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100-25-0-08.

Judicial (1896) Department.

ORDINARY Mis

G.O., No. 1669

Confidential No. 135

DATED 22-10-96

[Despatch Abstract.]

Recording letter from the Govt. of India forwarding copies of papers relating to the Cow Protection movement

BACK PAPERS.

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Mis	2127	Jud	1-9-94	Mis	3623	Jud	15.2.94
Se	1390	Jud	8-11-94	Mis	285	Jud	3.2.94
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100-29-7-96.

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Wm & Co

Order
mis

No. 1669 B 22 Oct 96

From

Govt. of India,
Home Dept

Recorded.

11/10/96 19.10.96

No. 27 Pub
1467.

Dated 26 Sept
Received 5 Oct
Registered 5 Oct } 1896.

Enclosures Three
Spare copies. Two of each incl.

SUBJECT.

Forwards copies of papers
regarding the Low Protection
movement.

Acctt. S.B. (in orig) seen
for perusal & return 26.10.96

BACK PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

FURTHER PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

PRÉCIS OF A REPORT SUBMITTED ON THE 19TH SEPTEMBER 1895 BY A BRAHMAN AGENT OF THE BOMBAY S.B., REGARDING THE COW-PROTECTION MOVEMENT.

The Cow-protection movement, according to this writer, originated in the Gangetic plain and was imported into the Bombay Presidency some 20 years ago. The principal agent in its development was Dayanand Swami, an eloquent and learned Vedic scholar, renowned both in Upper India and Bombay. His object, the promotion of the unity of India, was essentially political, and to this end he preached the sacredness of the cow, a subject which appealed alike to the religious instincts of the orthodox, including Sikhs, Gosains, Swamis and Sadhus, and to the economic feelings of the worldly; thus exciting the sympathies of the martial classes, of the educated and of the mass of the ignorant rural population. On his death some ten years ago his disciples continued his work, with the result that there are now some 200 Cow-protection Associations, chiefly to the north of the Krishna river. To stimulate the movement in Bombay much stress was laid on its activity at Gaya, Nagpur, Allahabad, Benares, Amritsar, and Lahore, and on the devotion to it of the leading Hindu Chiefs, such as those of Marwar and Mewar, Bhartpur and Mysore. In support of this view, the writer cites passages from the 'Kamdhenu,' a monthly magazine published in Bombay.

2. The chief Cow-protection Society in Western India is the Gorakshak Mandal at Bombay. A split occurred in this institution, in consequence mainly of the secession of Mr. Lakhshmi Das Khimji, who hoped to bring himself into prominence by starting the Gao Palan Society, which made some stir at the time of the Prabhas Patan riots in 1894, and succeeded in getting the assistance of the Vaishnav Maharajas. A memorial was drafted by Mr. N. V. Gokhale, but the publication of the Government resolution prevented its presentation. This resolution seriously injured the Society by awakening many members whose objects were merely religious or economic, to the political aspect of the movement, by scaring away the lukewarm and by cooling the enthusiasm even of the more ardent. Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit left the Gorakshak Mandal and many others have since fallen away. Both Societies do their best to further the Cow-protection movement, but the differences between them are likely to be permanent. The majority of the supporters of the Cow-protection movement have no political aims, and are unacquainted with the real object of its founder and promoters. What the latter want is clear from the poems recited at the Cow-celebration at Bombay, from which the writer gives extracts*. These poems were the works of Amarchand Parmar of Bombay, Damodhar Madhoji, Amrit Lal and others.

3. The centre of the movement in Western India is Bombay itself. Branches exist in Gujarat, at Surat and Ahmadabad; in Kathiawar, at Bhavnagar, Bitkha, Morvi, Porbandar, Jamnagar and other places; and in the Deccan, at Poona, Belgaum, Satara, Nasik, Sholapur, Ratnagiri and Dharwar. Of these the Bhavnagar and Poona branches alone show any vitality. The former has existed nearly seven years, and has recently published an appeal for funds under the hand of Vakil Parbhudas Motichand, the Secretary, in which it is stated that preachers have been deputed to preach in all large cities and villages. The Poona branch is more important. It was founded in 1892 by certain of the Bombay protectionists who were attending a wedding. The movement was started by some Baniyas and had a few sympathisers among the Mahrattas. These fell off and a subsequent effort to arouse the enthusiasm of the martial races was not very successful. This partial failure is thus explained:— "In the Deccan, people are divided into two great factions, the Brahmans and the Mahrattas. Notwithstanding outward harmony, there is much jealousy between the two great sections. The Mahrattas eat flesh and beef, and therefore are not persuaded to believe in the sanctity of the cow. The Brahmans were

* See Appendix.

originally cow-killers and beef-eaters, as the word *Go-jna* which appears in the Sanskrit clearly shows. The effect of the spread of Buddhism and the Jain religion has been so great that circumstances have entirely changed, and the Brahmans now revere the cow as well as any other sect, but their feelings on the question of the cow are not, and cannot, of course, be so strong. This accounts in a great measure for the absence of the Brahman element among the Bombay movers, most of whom are Bhatias, Banias and others. The orthodox classes at Poona believe that Pandit Dayanand and Swami Netyanand and others misinterpreted to some extent the texts of the Vedas, and for these and other reasons the Deccan Brahmans think that the movement on behalf of the cows will be merely a sectional and not a national one, and there will be no general co-operation and so no success. It is chiefly on these grounds that the subject is omitted from the platform of the Indian Nation."

4. Swami Dayanand showed great skill in the selection of his disciples. Some of them were intelligent men, well acquainted with his objects, others were merely Bhatias, Bhunyas, Bhansalis, &c. Though these classes for the most part are wanting in political instinct, the exceptions among them who have it find an obedient following in their more ignorant caste-fellows.

4. To show that the real object of the movement is political, the writer cites certain publications and observes that, though the slaughter of the cow is nothing new in India, the agitation on the subject has only recently commenced. Dayanand saw the advantages which it presented as a means of uniting the Hindus, who were ready to take up a movement of the kind owing to the feeling that, as a disunited and therefore weak community, they were neglected by Government in favour of Muhammadans.

6. The following are the objects of the agitation:—

(1) To obtain the grant of a *sanad* to the effect that, India being a Hindu country, the susceptibilities of the Hindus are of paramount importance.

(2) To secure large areas of forest for cattle-grazing.

(3) To render Kine-killing a penal offence.

(4) By union to obtain influence with Government and treatment as a more important community than the Muhammadans.

7. To carry out these objects the following methods are adopted, all designed to attract the largest share possible of public notice:—

(1) Annual celebrations in honour of the cow, attended by delegates from Branch Associations.

(2) General co-operation between the different Associations.

(3) The publication of books, pamphlets, periodicals, pictures, &c., and the composition of poems and songs, care being taken to make these as exciting as possible while apparently unobjectionable.

(4) The publication and general distribution of a special organ—the '*Kam-dhemu*.' This magazine, which was originally very objectionable, moderated its tone after the riots of 1893, and has since ceased to exist. Efforts are being made for its revival.

(5) The publication and free distribution of ballads called the '*Goraksha Garba-Walis*,' which are specially written to be taught to the young who are thus to be prepared to take part in the movement hereafter if necessary.

(7) The placing of Goraksha boxes in temples, railway stations and other public places. In Bombay alone there are over 125 such boxes.

(8) The presentation of badges and medals to energetic preachers and workers in the Cow-protection movement.

(9) The gaining of the sympathy of the Theosophical Societies. Colonel Olcott, Madame Blavatsky, and others have preached Cow-protection.

(10) The levying of *lags* or taxes in markets on purchases.

(11) The insertion of Cow-protection songs in theatrical pieces.

8. There are large numbers of Cow-protection preachers going about the country, of whom principal is Swami Netyanand who was fully in the confidence of Dayanand. These preachers were formerly very energetic and violent, but now, finding that they are watched, they have changed their tactics. Their present plan is to allude indirectly only to cow-protection in their lectures, but to discuss the subject freely in private with all comers. They keep the various Associations in touch with one another and with Benares, Hardwar, Allahabad, Amritsar and other places up-country. They favour the Arya Samaj movement. Many of them are very well-to-do, though outwardly adopting the guise of religious mendicants. Good service has been done by Swamis Netyanand and Bhaskaranand.

9. The Arya Samaj has the same political objects as the Cow-protection movement, namely the establishment of Hindu unity as a means towards the amelioration of the condition of the community. Nearly all the Swamis in Western India are Arya Samajists, and the members of the Samaj are members of the Cow-protection Association and *vice versa*. The instance of Alaram has been cited to show that this is not the case, but the writer believes that Alaram's secession from the Samaj is merely a blind, and even if this is not the case, the fact remains that his is an isolated instance. "The common object being Cow-protection, they (*i.e.*, the Swamis) all direct their attention towards its achievement, and act in furtherance of that principle only. Most of them are well aware that material assistance in the shape of collection of funds by subscription, levy of taxes, &c., is given by the Bhatias, Banias, &c., and for fear of being at variance with the course of religious beliefs, all debatable religious questions are studiously avoided.....The Association at Nagpur is stronger than that at Bombay. It was inaugurated in July 1888 in consequence of a series of lectures given by Dayanand, who, however, died before the movement took an active form. It was started by Pandit Sheo Charn Lal, Pandit Sheo Dyal, Ram Narayan, Sheo Narayan and Gopal Rao Hari Bhide. The last-named* and another pleader, Narayan Swami Naidu, are the acknowledged leaders. Financially the association is prosperous, and it is supported by contributions levied on social ceremonies and by the payment of a portion of their salaries by merchants, brokers, *dalals*, tradesmen and servants. It has many branches in the Central Provinces and Berar, extending even to small villages. Arrangements were made with the heads of castes to prohibit the slaughter of cattle, and preaching is carried on by honorary and paid missionaries. The '*Goraksha*,' formerly edited by Gopal Rao, is the organ of the Association. The annual celebrations are carried on on a large scale and are attended by delegates from important places in Upper India. Communications with other Associations and with members of the Congress are kept up by correspondence and by itinerant Swamis and Sanyasis. It is in contemplation to fix Nagpur as the centre of the Cow-protection movement and to style the Association the "Bharati Hitaishi Gorakshini Sabha." This scheme was started by Balwant Ram Chandra Dravid, Jivraj Jethabhai Karlikar and others in consultation with Gopal Rao. Nagpur has superseded Poona, Satara and other places in the Deccan owing to the coolness of the Brahmans of the Deccan towards the movement. Bombay suffered by the death of Damodar Das Manji and Iswar Lal, both persons of much importance in this connection, and by the unwillingness of other leading men to take a prominent part in the movement after the riots of 1893.

10. In conclusion the writer states—

"In connection with the movement of Cow-protection, there is one thing that has to be prominently brought to notice. The movement does not and did not proceed from the mass of people. It is the great object of the movers to see that it is taken up by the mass and made national. But, as far as I can see, it is not a national movement at all. As I have said before, this subject is purposely omitted from the programme of the National Congress, as people are not yet agreed whether it is a religious or a political question that affects

* Since dead. (C.S.B.)

the Indians as a nation. I may even go further and say that the movement is not even sectional, for enquiries show that there is no particular class of people or particular section that has commenced it or taken it up. It has been taken up individually and, as has been shown, taken up by individual persons who in the manner shown have been trying to gather supporters from all castes. Thus the *Banias*, *Batias*, *Bhansalis* and *Lawanas* have materially helped the movement, in most cases by funds and in individual cases by personal support. But for their very warm sympathy and personal support, the taxes, *lags* and percentages on profits or proceeds of sales, &c., which have great meaning and effect, could never have been imposed. The support is not superfluous or temporary. It is systematic and has an air of stability about it, commensurate, of course, with the energy and hard work or otherwise of the individuals who carry the work on.

"In conclusion, I beg to bring to your notice that the movement has gradually grown and is growing. The agitators, who are mostly disciples of Dayanand, try to show to the people at large that they are following the lines laid down for them by Pandit Dayanand, who had studied the question of the rise of India all his life and who, after a general sojourn all over India, had found out the only plan that would suit all tastes and bring about the much desired unanimity and finally success. While it may be conceded that a few of the Swamis do this with a love for the country, it must be said that a very large number of the agitators only pose as leaders, and pretend that they have the good of the country and the amelioration of the Indians at their heart. But there is no doubt that they take all this trouble to swell their own importance and to otherwise show to people and to Government that they deserve to be respected as spokesmen of the sentiments of the general Hindu community. The slaughtering of cows attracted no notice a few years ago and every Hindu knew about it exactly what he knows now. But the plan on which the movement is working has already produced much effect upon the minds of the community. Almost every Hindu shopkeeper of any sort in Bombay knows that he contributes directly or indirectly something towards Cow-protection. His mind is gradually prepared to receive more instruction and information on the subject, and it would be a very easy thing to induce a strike among them or restriction of intercourse with the Muhammadan community. Such steps, for there can be a series of them, would add much to the tension of feeling existing at present between Hindus and Muhammadans, and may form subjects of disturbance and great anxiety to Government. It cannot be doubted that the movement is in the long run calculated to work politically and therefore one which deserves to be carefully watched. It will take many years before it can produce the desired effect, but I am humbly of opinion that the system of work being one of a dangerous nature, every possible precaution should be taken to test the growth and progress of the movement from time to time. At one time energy seems to be great and again appears to damp down. But these are inevitable fluctuations, due to the peculiar formation of Hindu society, and they might not be considered permanent."

Appendix.

During the speeches made on the cow-protection movement, one Amarchand Parmar of Bombay, a staunch disciple of Dayanand, composed and read this poem. Owing to the peculiar arrangement of the words, the poem can be translated in various ways. In whichever way put it is most objectionable. The following is a correct translation as far as I can make out:—

"O males (braves) wearing your moustaches and turbans carry with you arms and protect cows. O brave Aryan Brothers with your courage and money, with wounds in battle-field, bury the senseless mlechhas (Muhammadans). They killed millions of cows and will kill such supreme animals even though you Aryan Brothers are living; therefore hasten, hasten and sacrifice your lives. Where is the Aryan strength and why do you put on a bodice (become cowards)? Rise, rise at once, why do you fear?"

The above is most objectionable writing, and it cannot be said that the object of the author in reading it to a multitude of 10,000 people was either social or economical.

Another poem by Kaba alias Damodar Madhavji is also very objectionable. It was read out at the annual cow-celebration in Bombay, and runs thus—

"O Creator! Girivar, Pashkar, Dinkar (all epithets for God), stop cow-killing.

"O God! I thy servant beseech thee.

"May God keep all well! The poor cow is crying oppression at this time.

"She has a knife in her throat which is terrible and none goes to her rescue.

"O Creator! stop kine-killing.

"Run to the cow's aid with bows and arrows in hand, time passes. With tact, strength, faith, self-respect and with perseverance the sky resounds. Run with joy, spread fame, Oh ye strong people!"

Again by Amrit Lal—

"O cow! thou eater of grass, giving life to all and reliever of hunger. O cow! we are unable to count thy merits, Amrit regrets to say that we see thy death. We have no strength in the Kshatriyas (warrior classes) and so there is no protection (of cows), and so also they are not to be called protectors of cows and Brahmans. There was the hero Arjun, who protected cows. There was the great hero Krishna who assumed the name of cow-protector. There was Dayanand Swami who was a brave and patient personage. Amrit, the poet, says all these helped the cows. These were the cow-protectors who used to protect the cows, and considered them more valuable than their own lives. O poor cow! thou art helpless and one only weeps to see 1½ crores of cows being killed. One can see the slaughter-house at Bandra. O in what ill-fated time was Bandra populated! Amrit says none cares for the cries of the cows."

The following poetry by Swami Mangaldev is very objectionable—

"To kill a cow is a great sin and a certain seed of misery. Earthquakes are due to such sin, and it also causes mishap to the State. Half the world starves and they raise cries of oppression, and the same fate will overtake those who now sleep with gorged bellies. Cows cry out night and day and pour water from their eyes. Who will hear the dire and sinful calamity to the cow. Bhim, Yudhishthir, and Arjun (heroes) are all dead, and there exists no man possessed of strength. Kshatriyas by name alone are left now, devoid

of all religious tenets and strength. Cows' throats are being cut. Is there any son of a Kshatrya in the world? Prepare to build cow-houses. Souls of cows can be saved."

Again after recalling Arjun's exploits for cow-protection, the same poet says—

"Where is Guru Govind Singh (the Sikh leader), the protector of villages and religion? Lo! the Guru achieved success by taking arms and crying aloud; the sinful were destroyed and animals were killed with a loud voice, and those that were unable to see misery to cows forfeited their lives. Is there any such disciple of the Guru? The cows' throats are being cut, prepare to have cow-sheds that they may be protected."

Note.—In both the above passages the last line asking to have cow-sheds prepared is mere deception and is thoroughly inconsistent with the tone of every other line.

PRÉCIS OF A REPORT SUBMITTED ON THE 12TH JUNE 1895 BY A PARSI
AGENT OF THE BOMBAY S.B., REGARDING THE
COW-PROTECTION MOVEMENT.

1. The writer's enquiry extended over about three months, during which he visited Bombay, Poona, and Nagpur, spending the greater part of his time, however, in Bombay, which he considers the stronghold of the Cow-protection movement in Western India.

2. The movement was inaugurated in Upper India by Swami Dyanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, and on his death some 10 years ago was carried on by Swami Ala Ram, who is most energetic and zealous, and is engaged in his propagandism throughout India, not confining himself only to the north.

3. The Bombay Sabha was founded on the 28th June 1887, under the Presidentship of Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit and was called the *Gorakshak Mandali*. Owing to a personal misunderstanding between the late Mr. Damodhar Gokaldas Manji, J.P., Secretary of the *Gorakshak Mandali*, and Lakshmi Das Khimji, Shet, the latter started an opposition Sabha called the *Gopalan Updeshak*. This Sabha is looked upon as a more or less private concern of Lakshmi Das Khimji, who was influenced, it is said, in its foundation by Chuni Lal Lalubhai Parekh, B.A., of Ahmadabad, its present Secretary. It is not held in much estimation by the public.

The Bombay *Gorakshak Mandali* has 1,500 members, 75 of whom, including a member of His Excellency the Governor's Council, are on the managing committee and 110 are life members. The members are mostly Hindus and in particular *Bhatias*, but there are also a few Muhammadans and Parsis and even a Chinaman. It has 14 branches.

4. The programme of this Society is ostensibly on an economic and not a religious basis. It is urged that the increase of population means a proportionate pressure on the land and to prevent starvation a proportionate agricultural extension and improvements are required. The latter being out of the question for the Indian *raiyyat* under existing conditions, the only remedy possible, is to promote the agricultural resources of the country. The great difficulty in the way is the want of cattle. The annual loss of cattle for all India is roughly estimated at 18 million head, and this does not by any means match the annual increase. Three and a half millions go to the slaughter-house, and special stress is laid on the fact that the largest demand for beef comes from the European army. The number of cattle slaughtered in Bhandora, near Bombay, for public consumption shows an increase, it is alleged, of 31 per cent in five years. Among the resultant ills are not only poverty and the importation of Asiatic produce for home consumption, but also the high rate of infant mortality.

As a remedy for this state of things, the Sabha advocates—

- (1) a law to prohibit the present indiscriminate slaughter of cows;
- (2) the importation of beef from abroad;
- (3) the establishment of Veterinary Hospitals, the reservation of grazing grounds, and the encouragement of dairy and Cattle-breeding Farms all over the country.

The 5th Anniversary of the *Gorakshak Mandali* was held with much *éclat* in April 1893, and it was decided on that occasion that there should be a yearly demonstration.

The celebration has not, however, been repeated, chiefly it is said through fear of incurring the suspicion of Government in consequence of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, having reported that the action of the *Goraksha Mandal* was one of the contributory causes of the late Bombay riots. The *Sabha* has since limited its efforts to the collection of funds for furthering its objects. During his stay in Bombay, the agent watched continually for signs of any special activity, but in vain.

5. The Nagpur *Goraksha Sabha* was established on the 7th July 1888, and has 837 members—all, with the exception of a few Muhammadans and Parsis, Hindus. This *Sabha* has been very active since its foundation, and has established 96 branches with 2,016 members. It is said to have converted as many as 250,000 of the low-caste Mhers to vegetarianism. The 6th Anniversary of this Society was celebrated with much pomp in January 1894, and it was resolved on this occasion to constitute the Nagpur *Sabha* as the head centre of the Cow-protection movement, in order to give vitality and coherence to the efforts of the branches scattered over India. The agent adds:—"The same dulness which I noticed in Bombay pervades the Nagpur *Sabha*, possibly from the same cause. Nagpur is busy, however, in opening a school in which men, who will be sent all over India, are to be trained for the preaching of Cow-protection. This school is awaiting funds."

6. The Poona *Goraksha Sabha* was opened on the 30th September 1888. It has 117 members, 4 of whom are Parsis, the rest being Hindus. The *Sabha* has opened 26 branches. No large commemorative demonstrations have been held in Poona, and, in fact, no meetings of any sort have been called since 1888. Between 1888 and 1890 the work of the *Sabha* was limited to collecting money and opening new branches. From 1891 to 1893 nothing was done. In Poona is as quiet as Bombay or Nagpur.

7. The writer is forced to the conclusion that the kine-protection agitation is at present only religious and economic, and not political, for the following reasons:—In each case the *Sabha* is composed almost entirely of Hindus, though there are a very few Parsi and Muhammadan members. Parsis would be most unlikely to foregather with Hindus for a political agitation—firstly, from affection to a Government which has given them reason to be grateful; secondly, because they are shrewd enough to know that no such attempt would be successful; and, lastly, because the Hindus, knowing of the reputed loyalty of the Parsis, would be very unlikely to allow them to reach a high position in their assemblies, were the ultimate aim of such assemblies political. The reason then for this racial combination is in reality religious. Those Parsis who have joined the movement are mostly orthodox and consider it their duty to protect cows as directed by Zoroaster, and it is a fact that during the month *Boman*, the Parsis do, in obedience to this direction, feed any and every cow they come across. They are also forbidden to sell cows.

In answer to the objection that a Muhammadan is under the obligation, for certain religious ceremonies, to slaughter, rather than to preserve, the cow, the writer was referred to the *Koran*, verse 142:—"A cow-killer, a fruitful tree-cutter and one who sleeps late of a morning are never to be forgiven." He was also told that Christians were included in the general injunction, on the authority of Genesis, Chap. I., v. 29, and Chap. IX., v. 3 and 4. The theory of the *Goraksha Sabha* is in fact that men of whatsoever religion should unite for the common object of the protection of cows, and therefore though the reasons adduced are rather forced, the writer believes the religious feeling to be genuine. A Hindu, and especially a *Bhatia* seldom passes a cow without touching her and salaaming. A Rajput and a *Bhatia*, who accompanied the writer to Bhandora, refused to touch a drop of water there, though the day was hot, alleging that they could not drink water in Bhandora where cows were so unmercifully slaughtered.

Though the *Sabha* had its origin in religious feeling and now owes what support it has to the same motive, it has been clever enough to substitute economics for religion as a bait to catch the educated, and this explains the large proportion of educated men it reckons among its supporters. The chief men who have given their countenance to the movement are mostly of known loyalty. The presence of Muhammadans as full members of the *Sabha* is another proof of its being mainly a religious movement.

Lastly, if this were a political agitation, it seems most unlikely that the Poona branch would be content to sleep as it does. But though nothing is at present going on which may be called political, it is conceivable that the agitation might focus, under certain circumstances, at any one of the three great centres. It is possible that the absence of any indication of political trouble may have been studiously assumed, or, perhaps, specially prepared to guard against such enquiries as the present one, in consequence of the remarks (alluded to above) of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, after the Bombay riots, which were made the subject of so violent a protest to Government on the part of the *Goraksha Sabha*, while in addition the harmlessness of the literature of the *Sabha* would naturally be an obvious precaution. The writer's grounds for this conjecture are:—(1) the forced nature of the various doctrinal grounds on which the adherence of the different sects to the protection of cows is demanded, and (2) the extraordinary lull which has fallen upon the proceedings of the *Sabha* since the Bombay riots of 1893.

In conclusion, the writer remarks that he has, of necessity, adhered in his report to kine-protection in reference to political agitation, but possibly there are other agencies at work, and it may be that this is only one of many schemes set going on the off chance of the combustible material only taking fire when the moment for action arrives. Vigilance will therefore be the safest course. (C.S.B.)

PRÉCIS OF A REPORT SUBMITTED ON THE 13TH DECEMBER 1895 BY RAI
BAHADUR SARDAR AMRIK SINGH REGARDING THE NATIONAL
CONGRESS AND COW-PROTECTION MOVEMENT.

One of the principal leaders of the Hindu revival movement and of the Sanatan Dharm Sabhas is Sri Krishnanand Swami. His history. Krishnanand Swami, a native of the Hugli District. This man whose original name was Krishna Prasanna Sen and who was born in 1850, is by caste a Vaidya and a member of the Vaishnav sect. From 1870 to 1882 he was in the service of the East Indian Railway at Monghyr. While there he became intimate with Sadhus and interested himself in politics. In 1875 or 1876 he became a disciple (*chela*) of Swami Dayal Das then on a visit to Monghyr, and two years later established the first Sanatan Dharm Sabha at that place. At a meeting of Sadhus held at the Kumbh Mela of 1878, it was decided to take steps for the revival of Hinduism. Krishna Prasanna Sen took his share in this movement, and was appointed Secretary of the Bharatvarsha Arya Dharm Parcharni Sabha of Monghyr. He is a very eloquent and popular preacher, has done much to check the progress of Christianity and Brahmoism in Bengal, and has been the means of sending out some 350 Sadhus as Missionaries of the Hindu Revival.

On his resignation of the service of Government, Krishna Prasanna Sen took the name of Krishnanand, adopted the dress of a Brahmachari and started the Dharmamrit Press at Benares where he published a newspaper, the '*Dharm Parcharak*.' It is said that under the pretext of preaching religion, he has given currency to very deep political ideas, and has spread a spirit of hatred against the Government throughout Bengal, where he is on intimate terms with Rajas, Nobles and Zamindars. He professes to receive revelations and has many disciples.

Objects of the Congress.

According to Krishnanand the objects with which the Congress was established were—

- (1) to supply Government with correct information;
- (2) to repress the high-handedness of local officials, to excite public opinion against them and to spread the idea that local officials are not carrying out the wishes of the British Government; and
- (3) as a last resource to breed dissatisfaction with the Government itself.

The idea of the Congress originated with Moti Lal, Editor of the '*Amrita Bazar Patrika*,' and its founders were Moti Lal, Surendra Nath Banarji and Krishnanand. Lecturers were employed to disseminate Congress ideas at fairs and other gatherings. The refusal of a pension to Surendra Nath and his prosecution for defamation embittered the feelings of the Congress party. When Surendra Nath was released from jail, it was proposed to collect a fund to defray the expenses of cases, but the idea fell through. The first Congress was held at Bombay in 1885. The present leaders of the movement, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Surendra Nath Banarji, Moti Lal, Raja Nares Chandra Pandia, &c., are in favour of the establishment of a permanent fund for Congress expenses. This idea has found favour in the Panjab with Sardar Dayal Singh, Majithia, Diwan Ramjas,* Pandit Gopi Nath, Babu Pratul Chandra Chatterji, Lal Chand, Pleader of Lahore, Bhai Chandra Singh, Pleader of Firozpur, and others. So far the scheme has not prospered as those who would otherwise subscribe are afraid of incurring the displeasure of Government. It is believed by some that the Englishmen who have joined the Congress have

* Since dead. (C.S.B.)

only done so in order to wreck the movement by introducing elements of discord. As an instance of this, Mr. Hume's attempt to get the Congress to take up the cause of the backward Musulmans is mentioned. The failure hitherto of the Congress to accomplish its aim is attributed to the opposition of European officials who seek in every way to minimise its importance. In order to reduce expenses, it has been proposed to hold the Congress in future at one fixed place and to establish a number of permanent local branches throughout India, each province holding its own annual meeting and reporting to the Central Committee. Great care is to be taken to keep secret the measures which the Congress proposes to take. As instances of the advantages of secret and vigorous united action, the cases of the American War and the French Revolution are mentioned. Surendra Nath Banarji opposes the idea of a fixed head-quarters as rendering it easier for Government to crush the whole movement and is of opinion that meetings should be held as at present, but that the proceedings should be secret. Krishnanand believes that the letters of supporters of the Congress are tampered with in the Post Office, and proposes that other means of communication should be adopted. He gives instances in which Government was in possession of facts which could only have become known by opening letters. The work to which the Congress leaders should secretly devote its energies in future is religious agitation, the dissemination of a belief that Anglo-Indian officials desire the ruin of the Hindu nation and the creation of a feeling of union.

The Sanatan Dharm is the most efficient means of religious agitation in India, the idea which underlies it being the strengthening of Hindu feeling

The Hindu Revival. which has been weakened by the spread of English education. The Mutiny was caused by anxiety for the safety of Hinduism, but now the mass of the people are indifferent in religious matters, the Sipahi drinks from a *masakh* and the Muhammadan cooks pork for his master. There is no feeling against the young Hindus who lose their caste by going to England.

According to Surendra Nath the British "divide and rule" policy has done good in welding the Hindus into a compact body, a work which would otherwise have taken years to accomplish. Ultimately Government will be the sufferer, and in the eyes of the world will have only itself to thank. According to Krishnanand the want of competent agents is the chief difficulty with which Congress has to cope. All the best men are given employment. He himself has done much. In speaking to A. S., Krishnanand praised the Sikhs highly, pointed out the low price which Government paid for its Sikh soldiers and its indifference to their religion in making them drink water drawn by Muhammadans and allowing cow-killing in the Panjab. In old days Sikhs would have sacrificed their lives rather than submit to this. As a contrast to the apathy of the Sikhs stress was laid on the zeal of the Muhammadans as shown by the murderers of Lord Mayo and Mr. Justice Norman—a zeal which had met its reward in the improved behaviour of the English towards Musalmans. The Congress is a political not a religious movement, but the checking of one movement will only lead to the starting of another. The English must either attend to the complaints of the Hindus in religious matters or be prepared for an opportunity arising for the latter to defend and protect their faith.

The idea that a "change of Government is to happen" is gaining ground owing to the increasing poverty of the people, the growth of political agitation in the guise of religion, the occurrence of religious disputes, and the diminishing confidence of the people in the Government. Every effort will be made to repress the high-handedness of officials. It is not contemplated to expel the English but to bring about a change in the system of Government, as soon as the country is fit to govern itself. The present system of Government, as soon as the officials of low-birth is unsatisfactory. Constant attacks on paper are doing their work and "an enemy against whom tongue, pen or arms are doing used eventually loses all prestige in the eyes of those who attack it." At present tongue and pen are the only weapon, but when an opportunity arises

it will not be difficult to procure arms. The customs and manners of the English and their association with persons of low caste are loathsome to the Indians. Religion is the life of the people and God has always raised up protectors for it like Sivaji and Guru Govind and will do so again. As Government is now inclined to destroy their faith the Hindus hope that "it will be their guest only for a few days." The belief is spreading among Bengalis that the support of the Congress and Sanatan Dharm and the protection of kine can be done only by Sadhus, whose numbers and activity are increasing. When a religious war arises, these Sadhus will assemble to fight for the faith. The Bengalis are prepared, if necessary, to seek the sympathy and help of foreign nations. Krishnanand does not believe in Goshalas which benefit only old cows. With the revival of Hinduism Cow-protection will come of itself, and the land will be free from other faiths. He disapproves therefore of Sriman Swami's devotion to the Cow-protection movement, which will only lead to premature outbreaks easily quelled. Sriman Swami once proposed to get the Congress to take up Cow-protection, but was stopped by the lawyers of Bombay and Madras, who were of opinion that this action, by appearing to advocate the cause of a few discontented persons only, would lower the influence of the Congress. Indian union has been further rendered difficult by the policy of encouraging different vernacular languages. To promote union Sanskrit should be studied, and to this end Krishnanand has started a Vedic School which has been followed by the establishment of about 350 Sanatan Dharm Sabhas and Hari Sabhas in Bengal. When 1,00,000 Dharm Sabhas have been established with some 20,000,000 members, they will take up the subject of Cow-killing, but not till then.

Babu Atul Chandra, a Head Clerk or Head Assistant of the Calcutta High Court, expressed his regret to A. S. that the Sikhs had taken the wrong side in the Mutiny. But for this the English would have been driven from India. The best of the English sympathized with the Indians in the Mutiny and refused to join in the thanksgiving for its suppression. Native Chiefs and Nobles spend their money selfishly in currying favour with the English and in the purchase of English articles, while the English themselves spend nothing for the benefit of India. The Chiefs owing to their neglect of their religion have fallen into a miserable state of debt, powerlessness and depression.

A. S. also met Iswar Chandra Ghosh, a pleader of Dacca, who expressed his opinion that a conflict between the English and Indians could not be long delayed. The former had ruined the religion, wealth, and respect of the latter, but now a reaction was setting in. If other parts of India knew the English as Bengal does they would be compelled to quit the country. This result will be brought about when the military and the villagers have been infected by the teaching of the Samajes. As an instance of the power of persuasion over ignorant minds, Krishnanand mentioned Koer Singh who wandered in the guise of a fakir after the Mutiny, but in 1881 successfully excited the Santals to resist the Census. No attempt should, however, be made to stir up the ignorant to action till the country at large is on the alert, and the army and Chiefs are on the side of the Hindu revivalists. Babu Mathura Mohan, a pleader of Dacca, urged the power which the railway and telegraph gave Government to break up combinations among Natives to which Babu Iswar Chandra replied that there would be no difficulty in destroying the Railways and Telegraphs and stopping the Post.

A. S. then goes on to consider the position of Sadhus, who form a sect of much influence which they exercise mainly through females who are their most devoted followers. As an instance of this he cites the honour done to Krishnanand by ladies of high families. Among the followers which female influence has secured for him, Krishnanand mentions the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who has expressed his sympathy with Krishnanand's objects, but has said that he did not dare to express his own opinion openly.

Krishnanand's monthly income (exclusive of gifts said to amount annually to about Rs. 2,000) is estimated at Rs. 464 and his expenditure at Rs. 250. The

balance after providing for the temple of Annapurna and the Vedic School is placed in a Reserve Fund. He is supposed to be worth Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 60,000.

One of Krishnanand's peculiarities is that while he calls himself a Sanyasi and looks like one, he is a *chela* of Gharib Das, i.e., a Kabirpanthi, and as such is entitled only to be called Das, not Swami. His object is to gain influence alike with those favourable and those hostile to idol-worship. His teaching follows the Vedantas and the Puranas as expediency dictates. In this he imitates Guru Govind Singh who adopted the emblems of five different deities to conciliate their respective followers.

Krishnanand's Sadhus are instructed to preach :—

- (1) The revival of Hinduism.
- (2) *Bhakti* and *gyan* (devotion to God and knowledge).
- (3) The necessity for a revival of learning among the Brahmans.
- (4) The instruction of the warrior-caste and Chiefs in their religious duties, specially the protection of the cow and of religion. Some day when the Christian Government has disappeared from India there will be need for repentance as those who gave their daughters to Musalmans in former days are now repentant. God created Hindus for the protection of their religion, a duty for which they are becoming powerless owing to Government depriving them of their arms.
- (5) Unity among Hindus.
- (6) The holiness of Sadhus and the duty of pilgrimage.
- (7) The straits to which religion is now reduced and the duty of striving for its revival.

Fairs afford the best opportunities for preaching to advantage.

Krishnanand's religious teaching always has, according to A. S., a political object. He gives the substance of his lectures at Benares. In these

Krishnanand urges the importance of religion and of unity, especially unity among the Chiefs of India in whom he endeavours to implant the belief that Government is trying in every way to weaken their positions till ultimately Europeans will rule the States, and the Chiefs will be no better than District Officers liable to removal at any time. Sindhis' conduct in refraining from expressing gratitude for the titles bestowed on him at Delhi in 1877 is praised. Such titles are badges of slavery.

The object of inculcating the merit of pilgrimages is to excite religious enthusiasm and unite Hindus in a common faith.

In a lecture at Ramnagar, Krishnanand expressed his opinion that a revolution would take place in India before long, brought about by the religious, educational and political agitations now in progress. The press is spreading the doctrines of the Hindu Revival in India, as it spread those of the Reformation in Europe. When the Mahawarni fair at Hardwar was closed on account of cholera in 1891, Krishnanand urged that advantage should be taken of the occurrence to excite religious feelings through the newspapers and Sabhas, and he says that had the Government paid no attention to the matter, the public would have had a great opportunity of expressing their feelings. He told A. S. that he would similarly rouse people if any further attempt were made to tax temples in Benares.

Swami Dayal Das, a Gharibdasi, *Guru* to Krishnanand, was strongly inimical

Opinions of Swami Dayal Das.

to the Muhammadans, and used to recount the injuries done by them to Hindus and Hinduism. He praised the British Government which checked the oppression of the Sikhs, but he blamed it for not being sufficiently mindful of the misdeeds of its own people. The officials of the earlier days were superior to their successors, and this is detrimental to the Government which is no longer revered as something divine as it was in the Panjab in 1857—a reverence

to which it owed the assistance which it received. Union among the people was required to secure redress of grievances from Government, but such union was impossible owing to the variety of religions in existence in India. Religious revival would bring about union, and the Government would side with the Hindus against the Muhammadans.

The following are Dayal Das' principal *chelas*—Krishnanand Swami, Bhaskaranand Swami, Bashudanand Swami, Armeshranand Swami, Brahm-

Followers of Dayal Das.

prakas Jageswar, Narsingh Das Swami, Sheo Sankaranand Swami, Anand Prakas Swami and Ram Sarup Swami.

Other disciples are—Swami Hira Das, Swami Akhandanand Udrot, Swami Mahanand Udrot, Swami Brahmanand Udrot and Swami Budhram.

Bhaskaranand is a Brahman of the Muttra District, learned in Sanskrit and the Vedas and very charitable. He went

Swami Bhaskaranand.

through the training of an ascetic, and is now about 40 years of age. His chief followers are wealthy Marwaris. When Dayal Das died in 1895, Bhaskaranand was chosen to succeed him. He goes about the country preaching, accompanied by 100 to 200 Sadhus. His most intimate connection is with Patiala, Nabha and Jhind, and he has many disciples at Ambala. Among those that believe in him are the Raja of Nabha, the Ranis of Patiala, Sardar Bakhshi Chand Singh, Sardar Gurmukh Singh and Sardar Jiwan Singh of Patiala.

He is also much honoured at Lahore, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, &c. In his opinion the cow-protection movement is doing no good, and was only taken up for selfish purposes. The first thing to do is to revive Hinduism.

All the Sadhus, whom A. S. interviewed at the Chhodani Mela in the Rohtak district, expressed their hatred of the British system of government. Brah-

Feelings of Sadhus.

manand, Akhananand and Mahanand Udrots said that the exactions of Government were unparalleled, that the Zamindars were in a deplorable condition, and that their sons who sacrificed their lives for the English were underpaid. Except Swami Narsingh Das and Ram Krishan, who live in Malwa and Nagpur, respectively, all those mentioned above, reside in the uncultivated tracts of the Panjab.

At the Mahawarni Fair at Hardwar on the 25th March 1895, there was no gathering of Sadhus and no political lectures were delivered.

Two men were sent by A. S. to the Ramnavami Fair at Janakpur of March 1895. They reported that no tank whatever had been dug there, and

Janakpur.

that there was consequently no connection between any such tank, and the tree-smearing which A. S. believes to have been the work of Musalmans, because no Hindu would pluck cow's hair to daub trees with it, or possibly of malcontent *fakirs*, such as Dudhia Baba whom he identifies with Koer Singh.

The leading personage at Janakpur is Basantgir, Mahant of the Ram Mandir, a debauchee who is little revered.*

A. S. is of opinion that the Sadhus have not tried to cause discontent in the army, though an attempt in this direction was made by Chaudhuri Kanhai Singh. As the result of his experience A. S. believes that the Sadhus are disaffected, though some, such as Prakasanand, are worse than others in this respect. Prakasanand lives at the expense of Sir Partap Singh of Jodhpur who is an Arya Samajist, though neither a Congressist nor Cow-protectionist. Prakasanand is much in favour of the boycotting movement.

* Since dead. (C.S.B.)

A. S.'s own opinion concludes his reports. He considers that the Congress

A. S.'s conclusion. was originated by some discontented Bengalis, that it was looked on generally as a *tamasha* and so grew, its importance being exaggerated by the local officials. The difficulties it has to face are due chiefly to—

- (1) Its large expenditure without corresponding advantages.
- (2) The withdrawal or death of some of its best supporters.
- (3) Its failure to enlist general sympathy.
- (4) The belief that it is merely an assembly of discontented and selfish individuals.
- (5) The reluctance of pleaders to join owing to the belief that the Legal Practitioner's Act was passed in order to punish them for their connection with the Congress.
- (6) The dislike of the orthodox Hindus and their unwillingness to mix with those who have lost caste.

In A. S.'s opinion the Congress is likely to decrease in importance, because it fails to work for the good of the nation or to excite religious enthusiasm. One result it has, however, had. It has weakened the attachment of the people to Government, and in this respect a great change for the worse has come about in the past ten years. This is partly the result of English education, partly of want of sympathy on the part of a certain number of officials, who by always treating natives as the conquered race, are exciting in the latter a feeling of hatred to the ruling race. These feelings are not to be found in the Panjab and North Western Provinces, and the Rajputana and Central India Chiefs have taken no part in the Congress. The Maharaja of Kapurthala takes no part in it, though his Diwan, Ramjas, was an ardent supporter. Darbhanga's dissatisfaction is due to the refusal of a title (? salute) and to recent land legislation, but he is afraid openly to support the Congress.

The Cow-protection agitation originated with Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, which endeavours to unite Hindus by dilating on (1) Cow-protection, (2) the oppression practised by the Musalmans.

The Congress leaders started a premature excitement on these subjects, which has produced merely a flash in the pan. Some of the Samajists such as Nawal Singh and Ala Ram Swami wanted Cow-protection taken up, but Hansraj, Gurudatt, Sain Das, Narain Das, Iswar Das, Mul Raj and Amolak Ram opposed this, and the idea was dropped. Ala Ram Swami has now withdrawn from the movement,* and Sriman Swami, who was formerly prominent, has not lectured for a long while. The Marwaris are sick of the agitation, as they believe that their money has been wasted and misappropriated, and that the agitation is likely to lead to disturbances and so to more stringent administration. Men like Darbhanga and Raja Ram Pal Singh, who have taken up Cow-protection, are not actuated by religious motives any more than the English-educated Hindus who have taken it up.

The Arya Samaj is essentially political not religious in its aims and is opposed to Brahmanical influence. In the Panjab the Arya Samaj, which might have furthered the cause of advancement, made an attack on the Sikh Gurus and so alienated the Sikhs. One prominent Sikh of Amritsar, Bawa Narain Singh, is actually getting a will which he had made in favour of the Samaj, cancelled. The Samaj has also been split up into the flesh-eating and vegetarian factions, though an effort has been made by Amolak Ram and Narain Das, Extra Assistant Commissioners, to mitigate the existing feelings of hostility. To this end too the Suddhi Sabha has been established by Mulk Raj Bhatta, brother to Hansraj, the President of the Samaj at Lahore, Rai Mul Raj, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and Dr. Jay Singh, formerly an Assistant Surgeon, the idea being to admit to Sikhism all persons who have been converted to Christianity or Islam. The Sikhs are men of military, not

* Recent information from independent sources shows that Swami Ala Ram still takes an active part in the agitation against kine-killing. (C.S.B.)

of literary instincts, and Government would do well to further encourage them to enlist in the army and to respect the teachings of the Rahat Nama of Guru Govind.

On the subject of the army A. S. writes—"The Mutiny of 1857 has taught us that we should always keep ourselves well-informed of what is passing in the minds of the soldiers. It is quite impossible to know what matters and interests a certain body has, which is composed of people of one sect having identical interests. I look on the system now in force of organising the army according to castes as dangerous. Such a system might be advantageous if the rulers and the soldiers were of one and the same caste. But when this is not the case, the system is open to suspicion. An incident occurred before my eyes in Benares in the first week of 1895. I do not wish to describe the cause of this occurrence, as it originated with the city Kotwal. But I simply wish to point out how fearful it is that 2 or 3 scores of sipahis should leave their quarters at one time with one common object in view, and that their superior officer should remain quite ignorant of the fact. This could never have occurred had the sipahis not been of one caste.

Since the establishment of such movements as the Arya Samaj, &c., the Congress politicians have been joining the Sanatan Dharm Sabha, and A. S. suggests that lists of members of the Sabha should be procured. The movement is essentially a selfish one and will not advance the regeneration of the country. It will also check the progress of the Congress.

27-4-96.

C. S. B.

Confidential.

No.

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From

L. M. Thornton, Esq.,

Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

The Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.

Home Department.

(Public)

Simla, the 26th September 1896.

Sir,

I am directed to forward, for the information of
His Excellency the Governor in Council, a copy of the papers

1. Précis of a report by a Brahmin Agent of the Bombay S.B. regarding the Cow Protection Movement. noted on the margin regard-
2. Précis of a report by a Parsi Agent of the Bombay S.B. regarding the Cow Protection Movement. ing the Cow
3. Précis of a report by Rai Bahadur Sardar Amrik Singh regarding the National Congress and Cow Protection Movement. Protection Movement.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

L. M. Thornton

Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

circ.
Ms 5.6.96
CHIEF SECRETARY
5. OCT. 1896
GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

CURRENT No. 4395

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