کو آگے لے جانے پر راضی ہو گئے اور سب سے آگے کا سبز جھنڈا جو رکا ہوا تھا آگے بڑھا۔ جھنڈا بورڈ کے نیچے سے ہو کر کئی کئی گز آگے نکل بھی گیا۔ تھہک اُسی وقت بدقسمتی سے قریب کے ایک چھتہ سے کچھ ناسمجھ ہندو بھائیوں نے فتح کی خوشی میں آکر تالی بجا دی۔ جو مسلمان بھائی جھنڈا لئے ساتھ تھے اُن کو اس پر فصہ معلوم ہوا اور انہوں نے فوراً تھوڑی کے ساتھ جھنڈے کو دس پانچ گز بچھہ ہٹا کر روک لیا اور اس بات پر اصرار کیا کہ جب تک بورڈ کو ایک طرف ہٹا نہ دیا جائے اس وقت تک جلوس آگے نہیں بڑھے گا۔ یہ دیکھ کر اس معصوم کے موقع پر سمجھا بچھا کر لوگوں کو پرامن کر دیا۔ اس قدر آسان نہیں ہے۔ اور کچھ ہندو بھائیوں کی طرف سے بھی سمجھی کی بات کیجا چکی تھی۔ ہم لوگوں نے ریڈنگ بورڈ والے بورڈ کو بھی تھوڑا سا ایک طرف ہٹوا دیا۔ اس

پر وہاں کے کچھ ہندو بھائیوں کو غصہ آیا - کچھ لوگوں نے اوپر چڑھ کر بورڈ کو پھر درمیان میں سرکا دینا چاہا - دوسری طرف کچھ مسلمانوں نے اس پر اصرار کیا کہ بورڈ کو تھوڑا اور ایک طرف سرکانا چاہیئے - دونوں طرف کے خیالات کچھ کچھ بگڑنے لگے - یہاں تک کہ جب کچھ ہندوؤں نے پر امن رہنے کی نیت سے اوپر چڑھ کر تھوڑا اور ایک طرف کھینچنا چاہا تو دوسرے ہندو بھائیوں نے درمیان میں کر دیا - اور بورڈ کے لئے آپس میں کشمکش ہونے لگی - اس جگہ پر کچھ لوگوں کے تدبیر اور اچھے خیالات کی تعریف کئے بغیر رہ سکتے - ایک تو شہر کے مشہور مسلمان لیڈر امن قائم رکھنے کی غرض سے جلوس کے ساتھ ساتھ چل رہے تھے - انہوں اپنے کم سمجھ مسلمان بھائیوں کو یہ صاف صاف سمجھانے میں کوئی کسر اُٹھا نہیں رکھی کہ اُن کی یہ ضد بالکل بیجا ہے یہاں تک کہ چودھری امجد حسین صاحب نے کہ جن کا علم سے خاص تعلق تھا انہوں سرکاری حکام سے جو موقعہ پر موجود تھے ہمارے سامنے دوسرے مسلمان بھائیوں کی طرف اشارہ کر کے کہا کہ یہ لوگ نہ ہمارا جھلدا ہم کو دیتے ہیں اور نہ آئے بڑھتے ہیں اور ایک بیجا ضد آڑے ہوئے ہیں - اس لئے ہمارا علم ہے اور ہم اس کو پیچھے واپس لئے جاتے ہیں - ہم آئے جانا نہیں چاہتے ہیں - اس پر ہم لوگوں کو تقلیف ہوئی - اور افسوس بھی ہوا - ہم میں سے ایک نے چودھری صاحب کو روکا اور اور صرف یہ خیال کر کے کہ اس چھوٹی سی بات پر آپس میں بددلی نہ پیدا ہونے پائے اور بات کی بات میں پھر ایک بار شہر کے امن میں خلل نہ پڑنے پائے مسلمان بھائیوں کو اطمینان

دلیا گیا تھا کہ بورڈ کو بالکل ایک طرف ہٹا دیا جائے گا۔

یہاں ہم شہر کانگریس کمیٹی ان خاص خاص کاروں کو جو موقع پر موجود تھے اور جو شروع سے آخر تک کسی طرح دونوں کو مطمئن کرنے کی فکر میں لگے ہوئے تھے۔ اور خاص تو مقامی ہندو سبھا کے سکریٹری پلڈت رگھو دیال بہت کی تعریف تھے بغور نہیں رہ سکتے۔ جو سرکاری حکم وہاں موجود تھے انکا برتاؤ بھی جہاں تک ہم دیکھ سکے وہاں تک سمجھداری اور امن کی طرف راقب دکھائی دیا صرف تھوڑے سے نا سمجھ اور ہندی لوگوں کی وجہ سے شہر کی امن میں پھر ایک بار خلل پڑ جانے کا خوف تھا۔ جہوں تھوں کو کے معاملہ کو ٹھنڈا کیا گیا۔ کچھ ہندو نوجوانوں نے بڑی ہمت کے ساتھ اپنے دوسرے بھائیوں کے کولے پر بھی بورڈ کو ایک طرف سرکا کر مضبوطی سے پکڑ رکھا۔ اور کسی طرح جلوس اس جگہ سے نکلا۔ اور رہا شہر کے لوگوں کی بھی اس بات کی تعریف کرنے میں کہ اتنی دیر تک سب کے خیالات بگڑنے پر بھی جلوس امن کے ساتھ شہر سے گذر گیا اور شہر میں امن قائم رہا۔

ان ہندو اور مسلمان بھائیوں سے بھی ہم معافی کے خواستگار ہیں کہ جن کے خیالات کو نکل کے ہمارے برتاؤ سے کسی طرح کی تکلیف ہوئی ہو۔ ہمارا بد قسمت شہر لکھنؤ نسلوں کے لیے نکلنے سے ابھی تک درست نہیں ہو سکا ہے۔ ہندو اور مسلمان بھائیوں کی اس بد قسمت کو دور کرنے کے لئے ہم نے اپنے شہر کے سب سے بہادر اور سب سے بڑے۔ ہمیشہ ناخدا دار اور پادہ محبت کرنے والی ہست۔

طرف کے زخم ابھی تک تازے ہیں۔ ایسی صورت میں ہماری صرف ایک درخواست یہ تھی اور ہے کہ ہمارے تازے زخم نہیں پھر نہ پہلے لگھیں۔ آئندہ کے لئے دونوں طرف کے سمجھدار لوگوں سے ہماری یہ درخواست ہے کہ وہ ان چھوٹی چھوٹی باتوں پر اپنی اپنی طرف کے ناسمجھ لوگوں کی ضدوں کو چس طرح ہر سکے پوری طاقت کے ساتھ روکیں۔ شہر کے لہذروں اور خاص کر کے کانگریس کے کارکنوں سے ہمیں پوری امداد ہے کہ وہ شہر میں امن قائم رکھنے کے لئے کل کی طرح صبر اور طاقت کے ساتھ اپنے فرض کو ادا کریں اور اگر ضرورت ہو تو ناسمجھ بھائیوں کے ہر قسم کے اعتراضات سن کر بھی اپنے قلب کی سچائی کا ثبوت دیں۔ خدا ہم سب لوگوں کو عقل اور طاقت دے کہ ہم اپنے اور ملک کے فائدہ اور نقصان کو سمجھ سکیں۔

کانپور ۲۶ مئی سنہ ۱۳۹۱ع

سلندر لال

منظر علی سوختہ

( ممبران کانگریس تحقیقاتی کمیٹی )

# बखिदमत जनाब गवरनर साहब बहादुर

संयुक्तप्रांत

जनाब आली !

हम हिन्दू मुसलमान बाशिन्दगान कानपुर की यह राय है कि जब तक हाल के हिन्दू मुसलिम फ़साद से तश्रल्लुक रखनेवाले तमाम मुकदमे उठा न लिए जायेंगे शहर की फ़िज़ा का दुरुस्त हो सकना हम सबका अमन और इतमीनान से रह सकना और शहर के उजड़े हुये हिस्सों का फिर से आबाद हो सकना कतई नामुमकिन है। इस लिए हमारी दरख्वास्त है कि जनाब जिस क़दर जल्द मुमकिन हो सके तमाम मुकदमात उठा लिए जाने के मुतश्रल्लिक ज़रूरी हुकम जारी करके हमें और हमारे वाल बच्चों को अमन और सकून से ज़िन्दगी बसर करने का मौक़ा दें।

आपके बखिदमत

नम्बर शुमार

नाम मुहल्ला

इस्तक़त

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## بخدمت جناب گورنر صاحب صوبہ متحدہ

جناب عالی!

ہم ہندو و مسلمان باشندگان کانپور کی یہ پختہ والے ہر تہ جب تک حال کے معاملات سے تعلق رکھنے والے تمام مقدمات نہ اوتھا لئے جائیں گے شہر کی فضا کا درست ہو سکنا، ہم سب کا امن اور اطمینان سے رہ سکنا اور شہر کے اُچھے ہوئے حصوں کا دوبارہ آباد ہو سکنا قطعی ناممکن ہے۔ اسی لئے ہماری درخواست ہے کہ جناب والا جس قدر جلد ممکن ہو سکے تمام مقدمات کے اوتھالئے جانے کے نسبت ضروری حکم جاری کر کے ہمیں اور ہمارے بال بچوں کے امن اور سکون سے زندگی بسر کرنے کا موقع دیں۔

آپ کے خادم

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## دام و رحيم

( ۱ )

تم دام نہو ، وہ رحيم نہيں ، دونوں کی فرض اللہ سے ہے  
 تم دين نہو ، وہ دھرم نہيں ، ملشا تو اسی کی راہ سے ہے  
 تم عشق نہو ، وہ پرہم نہيں ، مطلب تو اسی کی چاہ سے ہے  
 وہ یوگی ہو ، تم سالک ہو ، مقصود دل آگاہ سے ہے  
 کہوں لوتا ہے مردکھ بلدے ! یہ تیری خام خیالی ہے  
 ہے پھو کی چو تو ایک رہی ۔ ہر مذہب ایک ایک ڈالی ہے

( ۲ )

بلواؤ شوالا یا مسجد ، ہے اہلت وہی ، چونا ہے وہی  
 معمار وہی ، مزدور وہی ، مٹی ہے وہی ، گارا ہے وہی  
 تکبہ کا جو نچھ مطلب ہے ناقوس کا بھی ملشا ہے وہی  
 تم جن کو نمازیں نہتے ہو ہلدو کے لئے پوجا ہے وہی  
 بہر لونے سے کہا حاصل ہے ؟ فی فہم ہو تم نادان نہوں  
 جو بھائی یہ دوڑیں فراکو وہ ہو سکتے انسان نہوں

( ۳ )

کہا قتل و غارت خونریزی ، تعریف یہی ایمان ہی ہے ؟  
 کہا آپس مہن لو کر مرنا ، تعلم یہی قرآن ہی ہے ؟  
 انصاف کرو ۔ فسہر یہی کہا رہدوں کے فرمان ہی ہے ؟  
 کہا سچ مچ یہ خونخواری ہی اعلیٰ خصلت انسان ہی ہے ؟  
 تم ایسے بڑے اعمال پہ اچے نچھ تو خدا سے شرم  
 پتھر جو ہلا رکھا ہے ، سمیٹ ، اس دل کو ذرا تو نرم کرو !

# राम और रहीम

( १ )

तुम राम कहो, वह रहीम कहें, दोनों की गरज़ अल्लाह से है ।  
तुम दीन कहो, वह धर्म कहें, मंशा तो उसी की राह से है ।  
तुम इशक़ कहो, वह प्रेम कहें, मतलब तो उसी की चाह से है ।  
वह योगी हों, तुम सालिक(१) हों, मक़सूद(२) दिले आगाह(३) से है ।

क्यों लड़ता है मूरख बन्दे ? यह तेरी ख़ामख़याली(४) है ।

है पेड़ की जड़ तो एक वही, हर मज़हब एक एक डाली है ॥

( २ )

बनवाओ शिवाला या मसजिद, है ईंट वही चूना है वही ।  
मेमार(५) वही, मज़दूर वही, मिट्टी है वही गारा है वही ।  
तकबीर(६) का जो कुछ मतलब है, नाक़ूस(७) का भी मंशा है वही ।  
तुम जिनके नमाज़ें कहते हो, हिन्दू के लिये पूजा है वही ।

फिर लड़ने से क्या हासिल है ? जीफ़ह्र(८) हो तुम नादान नहीं ।

जो भाई पै दौड़े गुर्ग कर वह हो सकते इनसान नहीं ॥

( ३ )

क्या क़ल्ल वो ग़ारत खूँरेज़ी(९)—तारीफ़ यही ईमान की है ?

क्या आपस में लड़कर मरना—तालीम यही कुरआन की है ?

इन्साफ़ करो, तफ़खीर(१०) यही क्या वेदों के फ़रमान(११) की है ?

क्या सचमुच यह खूँबारीही आला(१२) ख़सलत(१३) इनसान की है ?

तुम ऐसे बुरे आमाल(१४) पे अपने कुछ तो खुदा से शर्म करो ।

पत्थर जो बना रक्खा है “सईद” इस दिल को जरा तो नर्म करो ॥

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१. योगी । २. मतलब । ३. ज्ञानवाह । ४. नासमझी । ५. राजगीर । ६. नमाज़ के पहले अल्लाहो अकबर कहना । ७. शंख । ८. समझदार । ९. खून बहाना । १०. अर्थ ध्याद्यय । ११. आज़ा । १२. उच्च । १३. स्वभाव । १४. कर्म ।

## APPENDIX VII.

**60 Photographs of Riot-scenes and Damaged Buildings**  
(forwarded in original, to the President, All-India Congress  
Committee).

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LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN, CAWNPORE RIOTS ENQUIRY  
COMMITTEE, TO THE PRESIDENT, ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COM-  
MITTEE, SUBMITTING THREE SEPARATE NOTES

AND

NOTES BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS.

From

Dr. BHAGAVAN DAS,

Chairman,

Cawnpore Riots Enquiry Committee.

To

Sirdar VALLABHBHAI PATEL,

President,

All-India Congress Committee,

Delhi.

Chunar, U. P.,

October 26, 1931.

DEAR SIRDAR VALLABHBHAI JI,

In continuation of my letter of the 4th inst., forwarding the main Report, I have to say that I am submitting herewith three separate notes also which should be read together with the Report.

One, a supplementary note, is signed by myself and by Pt. Sundarlal Ji, under date 4th October 1931, another, a separate note by Shri Purushottam Das Tandon, under date 23rd October 1931, and the third, a note of dissent, by Maulana Zafarul-Mulk, under date 24th October 1931. This last has been brought to me just now by Pt. Sundarlal Ji.

It is with very great reluctance that I add here a few words of explanation on one point, regarding procedure, which my esteemed colleague Maulana Zafarul-Mulk has raised in his Note.

He says that certain passages, which he reproduces in his Note, "Were deleted after they had once been discussed and passed by the whole Committee," and adds, "When I received the fair copy of the report I protested against this extraordinary procedure and am constrained to say that neither satisfactory reasons were given nor the deleted passages were restored, even on my request."

I quote as below from the letter, dated 11th October 1931, which I wrote to him from Allahabad in reply to his letter of protest:—

" . . . The Report was written in the last few weeks under perpetual discussion between the members present. It was exceedingly unfortunate that circumstances prevented you from being present at those discussions, otherwise, needed modifications satisfactory to all might have been made, and the deeply deplorable misunderstanding would not have arisen. I beg you most earnestly to believe that we did not realize that you had any feeling that any portion of the Report, except the Remedies, had been decided upon as final and unchangeable. . . . The Section on Remedies . . . was twice discussed right through in your presence. After the conclusions arrived at in your presence, not a single word has been changed in that section, excepting the omission suggested by yourself afterwards, by letter from Lucknow."

In fact, with the exception of the Remedies practically the whole Report was revised and re-arranged after Maulana Zafarul-Mulk left Benares finally in August. He has kindly agreed as to the rest of the Report (pointing out his differences of opinion in foot-notes and his

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Among the many false and dangerous catch-words, ideals, and ways of life which have come to India, together with a few good things, in the wake of "Western civilization" and Western domination, some of the most actively mischievous are "nationalism," "majority *versus* minority," "communal nationalism," and "economic nationalism." The "blessings" of this "rake's progress" which is called "western civilization" have cost us far too dear, in the way of pauperization and demoralization. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world but lose his own soul?" We have been losing both. We have lost almost all our proper means of proper living, and also nearly lost our soul, our Self, our Self-dependence, our unity, our Hindu-Muslim inter-dependence and brotherliness. We have gained, instead, utter dependence upon the stranger—so that our Motherland is even expressly called a "Dependency"—and that internecine jealousy and hatred which make up "communalism."

In the text of the Report, the growth of this communal nationalism under the fostering care of priestcraft and kingcraft, and its manifestation in communal riots, have been dealt with at length. Even if there were no other evidence available, the cruel taunts freely uttered by the police and higher officials, against Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress, to those panic-stricken citizens who ran to them for help in their dire distress, would by themselves show the kind of interest taken by them in the riots. These taunts indicate amply the darkness of

esteemed colleague felt strongly on the subject somehow and I could not induce myself to hurt his feelings especially as the question involved was largely one of what might be called technical propriety. The substance of the evidence, as said before, is already given in the Report, and the percentages are obviously more or less rough-and-ready and cannot be taken as exact. They signify only this that many of the Cawnpore Congress workers were not able to rise to that high level of being superior to all orthodoxy, and of loving all mankind utterly irrespective of creed, which was attained by Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, and was illustrated by him in that supreme self-sacrifice of which the Scriptures say that "Greater love than this hath no man than that he give his life for his brothers."

Yours sincerely

BHAGAVAN DAS.

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the avaricious, proud and guileful spirit which animates that organism, that whole evil system of utterly irresponsible autocratic Government, whereof these individual officials form cells and tissues and organs, and which makes them feel themselves to be public-masters instead of public-servants and kills their sense of the sacred duty they owe to the people, whose salt they eat, of giving them helpful and protective service whenever needed.

Separate electorates, the latest device of that system of statecraft of "divide et impera," are inseparably connected with the notion of "majority *versus* minority." This notion—that a majority always tyrannizes over a minority—has been latterly exploited by interested parties for all it is worth, to divide Hindu from Muslim. In twelve whole centuries, the Hindu population of India has decreased from about 100 per cent to about 65 per cent, and the Muslim increased from *nil* to about 25 per cent, the remaining 10 per cent being covered by other religions, Christian, Parsi, etc. This fact is mathematical proof, on the one hand, that Islam has spread very, very, little by the sword, somewhat more by unobtrusive political and official influence in peaceful times, and immensely more because of the internal religious degeneration of the Hindus and the tyrannies of their own irrational rigidly hereditary caste-system and don't-touchism, from which the simpler faith and more solidarior brotherhood of Islam offers a means of easy escape; that the shrinkage of Hinduism has not been much greater can only be due to the continuing existence therein of a strong and healthy set of principles which seems capable of sloughing off

some day, the rotted surface of evil practices, and of putting forth new branches which will intertwine happily with those of sister faiths. On the other hand, it is even stronger proof, if possible, that the Hindu "majority" has never thought of tyrannizing over the Muslim or Christian or Parsi "minorities," but has, on the contrary, fostered them and allowed them to grow at its own expense—to say nothing of the fact that the "Hindu majority" is a myth, for the so-called majority is only a heterogeneous mass of separate small (some of these ridiculously small) minorities. More; we see plainly that in every country to-day, even in this "age of democracy," it is the compact minority which rules successfully over the loose so-called majority; and not the majority over the minority. What can be more glaringly patent than that, in India, the all-powerful bureaucacy is an infinitesimal minority. Yet the *Maya* of Western catchwords is preventing Hindus and Muslims from seeing even these mathematical and ocular proofs, and from uniting into a homogeneous nation, as the Japanese Shintoists, Buddhists, and Christians have done, and is, instead, giving impetus to artificial Tabligh and Shuddhi by unfair means—both most harmful to the national cause and the latter a failure too because of the "hereditariness" of the "caste system"—to increase numbers and secure more votes and seats.

This hypnotic power of catch-phrases about majority and minority is preventing us from seeing that mutual distrust is a psychological and ethical disease, and that the remedy for such disease must be psychological and ethical also. It cannot be anything mechanical in the shape of election devices, or arithmetical in the way of

fixing the numbers of the wearers of utterly artificial orthodox labels of different kinds. Good and wise laws can be made only by good and wise legislators, not by wearers of creedal names as such. How to secure pure, impartial, as well as experienced legislators, ethically as well as intellectually fit, and therefore trusted by all alike—this problem of problems should engage our attention first and foremost, not how many legislators should bear what communal names. If we can solve this problem satisfactorily, then the communal problem will disappear of itself. If not, then we will only see repeated on a smaller scale, in the legislatures, the communal discord, and even now and then the violence perhaps, that we are witnessing outside.

The remedies which we have suggested for this psychical disease of communalism are therefore largely of the nature of constitutional alternatives rather than temporizing palliatives, such as have been experimented with unsuccessfully by Unity Conferences and Enquiry Committees in the past. Attempts to film up old ulcers superficially, by hurried patch-work, are very futile, are indeed worse than useless. They aggravate the disease. Deep diagnosis and radical remedies are indispensable, if we sincerely wish to cure the disease. As the works on Ayur-Veda (medicine) say: *Kāraṇam chikitsyam, na kāryam.* is the cause of the disease which should be treated, not the symptoms."

Among the suggestions we have offered three are radical. (1) the countrywide promulgation (through press, platform, and educational institution, especially the last) of the common and permanent essentials of all religions.

as distinguished from the peculiar non-essentials which vary with time, place, and circumstances, (2) the diffusion of knowledge of the true history of the relations of Hinduism and Islam in India, and (3) the replacement of the present hereditary caste system of the Hindus by a genuine psychologically scientific social organization of four main vocational classes by temperament and aptitude, which social organization will be capable of including all persons without any necessity of change of creeds.

By the first, we will spread throughout the land that Self-dependence on our higher Self, our better nature, which alone can successfully and permanently overcome theocracy as well as bureaucracy, priestcraft as well as kingcraft, perverted spiritual power as well as temporal power which instead of serving God, by uplifting human beings and curing their natural weaknesses, are serving Satan, by deliberately aggravating those weaknesses, sowing discord between brethren and pauperizing, demoralizing, and degrading them, filling their bodies with intoxicating drugs and drinks and evil foods, and their minds with religious, political, and economic superstitions, fears, and hatreds. By it also we will raise the general level of character, and evolve more and more good as well as wise persons, through whom we will secure that pure education and pure legislation in all respects which are the only foundation of real civilization—the civilization in which righteous impulsion from within will by and by render legal compulsion from without more and more unnecessary.

So will humanity gradually rise to that spiritual height where it will sense the presence of the One Supreme

Spirit in all life, will realize Universal Brotherhood, and will, in the practical exercise of that realization, regard the outer forms of religion as a barrier rather than a help, and feel

“Na varna na varnāśhrām-Achāra-dharmāh.”

(Shankara.)

“Na Tarsā na Yohūdi-am na Gabram na Musalmān-am.”

(Shams Tabrez.)

Not until human beings are taught that all religions are one at heart, will human beings themselves become one in heart. To teach men that their religions conflict with one another and then to say or hope that they themselves should not conflict with one another, is indeed fatuous. One great advantage amidst the disadvantages of modern civilization is that the spread of science, the stimulation of the spirit of questioning, the extension of general intelligence, makes it possible to effectively broadcast the truth that the fundamentals of all religions are the same. Only a resolute band of workers is needed who will do it.

By the second, *i. e.*, the extensive teaching of the right history of Hindu and Muslim relations, we shall purge the atmosphere of the country from the poisonous notion that Islam has spread by the sword. This notion is entertained now not only by the Hindus but also by the Muslims. It is doubly mischievous. It breeds a provocative conceit of religio-martial prowess and glory in the latter, and a wrathful indignation and a spirit of “la revanche” and reprisal in the former. It should be destroyed at all costs. Wise minds in the West are beginning to see that before armaments can be abolished or

even reduced, war-mentality must be abolished or considerably reduced; and that to achieve this, the first and most indispensable step is to eliminate from the school and college text-books of history all nationalistic and commuualistic boasting and vaunting for self and contempt and vituperation for others.\*

So only can be made possible that voluntary fusion of all that is best in all the cultures which at present have their home in India but are unfortunately clashing with each other, of which Mahatma Gandhi has written, as

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\* Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of his last speech, at the Plenary Session of the R. T. Conference, in London, said, "Were Hindus and Musalmans and Sikhs always at war with one another when there was no British rule? . . . We have chapter and verse given to us by Hindu historians and by Musalman historians to say that we were living in comparative peace then. . . . The late Maulana Muhammad Ali often used to tell me, 'If God gives me life, I propose to write the history of Musalman rule in India; and then I will show, through documents that British people have preserved . . . that the Mogul rule was not so bad as it has been shown to us in British History.' . . . And so have Hindu historians written. This quarrel is not old; this quarrel is coeval with this acute shame. I dare to say, it is coeval with the British advent, and immediately this . . . unnatural relationship between Great Britain and India is transformed into a natural relationship . . . a voluntary partnership, . . . you will find that Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Christians, untouchables, will all live together as one man."

The first part of this Report, the Historical Retrospect, endeavours to do, all too imperfectly, what Maulana Muhammad Ali was prevented by a lamentably premature death from doing.

creating an Indian culture and civilization "neither Hindu nor Muslim, nor any other wholly," but "a fusion of all and essentially eastern." \* So only will be made possible that condition of things of which he has again written, "By religion we may be different, as a nation we should be one and indivisible. We will choose our legislators and appoint servants *for their merits* irrespective of their religion or race."

By the application of the third remedy (which is primarily the task of the Hindus, obviously), scientifically and systematically, the fusion will be made actual, practical, and complete, of Hindu and Muslim as well as other cultures in respect of their best elements, without any loss of individual freedom in religion, and with collective gain of solution of many difficult educational, domestic, economic and political problems, incidentally.

There is an idea afloat that the communal conflict is not really religious, but politico-economical. Were it so, the conflict would be only between the "haves," on the one side, and the "have nots" on the other, as in European countries; between the rich and powerful Hindus as well as Muslims, on the one side, and the poor and powerless Hindus as well as Muslims on the other. This is obviously not the case. Therefore we *have* to deal with the religious aspect of the problem most carefully. Of course, the politico-economical aspect is not to be neglected. It is equally important. Imperialism and Mammonism are far

\* "Young India," 30th April, 1931.

† *Ibid.*, 16th July, 1931.

more murderous than communalism. All history proves it. The recent Great War emphasizes the fact terribly. The whole world is still reeling and agonizing from its effects. And the ruler has often made a catspaw of the priest; though the reverse is also true. The material politico-economical aspect is therefore deeply important. But it is *not* more important than the religious, or (since the word religion has fallen on evil days and has gathered associations which repel many) let us say, the spiritual aspect. This is so, because the seed of imperialism, militarism, capitalism, and all the implied lust, hate, greed, pride, jealousy, and mutual fear, whose concentrated madness causes wars and oppressions, and provokes revolutions, is irreligiousness in the deepest sense of the word, *i.e.*, selfishness, the reign of the lower self in the hearts of men. The politico-economical problem can be solved effectively only if we have just and philanthropic persons, *i.e.*, persons in whose hearts the true SWA, the higher SELF, reigns, in the separate Legislatures of the several nations, and also in a singly genuine and sincere League of all the Nations, in place of self-seeking, astute, glib debaters and opportunist schemers. Only such legislators and Leaguers will be able to create a social organization which will adjust and satisfy the psycho-physical, and as subservient to them, the economic, requirements of all sections of all peoples, and give real Swa-ráj to all countries. We must never forget that politics are rooted in economics, and economics in psycho-physics and personal character and life-ideals.

It will not be out of place here to observe that though kingcraft may appear to be the more immediate and more powerful factor, yet priestcraft is the deeper and more

fundamental cause of the present unhappy condition of this country. It is priestcraft which has created the opportunity and provided the material for the operations of kingcraft in India. Our own religious and religio-political leaders, both Hindu and Muslim, are far more to blame than the strangers. As the English proverb says, "If fools provide feasts, why should not clever men eat them?" If Indians will quarrel among themselves, why should not foreigners profit thereby? And it is our priests and our communalist guides who are primarily responsible for the communal antagonisms, however much a selfish temporal power may be interested in fostering and fomenting those antagonisms.

In connection with these economic requirements arises the special need here to point out the mischief of "economic nationalism." Periodic and futile, yet baneful, efforts at mutual economic boycott by Hindus and Muslims after every serious riots, have been dealt with in the Report, and an extract has been given from a deposition in which reference is made to the notion that Hindus are trying to harm Muslims economically. That partiality is shown by persons in office to members of their own community as against those of the other is, of course a belief common to both. But this is another notion. "Hindus are responsible for a general economic and educational backwardness in the Muslim community." And its spread is being promoted diligently

<sup>1</sup> Some aspects of it were dealt with in a pamphlet, "How to bring about Hindu-Muslim Unity," prepared by Maulana Azad Subhani and Shri Bhagavan Das jointly, and published in 1923.

by short-sighted ill-wishers of India. It is obvious that if it is allowed to persist and spread, whether there be any truth in it or not, it must seriously aggravate ill-will between the two. It behoves the Congress, therefore, to remove it and its causes by all means.

I. We would therefore suggest that the following be added to the Remedies under the head "II. Politico-Economical."

"10 (a). With reference to the notion which has been obtaining currency in the Muslim Community that that community generally is poorer and less educated than the Hindu community, and that this is due to the manoeuvres of the latter, it is desirable that the Congress should appoint a special committee of Congress Muslims to go into the question thoroughly and ascertain—

"(a) Whether it is or is not a fact that, class for class and occupation for occupation, Muslims are poorer and less educated than Hindus;

"(b) If they are, whether the causes of this state of things are internal, such as, special laws of inheritance, ways of life, the growth of weaknesses corresponding to the Hindu degeneration, standing aloof from the new education for many decades, relaxation of enterprise because of the hope of preferential treatment by the foreign Government, etc., or external, such as, improper action on the part of Hindus, or of the foreign Government aiding foreign competitors in trades and industries, etc.; or both; and

"(c) If so, what are the remedies."

II. As regards the suggestion No. 8 under the head "III. Social" (*re.* Cow-sacrifice, etc.), we wish to make

our position clear. We subscribe to the suggestion fully, because, after the most careful heart-searching, our conscience tells us that the wording is in strict accord with justice, and that so long as Hindus continue to offer sacrifices of any animals themselves, and sell cattle to butchers, as they do, they cannot justly claim injunction against any others in respect of cow-sacrifices or cattle-slaughter in the name of religion. But to us personally, beef and pork and all animal foods of any kind stand on the same level and are equally to be eschewed. So, too, we personally do not believe that any blood-sacrifice is acceptable to the God of all living beings, whether the sacrifice be offered by Hindu or Muslim or Jew. We humbly believe that the only sacrifice acceptable to him is self-sacrifice. We prefer, in this respect, to regard those words of the Quran as most worthy of being followed which declare that, "Neither the flesh nor the blood of these victims of sacrifice reaches Allah; what reaches Him is that ye guard yourselves against evil and keep yourselves pure." (Sura al-Hajj, ch. 22, v. 37.) We believe that, ultimately, when sentiment and reason come into conformity with each other, the whole question of the slaughter and the preservation of animals will be taken out of the sphere of what is now-a-days regarded as religion, and be decided in the light of psychological, medical, and economic science.

III. Lastly, under the head "I. Religio-Educational," we would add a suggestion that—

"1 (a). In all educational institutions, before beginning other work, all the students of all creeds should sit together for a few minutes, and silently, without any

utterance of sound or movement of limb, pray, in their hearts, that hatred may cease everywhere, that *salm*, *shanti*, peace and good-will may reign over the whole earth, and that all human beings may be happy. All meetings of Congress bodies or held under Congress auspices should also begin after the same brief silent and motionless prayer."

BHAGAVAN DAS

SUNDARLAL

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## SEPARATE NOTE.

### I.

I have differed from my colleagues in the view which they have taken of the scope of the task entrusted to our Committee by the Congress under its Resolution of the 30th March. My view has been that the Congress did not contemplate that we should compass the whole range of the Hindu-Muslim problem, analyze the relations of the two communities in ancient and modern times, discover the beginnings of the present discord, trace its development, and finally recommend permanent measures for the solution of the problem. It seems to me that the object in view at the time was that the members of the Committee should quickly get into touch with Cawnpore, bring about a cessation of hostilities and a restoration of peace and goodwill between the two communities, so that the discord might not spread further. My colleagues, however, took a different view from mine and placed upon the Committee a burden heavier than that with which it was charged by the Congress. The Committee has thus had to cover a wider ground even than that attempted by the several Unity Conferences held, and several pacts drawn up, during the last decade.

### II.

Though, however, I differed from the majority of the Committee on the interpretation of the Congress resolution and on the scope of our authority, I decided to give my cooperation to the Committee and to do all I

could to help in the onerous task which it had set before itself. I have thus had my humble share in the preparation of the report now submitted. Out of the three parts of the report, I agree with Section B of the first part, *i.e.*, the British Period, and the entire second and third parts, with the exception of only one item in the third part with which I shall deal later on. So far as Sec. A. of the first part, *i.e.*, the Muslim Period, is concerned, I regret, we have not had time to do the same work which had to be done in regard to the other portions. I am not therefore in a position to identify myself with that part of the report in its entirety. It requires, to my mind, further examination, and modification by other facts of history.

I, however, agree with what I regard to be the main themes of the Muslim section, namely, (1) that the Hindu and Muslim communities had by long association evolved a social and religious synthesis in which the communal spirit which distracts us to-day had no abode, and (2) that the sword was not the real force which brought about conversions to Islam but that it was its social organization which attracted and kept attached to it peoples suffering from social inequalities and tyrannies.

On the first theme many details have been given in the body of the report showing the incidents of the synthesis which, though it was in a stage of growth, had yet attained clearly marked features. The courts of kings, princes and governors, Muslim and Hindu, were prominent specimens of this synthesis, but it manifested itself in all walks of life and among all classes of people. Dress and deportment, amusements and sports, learning and ways of speech,

and the general outlook on life, all these bore unmistakable evidences of it. Hindus and Muslims lived side by side, and it was not unusual for them to address each other in terms of affection ordinarily used for relatives and kinsmen. *Makhtabs* and *Pathshalas*, where Hindu and Muslim youths studied under the same teacher Persian, Hindi or Urdu, were a common sight. My first teacher who in my childhood taught me the rudiments of Arithmetic and the Hindi alphabet was a rustic Muslim Guru. Memory still recalls with melancholy pleasure how seated on a *Chabutra* in the shade of a *Pipal* tree, my little hands in his own, he lovingly guided me in tracing the baffling figures of sound symbols.

On the religious side, Kabeer, Nanak, Raidas, Bulla-Shah, Dadu, Paltu, Yari Sahib, Shah Abdul Latif, represented a loftiness and depth of thought and emotion transcending the orthodoxy of Hinduism and Islam and showing the right way for both.

Regarding the second theme, I am convinced that in India the treatment of the lower castes within the pale of Hinduism by the higher castes was largely responsible for the success of Islam. I am not blind to the fact that during the rule of several Muslim potentates, Hindus were harassed and subjected to religious tyranny and that there were forced conversions of numbers of people : but when all these are accounted for, a very large balance of the conversions remains which has to be credited to the proselytizing zeal of the Muslims and to the equalizing nature of their social polity, and debited to the caste-ridden, touch-me-not-loving and exclusion-seeking system of the Hindus. And the process of conversion from Hinduism has not yet

exhausted itself. We can have a fair idea of how conversions to Islam must have been brought about by what we can see is even now going on in the South in regard to conversions to Christianity. A little over six years ago, I happened to visit Tinnevely in connection with some public engagements. I was told by a friend, who is a resident of that district, that within five years, groups of whole villages of so-called lower castes had embraced Christianity. In Northern India also we are aware—though the process is not so rapid or so marked as in South India—that the so-called untouchables of the Hindu society often embrace Christianity or Islam to raise their status in society or to escape from the tyranny of the higher castes. This must have been the chief reason of wholesale conversions to Islam during Muslim Rule. The fact of Islam being the religion of the Rulers, and Muslims being shown special favours in courts and administrative offices must also have been a substantial inducement to the change of religion.

An important consideration bearing on the above two themes which has been dealt within the Muslim Section and with which I agree is that the Muslim Rulers of various countries have not, on the whole, been as intolerant as they are sometimes painted to be. Isolated instances of intolerance, of course, abound, but taking historical periods in a broad and extended sweep, the Muslim Rulers show remarkable tolerance and certainly compare very favourably with Christian monarchs of the Middle Ages. The Muslims and Christians have come into close contact with each other at a number of places, both in peace and in war, and a reading of the history of their relations, as narrated even by European scholars, brings strongly into

relief the culture, the chivalry, and the religious tolerance of the Muslims. Whether in Jerusalem, or in Hungary, or in Spain, they showed a largeness of heart and a breadth of intellect which towered high above the doings of their Christian competitors. A story is related that when Hungary and Turkey were fighting for the mastery of Servia in the 15th Century, George Brankovich, Prince of Servia, who belonged to the Greek Church, asked the Hungarian King what he would do if victorious. His answer was, "Establish the Roman Catholic Faith." Then he went to the Sultan and asked him what he would do with the religion of the Servians, if victorious. The Sultan's answer was, "By the side of every mosque shall stand a church, and every man shall be free to pray in whichever he chooses."

Christianity had preceded Islam by several centuries. It had already established itself in West Europe and North Africa, and yet we find that Christians in these areas embraced Islam with alacrity. During the early years of its development Islam, it seems, had an attraction which made an overpowering appeal to the minds of the poor and the oppressed, whether Jew, Christian, or Hindu. In fact, it has often happened that during periods of great political misery, conquered and cast-off Muslims have made brilliant achievements for their faith and made converts from amongst their conquerors. The Moghals overran, conquered and plundered the Muslim countries and butchered hundreds of thousands of Muslim inhabitants, but ultimately they were themselves drawn into the fold of Islam. Mahmud and Aurangzeb (who loom so large in the past history of Muslim relations with our

country) are not the true historical representatives of Islam. They represent Islam at its worst. To obtain a correct perspective of the dealings of Muslims with persons of other faiths, one should cast an eye on the histories of the large number of countries, Asiatic, European, and African where Islam flourished. The Moors of Spain were for centuries the teachers of Europe in fine arts, learning, culture, tolerance, and refinement. Even European historians have written with enthusiasm and full-throated praise of their administration and achievements. Cordova and Granada stand out in the history of the Middle Ages as two bright spots which radiated rays of light in the encircling gloom in Europe, and showed her the way to progress and knowledge. The small kingdom of Granada with a population of 4 lakhs, had 17 colleges, 70 public libraries, and 200 primary schools. It is said that over the gates of every college in Granada were inscribed the following lines setting forth its ideal: "The world is supported by four things only; the learning of the wise, the justice of the great, the prayers of the good, and the valour of the brave." After the Moors were mercilessly driven out of Spain, the country never knew the glory and the greatness which had been its own during the period of the Moor Government. Writing of the desolation of Granada, after the departure of the Moors, said Conde, a Spaniard, "An eternal gloom envelops the countries which their presence had brightened and enriched. Nature has not changed. She is as smiling as ever; but the people and their religion have changed. Some mutilated monuments still dominate over the ruins which cover a desolate land; but from the midst of these monuments, of these cold ruins, comes the cry of Truth:

'Honour and glory to the vanquished Arab, decay and misery for the conquering Spaniard.' "

A comparative study of the histories of Muslims and Christians very forcibly brings out the fact that Christianity in its dealings whether with persons of its own faith or with non-Christians, has not shown a hundredth part of the tolerance and breadth of outlook which have generally characterized the administration of Muslim Rulers. The organized atrocities of Christian powers on the Red Indians of America, or on the Negro race have no parallel in the history of Islam. With Christians themselves Muslims dealt in a spirit which contrasts powerfully with the manner in which Christians dealt with them. Leo, called the Wise, relates, with evident satisfaction, that on the reconquest of Crete by the Byzantines, the Muslim colonists in the Island "were flayed alive or plunged into cauldrons of burning oil." The contrast is well brought out in the words of a Spanish Muslim who, driven out in 1610, is related to have uttered in protest and in anguish: "Did our victorious ancestors ever once attempt to extirpate Christianity out of Spain, when it was in their power? Did they not suffer your forefathers to enjoy the free use of their rites at the same time that they wore their chains? If there may have been some examples of forced conversions, they are so rare as scarce to deserve mentioning, and only attempted by men who had not the fear of God and the Prophet before their eyes, and who, in so doing, have acted directly and diametrically contrary to the holy precepts and ordinances of Islam, which cannot, without sacrilege, be violated by any of the world's folk worthy of the honourable

epithet of Musalman. You can never produce among us any blood-thirsty formal tribunal on account of different persuasions in points of faith, that any wise approaches your execrable Inquisitions. Our arms, it is true, are ever open to receive all who are disposed to embrace our religion, but we are not allowed by our Sacred Quran to tyrannize over consciences. "

In these few eloquent sentences in summarized, it seems to me, the whole history of Islam in the Middle Ages. I confess that reading their history as a whole, the chivalry, the abandon, the prodigal generosity of Muslims has always had a fascination for me and drawn my heart towards them. I remember there is a dark side to the picture also, that some misguided Muslims have in the past made, and often even during present-day riots try to make, forced conversions, that they have shown intolerance by demolishing temples and killing those who would not embrace Islam, that among themselves they have tyrannized over persons holding different views on secondary principles of religion, that Sunnis have butchered Shias, and Shias being in a minority have organized societies of assassins to murder Sunnis. But when we say this, we only repeat the truism that Human Nature is not perfect, that man's ambition and greed and religious perversity have been and are responsible for all the ills of the world, and have enacted millions of Karbalas during the long course of its written and un-written history. Whether the world will ever be freed from these evils, or whether, in the words of the poet Ghálíb (Merí ta'mír men muzmir hai ek sūrat kharábi kí) they are inherent in our very make and composition is an unanswerable riddle.

But one fact seems to emerge clearly from a synthetic study of history and psychology, namely, that toleration in religion has great limitations, and that a spirit of tolerance alone is a weak safeguard against the propensities to oppress, to plunder, and to force others to entertain the same opinions as oneself. The Quran teaches tolerance, "Let there be no compulsion in religion," \* is its eternal commandment. And beautifully has the reason for this commandment been given: "But if thy Lord had pleased, verily all who are in the world would have believed together. Wilt thou then compel men to become believers?" † The Bible teaches tolerance and forgiveness in these noble words: "Whoever smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." ‡ The commandment in the Quran, "Recompense evil with that which is better," § is almost a paraphrase of the Christian commandment. The same idea is expressed with greater fullness of imagery in the following words of the Quran: "And a Paradise vast as the heavens and the earth, was prepared for those who mastered their anger and forgave others." ¶

These great precepts have, we know, acted as powerful brakes when, roused by anger or lust of wealth or power, Muslims and Christians have brought misery and desolation to the homes of their brother-men. In the case of Muslims, as shown above, the commandment of Moham-

\* Koran, ii. 256

† Ibid., x. 99.

‡ Matthew v. 1-4.

§ Koran, xli. 34.

¶ Ibid., lii. 133, 134.

mad has received greater reverence in action than the Christians have shown to that of the Christ.\* But the fair-minded amongst Muslims will readily admit that their history also is defaced with dark deeds of bloodshed and rapine committed in the name of religion.

For the future, however, a more active principle of life than mere toleration will have to possess the hearts of men before they can rise to the full glories of which we catch glimpses now and again in isolated acts of great individuals. The spirit of toleration will have to rise still higher and evolve into a synthetic and rational view of religion and a sympathetic recognition of the essential goodness of religions other than your own.

"Howsoever men approach Me," says the Bhagavad-Gītā, "even so do I welcome them, for the path men take from every side is Mine, O Partha." †

And again—

"O son of Kunti : even the devotees of other deities who worship full of faith, they also worship Me, though not according to the established custom." ‡

It is in the recognition of this great principle in dealing with persons professing different faiths that peace, progress and happiness lies.

\* Christian soldiers have often converted Christ from the prophet of mercy and love that he was into a kind of war-lord guiding and helping them in their ferocious battles. During the crusades the portrait of Christ was actually painted on the banners of Christian Knights when they went out to fight the Muslims in Jerusalem.

† Bhagavad-Gita, iv. 11.

‡ Ibid, ix. 23.

## III.

In the first chapter of the part relating to Cawnpore Riots, there is a marginal heading, 'Effect of Communalism on Congress.'

Some Congressmen, it appears, indulged in talks of defensive communal action. All of us agreed that patriotism requires that there should be no such mental reservation. But from my knowledge of Cawnpore workers I feel that the language used in the last paragraph under that heading is stronger and more sweeping than it should have been.

The Report has mentioned the good work done by Cawnpore Congressmen during the riots. We have also paid our homage to the noble sacrifice of Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. That a Ganesh Shankar was produced from amongst Cawnpore Congressmen was not a mere accident. He was the best representative of a group of workers capable of making great sacrifices in the cause of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

In the third part of the Report the question of cow-sacrifice has been dealt with under clause 8 of "Social Remedies." I do not agree with the manner in which that question has been disposed of. We are aware that this question has played an important part in the past in moulding the relations between Hindus and Muslims. I have spoken above of the spirit of toleration shown during the Muslim Rule. One of the aspects of the social life in which this toleration was so clearly evidenced was the great consideration which Muslim Rulers invariably showed to the Hindu sentiment in regard to the cow. The

cow question in its present form is a gift of the British Rule. During the Muslim Period we do not read of cow slaughter on an organized scale. In fact, we have records of definite orders by Muslim rulers prohibiting the slaughter of cows for any purpose whatever. We also know that during the War of 1857 one of the points of agreement between Hindus and Muslims which led to such a strong combination was the prevention of cow-slaughter in the land.

We have in the body of the Report laid stress on the essential oneness of the Hindu-Muslim culture in spite of the palpable differences, we have shown that a religious synthesis was being evolved which was disturbed by the advent of the British on the scene, and we have pleaded for an absolute fusion of the two cultures as the goal of all our recommendations. Keeping this end in view, it seems to me that the question of the cow has not been treated in a manner which would be helpful in bringing the goal nearer. We cannot too strongly urge that a Hindu must never use any kind of force for restraining the slaughter of cows, but at the same time a definite lead should be given for bringing about a condition under which tension would not be possible on this question. This I think can be done by laying down that all slaughter of cows should be effected only in slaughter-houses constructed for the purpose, and in villages, where there are no slaughter-houses, away from the *abadi*, in such a manner as not to wound the susceptibilities of Hindus.

There are two ways of approaching this question. One is to ask the Hindus to give up their sentiment in favour

of the cow and to reconcile themselves to the view that the cow can be sacrificed in the same manner as other animals. The other method is that which is traditional in this country, *viz.*, that the inhabitants of the soil, including Muslims, refrain from killing the cow. Several Muslim leaders have from time to time advised the Muslims to stop cow-sacrifice in India in the interest of brotherly relations between the two communities and have adduced religious and historical reasons in support of their argument. I do not feel competent to give that advice to the Muslim community. But at the same time, I am a dreamer of an absolute Hindu-Muslim fusion. I want Hindus and Muslims to live in the same Mohallas, in adjoining houses, and to have the most cordial social relations. And I want Hindu and Muslim women to have social relations as much as men. This dream is not likely of fulfilment if cows may be sacrificed in private houses of Muslims situated side by side with Hindu homes. The Hindus may be persuaded to keep quiet when such sacrifices occur, but there would be no joy and happiness in living in a neighbourhood where such slaughter may take place.

Even to-day the number of cows slaughtered for Muslims is very small, and I do not think that it would be any hardship if cow-slaughter is confined only to regularly constituted slaughter-houses at some distances from the *abadi* and is *never* permitted in private houses. The Hindus should accept this position, and the cow question must then cease to divide the two communities.

With the rest of the Remedies suggested, I am in full agreement. We have not exhausted all the possible ways in which Hindus and Muslims may be brought

together, but we have indicated lines which, if adopted, would lead very soon to a change in the whole atmosphere, which would itself lead on to other ties and relationships, so that ultimately their separate identities might merge into the one big individuality of the Hindustani nation.

PURUSHOTTAM DAS TANDON.

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## NOTE OF DISSENT.

I have expressed my views in the foot-notes on the historical retrospect. The portion dealing with the riots has lost much of its grace, as the following passages were deleted after they had once been discussed and passed by the whole Committee:—

“ We put the following straight question to some of the most prominent Congressmen in Cawnpore: ‘ Out of the thirty prominent Congressmen in Cawnpore, how many do you think are absolutely above communal feeling, etc.?’ We chose the number thirty because there are thirty elected members of the Town Congress Executive. Their answers were frank and significant; we briefly reproduce them in their own words without giving the names of the witnesses, as these statements were given *in camera*.

“ One gentleman says:—

“ Men who are absolutely above Hindu-Muslim feeling are a microscopic minority—in the Congress organization here. Not more than two or three—the rest are all defensive communalists and not offensive communalists. I regard Malaviyaji as a defensive type and Bhai Paramanandji as an offensive type. About a dozen of our executive of thirty are such that they think Hindus should be organized separately, so that whenever necessary they should be prepared for self-defence.

“A second says :—

“No other prominent Congressman at Cawnpore is so much above communalism as Ganeshji was. Nearest to Ganeshji is ——. Then comes ——. Then comes——. Same about ——.(So and so) was some years back for Sangathan and also a Katha Vaehak ——.(So and so) is a communalist. In the 1927 riots he took part with —— on the side of Hindus. He might have taken part this time also. He is quite partial in this matter. District workers like —— and —— are similarly Hindus. So . . . I am confidentially informed that these people created communal trouble in the district. I am ashamed of seeing —— (name of a well-known Muslim gentleman) as office-bearer of the District Congress Committee, because he is a communalist. —— of the Hindu Sabha was one of our vice-presidents. . . . I do not think it good that a Congressman should be a Sangathani or a Hindu Mahasabhaite. I believe that in this matter of Hindu-Muslim feeling there is a great need and want of purification of heart amongst Congressmen. There are very few who are above communalism.

“A third says :—

“Out of the thirty prominent Congressmen in the town, there are all grades of people with regard to communal feeling. I think two or three of these can be said to be absolutely above Hindu-Muslim feeling. About ten to fifteen have some slight

Hindu tinge in them. . . Two or three are aggressive communalists, and the rest ten or twelve are communalists of defensive character. They do not mean any harm to the other community, but they do believe in Hindus organizing themselves for defence.

“ A fourth divides his comrades in four categories with regard to this question. In the first category he puts men who are absolutely above Hindu-Muslim feeling. In the second he puts those who have got some tinge of that feeling, but who do not show it in practice. In the third, he puts defensive Hindu communalists, and in the fourth, aggressive Hindu communalists. After forming these categories, he says :—

“ Ganeshji may have belonged to the first category, none else in our committee belongs to it. (So and so) belongs to the second category. Majority of our members belong to the third category. Only one, namely (so and so), as far as I know, belongs to the fourth category.

“ A fifth says :—

“ I think, out of thirty prominent Congress workers in Cawnpore, about three are absolutely above communal feeling almost like ——— ; about four or five are defensive Hindu communalists ; about three or four are aggressive communalists ; and the remaining nineteen or twenty are all of one type with slight variation. . . . Men like (so and so) are admirers of Bhai Paramanand.

“ A sixth says :—

“ If I am asked to give the Commission (Enquiry

Committee) an idea about the mentality in matters communal of prominent Congress workers, I should candidly say that except the one who is no more, there is not a single Congressman here who could be said to be absolutely above communal feeling, but this admission does not mean that the Congress Committee is essentially a communalist body. Most of the members are slightly tinged with the communal colour, which however does not carry with it any shade of aggression or domination about it. Some of course are aggressively communalists, but their activities have never been in the direction of jeopardizing the peace of the city.

“ A seventh says :—

“ I believe that———is absolutely above Hindu-Muslim feeling. I feel I am also of the same mentality. It is difficult for me to say how many other Congressmen are of this mentality. I believe there are gradations in this respect, but to give percentages is difficult, as I have been for about three years not in intimate touch with the workers.  
 . . . There are some, they may be one-fourth  
 . . . of defensive Hindu mentality. . . .

“ An eighth says :—

“ Of thirty prominent Congressmen in Cawnpore, I believe roughly about 5 per cent. are absolutely above communal feeling. A similar number are aggressive communalists, and the remaining 90 per cent. are of various shades, but are mostly defensive communalists.

"A ninth says :—

"I think, out of thirty prominent Congress workers in Cawnpore, . . . there are hardly two or three absolutely above the feeling. The rest are all in favour of Hindu Sangathan, but only for defensive purposes."

"In such an atmosphere, and with such men at the helm, was the C. D. Movement started in Cawnpore.

"But what has been said above must not be understood to mean that the Hindus were more acutely communalistic than the Musalmans. If the feelings of thirty prominent Muslim citizens of Cawnpore were similarly analyzed, they would probably be found to be of much the same quality. Each begins with being defensive and ends with being offensive. The World War of 1914-18 is an illustration on a vast scale. But what we have said regarding Hindu feeling does mean that the Hindu Congressmen should have risen higher in spirit, should have been not defensive but attractive and tried positively to break down the others' aloofness and defensiveness and convert it into friendliness and co-operation. But, again, we are all wise after the event. The causes which led the Hindu members of the Congress into the attitude of mind they came to assume have been described in an earlier chapter."

When I received the fair copy of the report, I protested against this extraordinary procedure, and am constrained to say that neither satisfactory reasons were given, nor the deleted passages were restored even on my request. And this speaks for itself.

The survey of Hindu-Muslim relations at Cawnpore presented in the first chapter would have remained in-

complete if the suppressed passages were not reproduced here, hence I have taken this responsibility on my weak shoulders.

The description of the awful events of the riots as well, as the losses, requires no comment except that, on occasions, the colouring might have changed its shades if the brush was in other hands. But on the whole it represents a fairly correct picture.

Perhaps the most important portion of the report from a practical point of view, is that which suggests remedies and is bound to have a lasting effect on the Hindu-Muslim relations in India. With this I propose to deal at some length.

Although I agree with my colleagues in a good many remedies suggested by them, I am unable to give my whole-hearted support to the introductory note, at least, so far as it deals with the idea of the fusion of the Hindu-Muslim cultures.

Doubtless, English literature has greatly influenced both the Hindu and Muslim intelligentsia, but it is yet doubtful, which of the two schools of thought has been influenced most by English writers and Western thought, the one that advocates a fusion of the two cultures or the other which pleads for keeping the distinctive features of each culture intact.

As for the Musalmans, there can be very little doubt that the idea of keeping their general features distinctively separate from those of other nations and communities is as old as Islam itself, for the holy prophet (peace be on him) has expressly commanded the Muslims to avoid all such fusion, by saying :—

من تشبه بقوم فهو منهم

(Translation : He who imitates a people is one of them.)

Numerous examples can be cited from reliable historians that even long before the English became a powerful nation and English literature spread among the **Mussalmans**, leaders of Islamic thought, theologians, Sufis, philosophers and poets, had been laying great stress on keeping as model before them, the lives of the prophet (peace be on him), the Khulafai Rashideen (Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman and Ali), and other companions of the prophet (*Sahaba*), and following their modes of life to their utmost capacity.

It cannot be denied, however, that people have not been generally able to follow this either through their ignorance and weaknesses or even for want of faith, but, excepting a very few of the free-thinker class, bulk of the great writers and thinkers of the Islamic world have always kept the same ideal in view and strongly criticized and condemned all attempts to break this line.

Akbar, who is so highly admired equally by English and Hindu writers and even Muslim graduates of modern Universities, however much we may appreciate his superior political talents or his incomparable administration, has always been treated contemptuously by religious authorities of his own times, and the very fact, that Aurangzeb is generally regarded to be not only one of the greatest Moslem Kings, but almost a saint, clearly shows, which way the wind has been blowing.

The point need not be pressed further; but as one who believes in the infallibility of Quran, and in the highest utility and the greatest piety of following in the

footsteps of the holy prophet (peace be on him) and his companions, especially the Khulafai Rashideen, in the smallest detail of our daily life and thus keeping the Islamic culture and civilization free from alloy and mixture of the cultures and civilizations of the other nations, be they Asiatic or European, African or American, I cannot acquiesce in the following recommendations of the Committee:

I. Under sub-clause (2) of the Social group it has been suggested that—

“Holi, Diwali, Idulfitr, and Shab-i-barat should be regarded as common festivals of both communities, and new common national festivals should be created.”

Innovation in religious matters (بدعت) having been forbidden, it is absolutely impossible to accept the first portion of the recommendation, but the latter portion may be acceptable if the procedure in any newly established festival is so regulated as to make it a purely social function and nothing is done that may not be acceptable to the Moslems from their religious point of view, as the manner in which Hindu festivals are generally observed cannot be followed by Musalmans.

Admittedly the present mode of life here in India as well as in other Islamic countries, does not generally conform to all the teachings of Islam, just as the followers of other and older religions do not generally live up to the teachings of their religions, and there are obvious reasons for it, which need not be discussed here. But the fact that my brethren-in-faith do not act correctly cannot make me agree to any wrong suggestion.

II. I cannot speak with authority about the teachings of any other religion, but I believe that the teachings of Islam are so comprehensive that almost the minutest details of our every day life come under the purview of our religion. Dress and appearance dealt with in Sub-clause (4) ordinarily seem to have nothing to do with one's religion, at least people of cosmopolitan views seem to think so, but a Musalman cannot or rather should not dress himself in a manner that in any way hinders or hampers the performance of his religious practices (for instance, prayers), and his appearance should also conform to the type approved by Islam. Hence the distinction, whether obtrusive or not, can hardly be avoided—it is rather imperative.

III. Sub-clause (5) of the Social group recommends the abolition of Purdah. I know that the purdah system, as in vogue here, requires some changes, and I should be willing to accept any modifications that do not go beyond what is allowed by our religion, but the abolition of Purdah will mean an interference in religion which cannot and should not be tolerated by Musalmans. In fact, this is a purely domestic affair and should be left to the Musalmans who may solve it according to their own religious and social ideals.

IV. I am in general agreement with sub-clause (8) of the Social group, but I must clearly state that interference with the right of slaughtering of quadrupeds in one's house, either through legislation or executive orders, will always be a source of legitimate grievance to the Musalmans and other classes of people, and I hope that the phraseology of this section, specially the phrase "should

be governed by the general laws of the land" will not be made pretext for enacting or enforcing laws to infringe one's right of freely practising one's religion or the freedom of citizenship. A Musalman, while performing his religious obligation freely and without hitch or hindrance should take every care to see that he does not give any occasion for provocation to his neighbours.

V. The recommendations classed under Religio-Educational group are generally agreed upon, but I should like to say a few words on the following points :—

(a) The statement in the preamble of sub-clause (2) that Hindu and Muslim students of the undenominational institutions possess a broader outlook does not seem to me to represent the correct position. It would be useless to mention any names in this connection, but I can say without fear of contradiction that most of the prominent Muslim Nationalists are products of the Muslim University (formerly M. A.-O. College, Aligarh) or have been identified with it, while a very large number of the prominent leaders of Hindu Sangathan are ex-students of undenominational institutions. Moreover, the recommendations under this head, do not cover the institutions chiefly meant for imparting religious education.

(b) The recommendation under Sub-clause (7) which prohibits the conversion of minors under 18, is against the Islamic law and cannot therefore be accepted by Musalmans. According to Muslim theologians, even those minors have the right of conversion whose powers of understanding are sufficiently developed and the age of minority does not go beyond 15 years, although many

people, especially women, reach their age of puberty even at an earlier age.

I cannot also subscribe to the belief that there were no genuine cases of conversion during the last 10 years or that the activities of each and every organization, meant for the object of conversion, were such that they should all be dis-continued. The Committee only requires that in the matter of conversions, unfair means should not be allowed and those organizations must be discontinued which do not adhere to this principle.

VI. Under sub-clause (b) of the Politico-Economic group, I do not see my way to agree to the suggestion that separate electorates on religious basis be abolished. Whatever my friends of the Muslim Nationalists Party may think, I am convinced that taking all the various circumstances in view, abolition of separate electorates is bound to affect the minorities adversely, and so long as the general attitude of high-caste Hindus, who have at present almost the monopoly of all that is worth having, does not undergo a radical change, and they are not willing to do full justice and give due share in all walks of life to the unhappy millions, mis-called untouchables, mixed electorates should not be forced upon the minorities. Has not Mahatma Gandhi himself stated that "the untouchables would be far worse under that Swaraj than they are now, for the simple reason that our weakness and our failings would then be buttressed up by the accession of power?"

My own suggestion, therefore, would be that the community in majority within a certain province be made to elect her representatives by mixed electorates, so that the rights of minorities may not be altogether neglected while

the community which is in minority be permitted to elect her representatives, either by separate electorate or if it chooses by mixed electorates.

This may seem rather an incongruity in constitution-making, but I am confident that it will prove beneficial and give the minorities sufficient protection. Conditions in this country are so different from those of Europe that in order to meet the requirements of our people we shall have to make alterations in our programme of work or even the constitution of administration. We need not copy the West in every detail.

I have never been able to appreciate the view that separate electorate is or has been a source of Hindu-Muslim dissensions. The idea, as is said, might have emanated from officials, but there are many other things that have been introduced by them, and it cannot be denied that they have done some good to us. Why should then separate electorate be singled out for such wholesale denunciation? "Give the dog a bad name and then kick him out," is an old English proverb, and to my mind it is perfectly applicable in this case.

If by some accident the position of Musalmans were reversed and they became a powerful majority with the position of safety held at present by the majority community, it is very doubtful that mixed electorate would have so persistently been advocated by the minority of that time.

VII. Under sub-clause (10) it has been suggested that banking and insurance, etc., should be organized by joint efforts of the two communities. Interest on money in

every form or shape being prohibited by Islam, I cannot ask my co-religionists to join the banking or insurance business. On the contrary, I feel it my duty to advise them to refrain from all such immoral undertakings, I would go one step further and request my Hindu brethren also to desist from this sort of business, which not only retards their moral and spiritual progress but tends to nourish capitalism, which is the source of incalculable mischief to humanity. I am also convinced that people doing this immoral trade spoil all chances of bettering the condition of their future generations, and their families are washed out of this earth within a very short time and thus the very existence of our society is threatened with destruction. It is only the good and pious that prosper and leave after them a prosperous progeny.

After presenting my views on the chapter of remedies, I want to supplement it by some more suggestions. Similarity in dress or appearance, interdining or comradeship in educational institutions, or joining in festivals or gathering at clubs and societies, will no doubt help to a certain extent in advancing social relations; but a dispassionate scrutiny of the whole problem of the Hindu-Muslim Unity will, I trust, convince all thinking minds that real unity can only be achieved by a change of heart which is sure to create an atmosphere of confidence and good-will, sympathy and trust. And as trust disarms even wickedness, such an atmosphere cannot be created by mere outward and superficial devices. It would require a long and weary process of inward purifications. The passions of animosity and the desire for gaining ascendancy over one another will have to be subdued and sentiments of human

brotherhood and love planted in the minds of the people at large.

The experience, gained during the centuries of Muslim rule in India, goes to show clearly that natural causes led to some sort of fusion between the two communities without making any fuss about it or adopting any artificial means to force its pace.

To my mind, love is the supreme curative for all our diseases, and if we can somehow or other instil it among the leaders and followers of the two communities, our objective would then be attained. How to do this is the crucial question.

The great nations of Europe who fought the terrible World War of 1914-18 had most of them nearly common appearances, costumes, manners and customs, yet every one knows how ferociously one nation cut another's throat and vied with every other in her inhuman effort of ruination and extinction. What has happened in Europe is likely to be repeated in India, even if without effecting any change in our hearts, we agree to act upon the various suggestions of the Committee that are based on the idea of cultural fusion.

In order, however, to achieve a real and permanent unity and keep Hindus and Muslims on brotherly terms, we shall have to effect, in my humble opinion, radical changes in our methods, in the manners suggested below :—

(1) The Hindus who form the majority community and are far ahead of the Muslims in wealth, modern education, organization, and propaganda, should try to win the hearts of the Muslim minority by unhesitatingly giving

the guarantees and facilities required by her for securing a proper place in the constitution of the country.

(2) Most of us delight in condemning modern civilization, but, notwithstanding that, the truth is that in every walk of life we are doing our best to imitate Europe. Both Hindus and Muslims, pay only lip homage to their respective religions and merely boast on the greatness and beauties of their old cultures. And no one seems to realize that the mode of our daily life is being so changed, day by day, that we are drifting farther and farther from what we call the Golden Age of our ancestors.

This farce should be put an end to, and if we really care to be truthful and honest and long to live in peace and harmony we should give up all cravings for Western ideals and habits and turn back to the old days of Vedas and Quran.

(3) The idea of the one supreme God is the central point of belief, not only of the Musalmans but among some of the Hindu sects also, as mentioned on p. 353 (chapter on Remedies). If constant and earnest efforts be made to propagate and inculcate this belief in all the Hindu sects, a certain degree of unity in religious thought can be achieved which will in its turn dispel feelings of contempt and hatred from the minds of the monist and the pagan both.

(4) Although it is not possible to eradicate the human lust for power and wealth which is the chief source of all troubles and antagonism, yet it is not impossible to subdue or limit it to a great extent. This can only be attained through spiritualism, which is another name for godliness.

and purity of life. Real and sincere attempts have to be made to turn the minds of our younger generations and leaders of thought towards this much-desired consummation.

When the weak has nothing to fear from the strong, just has been generally subdued, and people have learnt to become God-fearing and live a purer life, Hindus and Muslims will easily become friends and learn to love each other like sons of the same parents.

You bestow praises on Kabir, on Sufis and saints and on prophets, but you turn your face as soon as the time for action comes and you are required to follow in their footsteps. This is not the way of bringing unity among the nations. It will, on the contrary, divide them further and increase dissensions to an extent which cannot perhaps be gauged at present, but it is sure to bring ruin upon them just as European Nations are being crushed under the burden of their own creation—the Western Civilization.

How well has Maulana Muhammad Ali dealt with this subject and warned against new experiments in cult-making :—

“ Religious reformers have at all times betrayed a fatal weakness for composition or the preparation of a religious compound formed of many simples gathered from many different sources. They have hoped that by adopting a policy of inclusion they would be able to form a faith embracing doctrines culled from diverse faiths and acceptable to all the followers of all these faiths, that is how they hope to attain Uniformity and secure Conformity.

But history has shown that the cause of peace and unity has not been greatly furthered by the formation of such eclectic faiths. Only too often have they added one more to the warring creeds existing before and have only increased the disunion they were creating. Such well-intentioned failures have at last made people fall back upon "Toleration." (Presidential Address of the Coconada Congress, pp. 74-75.)

ZAFARUL-MULK

Oct. 24, 1931.

## ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
3	15	centuries	long centuries
6	13	a losing	losing
7	16	management	the management
11	2	city. "	city.
20	9	delete repetition	"and it reveals "
"	26	a fact	a matter of fact
44	23	to intermarry	to interdine or intermarry
45	26	Swa-raj of	Swa-ráj or ' Ráj ' of
50	27	mystery	mastery
"	31	unbated	unabated
51	last	Now	Nor
54	15	Desecration	Destruction
"	last	499	449
56	3	involving	"involving
63	8	day.	day.'
69	23	culture.	cultures.
72	2	we	as we
88	22	of life	or life
89	11	of two	of the two
91	4	may	many
107	11	that that	that
116	13	Hastinge	Hastings
"	20	the Government	our Government
124	14	politics	policies
127	15	of local	or local
136	18	same.	same
143	9	handaidm	handmaid
146	27	different words	different ways and the different words
150	29	or its	of its
153	14	of minority	of their minority
157	18	the communities	the two communities
162	5	delete " e.g."	

Page	Line	For	Read
179	last	their	this
187	28	in	on
188	22	men took	men also took
193	21	delote the line.	
194	"	witness	our witness
"	"	probably...	" probably...Musalmans."
		Musalmans	
202	7	after " with. "	add : In schools and colleges too Muslim boys had to be kept out.
219	5	for " of, " put	
"	21	I scolded	I ... scolded
222	27	After " style "	put ...
223	2	a single	a single Hindu or a single
225	20	C. I. D.	" C. I. D."
227	7	Butchorkhana	Butcherkhana side
"	22	The	Two
230	11	persuaded	persuade
231	last	and	...
235	5	incident reacted	incident ... reacted
236	3	crowd	the crowd
237	18	boy, was	boys, ... was
"	"	water, and	water, ... and
"	"	but we	but also we?
245	15	transpose " and so also ... same temple."	
		after " in the temple, ( l. 14. )	
250	21	for " then " read " there "	
293	3	20	30
"	8	after " door "	put ...
294	23	riots	the riots
306	11	after " a badmash." put	
"	30	it	it is
311	18	large	larger
321	26	officers	police officers
322	27	ceased	ceased, "
328	17	etc.	
"	31	the sympathizers, their sym	
330	12	Naud Kishore	Naval Kish

Page	Line	For	Read
331	28	morals	morale
335	24	Bans	Ban
343	14	kept	voluntarily kept
353	15	Love, Him ;	Love of Him ;
"	16	in touch with of Him ;	in tune with Him ;
356	13	to many,	to many to-day
371	27	livelihood	livelihood, namely,
"	"	(1)	[ (1)
"	29	wages	wages ]

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Page	no.	col.	line	
383	7	4	2	delete " Temple "
"	8	4		read Temple
"	9	4		" House
384	26	3	2	" Kumar (2)
387	68	2		" Khapramohal
389	85	3		" (2)
"	91	3	3	" others (2)
"	92	3		for " Shakir " read " Sharif "
"	93	5	1	delete 6,000
"	"	5	2	read 6,000
390	98	5	1	delete 25
"	"	"	2	read 25
391	108	2		for 12-166 read 12-106
392	117	4	2	for Kutcha read Pucca-kutchha
392	121	4		for Kutcha read Pucca-kutchha
393	132			for 99-311, read 99-312.
"	136	3		for Prasad (1), read Prasad.
"	"	"	2	for Pargilal, read Pargilal (1)
"	137	4	1	delete Kutcha House
"	"	"	2	read Kutcha House.
394	138	3	2	for Ramcharan, read Bhagirath (2).
"	144	3	1	for Dayamal, read Dayamali.

Page	no.	col.	line	for	Read
396	157	4		Pucca	Kutchra
"	159	4		Kutchra	Pucca
"	161	4	2	read Kutchra	House
397	165	3	2	for (1), read (2)	
"	167	4		Temple	House
"	176	3		Ghesi	Ghosi
398	180	3		Teli	Teli (1)
399	191	2		104-19	104-17
400	198	2		read Bhananapurwa	
401	213	2		105-405	105-403
402	224	2		105-683	105-384
403	234	1	2	read no. 235, and re-number all successive nos. so that the last no. 370 on p. 418 is 371.	
"	"	2	2	read Bhananapurwa	
404	240	2		" Kulibazar	
"	257	2		76-412	78-412
406	262	3		Prasad (1)	Prasad (2)
407	275	3		Kirasmal	Kiramal
409	292	3		Bandim	Bandi.
"	295	5		5,000	500
410	298	2		71-94	71-44.
"	304	3		Vaidhya	Vaishya
411	305	4		delete Pucca mosque.	
412	319	3		Library,	Library (1)
415	341	2		35-58	35-85
"	342	3		majid	masjid
"	348	2		read Etawahbazar	
422	"	3		" Gundaniwala	
426	"	"		" folio 426 as no. 426-46	
449	"	"		Nanghara	Naughara
"	79	3		Hosley	Holsley
450	82	2		Dijendra	Bijendra
"	90	3		78-138	78-15
453	17	3		Committee	Congress Committee

Page	Line	For	Read
463	7	بڑھا	زیادہ بڑھا
467	20	ہے	نہی
479	6	دنہا میں بھی خدا	دنہا میں بھی سکھ ملے گا اور دوسری دنہا میں بھی خدا
485	9	۶ بجے	۶ بجے کے کچھ بعد
486	20	محترم	طرح
487	6	چوہرہ کو	چوہرہ کو بورڈ کو
„	7	بھائیوں نے	بھائیوں نے پھر اسے
„	17	ضد	ضد پر
488	2	کمپنی	کمپنی نے
„	12	کرنے پر	ضد کرنے پر
„	13	رہا	ہم
„	14	کرنے میں	کرتے ہیں
489	5	ہو سکے	ہو سکے سمجھا بجھاگ

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