Communal Disorders.

1. In the attached statement statistics are given of communal riots which have occurred between Hindus and Muslims each year since 1913. In this note a brief description is added of the growth of these communal disorders, and of their extent; of the nature of the immediate causes of disension which have led to open breaches of the peace, and of the methods pursued when passions are inflamed. No attempt is made to investigate historical origins, or to examine and assess the underlying motives which might be held to have influenced, or to be influencing, the growth and flow of the rivalries and contentions of the two communities. In particular, no inferences are drawn from these statistics.

2. It is unfortunate that no detailed figures are available from past records to enable ready statistical comparison to be made of the prevalence of communal riots during the last five years with their prevalence for similar periods twenty or thirty or more years ago, or at particular stages in the recent history of the country. But though statistics of that description have not been maintained, it is possible from the material which survives to attempt a review in very general terms of the course of communal disorders in recent years. The grave Benares riots of 1889, however, first be mentioned as the earliest notable instance of a communal disturbance during the British period. In that year the city of Benares experienced one of those convulsions which had frequently occurred in the past owing to the religious antagonism of the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population. The chief source of friction was the mosque built by Aurangzeb on the site of the old temple of Bisheshwar, which was to Hindus the most sacred spot in the city. The ill will between the two communities culminated in a sudden outbreak of great intensity in October 1889, when the immediate occasion being the attempted construction of a building by Hindus on the neutral ground between the mosque and the present temple of Bisheshwar.

In the earlier stages of the riots this temple was invaded by the Muslims, the celebrated pillar known as the Lat Bhiron was thrown down and shattered to pieces and the sacred precincts were defiled. The next day great crowds of Hindus attacked the mosque of Aurangzeb, set it on fire and put to death every Muslim of the neighbourhood who fell into their hands. The entire city was given up to pillage and slaughter; and order was not restored by the troops until some fifty mosques had been destroyed and several hundred persons lost their lives. For several months the magistrate, Mr. Bird, found it necessary to post guards near the chief places of worship, both Hindu and Muslim, to prevent further outbreaks.

3. Though the available records are meagre, communal disorders would appear to have been particularly prevalent between the years 1885 and 1893. Over the first part of that period the days set apart for the Muharram celebrations observed by Muslims in commemoration of the martyrdom of Husain, the second son of Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, coincided with the Hindu Dasahara festival and in consequence of the clash of these celebrations, there were serious communal disturbances at Lahore and Karnal in 1885. The same reason led to the great riots which occurred in Delhi in 1886, for the suppression of which military assistance was required, and to communal disorders at Hoshrur, Rohtak, Ludhiana and Ambala. Dera Ghazi Khan was the scene of a disturbance at the Muharram in 1889. In 1891 there was a serious riot at Palakod in the Salem district of the Madras Presidency when some Ghairahadis, members of a fanatical Muslim sect, attacked a Hindu procession. The year 1899 was one of the worst in the whole history of these Hindu-Muslim disturbances. In June there were grave outbreaks over a large area of country in the Azamgarh district of the United Provinces in connection with cow-killing at the Baq'Id, and in August there occurred the very serious Muharram riots at Bombay, of which the memory still survives. These riots lasted for six days and 80 persons lost their lives; many mosques and temples were desecrated and many shops were pillaged. Other parts of the Bombay Presidency were similarly afflicted at the same time. On the occasion of the Dasahara there was a serious riot at Is Kiel in the Miawiali district of the Punjub.

4. The next period when communal disorders gave rise to particular anxiety would appear to have run from about 1907 when a series of dangerous disturbances occurred in the Mymensing district of Eastern Bengal, until the beginning of the great War in 1914. In February of that year a non-official member of the old Imperial Legislative Council moved a resolution recommending that owing to the strained relations between the two communities conciliation boards should be formed to settle inter-communal disputes. At the same time the Peshawar riots of 1910, the Baq'Id riots of 1912 at Ajodhya and Fyzabad in the United Provinces and the communal disturbances which occurred at Agra on the occasion of the Muharram in 1913 were still fresh in the public memory. It is significant too that in 1912 when leaving the United Provinces of which he had been the Lieutenant-Governor for five years Sir John Hewett made a parting appeal to the leaders of the two great communities to compose their differences and added that "it grieved him when he was about to leave India to see that differences were more acute and the feelings more bitter between the two communities in the United Provinces than they had been at any time during his residence there".

S. John Hewett's connection with the United Provinces dated from 1875.

5. In 1917, there occurred the Shahabad Baq'Id disturbances which recalled the Azamgarh disturbances of 1886 and which are among the most serious which have occurred at any time since the
British connection with the country. In the previous year there had been a minor Baqri'd riot in the same neighbourhood, but the disturbances of September 1917 bore every indication of being due to a carefully pre-organised attempt on the part of the rural Hindus over a considerable area of country to put an end once for all to cow-sacrifices in their midst. The first riot occurred on the afternoon of the 28th September at a village named Ibrashimpur in the Shahabad district. In spite of the fact that a compromise had been concluded between the local Hindus and Muslims a large body of Hindus attacked and looted the village. The rioters dispersed as quickly as they had appeared and since the compromise had been broken the Muslims performed the cow-sacrifice according to their custom. Though the Baqri'd festival was now concluded, this incident was only a prelude to the disturbances which soon affected practically the entire district. On the 30th September a mob of Hindus estimated to number more than 25,000 attacked Ibrashimpur and the neighbouring villages. It was dispersed only after a hand-to-hand contest with the police in the course of which much looting was done and the police station attacked. Reinforcements of military police were at once hurried to the district and for thirty-six hours there was calm; but on the 2nd October without further warning rioting broke out simultaneously over a large part of the district and for six days law and order disappeared. Large Hindu mobs everywhere attacked Muslims, destroyed their houses and looted their property. In the district Muslim villages put up stout resistance and desperate fights attended by considerable bloodshed occurred in some places. The mobs were frequently led by small land-holders who directed the proceedings from elephants or from horseback. The troops who were drafted into the district had at first great difficulty in coming to close quarters with the numerous mobile bodies of rioters, but as soon as it became possible to establish a cordon of military posts and to connect them with patrols along the main roads, resistance collapsed. On the 9th October similar disturbances broke out in the adjoining parts of the Gyan district where over 30 villages were looted. But this time troops were near at hand and order was restored after a few days. Rioters who had been arrested in great numbers were tried by special tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act and about one thousand individuals were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

6. There were a number of minor Baqri'd riots in the province of Bihar and Orissa in 1918 and an outbreak at Garden Reach in Calcutta, but far the most serious was the mass attack made by Hindus on the Muslims of Katarpur in the United Provinces. The village of Katarpur is situated six miles from the city of Hardwar to which Hindus attach particular sanctity. The Hindus of the locality decided to prevent any cow-sacrifice taking place at Katarpur and negotiations had been in progress but on the day of the occurrence, which was the day of the Baqri'd, a large Hindu mob attacked the Katarpur village and burnt down all the Muslim houses. Thirty Muslims were killed, including some burnt to death in the flames of their own homes, and sixty or more were injured, including some women.

7. We now approach the period when at the close of the great War and with the introduction of the reforms Indian nationalist leaders, under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi, were engaged in uniting the two communities in concerted opposition to Government. It is not intended to bring the political history of those and the succeeding years within the purview of this note. It is sufficient merely to indicate the absence of communal riots while the Khilafat and nationalist leaders were in alliance, and their subsequent emergence when that alliance, or temporary liaison, fell to pieces for reasons which need not be here discussed. In 1919 there was no communal riot of any importance. The year 1920 was also tolerably free from communal disorders. In 1921 there occurred the Moplah rebellion. Though this rebellion was in itself a revolt against the authority of Government, the main brunt of the Moplah's attack was borne by the local Hindu population. These Hindus naturally did not join a purely Muslim revolutionary movement and the temporary loss of Government control in the less accessible areas affected them at the mercy of their fanatical neighbours. Murders, forcible conversions, desecration of temples, outrages upon women, pillage and destruction were perpetrated freely, until troops could be assembled for the task of restoring order in a difficult and extensive tract of country. As might be expected, the barbarities practised by the Moplahs had immediate reactions on Hindu and Muslim relations throughout the country.

8. By the year 1922 the political alliance between the Khilafat and Congress parties had disintegrated and, with this division between the leaders, old communal jealousies began to re-assert themselves among the masses. The Muharram celebrations of 1922 were attended by riots both in Bengal and in the Punjab, where the worst outbreak was at Multan. In spite of the precautions taken by the authorities and the diplomatic arrangements made to "prevent" disorder, every year since 1923 has witnessed communal rioting on an extensive and, in fact, an increasing scale which has as yet shown no sign of abating. The attached list, which excludes minor occurrences, records no less than 122 communal riots within the last five years, of which 37 have occurred during 1927-28 and 1928-29.

9. When relations between the two communities are normal, such riots as occur may be expected to be limited generally to the larger towns and cities and the occasions of the greater festivals when religious feelings run high. In the villages where their horizon is bounded by the same agricultural interests the two communities ordinarily live amicably enough together. The communal disorders of the last few years would appear however to be marked by two ominous and significant features, namely, their
wide distribution over most parts of the country where Hindus and Muslims come into contact, and their extension from the larger centers to small towns and to the countryside. The recent outbreaks have affected practically every province. Instead of being confined to particular sections of the country, the storm-centre tends to shift rapidly from one province to another, visiting each and returning to disturb amicable relations where they appear to have been resumed, and breaking out in localities where communal riots have previously been unknown. The worst communal riot in 1922 occurred at Multan in the Punjab; and in 1923 at Saharanpur in the United Provinces. The most serious communal disorders of 1924 took place at Delhi in July; at Kohat in the North-West Frontier Province in September, a particularly violent outbreak; at Allahabad in the United Provinces and at Jubbulpore in the Central Provinces in October. Of the sixteen communal riots reported in 1925 the worst were those at Delhi in March; at Aligarh in the United Provinces in September; at Arvi in the Wardha district of the Central Provinces and at Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency in October. In 1926 the terrible Calcutta riots which occurred in April and May, and were repeated in July, surpassed the violence even of the Bombay riots of 1899. A riot at Sasaram in the Shahabad district of Bihar and Orissa in April was followed by a disturbance at Khairagarh in Bengal in May and a very grave outbreak at Rawalpindi in the Punjab in June, and there were three further communal riots at Delhi. In 1927 minor affrays in different parts of the country culminated in the unfortunate incident at Kathiawar in the Kadi district of the Bengal Presidency when the police were compelled to open fire on a Muslim mob which refused to allow passage to a Hindu procession, and in consequence 17 Muslims were killed and 12 wounded. During March and the ensuing months riots followed each other in quick succession at Larkana and Surat in the Bombay Presidency; at Aligarh in the United Provinces; at Lahore in the Punjab, when 27 persons lost their lives; at Dinapur in Bihar and Orissa; and in the Nadia district of the Bengal Presidency. The Mul­tar was celebrated in July and though the elaborate precautions taken by the authorities successfully prevented a clash between the two communities in larger centres where trouble had been apprehended, communal riots were reported from Sholapur and the East Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency; from Bareilly and from the Hardoi, Ballia, and Ubco districts of the United Provinces; and from Multan, in the Punjab, where record for August was even worse. A severe riot at Bettiah, a small town in the Champaran district of the province of Bihar and Orissa, resulted in the loss of 11 lives. Communal riots were reported from the Central Provinces, from Bombay, from Bengal and from the United Provinces where there was renewed rioting at Bareilly and a serious outbreak at Cawnpore. Before the year closed there had been riots at Nagpur in the Central Provinces; at Sholapur and Ahmedabad in the Bombay Presidency, at Dehra Dun in the United Provinces; and again at Delhi, in all of which lives were lost.

10. On earlier occasions when the countryside had been affected, for instance during the Asamgarh communal disturbances of 1893, the Mymensingh disorders of 1907, or the Shahabud disturbances of 1917, the outbreaks were due to a general agitation of communal feeling either as in Asamgarh or Shahabud on the subject of cow-slaughter, or as in Mymensingh, among other causes, by the economic grievances of the Muslim peasantry against Hindu landlords and money-lenders. But though these disturbances extended over a considerable tract and by their violence reduced the neighbourhood to a state verging upon civil war, their radius was strictly circumscribed. With the exception of a comparatively minor outbreak in the Nadia district of the Bengal Presidency in July 1927 when a village was attacked and some houses and a mosque destroyed by fire, communal riots in rural areas during the last five years have not been of that description; but strained relations between the two communities have led to riots on the subject of processions, music before mosques and other similar causes of dispute in villages, which have hitherto been a feature of rural life in the towns.

3. Proximate causes of disorder.

11. Both the Hindu and the Muslim systems are based upon rigid religious sanctions and for that reason the proximate occasion of communal disorder is almost always, in some one of its protean forms, the religious issue. When communal feeling is roused, it may be on matters of secular interest, religious zeal is apt to degenerate into sectarian rivalry leading to quarrels which break out into serious riots at the time of the great Hindu and Muslim festivals. At the annual festival, known as the Baqr'Id, Muslims commemorate Abraham's contemplated sacrifice of his son by sacrificing cows and other animals. As the cow is an object of great veneration to the Hindus, this festival has probably been the most frequent occasion of communal disturbances, and every year precautions are taken by the authorities to prevent disorder. Both the Asamgarh disturbances of 1893 and the Shahabud disturbances of 1917, were attempts on a large scale by Hindus to put an end to cow-slaughter; and in Shahabud they reached their greatest virulence after the Baq'r'Id ceremonies had been concluded. Disturbances of that kind are fortunately rare. The ordinary Baq'r'Id riot is confined to attempts by Hindus to prevent the qurban, or sacrifice, at the time of the Baq'r'Id itself, usually on the ground that it has not previously been the practice of the Muslims of that locality to sacrifice cows. The Muslim religion does not make the sacrifice of a cow essential; other animals may serve the same religious purpose; but, since seven pence may combine in the sacrifice of a cow, for the poorer classes cow-sacrifice is more economical than the sacrifice of goats for which such combination is not permissible; and Muslims resent interference with the performance of their religious rites by members of another creed whose beliefs they do not themselves share. At places where cow-sacrifice at the time of the Baq'r'Id has been customary in past years,
though no attempt might be made by Hindus to prevent the
sacrifice, resentment would still be caused if the animal were to
be led to sacrifice by a route passing through a Hindu quarter of
the town.

12. Other Muslim festivals do not in themselves offend Hindu
sentiment, nor do Hindu festivals offend Muslim sentiment; but
ill-feeling is apt to assert itself when, for instance, a Hindu festi-
val of rejoicing clashes with a Muslim period of public mourning.
For their religious observances as well as for
and lamentation. For their ordinary affairs of life, the Muslims use the Hijrah a lunar
year which brings the Muslim New Year’s Day, the Muharram
about eleven days earlier each year than in the preceding year.
The Hindu calendar on the other hand is determined by years of
the solar calendar, the lunar year regulates
calls, the one solar, the other lunar; the lunar year regulates
two kinds, the one solar, the other lunar; the lunar year regulates
incidence of religious rites and festivals, but is itself adjusted
by a system of intercalation and the suppression
of lunar months. While, therefore, Hindu festivals recur
annually at approximately the same position in the Gregorian
calendar. Muslim festivals fall so many days earlier each year,
with the result that at some time or other all the different Hindu
and Muslim festivals are likely to coincide within the lunar cycle
and festivals are likely to coincide within the lunar cycle.

13. Baq‘Id disturbances find a ready explanation in Hindu
resentment at the sacrifice of cows. Disturbances when Hindu and
Muslim festivals coincide are usually easy to understand. Rival
Muslim festivals coincide are usually easy to understand. Rival
festivals are widespread in the streets; vast crowds collect; religious
processions are formed ad hoc; sombre, sometimes sombre, sometimes provocative, is deeply stir-
red; the atmosphere is highly charged and the general excitement
seeks an outlet; in such conditions nothing can be done to stop
the processions. But communal riots are not confined to the
occasion of the Baq‘Id and the coincidence of Hindu and
Muslim festivals. If explosive material has been stored up, a
spark will ignite it; if communal feelings are strained, the small-
est pretext will suffice to start a conflagration which each side ac-
cuses the other of having provoked. The serious Muharram riots
which occurred at Saharanpur in August 1925 are a case in point.
The route of the Muharram procession led through a bazaar in
which the passage of the teriyahs, or ornamented bamboo struc-
tures representing the mausoleum erected on the plains of Kerbala
over the remains of Hussain, was obstructed by the branches of a
sacred pipal tree. Arrangements had been made for Hindus to be
posted on the neighbouring roofs to draw back the branches to allow
the procession to pass, but when the time came there was some
difficulty in passing the procession and the action of some Muslims
in mounting the roofs to secure the stay ropes was construed as an
attack upon the Hindus. The fierce rioting which ensued was not
quelled until the police had opened fire; but in the meantime
the outbreak spread to other parts of the town where a vast amount
of damage was done to property, and the situation was not brought
under control until military assistance had been obtained. In some
towns the mere taking of taziyas through certain Hindu quarters
is held to be a cause of offence; in others the objection is to certain
forms of music, for instance, the beating of drums. On the other
hand, the Muslim residents of some towns resent Hindu marriage
processions passing through the streets at the time of the Muharram.

14. It will be observed from the阶级 list of communal dis-
orders that numerous riots have been ascribed to disputes arising
from the playing of music before mosques. This proximate occa-
sion of dissension leading to disorder is not new; it was a cause
of controversy in parts of the Bombay Presidency, of the Central
Provinces, and elsewhere, more than twenty years ago and was
usually settled in accordance with the past custom of the locality.
It is only; within the last few years however that it has come to
play so conspicuous a part in the relations between the two com-

unities. The differences which arose between the two com-

unities at Akola in the Central Provinces in 1924 and 1925 may be
taken as an illustration of the manner in which disputes of this
kind develop. On the occasion of the Ganpati procession in Septem-
ber 1894 there was acute friction between the two communities and
the district authorities issued orders forbidding the playing of music
before mosques by the Ganpati procession of that year; but in the
hope that the procession of the following year the dispute
might have been settled amicably, a rider was added that the
orders were not to be regarded as a precedent. Subsequent nego-
tiations failed, and at the Ganpati festival of 1925 there was again
danger of violence and orders were passed by the Superintendent
of Police requiring music to be stopped for a certain distance near
each mosque which the procession would pass. The Hindus re-
garded this order as an encroachment on their rights and did
not take out the procession on the due date. In the meantime the
Muslims continued to press their objection to the playing of music.
In this instance the neighbourhood of mosques to the extent
of including within the description tariq or plain wooden sticks
which the processionists strike together. The district authorities,
decided that the use of tipri was permissible, and the magistrate-issued formal orders under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure directing the Muslims not to interfere with processions using tipri. This order was challenged in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner, who declined to interfere. On the 24th October, nearly two months after the appointed date, the procession using tipri was taken out under strong police protection. On the 26th October the growing ill-feeling resulted in riots in the course of which a number of persons were injured. Representations were then made to the local Government by both communities. For their part, the Hindus claimed that in the public worship of Ganpati, the Hindu processions, when passing recognised public mosques had always been accustomed to play, soft, music, and that they limited themselves to soft in places of loud music in defiance to the religious feelings of the Muslims rather than owing to the validity of any custom or usage; on the other hand, the Muslims asserted that Ganpati processions were unknown in Benar till about 1907 and were not accompanied by music till about 1923, and that the form in which they were now conducted was inspired by the object of causing annoyance to Muslims. In short, each community charged the other with provocation.

16. The immediate cause of the first of the big Calcutta riots of 1926 was the failure of the band of an Arya Samaj procession to cease playing their instruments when passing a well-known mosque in the Harrison Road at the time of the Azan, or invocation to prayer preparatory to the four o'clock public worship. The subsequent July riots in Calcutta started with a clash between Hindus and Muslims when the members of a Rath Jatra procession were attacked by the Muslims for refusing to stop playing music in front of a mosque, though it was the time of the Maghrib-prayer at the hour of sunset. The increasing frequency of riots caused by the playing of music before mosques impelled the Government of Bengal to seek a modus vivendi, so far as Calcutta was concerned. Accordingly in June 1926 they issued a statement in which they laid down certain rules to be observed in Calcutta. For many years processions wishing to play music had been required to take out a license the conditions of which prohibited the playing of music in the neighbourhood of places of worship during the hours of public worship. No change was made in the form of this license, but the Commissioner of Police was given authority to define precisely the hours of worship during which the processionists might not play music in the neighbourhood of buildings where public worship was proceeding. The famous Nakhoda mosque of Calcutta was excepted from the operation of these orders, and it was laid down that in its neighbourhood music should be stopped at all hours. Neither party accepted this decision as favourable to itself. The prohibition of music at any hour of the day before a particular mosque had a precedent in Delhi where music is invariably stopped when passing the Juma Masjid.

16. Every Hindu marriage necessitates a procession from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, with musicians and a cortège. Thus if feeling are sore on the subject of the playing of music before mosques, the occasions when communal trouble may be apprehended are almost indefinitely multiplied. In 1923 rioting occurred in the procession of the temple bell during the set hour of prayer in the adjoining mosque. In September 1924 a riot occurred at Lucknow in the course of which four persons were killed and thirty wounded owing to objections taken by Muslims to the sounding of the sankh, or conch-shell, in the Hindu temple situated in a public park which Muslims frequented for the purpose of prayer.

17. Much of the dissension which occurs frequently arises less from disputes in the name of religious requirement than from the manner in which it is done or is alleged to be done. Thus in the Akola dispute mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the Muslims asserted that the Ganpati celebrations, in the organisation of which a considerable part had been played in the nineties by the Mahatma leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, were conducted in a manner intended to give annoyance to Muslims. Similar suggestions were made by the Muslim community to explain the grave riot at Bettiah in the province of Bihar and Orissa in August 1927 when 10 Muslims lost their lives and many were injured on the occasion of a Hindu Mahabir procession. It was alleged that these processions, on the scale at which they are now arranged in the name of religious requirement, are the outgrowth of the Muharram cultaturing the Muharram with the ill-disguised intention of offending Muslim sentiment. On the other side Hindus assert that the demands made by Muslims for the prohibition of music before mosques are actuated by anti-Hindu sentiment. The rights and wrongs of these controversial questions are not a matter for discussion in this note; but instances are unfortunately not rare when riots can be directly traced to deliberate acts of provocation other than the alleged conduct of processionists, or claims based upon the ground of religious requirement. The circulation of a violent anti-Islamic poem was the cause of the riots at Rohat in September 1924 which were followed by a general exodus of Hindus from the town. The discovery that the flesh of swine had been placed in three mosques of a town in the Bahraich district in the United Provinces led to a riot there in September 1926. Stones thrown by Muslims at Hindu processions are said on several occasions to have been the proximate cause of an ensuing riot. During the Calcutta riots the distribution of inflammatory printed leaflets by both sides together with the employment of hired hooligans encouraged the belief that money was being spent to keep the fight going.

18. Communal animosity at the time of the Calcutta riots was fanned to so great an extent by partisan writing in the press that proceedings had to be taken against a number of newspapers. In other parts of India also notably in the Punjab, communal writing of an extremely provocative type has assumed serious proportions and has been greatly responsible for exacerbating communal feeling. Not a few papers are said to owe their circulation almost
entirely to the virulence of their attacks on the rival community. At the Simla session of the Indian legislature in August 1926, Government introduced and passed a bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure so as to enable the authorities to confiscate publications calculated to promote feelings of hatred or enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. At the Simla session of the Indian legislature in August 1927, Government introduced and passed a bill to amend the Indian Penal Code with the object of making it a specific offence deliberately and maliciously to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of any class of His Majesty's subjects. The second piece of legislation was undertaken in consequence of the view of the law taken in the Punjab High Court in connection with a notorious pamphlet entitled "Rangila Rasul" which ridiculed the Prophet of Islam as a result of which the Arya Samajist publisher had been acquitted in revision.

19. This review of the proximate causes of dissension is not intended to be exhaustive; their variety branches in too many directions to admit of concise category. In Delhi in June 1926 a scare created by a bolting horse led to a communal riot in which three persons were killed and sixty wounded. The murder of the Hindu Arya Samajist leader Swami Shraddhanand by a Muslim, Abdur Rashid, in Delhi in December 1926 was followed by a riot between Hindus and Muslims in which one Muslim was killed and others were seriously injured. In November 1927 Abdur Rashid was executed for his crime in the Delhi jail and when his body was made over to his relatives for burial, it was unceremoniously seized by a turbulent mob of Muslims who broke past the police and rushed with it into the city before they could be rounded up and dispersed, and the body recovered. Hindu passer-by were assaulted and two were killed and more than sixty injured, while a number of shops were looted.


20. Since 1922 approximately 450 lives have been lost and 5,000 persons have been injured in communal riots. The casualties inflicted are of two descriptions, those caused by the forces of law and order, whether police or military, and those caused by the rioters themselves. With regard to the former class no effort is spared by the authorities to prevent breaches of the peace and to separate the disputants without resort to firearms. In the Calcutta riots of 1926 this moderation was in fact criticised. In the third phase of these riots when the police were attempting to pass the Raj Rajeswari procession through the streets, controlled fire had on more than one occasion to be opened in order to disperse the crowds which barred the way. After the procession had passed, more than a thousand cases of breaches of the peace and riot occurred. At Kulkathi in February 1927 the armed forces at the disposal of the authorities were represented by a small guard of the Eastern Frontier Rifles and the magistrate found himself compelled to open fire in order to prevent his small force from being overwhelmed.

21. In the second class of casualties, when the riot is unpremeditated and is promptly suppressed, the tale of persons injured by the opposite faction may be expected to be slight; but where strained relations lead to anticipation of trouble, it is frequently found that both sides arm themselves in advance for the combat, and supplies of staves, brickbats and missiles of various descriptions are kept in readiness. In some of the recent riots, for instance at Calcutta in 1926 and at Nangpur in 1927, firearms were used by individual members of the mobs of rioters. The most disquieting symptom, however, of some of the more serious riots in the larger cities has been the stabbing to death of individuals by roving bands of the opposite community, who spring upon their victims without warning and then vanish in a moment to be swallowed up in the labyrinths of small lanes and gullies where it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace them out and apprehend them. These assaults on individuals were a very conspicuous feature of the Calcutta riots of 1926, and the same tactics have since been employed in the Lahore riots of 1927 and elsewhere.

22. On the occurrence of a communal riot the shopkeepers put up their shutters and bar their doors, and in the area of disturbance all business is suspended. When the mobs get out of hand the rowdy elements give vent to their feelings in looting the houses and shops of members of the opposite community, and there have been all to frequent instances in which mosques and temples have been desecrated. In the Kohat riots of September 1924 house property estimated to be worth Rs. 9 lakhs was destroyed by fire and goods were looted on a vast scale. In the first three days of the Calcutta riots of April 1926 the fire brigade had to deal with no less than one hundred and ten incommendary fires.

23. The list of casualties hardly gives an adequate idea of the critical nature of the situation or of the dissolution of ordinary life which occurs on the occasion of communal disorders. For the authorities and for the public there is always the danger of the situation getting out of control and of excesses breaking out similar to those which occurred during the Calcutta riots. This danger is particularly acute in the large towns of the Punjab and of Northern India where communal feelings have been most strained. The numerous instances in which military assistance, including infantry, cavalry and armoured cars, has had to be sought has indicated that in the larger towns the task of preventing breaches of the peace at times of communal excitement is apt to be beyond the powers of the civil police, the strength of whose reserves is necessarily limited, while the strain imposed on all ranks is very great. Since 1926 on the occasion of communal riots troops have been required to restore order in Calcutta, in Delhi, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and other places; while elsewhere outbreaks have been prevented only by military preparations held in readiness. In Calcutta, in Kharagpur and in Lahore the services of the local Auxiliary Force have had to be requisitioned to supplement the available police and military forces, and assist them in preventing the spread of communal disorder.
### Communal Riots since 1923 between Hindus and Muslims.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place of occurrence</th>
<th>Reported cause of the riot</th>
<th>Casualties</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11th April 1923</td>
<td>Amritsar, Punjab</td>
<td>Insult offered to a Hindu girl by Muslim rowdies.</td>
<td>Killed: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8th April 1923</td>
<td>Multon, Punjab</td>
<td>Dispute arising out of procession</td>
<td>Killed: 2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7th, 8th and 11th May 1923</td>
<td>Amritsar, Punjab</td>
<td>Dispute between Hindu and Muslim children.</td>
<td>Killed: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>24th May 1923</td>
<td>Mahanup, Pargana Chail, United Provinces</td>
<td>Kiyan Sabha Movement; disputes between Muslim Zamindars and Hindu cultivators.</td>
<td>Killed: 2 Hindus; Wounded: 11 Hindus.</td>
<td>There was some destruction of property and incendiarism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>31st July 1923</td>
<td>Panipat, Punjab</td>
<td>Ringing of gong in temples close to mosque.</td>
<td>Killed: 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>23rd August 1923</td>
<td>Jubbulpur, Central Provinces</td>
<td>Maharram Celebrations</td>
<td>Killed: 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>24th August 1923</td>
<td>Gonda, United Provinces</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Killed: 3 Hindus; Wounded: 7 Muslims.</td>
<td>Property was looted and a mosque was desecrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>24th August 1923</td>
<td>Saharanpur, United Provinces</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Killed: 10</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>26th and 28th August 1923</td>
<td>Agra, United Provinces</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Killed: 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>6th and 7th September 1923</td>
<td>Shahjahanpur, United Provinces</td>
<td>Music before mosque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>20th November 1923</td>
<td>Nagpur, Central Provinces</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Killed: 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>21st March 1924</td>
<td>Bagalkot, Durgap, District Bombay</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>12th April 1924</td>
<td>Kandala, Musaffarnagar, U. P.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Killed: 6 Hindus; Wounded: 17 Muslims.</td>
<td>Shops were looted; one temple was burnt and two were desecrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>15th April 1924</td>
<td>Meerut, District Meerut, U. P.</td>
<td>Punukha procession through Muslim quarters.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>11th to 17th July 1924</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>The false rumour that a Muslim boy was killed by Hindus and the objection to taking a cow along a prohibited route during Bakra Id.</td>
<td>Killed: 15 Hindus; Wounded: 1 Muslim; 9 Muslims; 4 Police.</td>
<td>Two houses were burnt and a temple was desecrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>12th and 13th July 1924</td>
<td>Nagpur, C. P.</td>
<td>Hindu processions before mosques</td>
<td>Killed: 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>11th August 1924</td>
<td>Amethi, C. P.</td>
<td>Maharram Celebrations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>11th August 1924</td>
<td>Sanbhali, U. P.</td>
<td>Maharram celebrations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>11th August 1924</td>
<td>Bagalkot, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Music before mosque</td>
<td>Killed: 1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>30th August 1924</td>
<td>Nagpur, C. P.</td>
<td>Throwing of stones by Muslim madras on a Hindu procession.</td>
<td>Killed: 1 Muslim; Wounded: 10.</td>
<td>There was some looting of property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>9th September 1924</td>
<td>Kanodi, Luder State</td>
<td>Music before mosque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>16th September 1924</td>
<td>Kohat, N. W. F. P.</td>
<td>Publication and circulation of an anti-Islam pamphlet.</td>
<td>Killed: 36 Wounded: 145.</td>
<td>There was very extensive looting of goods in the bazar; house property estimated to be worth Rs. 9 lakhs was destroyed. The riots were followed by an exodus of the entire Hindu population from the city.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Serial No. 23
- **Date:** 12th September 1924
- **Place of occurrence:** Lucknow, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Objection taken by Muslims to play music or sound in the temple in Aminabad Park where Muslims pray in the evening.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 4
  - Wounded: 30

### Serial No. 24
- **Date:** 22nd September 1924
- **Place of occurrence:** Shahjahanpur, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Music before mosque.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 6
  - Wounded: 104

### Serial No. 25
- **Date:** 7th October 1924
- **Place of occurrence:** Allahabad, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Dussehra celebrations.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 6 Hindus
  - Wounded: 67 Hindus
  - 3 Muslims
  - 43 Muslims

### Serial No. 26
- **Date:** 7th October 1924
- **Place of occurrence:** Saugor, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Ditto
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 9

### Serial No. 27
- **Date:** 7th October 1924
- **Place of occurrence:** Kanikara, Bengal
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Ditto
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 6 Hindus
  - Wounded: 35 Muslims

### Serial No. 28
- **Date:** 26th December 1924
- **Place of occurrence:** Khanna City, Ludhiana, Punjab
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Rioting occurred on account of the destruction of the Wazir Wall of a mosque by some jats.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 9

### Serial No. 29
- **Date:** 11th February 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Fatehpur, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Centenary celebrations of the Aryan Samaj.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 5 Hindus
  - Wounded: 3 Muslims

### Serial No. 30
- **Date:** 9th March 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Mandi, Virangam, Bombay
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Hindus were abused by Muslim women at a well.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 2 Hindus

### Serial No. 31
- **Date:** 12th March 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Bagalkot, Bijapur, Bombay
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Holl celebrations.
- **Casualties:**
  - Details about the number of persons injured not available.

### Serial No. 32
- **Date:** 15th March 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Delhi
- **Reported cause of the riot:** A free fight occurred between the supporters of two rival Hindu candidates. The supporters of one of the candidates included Muslims.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 1 Muslim
  - Wounded: 17 Muslims
  - 3 Hindus

### Serial No. 33
- **Date:** 17th March 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Delhi
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Funeral procession of the Muslim who died as the result of the injuries he sustained in the riot of the 16th March.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 5
  - Wounded: 36

### Serial No. 34
- **Date:** 1st August 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Panipat, Punjab
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Maharram celebrations.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 30
  - Wounded: 6 Police

### Serial No. 35
- **Date:** 2nd August 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Sholapur City, Bombay
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Maharram celebrations.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 10 Hindus
  - Wounded: 10 Muslims

### Serial No. 36
- **Date:** 15th August 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Jalalpur, District Fyzabad, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Ganeshwar procession of the Hindus. Music near Muslim dargah.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 16 Muslims

### Serial No. 37
- **Date:** 15th August 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Miraj, Saran District, B. and O.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Hindu procession, playing music before mosque.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 1 Hindu

### Serial No. 38
- **Date:** 23rd August 1925
- **Place of occurrence:**Ratnagiri, C.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Ganpati procession.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 9 Muslims
  - Wounded: 8 Hindus

### Serial No. 39
- **Date:** 30th August 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Aligarh, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Ramila procession.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 4 Muslims
  - Wounded: 2 Hindus

### Serial No. 40
- **Date:** 22nd September 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Jarwa, Bahraich District, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Placing of pig flesh in 3 mosques.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 6
  - Wounded: 159

### Serial No. 41
- **Date:** 29th September 1925
- **Place of occurrence:** Jaffarabad, U.P.
- **Reported cause of the riot:** Some houses were looted.
- **Casualties:**
  - Killed: 29
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place of occurrence</th>
<th>Reported cause of the riot</th>
<th>Casualties</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>30th Oct 1925.</td>
<td>Akola, Berar</td>
<td>Communal tension</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>7th Feb 1926.</td>
<td>Masul in Pathern Mahal, Ahmadnagar District, Bombay</td>
<td>Dispute over a building called the temple of Zainbaha or Dargah of Hazrat Shah Ramzan in which both Hindus and Muslims have in the past claimed and exercised rights.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6 Muslims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>11th Feb 1926.</td>
<td>Blondi, Ratnagiri District, Bombay</td>
<td>Playing of music before a mosque by a Hindu procession on Maha Shivratri day.</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td>1 Muslim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>14th Feb 1926.</td>
<td>Agra City, U. P.</td>
<td>Not reported. A number of Hindu hoodlums attacked an aged Muslim.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>2nd to 15th April 1926.</td>
<td>Calcutta, Bengal</td>
<td>The playing of music before a mosque by a Hindu procession.</td>
<td>24 Hindus</td>
<td>227 Hindus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>12th and 13th April 1926.</td>
<td>Rewari, Punjab</td>
<td>Playing of music before a mosque by a Hindu marriage procession. The trouble originally arose out of an individual quarrel between a Hindu and a Muhammadan followed by an outbreak attack on a gathering of Hindus and later the looting of shops.</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td>Not reported.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>14th to 16th April 1926.</td>
<td>Sarisara, Shabard District, Bihar and Orissa.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>22nd April to 9th May 1926.</td>
<td>Calcutta, Bengal</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>17th to 26th May 1926.</td>
<td>Kharagpur, Bengal</td>
<td>Playing of music before a mosque by a Hindu funeral procession.</td>
<td>4 Hindus</td>
<td>3 Hindus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>1st June 1926.</td>
<td>Hajinagar Paper Mills (25 miles north of Calcutta), Bengal.</td>
<td>Objection by Hindus to a Muslim poster a Hindu temple to first water.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>4th to 16th June 1926.</td>
<td>Rawalpindi, Punjab</td>
<td>Communal tension arising out of a remonstration of Muslims over the leasing of land in close proximity to the Juma Masjid for purposes of climax and the alleged playing of music by a Sikh procession while passing the mosque.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>22nd June 1926.</td>
<td>Dhanbad, G. P.</td>
<td>Bakr-Id celebrations</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>A village in the Durgahua District, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4 or 5 Hindus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Jhual village near Allahabad, U. P.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td>9 Muslims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial No.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place of occurrence</td>
<td>Reported cause of the riot</td>
<td>CASUALTIES</td>
<td>REMARKS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>23rd June 1926</td>
<td>Shakhargar Sub-division, Muzaffarpur, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Bakr-Id celebrations</td>
<td>No injuries reported.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Bikhar Sub-division, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Gaya, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Singhasan, Darbhanga District, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Shall, Barabanki District, U. P.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>24th June 1926</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>The immediate cause was the knocking down of a man by a runaway tonga in Khart Paxi.</td>
<td>1 Hindu, 16 Muslim, 9 Police.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Gobindpur, Gaya District, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Bakr-Id celebrations, Riot with murder.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 Muslims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Katra Thana, Muzaffarpore District, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Bakr-Id celebrations.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>1st to 7th July 1926</td>
<td>Patna, Bengal</td>
<td>The immediate cause was believed to be the taking of a Hindu procession with music past a mosque.</td>
<td>2 Hindu, 6 Police.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place of occurrence</th>
<th>Reported cause of the riot</th>
<th>CASUALTIES</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>11th and 12th to 13th August 1926</td>
<td>Calcutta, Bengal</td>
<td>Disturbances in connection with Hindu religious Ratha Jatra and Rangapravesh processions and the Moharram celebrations.</td>
<td>20 Hindus, 64 Hindus, 4 persons were caused by injuries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>14th July 1926</td>
<td>Kansa, Bombay</td>
<td>Alleged annoyance to some Hindus by a Jew convert to Islam.</td>
<td>19 Hindu, 1 Sikh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>21st July 1926</td>
<td>Fungac, B. &amp; O.</td>
<td>Moharram celebration. Crossing of Hindus before a mosque.</td>
<td>1 Muslim, 10 Unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>31st August 1926</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>The immediate cause was a quarrel between a Hindu bank clerk and a Muslim shopkeeper who was instrumental in bringing about the dismissal of the former.</td>
<td>8 Hindus, 5 Police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>5th September 1926</td>
<td>Kidderpore, Garden Beach, Calcutta, Bengal</td>
<td>Playing of music before a mosque by a Hindu religious (Janaamastami) procession.</td>
<td>13 Hindu, 2 Muslims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>6th September 1926</td>
<td>Madi, Patheardi Mahal, Akmedasgar, District, Bombay.</td>
<td>Dispute in connection with a Hindu bullock procession in celebration of the annual 'Pola' festival.</td>
<td>11 Hindu, 1 Muslim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>8th to 10th September 1926</td>
<td>Dacca, Bengal</td>
<td>Janaamastami festival celebrations.</td>
<td>6 Hindus, 2 Muslims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>15th October 1926</td>
<td>Calcutta, Bengal</td>
<td>Dusshera celebrations</td>
<td>8 Hindus, 2 Muslims.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Property worth about Rs. 2,000 was looted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place of occurrence</th>
<th>Reported cause of the riot</th>
<th>Casualties</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>16th October 1926</td>
<td>Howrah, Bengal</td>
<td>Desecrate celebrations</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td>A mosque desecrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>3rd December 1926</td>
<td>Akyab, Burma</td>
<td>Singing party entered a mosque and desecrated it.</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>22nd December 1926</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>Disturbances following the murder of Swami Shradhanand.</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>1st February 1927</td>
<td>Kasganj, North Agra, Madras</td>
<td>Ill-feeling between a wealthy Musalman and a wealthy Hindu.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>17th February 1927</td>
<td>Akyab in Saladariganj town, Gauhati District, Assam Province</td>
<td>Immediate cause was a quarrel between a Musalman and a Hindu.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>20th February 1927</td>
<td>Bombay City</td>
<td>Music before mosque</td>
<td>1 Sikh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>2nd March 1927</td>
<td>Poonch, Kollata, East District, Bengal</td>
<td>Procession before mosque</td>
<td>17 Muslims</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>23rd March 1927</td>
<td>Nadapur thana, District Bombay</td>
<td>Trouble arising out of a Muslim procession.</td>
<td>10 Hindus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>28th March 1927</td>
<td>Lahore, Punjab</td>
<td>A mosque desecrated.</td>
<td>12 Muslims</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>10th/11th April 1927</td>
<td>Allahabad, U. P.</td>
<td>Dispute between Hindus and Muslims over the possession of a cow.</td>
<td>1 Hindu</td>
<td>A shop was looted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>12th April 1927</td>
<td>Surat, Bombay</td>
<td>Dispute between Muslim cabbie drivers and Hindu para contractors.</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td>A number of shops were looted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>27th May 1927</td>
<td>Lahore, Punjab</td>
<td>Music before mosque</td>
<td>7 Hindus</td>
<td>(* By Police.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>11th June 1927</td>
<td>Dinapore, Bihar and Orissa</td>
<td>Tension between the two parties was already acute. The animal outbreak was occasioned by a chance quarrel between Muslim and Sikh.</td>
<td>15 Hindus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>3d July 1927</td>
<td>Some villages in Mehsupur sub-division, Nadia district, Bengal.</td>
<td>Cow sacrifice</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>10th July 1927</td>
<td>Sholapur, Bombay</td>
<td>Clash between Hindu Rath procession and Muslim Muharram Tiger procession</td>
<td>9 Hindus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial No.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place of occurrence</td>
<td>Reported cause of the riot</td>
<td>Casualties</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>10th July 1927</td>
<td>Faizpur, East Khamleti,</td>
<td>Music before mosuo</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td>6 Muslims 1 Hindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>10th July 1927</td>
<td>Baroli, U. P.</td>
<td>Maharan celebrations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>11th July 1927</td>
<td>Multan in Unan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td>27 Hindus 9 Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>11-14th July 1927</td>
<td>Malan, Punjab</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>13th July 1927</td>
<td>Sandila in Hardoi District, U. P.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>13th July 1927</td>
<td>Hardoi District, U. P.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>2nd August 1927</td>
<td>Bokah town, Champa-</td>
<td>Maharan procession</td>
<td>1 Hindu</td>
<td>10 Muslims 11 Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>4th August 1927</td>
<td>Bawna in Alora, C. P.</td>
<td>Friction arising out of Maharan celebrations and cow sacrifice.</td>
<td>1 Muslim</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>12th August 1927</td>
<td>Kaspur, Deoga-</td>
<td>Gokuld Ashaa celebration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>13th August 1927</td>
<td>Kaspur, Deoga-</td>
<td>Manio before mosuo</td>
<td>1 Hindu</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>10th August 1927</td>
<td>Mohanpur in Kheri</td>
<td>&quot;Ghulamsi&quot; and &quot;Jamnathans&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>2nd August 1927</td>
<td>Lohauli Police Circle,</td>
<td>Ramnas procession</td>
<td>1 Hindu</td>
<td>5 Muslins 3 Hindus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>23rd August 1927</td>
<td>Tikalpangar, 54 miles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>26th August 1927</td>
<td>Durbar, United Provinces</td>
<td>Procession passing a mosque</td>
<td>7 Muslims 7 Hindus</td>
<td>58 Muslims 112 Hindus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>24th August 1927</td>
<td>Cawnpore, United Provinces</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 Muslims 7 Hindus</td>
<td>58 Muslims 22 Hindus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Remarks:**
- A number of houses were burnt and considerable damage was done to property.
- Four shops were looted.
- One shop was looted.
- Thirty houses of Muslim residents were burnt.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place of occurrence</th>
<th>Reported cause of the riot</th>
<th>Casualties</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>4th September 1927</td>
<td>Nagpur, Central Province</td>
<td>Trouble in connection with a Muhammadan procession.</td>
<td>12 Muslims: 7 Hindus: 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>11-12th September 1927</td>
<td>Sholapur, Bombay</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Muslims: 3 Hindus: 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>11th September 1927</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>Cause of the riot was the reading, accompanied by a harmonium and two drums, of extracts from the Bhagwat Gita during the time the Muslims were holding their prayers. Stones thrown by Muslims on the Dashara procession.</td>
<td>1 Muslim: 2 Hindus: 31 besides numerous minor injuries.</td>
<td>Five houses of Muslim residents were burnt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>28th September 1927</td>
<td>Delhi, United Provinces</td>
<td>A Muslim mob seized the body of Abdul Rashid after his execution in the jail for the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and rushed it into the city where it was recovered by the police.</td>
<td>2 Hindus: 3 Police Constables:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>