

**THE FIRST PHASE OF THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT
IN THE URBAN CENTRES OF U. P. :
ASPECTS OF MASS MOBILISATION.**

**Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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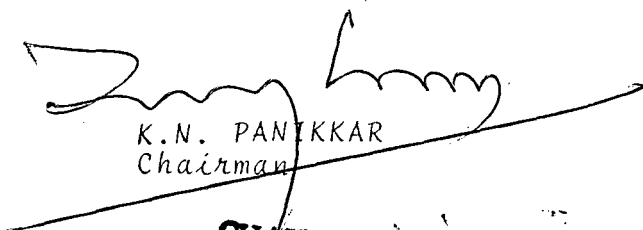
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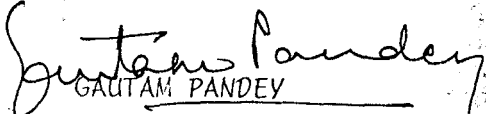
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Introduction

Mass politics became a part of the Indian National Movement after 1920 when the Non-Cooperation Movement was launched. National movement in U.P. was no exception. The second decade of the 20th century saw for the first time in the history of the United Provinces people from all walks of life, from all communities and professions, entering the scene of public life which was, until now, a privilege of selected groups of upper strata of the society. The beginning of this decade also saw the beginning of political life of a large number of leaders from the U.P., viz. Jawaharlal Nehru, P.D. Tandon, G.S. Vidyarthi, G.B. Pant and Lal Bahadur Shastri, under whose zealous and efficient leadership, U.P. became one of the most valuable strongholds of the National Movement. This province provided for 328,966 members of Congress in July 1921 and nearly nine lakh volunteers by the end of 1922. Of the 137 national educational centres established in the province by July 1921, Kashi Vidyapith and Prem Mahavidyalaya of Mathura were the most prominent ones. A large number of students, government servants, teachers and lawyers flung themselves into the national movement having relinquished their settled and comfortable life-style. This

was on a single call from the Congress.

No doubt cities and towns were the main centres of Non-Cooperation Movement. However, the rural areas were no less affected. The Congress leadership in the U.P. was more responsive to peasant agitations than their counterparts in Bihar and other provinces. Perhaps this was because the 'Talukdar' class in U.P. was more loyalist. However, the relationship between the peasant and the national movements in U.P. was a complex one, though they gave strength to each other, sustained and supported each other. However, there were also instances of differences between the Congress leadership and the peasant leaders. The peasant upsurge of South-east Avadh under the leadership of Baba Ramchandra turned violent and gave birth to agrarian riots, resulting in widespread destruction of crops and houses belonging to 'talukdars' and looting of bazars and markets. Examples of clashes with the police and establishments of courts of justices consisting of peasants were not few. a 'King of Salon' and a 'Ramchandra' appeared on the scene and started preaching non-payment of rent to the landlords in the name of Gandhiji. However, all these instances were condemned by Gandhiji as well as Jawaharlal Nehru.

Peasant unrest again raised its head in early 1922 when in North-West Avadh the 'Eka' movement, started by local Congressmen, was taken over by a radical, Madari Pasi. The crucial demand here was the conversion of rent in kind into cash, which would have been favourable to the peasants because the prices of foodgrains were rising. This agitation could be crushed by the Police in June 1922 only when Madari Pasi was arrested.

Discontentment had penetrated through to the lowest strata of the Indian society and they had also started giving voice to it. The hill tribes of Kumaon Division went on a rampage in 1921 when they burnt thousands of acres of reserved forest. Even the government sources accept that the majority of people who attended the Congress meetings in villages were landless and expected to regain their lost lands by the grace of Gandhiji.

The most serious and negative, though unfortunately permanent, development of the period between the Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience was the unprecedented growth of communalism. No less than 91 communal riots rocked U.P. between 1923 and 1927. The most frequent

issues around which the violence occurred were the Muslims' demand for stopping music in front of mosques and Hindus' demand for stopping cow slaughter. Hence onwards communalism became one of the main bases of political alignments.

A large number of factors were acting for the growth of communalism during this period, particularly in the U.P. Considerable growth of education in 1920s without corresponding promises of employment, economic and social tension at the lower level of the society, coming of *mullahs* into politics during the khilafat and style of Congress propaganda frequently invoking things like *Ramrajya* were some of the more important causes of communal disharmony. One still more important cause was the broadening of franchise and extension of separate electorates by Montford reforms which provided 'a built in temptation' for politicians to give sectional slogans to appeal their religious, regional or caste groups. *Tabligue* and *Tanzim* among Muslims were mainly a response to Hindu *Suddhi* and *Sangathan*. The Congress or the Swarajists could not keep themselves completely sealed off from the communal views, though theoretically both of them boasted of being truly secular. Many communal leaders

had close contacts with the Congress leadership. For example, in Benaras the Swarajists and the Hindu Mahasabhaists were virtually the same people.* Such close identification was bound to have negative consequences for the secular image of the Congress.

Towards the end of 1920s, however, a fresh wave of nationalist upsurge pushed the communal problems into the background. Beginning with the announcement of the Simon Commission in late 1927, popular protest began to gather force and U.P. was very much in the forefront in this new wave of agitation. A new ferment was visible among the youth, and a spate of youth leagues were formed. By 1929, the province seemed well set to launch on to a new stage of political action, that signalled by the division at the Lahore Congress in 1929 to inaugurate

* C.A. Bayly, *Local Roots of Indian Politics*, Oxford, 1975.

✓ Pandey, Gyanendra, *The Ascendency of Congress in U.P., 1928-34*, Delhi, 1978.

Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India*, Delhi, 1983.

Siddiqi, M.N., *Agrarian Unrest in North India*, Delhi, 1978.

a movement of Civil Disobedience.

The present work attempts a study of the nature and extent of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the urban areas of U.P. It concentrates on a span of 16 months (Jan. 1930 to April 1931) in what may be called the first phase or the most vigorous phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It examines for that period the state of the movement in the urban areas, its strength and weaknesses and the participation of different class and communities in the agitations. It considers the significance of government policies and actions, the attitudes and decisions of the Congress leadership towards these policies (government's) and the internal, structural conditions of the Congress led movement for the rise and decline or breaking up of nationalist agitations in the urban areas of U.P.

The Indian National Congress occupies a central place in the following pages. The first three chapters revolve round the programmes and activities of the Congress. The first chapter presents a general trend of the movement from January 1930 to April 1931. The second and third chapters describe the different methods employed by the Indian National

Congress and its allied organisations for mobilizing the urban masses in general and a certain community in particular. The fourth and the last chapter deals with the response that the programmes and activities of the Congress received from different class and communities in the urban areas, particularly the Muslims.

Any Indian province could have served for a study of this kind. There were three factors for the choice of U.P. Firstly, the choice of U.P. has the advantage that it was to the fore in the nationalist agitations of the last three decades of British rule. Secondly, "it mirrored in a particularly acute form some of the principal opportunities and problems facing the nationalist movement in the country as a whole."¹ The most obvious of the problems was that of 'communalism'. Thirdly, it is better to work on an area which one knows more closely than the others and my U.P. background not only helped me in understanding the general mass feelings more clearly but also provided me an easy access to the primary sources at different places.

1. See Pandey, Gyanendra, *The Ascendency of Congress in U.P.*, pp.8, Delhi, 1978.

In U.P. too I have concentrated mainly on urban areas. Contrary to the general belief the Civil Disobedience Movement was not entirely a rural affair. The intensity of the Congress agitations was remarkable in the urban areas at least in the first phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement (till the signing of Gandhi-Irwin Pact). In U.P. it was only in Oct. 1930 that the movement spread to the rural areas. Some of the programmes of the Congress were entirely urban-oriented. Also, as the urban people are usually more aware of wider issues given their greater access to education, information, etc., than the rural ones their participation in a particular movement carries a certain significance both from the Congress and the government point of view. The inhabitants of urban areas usually reached promptly to events in other parts of the country, thus giving the movement a more uniform all-India character. In this context, the study of urban areas. obviously important, but I did not find even a single study, not only of the Civil Disobedience Movement, but of the national movement on the whole, which concentrates particularly on urban areas. The recent works on Civil Disobedience Movement concentrates mainly on rural areas. By studying the

movement in the urban areas, therefore I might contribute to a more balanced picture of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Concentration on a limited period is necessary to answer some of the questions with which this study is associated. Though Civil Disobedience Movement began in March 1930, this study starts from January 1930 to include the celebrations of 'Independence Day' on 26th January as it can be considered as a prelude to the main movement. The boundary line of the period of this study should have been the signing of Gandhi-Irwin pact but it is extended up to April 1931 to include the reactions to the pact.

C H A P T E R - I

GENERAL TREND OF THE MOVEMENT

At the end of 1929, at the Lahore Session of the Congress, where the young Jawaharlal Nehru was made the President of the party the anti imperialist movement in the world's biggest colony entered a radically new phase when at the midnight of the new year's eve the Congress at long last adopted the creed of 'Poorna Swaraj' and the national tricolour was unfurled amidst cries, no longer just of 'Bande Matram' but 'Inquilab Zindabad'.

In Lahore Congress, it had been decided by the Congress Working Committee that members of the Legislative Council should immediately resign from their respective councils. But the government sources claim that the Congress seemed to be meeting some opposition in enforcing the council boycott programme. Till 9th January 1930, only 8 members of the Swaraj party including their leader had resigned out of a total party strength of 22. Also, the deputy leader of the party had publicly ridiculed this part of the programme as 'an audacious and useless venture'. In the fortnightly report to the Central government for the first half of the month of January 1930,

the U P government said that "the resignating have received no public approbation."

The government also assessed the overall situation with regard to civil disobedience. Its general opinion was one of the scepticism as shown by the following quotes from the Fortnightly Reports of January : "It is a matter of speculation whether Congress leaders can discover a new battle cry with which to make an effective emotional appeal to the people and their programme is at present wanting in the element of novelty. The distinction between 'swaraj' and 'Poorna Swaraj' is too subtle to excite general fervour and it would seem likely that they will have to make up by the violence of their agitation what programme lacks in popular appeal." The report says that "many prominent Hindu politicians are busy devising means to combat the new Congress creed. The landlords of the province were also concerting plans to denounce 'the communistic doctrines of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and his youthful followers'. The government seems to be in doubt to what extent and to what expedients Mr Gandhi would be able to implement his promise of a

form of Civil Disobedience 'which does not contain elements of violence.'¹

During and after the Lahore Congress, newspapers, particularly the vernacular newspapers of the province were busy in reporting the happenings of the Lahore Congress and were also commenting upon its outcome and decisions. 'Shakti', a weekly Hindi newspaper from Almora, on 4th January 1930, hailed the proposal of Jawaharlal Nehru that the Congress should work in villages and that independence will not come merely through speeches at conferences. The Presidential speech of Jawaharlal Nehru was published by almost all the newspapers of U P. On 19th and 20th January, 'Aj', the daily Hindi newspaper from Varanasi, praised in its editorial the change in the policy of Mahatama Gandhi from 'Swaraj' to 'Poorna Swaraj'. On 18th January, 'Shakti' in its editorial described the 'real swaraj' (Sachcha Swaraj). It suggested that Indians should forget the internal quarrels amongst different castes and communities and have one aim, i.e. one nation - 'Bharat'

1. Fortnightly Reports (F.R) - January 1st half, 1930
File No (F.N.) : 18/11/1930, *Home Political*(Hom.Poll)
National Archives - (NAI)

one religion i.e. independence, one language i.e. Hindustani and one goal: nobody will be left in hunger in independent India.

Though a beginning had already been made by the Congress in the early parts of the month, the agitation started in an organised form with the preparations for Independence Day to be celebrated on 26th January, 1930. In Lahore Congress, it had been decided by the Congress that 26th January will be celebrated as 'Poorna Swaraj Day' or Independence Day. Gandhiji wished that meetings should be organised on that day and people should take the independence pledge, denouncing the British for having 'ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spritually', asserting that it was 'a crime against man and Govt.' to submit any longer to such a rule, and calling for preprations for 'Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes.

In most of the towns and cities Congress workers were active in their propaganda work. Preparations for the celebrations of the 'Poorna Swaraj Day' were being made since 20th January. Processions were being taken out daily in different parts of the towns besides the regular 'Prabhat Pheris'. The processionists used to sing national

songs , carry national flags and posters with them in Banaras and elsewhere.² In Moradabad and most of other northern U P towns, preparations started from 19th January onwards. For example, in Moradabad, batches of Congress Volunteers used to propagate through national songs in different parts of the town from the morning till 1 p.m. From 2 p.m. to evening these batches sold khadi and enrolled volunteers for the Congress programmes.³ Other forms were also used for mobilisation. In Kanpur, on 23rd January, a 'Sahbhoj' was organised by the Kanpur Youth League (Yuvak Sangha). People from all Castes (upper or lower) and Communities (Hindus, Muslims and Christians) were invited. Political leaders like J.L.Nehru, P.D.Tandon, Sri Prakash, Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, Bal Krishna Sharma, Mohan Lal Saksena, Mohan Mehtar, and Maulana Muhammad Usmani were also invited to this 'Sahbhoj'. Many college teachers, students took an active part in this 'Sahbhoj' as did the 'Arya Samajists'.⁴

2. *The Leader* , Allahabad, Jan. 29, 1930.

3. *Aj* , Banaras, Jan. 25, 1930.

4. *Aj* , Jan. 23, 1930.

The celebrations of Independence day commenced from early morning with great enthusiasm. In Allahabad, despite the Vice Chancellor's notice advising not to participate in demonstrations connected with the movement, the students of Allahabad University were, obviously, the class of citizens who first opened the celebrations. Long before 8 a.m. the national flag was seen flying in almost all the hostels of Allahabad University. Then the students who had collected from different hostels started a procession from the senate house with the national flag and after marching through the city searched the Purushottam Dua park, where they met the main procession originating from Kumbha mela area under the leadership of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. In a meeting held there the 'independence pledge' was taken by everybody in pursuance of the programme framed by the Congress Working Committee. Many individuals and shopkeepers illuminated their premises and houses in the evening though there was no such instruction from the Congress.⁵

In Banaras, the national flag was hoisted by

5. *The Leader*, Jan. 29, 1930.

Mr Sampurnananda, President of the Town Congress Committee, at the Town hall grounds before a large gathering including the members of the Youth League. National flags were hoisted over many houses, shops and national institutions. In the afternoon a procession was taken out by the Congress workers and the Youth League wherein national songs were sung and flags and revolutionary posters were carried. A public meeting was held where people took the independence pledge.⁶

In Kanpur, the similar celebrations were held at Sardhanand park where the independence resolution was read. People illuminated their houses and shops.⁷

In Agra, about 8000 people witnessed the flag hoisting ceremony at 8 a.m. by Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal. By 10 a.m., the national flag was seen flying over several thousands of houses and shops. Around 20,000 persons including women participated in a procession, singing national songs. About half a dozen gates were erected to

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

receive the procession in different areas of the city. Later in a public meeting, the independence pledge was taken and the resolution of 'Poorna Swaraj' was passed. Several Muslims also joined the procession including Yagub Ali Vakil and Hakim Abdul Sattar.⁸

In Lucknow, the national flag was hoisted by Mr Mohan Lal Saksena in Aminuddaula park. Members of the Youth League were very active in this ceremony. Almost every house top except a few belonging to loyalist officers, displayed a flying national flag. A procession was taken out at 3 O'clock in the afternoon which later converted itself into a public meeting in Aminuddaula park. Mohanlal Saksena again send the Congress pledge.⁹ The students of Lucknow University had planned to hoist the national flags on their Union office and other buildings on 26th January. But the authorities came down harshly and they could not celebrate the independence day. Later on, on 7th February again they planned to hoist the national flags but again the University authorities prevented them from doing so, as the viceroy was to come to the University.¹⁰

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Aj*, February 2, 1930.

10. *Aj*, Feb. 10, 1930.

In other towns of U P also people showed tremendous response towards the independence day celebrations. In Bijnor and Mirzapur, two to three thousand people took part in celebrations, flags were seen on houses also.¹¹ Public response was good in Mathura and Itawa also. In Itawa, Swami Swaraj Prakash hoisted the flag in the market. Youth League members shouted revolutionary slogans.¹² In Basti, about 5000 to 10,000 people took part in celebrations. Houses were illuminated in the evening.¹³ In Gorakhpur, national flag was hoisted at 6 a.m. in Ismail park. Lakshmi Narayan Pandey and Vinay Bahadur Singh were the main leaders in Gorakhpur. A procession was taken out in the afternoon which culminated in a public meeting. Independence pledge was read and people took oath to fight against the British.¹⁴ Elsewhere in Gorakhpur district Deoria and Padrauna also celebrated independence day. Participation of People was also good in the celebrations of independence day in Fatehpur, Saharanpur,

11. *Aj*, Jan.29, 1930.

12. *Ibid*.

13. *Ibid*.

14. *Ibid*.

and Azamgarh. In Azamgarh Mr Suryanath Singh hoisted the flag Maulana Ahmedjame Khan and his wife were the main architects of the celebrations in Gonda and Balrampur. In Naridwar, national flag was hoisted at nar-ki-pairi where the students and teachers of Gurukul Kangdi showed great enthusiasm towards the celebrations. In the evening, a procession with the national flag was taken out in the town. Flowers were thrown on them and 'aasti' was done of national flag at several places.¹⁵ In Almora, the national flag was hoisted at Nanda devi shivala. 'Gandhaksht' and 'Navaidya' was distributed among the people. After that people decorated their houses and shop with flags. In the evening a procession was taken out which turned into a public meeting at Nanda devi. Pt. Devi dutt Pant addressed the meeting and read the resolution. Around 600 people took part in all these functions.¹⁶ In Ranikhet, national flag was unfurled at Tarikhet school and Ranikhet temple on Devdar trees. Congress resolution was read by Mr Hargovind Pant in a public meeting in

15. *Aj*, Jan. 30, 1930.

16. *Shakti*, Almora, Feb. 1, 1930.

Tarikhet. Around 80 pictures of Gandhiji, many national flags and caps were sold by the volunteers.¹⁷ In Kashipur, Mr Tajmmul Husain and Dr Hari Dutt Pant led the celebrations. In Nainital Pt. Gopal Dutt Bhat celebrated the day with the help of some boys. Congress declaration was distributed among the people. At Haldwani, Pt. Govind Ballav Pant led the celebrations.¹⁸ Independence day was also celebrated at Ballia, Jaunpur, Banda, Sultanpur, Dehradun, Mainpuri, Tanakpur and Muradabad. In Rae Bareli district Independence day was celebrated at not less than 40 places.¹⁹

Even government reports accepted that "these demonstrations attained considerable proportions and appear to have attracted good deal of enthusiasm in Agra, Kanpur and Banaras".²⁰ Celebrations passed peacefully and there was no conflict with police though at one place CID officers were insulted by students. A revolutionary

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Aj*, Jan. 31, 1930.

20. A Telegram to Home Department, Delhi by UPao, Lucknow, dated Feb. 1, 1930, F.N. - 88/1930
Hom. Poll., N.A.I.

manifesto handed "the philosophy of Bomb" and purporting to be from Hindustan Republican Association was circulated in Allahabad, Agra, Kanpur, Jhansi and Mathura. The pamphlet was proscribed by the police and the Secretary and another member of the Banaras Youth League, who were distributing it, were arrested.²¹

There was a comparative decline in Congress activities after the celebration of independence day. In this period the congress and even the government waited for Gandhiji to decide in the precise method of non-violent struggle for 'poorna-swaraj'. Regular Congress activities like 'Prabhat-pheris', propagation of khadi or propaganda against foreign cloth continued in this period also. Important leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Krishna Dutt Paliwal of Agra were busy in mobilising peasants in village areas. Jawaharlal Nehru was busy in mobilising peasants and students in Rae Bareli district and Mr Krishna Dutt Paliwal was organising Kisan Sabhas in Agra district. U P Hindustani Seva Dal, a sister organisation of the Congress

21. *Ibid.*

wrote all the District, Town and Tehsil Congress committees to start Seva Dal branches in their area. A Seva Dal branch could be opened with fifty members in any area. The head office of Seva Dal which was at Banaras used to provide them with uniforms. The uniform was Khadi shirts, half shirt, Gandhi cap, badges, belt and Khadi bandage in legs. They also used to provide their branches with trainers to train the volunteers in drill etc.

The viceroy of India visited Lucknow in the first half of February and the government report says that "the durbar made a deep impression on Zamindars and landlords".²² The landlords of province met at Lucknow on 6th February and criticised the Congress creed of independence.²³ Government, meanwhile, was seriously engaged in presenting the authors, publishers and even distributors of revolutionary pamphlets. In Allahabad, local police searched the shop of Indian press at Sangam and two other places on 12th February for the book

22. FR , Feb. Ist half, F.N. - 18/III/1930, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.

23. *Ibid.*

'Azadi ke Diwane'. The author and publisher Pt. Vidya Bhusan Shukla and Bankey Lal Sharma were arrested.²⁴ In Banaras, Mr Vidyaranniyan and Mr Kedar Prasad were arrested while they were pasting the N.S.R.A. poster "the philosophy of Bomb". Another book 'Kranti ke maidan me' was proscribed and Mr Brahmachari Indra, Master Indra dev Sinha and Mr Kunwar Pratap Singh of Mainpuri were prosecuted.²⁵ In Allahabad, the students of Sanatan Dharma College hoisted national flag on their hostel in protest against the police search in the room of Mr Chail Behari Katak for a banned poster.²⁶

Congress celebrated 2nd flag day on 23rd February. This was a programme of U P Hindustani Seva Dal which had urged the people to spare atleast ten minutes for flag hoisting.²⁷ Night schools were opened in distant places and villages in the Kumaun hills by the Congress to convey the message of Khadi, boycott of foreign cloth, chachha etc.²⁸

24. *Ibid*, & *Aj*, Feb. 14, 1930.

25. *Ibid* & *Aj*, Feb. 10, 1930.

26. *Aj*, Feb. 16, 1930.

27. *Aj*, Feb. 24, 1930.

28. *Shakti*, Mar. 1, 1930

On 10th March, U P Congress Committee Chief Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi appealed the people to be ready for the Satyagraha. On 12th March, 'Satyagraha Divas' was celebrated in most of the towns of U P. Flags were hoisted at Congress offices, volunteers were recruited and public meetings were organised. Mr Mohan Lal Saksena and Mr Motilal Nehru addressed the meetings in Lucknow and Allahabad respectively. In Allahabad, on 17th March, holi was celebrated in a different manner. In place of simple 'holika dahan', bonfire of foreign cloth was organised. Foreign cloths were collected by the volunteers in the city. In course of this collection they tried to persuade the people to give up using foreign cloth. Boycott of foreign cloth movement was going on in Allahabad High Court also. Advocates had been persuaded to sign on the pledge of boycott.²⁹ In Banaras, birth anniversary of Shivajee was celebrated on 17th March. The speakers of the ceremony considered him the first nationalist of India.³⁰ In Meerut, students

29. *Aj*, March 14 & 19, 1930.

30. *Ibid.*

went on strike against the suspension of a teacher of an Anglo-Vernacular school of Meerut cant on the charge of collecting funds for Congress. In Banaras, political sufferer's day was celebrated on 31st March in the memory of those who had lost their life in the freedom movement.³¹

The intensified congress activities in the second half of March compelled the government to send confidential instructions to District officers as to how they should deal with local offenders against the Salt Act. The main point emphasized was that government did not desire to take actions against the followers but actions should be directed against the leaders.³² The editor of 'Medina', Bijnor was prosecuted for articles propagating a revolution. Mr Madhav Shukni was also prosecuted for a speech favouring revolution delivered in Ghazipur. Mr Chithi Pandey was also prosecuted for exhibiting lanteen slides in the Ballia

31. *Aj*, March 30, 1930.

32. FR March 2nd half, FN - 18/IV/1930,
Hom. Poll. NAI.

district showing how cows were butchered for consumption by Europeans and Muslims.³³

At national level, the Congress Working Committee, in February 1930, invested Gandhiji with full powers to launch the civil disobedience movement at a time and place of his choice. The turning down of Gandhiji's eleven points demands left no other way except the civil disobedience. By the end of February, Gandhiji decided in favour of breaking the salt tax which constituted 'the most inhuman poll tax the ingenuity of man can devise!'. On 12th March Gandhiji started with a band of 71 members of the Sabarmati Ashram for Dandi at the sea coast, to break the salt law. Before leaving Gandhiji gave directions for future actions, impressed on the people the necessity for non-violence and prepared them for the government's response: "wherever possible, civil disobedience of salt laws should be started----- liquor and foreign cloth shops can be picketed . We can refuse to pay taxes if we

33. *Ibid.*

have requisite strength. The lawyers can give up practice. The police can boycott the Courts by refraining from litigation. Government servants can resign their posts----. I prescribe only one condition, viz., let our pledge of truth and non-violence on the only means for the attainment of Swaraj be faithfully kept.³⁴

The period of Dandi march was used by the leaders and workers of the U P Congress at various levels for enrolling volunteers and members, forming grass-root Congress Committees, collecting funds and touring villages and towns to spread the nationalist message. Satyagraha Committees were formed to chalk out plans to hold Satyagraha. These committees were publishing 'Satyagraha Samachar' in different towns and cities to propagate satyagraha. Recruitment of volunteers was done on a warfootage. Appeals were made to all and sundry to come forth and join as Congress Volunteers to serve the nation. Youngmen, of both urban as well as rural areas and women were their main

34. *Gandhiji, collected works, Vol. 43, Pg 46-7, as quoted in Mridula Mukherjee's article on Civil Disobedience Movement in India's Struggle For Freedom, Bipan Chandra and Others.*

target. There appeals were responded to by the students inspite of the fact that this was the examination season. These volunteers were the active agents of the war council which had sprang up at every congress centre with the rise of Civil Disobedience movement. Ordinarily they belonged to the town where they functioned. Sometimes they were invited also from other places. Most of them were uneducated and came from all social strata in the city and the village. They were recruited from schools and colleges also. They used to pass through the streets shouting revolutionary slogans.³⁵ Before being enlisted they had to sign a pledge which said that they were in full agreement with the ~~Congress~~ creed of 'Poorna Swaraj', that they would remain non-violent and will go to jail whenever necessary, they would use khadi and promote Swadeshi. They also pledged that they won't demand maintainance for their family, in case they were sent to jail.³⁶ The

35. *The Leader* - Sept. 8, 1930.

36. *All India Congress Committee (AICC) F.N.* - 14/1930, Nehru Mamorial Museum and Library(NMML)

general commander in chief of the U P Volunteers was a lady from Nehru family, Mrs Uma Nehru.³⁷

From 2nd April, batches of volunteers started their propaganda work. Every batch was given a 'bight' and a national flag. These batches marched in the cities, blowing 'bigule' and singing national songs. They also read out a letter of Gandhiji to U P Congress Chief. In Banaras, there was also an appeal by city congress chief Mr Sampurnanand to join as Congress Volunteers.³⁸ On 5th April, a committee was formed in Banaras to collect funds for the family members of those who would go to jail.³⁹ U P Provincial Congress Committee met in Rae Baraeli and decided to observe satyagraha in five districts: Agra, where Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal was made the dictator of Satyagraha Committee; Allahabad with Jawaharlal as dictator; Banaras with Sampurnanand as dictator; Kanpur with Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi as dictator; and Rae Baraeli with a Committee of Mohanlal Saksena, Mr Rafi Ahmed Kidwai,

37. See 35.

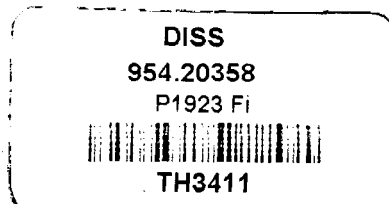
38. *Aj*, April 4, 1930.

39. *Aj*, April 6, 1930.

Mr Satyanarayan, Mr Mahesh Narayan Singh etc. Mr Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi was made the dictator of Provincial Satyagraha Committee and he was invested with the powers to give orders to any district to start satyagraha. Initially satyagraha started at these five places only but later on other districts were also permitted to hold satyagraha.

"News of Gandhiji's progress, of his speeches, of the teeming crowds that greeted and followed the marchers, of the long road lovingly strewn with leaves and festooned with banners and flags, of men and women quietly paying their homage by spinning yarn on their charkhas as Gandhiji passed, of the 300 village officials in Gujrat who resigned their posts in answer to his appeal, was carried day after day by newspapers to readers across the country and broadcast live by thousands of Congress workers to eager listeners." The newspapers of U P especially vernacular ones, viz. Aj, Vertaman, Pratap, Shakti etc. were doing great job in popularising Congress programmes. By the time Gandhiji reached Dandi, he had a whole nation, aroused and expectant, waiting restlessly for the final signal. On 6th April 1930, by picking up a handful of salt, Gandhiji inaugurated the Civil Disobedience movement.

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Once the way was cleared by Gandhiji's ritual beginning at Dandi, the defiance of salt laws started all over the country. In U P Satyagraha started on 7th April at four places, viz. Banaras, Agra, Kanpur and Rae Bareli. In Allahabad, satyagraha started on 12th April.

In Agra, Congress Volunteers started in a procession with a bandparty and an ambulance with a doctor and a nurse. The procession was received at many places with flowers and garlands. At some places 'Sarbat' was served to the volunteers. It reached at the fixed place and started making salt at 8 O'Clock in the morning. Sri Krishna datt Paliwal, who was making salt was arrested at 2 p.m.⁴⁰ In Banaras also, the volunteers who were led by Sri Baijnath Singh, received warm welcome everywhere. They were given even money by the people, at some places 'Chana and gur' was distributed among them. At Vidyapith, which was the place for salt preparation, students received the volunteers. Volunteers fixed a board there, saying

40. *Aj*, April 9, 1930 and '*Agra Janpad ka Rajnaitik Itihas*', by Chintamani Shukla.

"Bina licence namak banane ka Karkhana" (unlicenced salt factory) and started making salt. Students of Dayanand High School observed hartal in their school, hoisted national flag in the Congress and marched on to the place where salt was being made.⁴¹ In Kanpur, salt law was broken on 7th April at about 5 p.m. in the City Congress Committee's Tilak Bhavan under the leadership of Mrs Gangadhar Ganesh Jag and Pyarelal Ji Agarwal. When no arrest was made by the police till the evening a public meeting was organised where Pt. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi appealed the people to break the Salt law individually or collectively.⁴² In Allahabad, salt law was broken on 12th April under the leadership of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru. Ladies of the Nehru family were the main participants.⁴³ In Rae Bareli, satyagraha started in 8th April. Government had made every attempts to make satyagraha a failure. Around 40 volunteers were already arrested before 8th April for propagating Congress programmes. In this condition volunteers from outside took over the charge, also the people from rural areas showed great support by

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Aj*, April 27, 1930.

joining as volunteers. On 8th satyagraha started at three places. Pt. Motilal Nehru was also there to supervise. Leaders of volunteers were arrested but the manufacture of salt continued.⁴⁴ In Lucknow, salt satyagraha took place for the first time on 13th April. Volunteers under the leadership of Imtiaz Ahmed who was the editor of 'Namdam' newspaper, went to Gangu Nawab's bag to prepare salt but police interfered and took away their utensils and arrested three volunteers. Then salt was prepared in Aminauddaula park. Next day police arrested eight important leaders of Lucknow - Mr Mohan Lal Saksena, Mr. Imtiaz Ahmed Ashrafi, Mr C.B.Gupta, Mr Narishchandra Bajpai, Mr Jaydayal Awasthi, Dr Lakshmi Sahay, Mr Shyam Sunder Kausen and Mr S.S.Migam.⁴⁵ In most of the cities satyagraha begun by 10th April. Everywhere people showed great enthusiasm. Some important places where salt was made successfully were Gorakhpur, Basti, Deoria, Azamgarh, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Meerut, Moradabad, Mirzapur, Aligarh etc. At some places salt was prepared in procession as

44. *Aj*, April 12, 1930.

45. *Aj*, April 16, 1930.

in Allahabad and other places. In this stove and utensils were kept on a cart which was pulled by some volunteers. Manufacturing of salt continued at almost all the places for sometime after which it was terminated at some places, as in Allahabad on 27th April, but continued in those towns which had started late as in Meerut where salt satyagraha continued as late as till May. Those areas which could not celebrate salt satyagraha, were doing other types of protest movements. For example the hilly districts of U P, viz. Kumaun, Almora and Nainital Congress volunteers were picketing liquor and foreign cloth shops. 'National Week' was observed in these districts from 6th April to 12th April. On 13th April, Jalianwala bag day was observed in Almora. Addressing a public meeting on that occasion Lala Chiranjee lal said, that though they were not taking part actively in salt satyagraha, they were very much a part of it. 'Lashen nahin to aahen to sangram me hain'.⁴⁶

The U P government's policy was to confiscate the illicit salt as soon as it was made but rarely it got success.

46. *Shakti*, April 19, 1930.

In the beginning police did not make any interference in the process of preparing illegal salt but later on police did attack and capture the utensils of the volunteers in which they were preparing salt as it happened in Banaras on 12th April and in Lucknow on 13th April.⁴⁷ For confiscating salt police had to face, in most of the cases, stiff resistance from volunteers. In Mainpuri, in order to confiscate the illicit salt police had to lathi charge the volunteers and pour boiling waters on them.⁴⁸ But the atrocities of police did not deter the volunteers from preparing illegal salt. The government's policy under the salt act was mainly to prosecute the leading offenders. Up to 16th April 71 persons had been prosecuted under the salt act.⁴⁹ Leading offenders were Jawaharlal Nehru, awarded six months simple imprisonment (S.I.), Pt. Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal, six months rigorous imprisonment (R.I.),

47. *Aj*, April 16, 1930.

48. *Satyagraha Samachar* (SS), Allahabad, April 19, 1930
FN - 106, *Home Police (Hom. Pol.)*, U P State
Archives (UPSA), Lucknow.

49. *See* 46.

Pt. Harihar Nath Shastri, 6 months R.I., Babu Sampurnanand
6 months R.I., Babu Mohanlal Saksena, 16 months R.I., and
Narayan Singh of Meerut, 16 months R.I.

The government claimed to have crushed the
movement entirely by the quick action it had taken.⁵⁰
Sometimes it even denied that illegal salt had been made.
According to its press release regarding the happenings
of Allahabad, salt law was not broken as the mixture which
was boiled to get the salt, already contained salt.⁵¹

Salt satyagraha attracted tremendous attention from
the masses. Thousands of people witnessed the preparation
of salt. In Allahabad, on the day of its inception more
than one thousand people witnessed it. In Banaras where it
started on 7th April around 50,000 people came to see the
preparation till 10th April. While going back they were
heard saying "they will also make salt in their villages".⁵²

50. Letter of RDWD Macleod to A.L.Hokle, Commissioner,
N.I.Salt Revenue, Delhi, FN - 249/1930, *Hom.Poll.*
N.A.I.

51. *Aj*, April 12, 1930.

52. *Aj*, April 10 & 12, 1930.

People's response and their enthusiasm can easily be seen by their warm reception and honour accorded to the volunteers who were going to prepare salt. In Banaras, Agra and Dehradun, volunteers were received with full Hindu traditions like 'Aarti', Akshat, 'Chandan' etc. Flowers and garlands were common in all the places.

Most of the people who visited the satyagraha area, bought the illicit salt. Volunteers after preparing the salt used to auction the same and collect sometimes unbelievable amounts. In Allahabad, it fetched highest amounts of Rs. 175 or 180 for a few grams of illicit salt. Batches of volunteers especially of women used to go to market to sell the illicit salt. In all the towns volunteers succeeded in collecting large sums by selling illegal salt. Getting that had become a prestige issue at that time. In Lucknow, on 16th April, a person sold his golden chain to buy a packet of illicit salt sold for forty rupees. Even a Daroga who was on duty near the satyagraha place in Banaras accepted the salt, when volunteers presented him the same. He not only tested it but kept the remaining for his family members. ⁵³

53. Whole Para, *Aj*, April 13, 14 & 19, 1930.

At every place students showed great enthusiasm for the salt satyagraha. They were the main constituents of the volunteers corps. On the day of its inception students observed strike in their schools and colleges. For example , in Banaras, students of Dayanand High School observed strike on April 7, hoisted national flag in the campus and started in a procession to 'Saina' where salt was being prepared.⁵⁴

Another class which supported or showed interest in satyagraha was of merchants. In Kanpur, in a meeting on 7th April they decided to support the satyagraha by money. They decided to start a fund for the welfare of the family members of those volunteers who might go to jail. Merchants were also requested to pay half the salary to their employees who went to jail during the satyagraha. In another meeting on 11th April, a committee of eleven members was constituted to collect and look after the fund. This committee was called 'Satyagraha Sahayak Sabha'.⁵⁵ Merchants also responded positively to the calls for closure of shops. On 16th April when hactal was organised

54. *Aj*, April 9, 1930.

55. *Aj*, April 10 & 16 , 1930.

in U P towns to protest against the arrest of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru , most of the shops, barring a few belonging to muslims and englishmen, were closed. Even in remote areas like Ranikhet and Almora, merchants followed the Congress leaders appeal.⁵⁶

Women also took part in the satyagraha for the first time on a large scale. Apart from the ladies belonging to the upper strata of society such as those of the Nehru family, those belonging to the ordinary families had also taken part. In Banaras, Bengali ladies were very active. In a letter to Pt. J.L. Nehru, President, All India Congress Committee, Seventy nine Bengali Women 'and many others who could not sign', expressed their willingness "to stand under congress flag and follow the command of Mahatama Gandhi" as they could not remain "idle spectators in this national struggle for complete independence". They had decided "to follow the Puranic custom to worship goddess Ranchandi to shower blessings on the brave soldiers for their victory".⁵⁷

56. *Shakti*, April 19, 1930.

57. FN- G-44(i)/1930, AFCC, NMML.

Women used to go to batches consisting entirely of women to prepare and sell salt. In Lucknow on 16th April, when a person called Jayadev Avasthi was arrested by the police just for buying a packet of illicit salt, his wife challenged the police to arrest her as she was going to prepare salt in her house publicly.⁵⁸

During the whole salt satyagraha muslims had abstained from joining the movement, however, persistent attempts were made by the Congress to induce them to come in.

Government's policy of 'picking out dangerous local leaders' and prosecuting them under the salt act did not bear much fruit as the movement continued even after the arrests but it succeeded to some extent, in disorganising the movement.⁵⁹

In most of the places, enthusiasm was maintained, 'especially among the students', by means of meetings, hertals, processions and through vernacular press.⁶⁰ By

58. *Aj*, April 19, 1930

59. FR April 2nd half, FN - 18/V/1930, *Hom. Poll.*
NAI.

60. *Ibid.*

the end of April, the Chief centres were preparing to drop the salt agitations and it had become clear by then that the next stage in the congress programme will be picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops.

Picketing started in Lucknow on 25th April.

Dr Ram Narayan Khanna and Mr Bannerjee led the volunteers of 'Nav YuvakDal' in picketing. Twenty percent shopkeepers closed their shops on their arrival and no sell took place in other shops. On 28th also, the students of Shia College picketed the shop of Nazi AbdulRazzag. A bonfire of foreign cloth was also organised.⁶¹ In Allahabad, picketing started on 1st May. Motilal Nehru also participated in picketing. Next day Mrs. Uma Nehru and Mrs. Kamla Nehru joined picketing. They were successful in persuading many muslim women not to buy foreign goods on the occasion of Id.⁶² In Banaras, Mathura and Jaunpur, picketing started on 5th May.⁶³ On 12th May Allahabad student's Association, under the Presidentship of Mrs Vijai Lakshmi

61. *Aj*, April 28 and May 2, 1930.

62. *The Leader*, May 3 & 4, 1930.

63. *The Leader*, May 7, and *Aj*, May 10, 1930.

Pandit decided to boycott the pro-government and Anglo Indian newspapers. In early part of May, picketing was confined to larger towns but later on other towns also started picketing on foreign cloth and liquor shops. In Kanpur and Banaras, the majority of Hindu cloth dealers had agreed not to sell foreign cloth.⁶⁴

The breaking of salt law had become less popular. It was continued in smaller towns. In Badaun, salt was prepared in front of police station on 9th May. In Mirzapur also salt was prepared in front of 10,000 people on 9th May.⁶⁵

When Gandhiji was arrested on 5th May most of the observed hartal. In Banaras, there was complete hartal on 8th May to protest against this arrest. There was complete hartal in Etawa, Azamgarh, Aligarh, Haldwani, Kashipur etc. in the protest.⁶⁶

Repeated hartals, processions and meetings helped to

64. FR, May Ist & 2nd half, FN-18/6/1980, *Hom. Poll.* NAI.

65. *The Leader*, May 11, 1930.

66. *The Leader*, May 10, 1930.

keep the atmosphere explosive and people took part in Congress activities enthusiastically. Government report says that this had increased the risk of sudden outbreak of violence.⁶⁷ This report proved itself true from their side only on 26th May in Lucknow. A procession of about 150 volunteers including 24 ladies, led by Mrs Mitra, started for Aminuddiula park after 5.30 p.m. It was followed by an orderly crowd of thousands. When the procession reached Royal hotel and was to proceed by the council chamber towards Hazratganj it found its way closed by the mounted policemen. Hazaratganj area was restricted for processions but the processionists insisted that they would go by that route. Then police arrested women first and then mounted police and their lathis made an onslaught on the crowd. Even women and children among spectators were not spared. Around 220 cases of injuries were registered in Congress office. Next day, on the 27th, there was firing on the crowd which had gathered to protest against the previous days happenings near Aminuddaula park. The whole of Lucknow observed strike on 27th and 28th. In Allahabad also 'hartal' was observed to protest against the police atrocities in Lucknow.⁶⁸

67. See 64.

68. *The Leader*, May 29 & 30, 1930.

In the month of May Police arrested Prof. J.B.Kriplani, BabaRamchandra and Maharaj Singh for reditions speeches. More arrests had been made in tune for seditions speech - Thakur Gopinath Singh of Kanpur, Sita Ram Singh of Jhansi, Thakur Malkhan Singh of Aligarh and Pt. Badrinath Pande, MLC of Almora.

A comparative decline was seen in Congress activities in June. However, regular picketing at foreign cloth and liquor shops continued. Picketing of Ganja and Bhang shops in remote areas became common. Apart from picketing, processions and meetings against the government kept the atmosphere hot. For example, in Kumaon, Congress activities were continuing in remote parts as well, though at Nainital they were most active. Here Pt. Govind Ballav Pant was leading the congress activities.⁶⁹ Elsewhere in the plains, in Lucknow Congress activities resumed on 3rd June after a weeks suspension when a batch of 6 volunteers led by Mr J.K.Bannerjee went to defy the orders under section 144. It had been decided by the Lucknow Congress Committee that every day a batch of 6 volunteers will defy the orders.⁷⁰ Their programme

69. *Shakti*, May 31, 1930.

70. *The Leader*, June 6, 1930.

continued till the end of month. By then 622 persons had been convicted by the Police under salt law and other acts.⁷¹

The months of July began with processions and meetings to congratulate Motilal Nehru and Dr. Sayed Mahmud who were arrested on June 30. Meetings were organised in Allahabad, Lucknow, Mirzapur, Aligarh, Basti and Faizabad.

Picketing of foreign cloths and liquor shops continued with varying intensity. In most of the places merchants had their foreign cloth sealed by the Congress officers. A report from Kanpur says that on July 27 not a single yard of foreign cloth was available in the market.⁷²

A circular of education department with the objective of preventing educational institutions from becoming recruiting ground of congress volunteers had led to a good deal of agitation on the part of Congress. In Allahabad, a protest meeting was organised by Allahabad students Association on 17th July under the Presidentship of Mrs V.L.Pandit. It was decided that national flags should

71. FR, June 2nd half, FN-18/VII/30, *Hom. Poll.* NAI.

72. *The Leader*, July 30, 1930.

be hoisted in every school ground and national songs should be sung.⁷³ Following this decision government Inter College was severely picketed and national flag was hoisted in college ground. Leaders of this demonstration were prosecuted and convicted for criminal trespass including Mr. Sunderlal, author of the "Bharat me Angreji Rajya".⁷⁴ In Kanpur also national flag was hoisted on Government High School on 18th July. It could not be removed without the intervention of the police.⁷⁵ On 27th July, Students of Christian College Kanpur encouraged by the Congress and Youth League personnel, hoisted the national flag on college building. As a result of this six students who had prominent role in it were removed from the college rolls.⁷⁶ In Aligarh, students of government high school, against the stiff resistance from school authorities and police, succeeded in hoisting the national flag on school building.⁷⁷ In almost all the towns of the province, national flags were seen on the primary and middle schools of the District Boards. Government officers were trying their best to get them removed but were successful in few cases only. In Kanpur on 19th July, the education committee of the District Board resolved to place Mahatama Gandhi's photographs

73. *The Leader*, July 19, 1930.

74. *FR*, July 1st half, FN - 18/VIII/30, *Hom. Poll.* NAI.

75. *The Leader*, July 21, 1930.

76. *The Leader*, July 31, 1930.

77. *The Leader*, July 18, 1930.

and also to set up national flags on all the middle and primary schools.⁷⁸ In Dehradun, to protest against the circular of the Inspector of Schools, hartal was observed by the students on 14th July. The picketers of local students Union, picketed the D.A.V. School, The A.P.Mission School and the Tehsil School.⁷⁹ In Gorakhpur also, students Union was formed to protest against the recent circular.⁸⁰

At Allahabad, Muslims held a large and successful meeting in opposition to the Congress under the Chairmanship of Mr Shaukat Ali. A counter meeting of nationalist muslims was organised at Lucknow by the Maharaja of Mehmudabad and Dr Ansari. Pro Congress meetings had been held in few other places but as the government report claims 'without producing any appreciable impression'.⁸¹

By the end of July, 1150 persons had been convicted by the police under different acts.

With the beginning of August picketing on foreign cloth shops had become less frequent as in most of the towns

78. *The Leader*, July 19, 1930.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *The Leader*, July 21, 1930.

81. FR, July 2nd half, F.N. - 18/VIII/30, *Hom. Poll.*, NAI.

almost all the foreign cloth dealers barring a few muslims had signed the pledge not to indent foreign cloth for six months. Picketing was largely continued at liquor Ganja and Bhang shops.

Congress activities in this month were largely concentrated on picketing schools and colleges. Universities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Banaras Hindu University (B.H.U.) were being vigorous picketed by the Congress workers.⁸² The arrests of Madan Mohan Malviya and V.J. Patel added new vigour in the Congress activities. Large scale protest meetings were organised in most of the towns, viz., Jhansi, Aligarh, Agra, Lucknow, Mirzapur, Azamgarh, Allahabad and Lucknow. But in Benaras, the show of protest was more vigorous largely due to the students of B.H.U. A batch of B.H.U. students left for Bombay where Pt. Malviya was arrested, to offer satyagraha there.⁸³ In this way these students mobilised the students of Allahabad and Lucknow also.

The total number of people arrested rose up to 2412 by the end of August.⁸⁴

82 . FR, August 1st half, FN - 18/9/30, *Hom. Poll.* N.A.I.

83. *The Leader*, August 7, 1930.

84. See 82.

In September the intensity of Congress activities in the urban areas of UP further deteriorated but the arrest of the five member Congress working committee at Delhi and the observations of 'National' and 'Boycott' weeks led to an increase in the number of meetings and processions. The picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops continued. The Government reports say that 'merchants are getting restive and at some places the Congress seal has been broken.' But newspaper reports do not support it. Apart from all this Congress action did not show fresh vitality. Picketing of educational institutions were getting into background. The Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow had come to an agreement with local Congress bodies and were expected to function smoothly after the vacations.⁸⁵

A new feature which had emerged in this period was the growing tendency of violence. In Ballia, a sub-Inspector was attacked by a crowd of villagers. A bomb exploded near a police outpost at Benaras, killing a woman. There were some more similar incidents in the province but mostly confined in rural areas.

Due to the boycott of the elections by the Congress 45 out of 100 elected members in legislative council were

85. FR, September 1st & 2nd half, FN - 18/10/3
M.A.I.

returned unopposed. At some places, as the government report says, Congress had put up 'dummy' candidates in order to raise funds by forcing genuine candidates to buy off the opposition.⁸⁶

There was no improvement in the Congress activities in October also. The picketing at educational institutions had practically ceased; liquor shops were being picketed in a languid way. At some places Congress seals on foreign cloths were broken by a few merchants but the merchant committees looked into these cases and got them resealed with a fine on those merchants. The release of prominent Congress leaders was the occasion for processions and speeches. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a firebrand speech just after his release at Allahabad on 12th October. He called for the Congressmen to move towards villages and start no-rent movements. But Jawaharlal Nehru was prosecuted for that speech and sentenced to years rigorous imprisonment.⁸⁶ Government was already prepared to arrest him after his release as he was expected "to set the whole India on fire."⁸⁷ After his arrest Congress had changed its tactics because they had realised that the imprisonment of their leaders disorganises the movement. The guiding men then tried to keep themselves out of prison, leaving the open defiance of the laws largely to volunteers and ordinary members of the party.⁸⁸

86. FR, October 1st Haf, F.N.-18.1.30, N.A.I.

87. A letter to Miss Eleanor, Sydney (Australia) from Miss Krishna Nehru, F.N - 513/1930,

88.

In November too, urban agitations continued to decline. While there was still good deal of sympathy with Congress among the Hindu urban population, there was little activity except for the demonstration in favour of persons either recently released or sentenced to imprisonment. The conviction of Jawaharlal Nehru was the occasion for organised Procession in all the towns. On 16th November, 'Jawahar day' was celebrated in almost every town. Meetings were organised and the speech of Jawaharlal for which he was convicted, was read. Lucknow and Allahabad celebrated 'Jawahar week' from 4th to 16th November. In Allahabad, ladies of Nehru family played prominent role in it.⁸⁹

Picketing of foreign cloth shops started again at some places. In Aligarh, many foreign cloth dealers had broken the seal after the expiry of their agreement. Congress volunteers started picketing their shops again. In Shahjahanpur and Hardoi, Mohan Lal Saksena, succeeded in persuading the dealers to get their stock rescaled.⁹⁰

While Congress activities in urban areas were declining, rural areas were getting more attention. Congress

69. FR, November Ist & 2nd half, F.N - 18/XII/30.
Hom. Poll., N.A.I.

90. *The Leader*, Nov. 3 & 6, 1930.

emissaries were taking advantage of the prevailing low price to mobilize the tenants not to pay rents. Total number of arrests till the end of November reached 6982 while 1617 persons were released.⁹¹

In December also Congress activities in urban areas remained at low ebb. Though in rural areas congressmen were getting remarkable successes. In towns, revival of picketing at foreign cloth shops had forced many shopkeepers to get their stock rescaled. In Lucknow, some merchants were fined Rs. 21 to 51 for breaking the Congress seal.⁹² In Kanpur, a bomb of crude manufacture was thrown on three cloth merchants which caused them slight injuries. Government report says that the bomb was thrown by congressmen as these merchants had disobeyed the congress mandate and had dispatched two babes of foreign cloth to Jalandhar. In Allahabad Congress was proposing to establish 'Ashramas' in different mohallas to raise money and volunteers. Government of UP acting on the advice of D.M. Allahabad, declared all the town and district Congress committees and its sister organisations of Allahabad, illegal in a notification issued on December 2, 1930.⁹³ Similar notifications were issued in the case Nainital Congress Committee, Kashipur Tehsil Congress

92.

The Leader, Dec. 28, 1930.

93.

A Letter to Commissioner Allahabad from the D M Allahabad, *Files of various Departments (FOVD)*, Police, F.N. - 1077/1930, V.P.S.A.

committee, Gandhi Bal Sabha and Jawahar Sabha Kashipur.⁹⁴
 Congress committies of Meerut of Lucknow were also
 declared illegal by similar notifications issued on
 2nd and 23rd December.⁹⁵

Congress activities continued to be concentrated in rural areas. In other areas, congress activities remained sporadic. Processions and meetings were organised to the death of Maulana Mohammad Ali in Lucknow, Aligarh etc. Police used to make immediate arrests in army defence of law. Mrs Kamala Nehru was arrested in Allahabad on the charge of making a seditious speech.⁹⁶ In this political condition, according to the government report, there was a growing desire among moderate Indians that congress should suspend its activities and cooperate a workable consitution. The official source claims that political interest Centred on the delebrations. Round Table Conference and 'despite the communal difficulty' there was a indespread belief that the delegates will return to India with substantial political gains.⁹⁶

In January, one or two cases of violence were also witnessed. In Manipuri district a crowd of two hundred

94. *Shakti*, Dec. 20, 1930.

95. *See* 93.

96. FR, Jan. 2nd half, 1931, F.N. - 18/1931.
Hom. Poll., N.A.I.

persons led by congress men attempted on January 24 to dislodge forcibly a temporary police outpost from a temple. In Kanpur, on 2nd January, a Bangali young man attempted to shoot two sub-inspectors with a pistol. But he failed and was caught by them.⁹⁷

On 26th January, Independence day was celebrated in almost all the towns, though not on a massive scale. Government in its notification in January 13, declared all the branches of congress in Aligarh and Kheri district illegal.⁹⁸

On February 6th, congress lost its great fighter. Mr. Motilal Nehru died of prolonged illness. Before his death all the prominent leaders of the nation including Mahatama Gandhi were camping in Allahabad. Thus Allahabad became the focal point of the Congress satyagraha. Their leaders used to address meetings. On 1st February Mahatama Gandhi addressed about 50,000 men and women at P.D. Park and appealed to them for non-violence and khadi.⁹⁹ In the condolence meeting after the death of Motilal Nehru, Mahatama Gandhi, M.M.Malviya and other leaders asked the people to follow the path of Motilalji. In other towns of U P congress leaders had given considerable

97. *Ibid.*

98. *See.93.*

99. *Aj.* , Feb. 14, 1931.

impetus to agitational activities. On February 16, 'Motilal Nehru day' was observed all over the province. Government in retaliation banned some more congress committee. In notifications issued on February 12 and 23, it banned all the congress organisations of Rae Bareli, Etawa and Mainpuri.¹⁰⁰ With this newly acquired vigour, congress actions became violent at some places. In Banaras, riot broke out in February 10 when a procession of Muslims to condole the killing of Aga Khan, a muslim foreign cloth merchant, was passing through the road and a Hindu Shopkeeper refused to close his shop.¹⁰¹ By 14th and 15th February situation came to be normal similar incident was prevented "by the timely intervention of the police" in Fatehpur.¹⁰²

On 5th March Gandhiji on behalf of the Congress side and Lord Irvin, the Viceroy of India, signed the peace pact. With this Congress decided to terminate the movement but peaceful picketing was to continue. The conclusion of peace had been received with great relief by a large section of the people. Processions and meetings were organised at many places to mark the

100. See 93.

101. *Aj.*, Feb. 14, 1931.

102. FR, February 2nd half, F.N. - 18-1/31, *Hom. Poll.* N.A.I.

end of the movement. In Allahabad, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was released from jail during peace talks, addressed a public meeting on March 10. But at some places protest meetings were organised against the hanging of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, who had received considerable popularity during their trial. On 27th February, Chandrashekhar Azad was killed in Allahabad and Youth League was not allowed to protest against the killing. But after 23rd March, when Bhagat Singh and others were hanged, protests on a large scale were organised in almost all the towns of U P students and youngmen were advised to follow the path of Bhagat Singh. Incidentally one of these processions in honour of Bhagat Singh led to a serious communal riot in Kanpur on 24th March. Riot spread so swiftly that till 26th March 150 people were reported killed and more than 300 injured. Reporting to the Chief Secretary of U P, Commissioner of Allahabad division wrote that the immediate cause of this communal riot was the enforcement of the hartal by 'the political extremists' in connection with the execution of Bhagat Singh.¹⁰³ Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, the District

103. *Hom. Poll.*, FN - 1263 1931, U.P.S.A.

and Pradesh Congress Chief was killed in the riot. He was working for conciliation in a muslim area.¹⁰⁴

Before Kanpur, riots had occurred in Agra and Mirzapur also but there condition had not so badly deteriorated.

Meetings in favour of Gandhi-Irwin pact continued to be organised in April also. In Lucknow, addressing a large meeting. Mr Mohanlal Saksena said, "the country will not get rest until we achieve Swaraj". But he had no hope of getting that through Round Table Conference. 'National week' (April 6-12) was celebrated in almost every town. Celebrations concentrated mainly around Swadeshi and khadi. At some places 'Charkha' and 'Takli' competitions were also organised. By 8th April, Kanpur almost came to normalcy. Merchants Association condoled the death of Sri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. Swadeshi exhibitions were organised in Kanpur, Allahabad and Banaras.¹⁰⁵

In rural areas landlords were not getting rent as the peasants were not ready to pay. They were told

104. *Aj.*, March 28, 1931.

105. *Aj.*, April, 6 and 8, 1931.

that they need pay no rent and were not prepared to pay even the reduced.¹⁰⁶

Only one person, a youngman, was convicted in Ayodhya for a breach of Delhi agreement. This youngman Raghubic Bhattacharya, a student of Irwin Christian College, Allahabad, was against the Gandhi-Irwin pact.¹⁰⁷ Thus, there was almost complete acceptance of Gandhi Irwin pact among the masses.

Thus, the civil Disobedience movement in the urban areas of U P passed through various phases between January 1930 and April 1931. The agitation started with the celebration of Independence day on 26th January. Celebrations of Independence day was a tremendous success and received massive popular support. But after that Congress activities remained at the low ebb until the preparations for salt satyagraha started in the last week of March 1930. In this period new volunteers were registered by the Congress for the forthcoming satyagraha. The months of April and May were full of activities and enthusiasm. Around 25th and 26th April, Salt Satyagraha was at its

106. FR, April 2nd half, F.N - 18/IV/31, *Hom. Poll.*
N.A.I.

107. Letter from Dy. Commissioner, Fyzabad to Dy. Secretary,
U P Appointment department, dated 10th Sept. 1931.
General Administration department (G.A.D), F.N.,
192/1931, U.P.S.A.

height and after that up to June picketing activities at foreign cloth and liquor shops and educational institutions gained the ground. After June, the picketing at foreign cloth shops started declining not because it had failed but because it had achieved its objectives. Though picketing continued sporadically till the end of February 1931 at the shops of more foreign cloth merchants who had broken the congress seal on their foreign cloth stock and had started selling them. But it is remarkable that the larger chunk of the merchants remained disciplined till the end of the period. The arrest of major congress leaders till the end of June had influenced the congress activities in a big way. But it could not break the spirit of the congress workers. In the absence of the top leaders who were the policy makers of the congress and might have given them new programmes, the leaders who replaced them in cities and towns had to continue the old ones, viz, boycott, propagation of khadi and swadeshi as well as occasional salt manufacturing. At some places like Allahabad, Agra etc. women played a very important role after the arrest of there leaders. However, in comparison to the earlier months there was a noticable decline in the Congress activities around September and October. After October congress committees concentrated on no rent movements in rural areas. Jawahar Lal

Nehru had summed it up neatly in a comment drawn from experiences during a brief spell out of the jail in mid October 1930 - "the cities and the middle classes were a bit tired of the hartals and processions', but a 'fresh infusion of blood' could still come from the peasantry', where the reserve stocks----- were enormous".¹⁰⁸

So with the passing of the movement in rural areas, there was a further decline in the congress activities in urban areas. Except for the first half of November, when 'Jawahar week' or 'Jawahar Day' was celebrated in most of the towns, the urban areas did not witness any remarkable spurt in Congress activities in November and December. In January 1931, the independence day was celebrated on 26th January but it was no match for the one celebrated in 1930. The trial and hanging of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru and the death of Chandrashekhar Azad in police encounter provided a new vigour among the youths. Their protests sometimes became violent. In Kanpur, their strike call led to a serious communal riot. But generally the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin pact on 5th March 1931 marked the end of the first phase of Civil Disobedience movement.

108. *J.L. Nehru - An Autobiography*, as quoted in Sarkar Sumit, *Modern India*, Pg. 305.

C H A P T E R - I I

FORMS OF MOBILISATION: 1

Indian National Congress was the main mobilizer of the masses for the Civil Disobedience Movement in the urban areas of U.P. The leaders of the Congress generally provided the guidelines and programmes for mobilization and the major work of mobilization was carried out by its volunteers. However, members of other organizations were also involved in the work of mobilization, and I include here a brief description of the more important of these organizations.

The sister organization of the Congress, the Hindustani Seva Dal, was the main supplier of volunteers from its cadre for carrying out the programme of the Congress. For becoming members of the Hindustani Seva Dal ; a pledge prepared by Jawaharlal Nehru had to be signed. The pledge expressed complete agreement with the following creed of Indian National Congress, viz., "the attainment of complete independence by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means". Members also vowed that they would maintain non-violence in words and in actions, that they would endeavour to promote, to the best of their ability, unity and fraternity amongst all castes and communities of India, that they would endeavour, to their best, to use swadeshi, hand spun and woven cloth, that

they were ready to go to jail if occasion arose and if they went they would not demand any maintenance either from Congress or from Hindustani Seva Dal.¹

The Youth Leagues also played an important rôle in mass mobilization. It was an organisation of more insurgent energetic brotherhood of students and a still more militant band than the Congress volunteers. They preferred to recognise authority over them of anyone, who takes orders from none and disclaimed connection with the Congress while being in hand and glove with them. The President of the Congress used to be the President of the Youth League whose proclaimed political creed was Revolution. Its Allahabad office door was displayed with the motto - 'Rajdroha Dharam Hai'.² The object of the Yough League was to promote union among the youths with a view to bring about "a newer, better and a more youthful order of Indian Society".³ To achieve this objective League undertook activities from time to time, to work for the abolition of antiquated social and religious customs which had outlived their usefulness, to fight communalism in every form and shape and to foster among them a broad tolerant and

1. F.N. - 14/1930, AICC, NMML

2. *The Leader*, Sept. 8, 1930.

3. Alld. Youth League file, F.N.-G-50/1930, AICC, NMML.

cosmopolitan outlook, to develop in the youth the habit of sound study of public questions and of independent thought, disciplined freedom and civic sense of duty and responsibility, to mix with the children of the poor and impart them literacy and to study economic and social conditions of labourers and peasants.⁴

This organisation was functioning in Allahabad, Lucknow, Kanpur, Gorakhpur, Meerut and Bareilly.⁵ Volunteers of Youth League had taken tremendous pain in popularising Swadeshi by organising Swadeshi exhibitions and markets. They used to publish pamphlets (bulletins) and distribute among the villagers and town people. They became more active after the death of Chandrashekar Azad and the execution of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhadev, organizing Azad day and Bhagat Singh Day.

Apart from these two there were other organisations also. Students Association was also helping Congress in the movement. Its president was Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit. Members of this organization were naturally students and were engaged in picketing mainly at educational institutions.

4. *Ibid.*

5. F.N.-G-39/1931, AICC, NMML

Among the muslims the organisations engaged in mobilizing for and against Civil Disobedience Movement were two. The first one was Jamait-ul-ulema which was mobilizing for the movement and the other one was All India Jamait-Tausi-ul-ulema, mobilizing against the muslims against the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The forms of mobilization employed by these organisations can be classified into major and minor types. Among the major, the prominent were processions and meetings and picketing and among minor came boycott, celebrations of days and weeks, nationalist newspapers, organs of Congress and leaflets.

Processions & Meetings

Processions and public meetings were the most common forms which the Congress used as an important part of almost every celebration. Generally processions were taken out from a fixed place which was announced by the Congress Committee one or two days earlier. After passing through the various streets of the city it used to culminate in a public meeting at a fixed place where the processionists were usually addressed by local Congress leaders and sometimes by leaders of

national stature visiting that place. The topic of discussion at the meeting used to be the issue on which the procession had been taken out. They used to pass resolutions either favouring or condemning any particular issue.

The processions were generally led by the office-bearers of the local Congress. In their absence, as for example when they were arrested, these were led by those who replaced them in those positions. Sometimes processions were led by women. In Allahabad, after the arrest of the main leaders, processions were led by the women of Nehru family. The processionists used to carry national flags and placards and sing national songs.

Sometimes processions were accompanied by band parties playing national songs. This was very common during the Salt Satyagraha. Volunteers going for preparing salt were taken to the place of satyagraha more often than not in large processions. In a particular procession in Agra, an ambulance with a doctor and a nurse was accompanying the volunteers who were going in a procession to prepare salt.⁶

6. *Aj*, April 9, 1930.

Sometimes processions were organised to collect funds like the one which was organised in Benaras as a part of the celebrations of 'Rajnitik Pidit Divas' (political sufferer's day). This procession collected funds in its way for the benefit of the family members of the political sufferers.⁷

Arrest of any big leader anywhere in India and even the arrest of Congress volunteers was followed by a strike in the town. In meetings that day government's actions were generally undeserved and the arrested leader congratulated for going to jail. This was the most common type of protest in the towns and cities of U.P. The arrests of Jawaharlal Nehru in April and again in October involved strikes in all the towns and cities of U.P.⁸ Even the remotest hilly areas of Garhwal and Nainital districts observed hartal as a protest.⁹ Similarly, the arrests of Mr. V.J. Patel, M.M. Malviya and Gandhi were also followed by some type of hartal and processions and meetings. The arrests of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and other women leaders were followed by processions consisting of women. In the meeting women were asked to take men as their ideal.¹⁰ The main

7. *Aj*, March 30, 1930.

8. *Aj*, April 16, 1930.

9. *Shakti*, April 19, 1930.

10. *The Leader*, May 25, 1930.

speakers in these women's meetings would be the wives of the local Congress leaders (like Mrs. R.C. Paliwal of Agra, Mrs. Shyama Devi and wife of late Mr. Durga Dutt Joshi of Almora, Mrs. Suniti Mitra, and Mrs. Godavari Bhargava of Lucknow and the ladies of Nehru family) who apart from mobilising the women took the charge of the Congress activities soon after the leaders of the first and second tier got arrested. In the meetings women used to take the pledge of not using foreign cloth and of using only Swadesh goods.

Processions and meetings to condemn the arrest of even ordinary Congress volunteers were also common. For example, when in Allahabad 7 women and 8 men volunteers were arrested on the charge of picketing, a meeting was held to condemn the government as well as that particular shopkeeper at whose shop they were arrested.¹¹

Children also took out processions in some places. In Allahabad, one procession was organised in protest against the arrests of P.D. Tandon and Acharya Narendra Dev. This procession was led by Miss Indu Nehru and Miss Chand Nehru - grand daughters of Moti Lal Nehru.¹² On July 24, as a part

11. *Aj*, Nov. 28, 1930.

12. *The Leader*, June 27, 1930.

of the celebrations of the 'Vanar Sena Day' in Allahabad around 6000 children from different mohallas assembled at Moti Park and took out a procession. Later in a meeting of children Miss Indu Nehru called on the fellow children to join Vanar Sena and help their parents in the fight against the British.¹³

Processions for propagating 'Charkhas' and 'Takli' was also common. In Benaras, a procession consisting mostly of ladies was taken out on 7th Nov., the ladies displaying the use of 'Charkha' and 'Takli' at every 'chauraha'.¹⁴ Women's processions were also taken out to preach against the use of foreign cloth and to urge the use of khadi and Swadeshi.¹⁵

Sometimes processions were accompanied by 'jhankis' or tableaux depicting scenes of national interest. In Allahabad, in a procession led by Mrs. Kamla Nehru and Mrs. Uma Nehru on 3rd Nov., tableaux (locally known as chaukis) depicting the scenes of Bardoli, Peshawar, Jalianawala Bagh, Jawaharlal Nehru

13. *The Leader*, June 26, 1930.

14. *Aj*, Nov. 9, 1930.

15. *Aj*, April 21, 1930.

in jail and of General Dyer were carried.¹⁶ Tableaus were also used to propagate 'Charkha' and 'Khadi' as one of the tableaus depicted "Bharat Mata spinning charkha."¹⁷

Procession with an effigy of a particular law or report which was not acceptable to Congress were also organised. On 25th April in Allahabad an effigy of salt law was burnt as a mark of the end of the anti-Salt Act campaign.¹⁸ On June 26, again at Allahabad, a funeral procession of the Simon Commission Report was taken out.¹⁹

More often than not, the processions culminated in meetings which were addressed by local leaders and sometimes by guest speakers from outside. The speeches would focus on the occasion on which the procession had been taken out. Apart from this, leaders also propagated the ideas of Mahatama Gandhi and other Congress leaders through these meetings. Sometimes the speeches of top leaders were read out in public meetings. The speech of Jawaharlal Nehru soon after his release from jail on 12th October, 1930 at Allahabad, on which

16. *Aj*, Nov. 5, 1930.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *The Leader*, April 28, 1930.

19. *The Leader*, June 28, 1930.

he was again arrested, was read out in almost every town. Appeals were made to the people from the Congress platforms by the leaders to join the Congress movement. Most of the time, people immediately responded to these appeals by enrolling themselves as Congress members or volunteers. For example, in Mirzapur, after Mr. Yusuf Imam's speech on April 4, 12 persons joined as Congress volunteers, one of them was even 75 years old.²⁰ The local leaders of Mirzapur, Mahadev Seth and Sri Hanuman Prashad Pandey, used to propagate Gandhiji's message either by marching down the streets in a group or in a procession.²¹ In Nanda Devi, Mr. Badri Dutt Pande and Mr. Hargovind Pant, the two leaders of Almora district, appealed to the people to follow the path of Gandhiji and to come out openly in favour of the movement.²² Government's action against the nationalist press was also one of the subjects of their speech. In Almora, Lala Chiranjee Mal, one of the local Congress leaders, criticized the government's action in demanding security of Rs.6000 from 'Swadhin Praja'.²³ The owners and editors of the affected newspapers were praised.

20. *Aj*, April 12, 1930.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Shakti*, April 5, 1930.

23. *Shakti*, May 17, 1930.

Processions were taken out and meetings held in honour of some national or state level leader visiting a particular place. For example, Motilal Nehru, M.M. Malviya addressed several meetings in Kanpur, Benaras, Rae Bareli, Agra, Meerut and some other smaller towns. Mr. V.J. Patel after relinquishing his post of the Speaker of Legislative Council, toured most of the towns of U.P., advising people to follow the path of Mahatama Gandhi and join the movement to get their motherland free. Mahatama Gandhi himself addressed some meetings in Allahabad and Lucknow. The leaders generally congratulated the people for taking part in the movement and called on them to spin 'Charkha' and use khadi.²⁴ Leaders also emphasised the importance of Freedom or 'Swaraj', loss of which according to them, was 'the cause of every evil'. The general political and economic condition of the country also featured in their speeches. Speaking at Deoria, on July 17, in the local dialect Munshi Ishwar Sharan said that freedom alone would not bring peace. He favoured the British connection provided that the two countries became friends and equals. He also criticized the Round Table Conference as an exercise in utter futility. His arguments in favour of vigorous propaganda for Swadeshi, according to newspaper

24. *Aj*, Feb. 4, 1930.

reports, created enthusiasm in favour of Swadeshi and stiffened the determination of the people to have nothing to do with foreign cloth.²⁵ Speaking at Etawa on Dec. 10, 1930, Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena of Lucknow said that the national movement of India had become the centre of attraction in the world. He asked the youth to join lakhs of youngmen already in the movement and prove their patriotism by facing the bullets of machine guns.²⁶

Government's response towards the processions and meetings was more or less passive in the earlier part of my period, i.e. till May, but after that it started taking action against seditious speeches by the leaders. Even the Congress President Jawaharlal Nehru was convicted and awarded two years' rigorous imprisonment for his speech at Allahabad on 12th October.²⁷ Several other leaders were also convicted on the same charge. Mr. Chittu Pandey of Ballia was arrested for making a seditious speech and showing lantern clippings to the people as early as 2nd April.²⁸

25. *The Leader*, April 19, 1930.

26. *Aj*, December 12, 1930

27. F.N. 513/1930, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.

28. *Aj*, April 5, 1930.

Regarding processions, government imposed bans on their entering certain areas, mostly white-dominated residential and market areas. Sometimes this ban became a prestige issue both for the Congress processionists and the administration. Police stopped the processions several times from entering the banned areas and the whole procession used to sit in on a protest. They kept on sitting until the administration allowed them to pass through that area. In Allahabad on 4th November, a procession which was taken out on the 2nd day of the celebration of the Jawahar Week was stopped by the police at the Albert Road crossing from entering the Civil Lines area. The procession was led by the ladies of Nehru family, Mrs. Kamla Nehru and Mrs. Uma Nehru and Mr. Sunderlal. All the people, men and women, sat down calmly and started singing national songs. Later on they were joined by Pt. Motilal Nehru. Police arrested the leaders of the procession Mr. Sunderlal and Mr. Manzar Ali Shokhta. But the processionists succeeded in passing through that area after 10 p.m. when police men were removed from that place. The following day police did not prevent the procession from entering the Civil Lines area.²⁹

29. *Aj*, Nov. 6, 1930.

Sometimes the processionists had to sit for many days as it happened in Nainital. The batches of volunteers who were not allowed to pass through the Mall Road.³⁰ In Lucknow, on 26th May, processionists were lathi-charged by the mounted police as they were adamant on passing through the banned Hazratganj area. The ladies who were accompanying the procession were arrested and rest of the procession and the spectators were severely beaten up. Later on the arrested women were released in the night and they took out a procession and passed through Hazratganj without any hindrance. No body was there to prevent them. Next day again the Congress declared that it would take out a procession and pass through Hazratganj. The administration made full arrangements to prevent it. British army troops encircled the Congress office from where the procession was to come out. But the volunteers dodged the administration and a batch of 11 volunteers started from a different place singing national songs with national flag, passed through Hazratganj peacefully. The police out of frustration fired at another procession which came out later on from the Congress office after the troops' withdrawal, leaving several dead and many injured.³¹

30. *The Leader*, May 23, 1930.

31. *The Leader*, May 29, 1930.

The processions and meetings received tremendous response from public as is evident from the presence of large number of people in processions & meetings. In the very first procession at Agra in this period around 20000, including ladies, participated.³² Though the number of people participating in processions & meetings varied from time to time but the enthusiasm shown by the people towards these activities was remarkable.

When the above mentioned procession was passing through the streets of Agra, the people of the various mohallas decorated their areas and erected around half a dozen gates to receive them.³³ The tendency of public support was at its high during the anti-Salt Act campaign. The batches of volunteers who were assigned the work of preparing salt used to receive warm welcome from the people. People stopped volunteers going in procession at various places and honoured them with chadars etc. They were offered 'sharbats' and sweets by women at many places. Through out their way girls and women used to throw flowers over them from roof tops. On these occasions roads were decorated with 'jhandis' and 'patakas'.³⁴ Sometimes these processions became one mile long

32. *The Leader*, Jan. 29, 1930.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Aj*, Nov. 21, 1930.

as it happened in Kanpur on Jawahar day 16th Nov. When Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested and kept in Naini Jail on 14th April 1930, a crowd of around 1200 people collected outside the jail and made a demonstration.³⁵ Another instance of people's tremendous response was again from Allahabad suburban railway station where lots of people were arrested by police as they were going without ticket to listen to Gandhiji at Allahabad on 1st Feb. 1936.³⁶

Among the participants of these processions and meetings youngmen especially students were the most important. Whenever a meeting was announced students used to come in processions shouting national slogans from their colleges or hostels. In fact they comprised the major chunk of the processionists. Another important participant of these processions and meetings were women. But their participation confined in cities and some major towns only. There are very few instances of their participation in smaller towns.

It appears, thus, that this form of mobilisation was one of the most important tools of Congress. How great was

35. FR, April 1st half, F.N. 18/5/30, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.

36. *Aj*, Feb. 4, 1931.

the effect of this on masses can be assessed by one report in *The Leader* - "the Congress songs have now become so popular that the bathroom singers, wayside walking singers and even street vendors all seem to have taken to them and they may be heard at any part of the day and in any quarter of the day. Small boys and girls while playing streets may be seen marching behind one of them carrying a flag and all singing in chorus one or two lines of the flag song or any other national song."³⁷

Picketings:

In its desire to have certain things done or not done by others not of its way of thinking, the Congress had been resorting to picketing. The method used was of employing men, women and children to mount guard at specified shops in order to prevent the sale of certain articles to which the Congress objected, or at the entrance to educational institutions which it had banned and at the houses of government loyalists. These men, women and children used to be enlisted volunteers of Congress. These volunteers mainly consisted of local people of every class including students. Sometimes,

37. *The Leader*, July 28, 1930.

nearby villagers were also recruited as volunteers. At some places these volunteers were given some money and 'chana' (gram) by the Congress Committee. For example, at Hathras, they were getting 6 'Annas' a day.³⁸ These volunteers used to go in batches wearing a uniform of a sort with tricolour badges and a tricolour flag. Every batch had a different name viz. Mahavir Dal, Abhimanyu Dal, Hanuman Dal, Swayam Sewak Dal, Navyuvak Dal etc.³⁹

Foreign cloth shops were the main target of picketing as a part of the boycott of foreign cloth. Shops selling liquor, ganja and bhang were the other targets of picketing. Apart from these shops, volunteers also picketed those schools and colleges whom Congress had banned. Picketings were also common in the houses of the known government supporters, the loyalist zamindars and bankers. But in the urban areas, picketing was largely concentrated on foreign cloth shops and to some extent on liquor shops and educational institutions also.

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38. A letter to the Commissioner, Agra Division, by the Collector of Aligarh dated June 6, 1930, F.N. 151/1931, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A.
39. An article by Mr. S.P. Sanyal on Picketing in *The Leader*, Sept. 8, 1930.

The methods adopted for picketing were almost identical in all the towns and cities of U.P. At foreign cloth shops, volunteers kept on walking in front of the shops and crying 'Brothren, do not buy foreign cloth, purchase only Swadeshi.' Whenever they saw a purchaser entering a shop from where foreign cloth had not yet been removed they used to go near him and examine the cloth he was seeing. If it happened to be foreign they tried to desuade him from buying. Generally picketings were nonviolent in the sense that the volunteers found it more effective to stand outside the shop in sun for hours and hours together. They refused to accept any hospitality and when a purchaser bought a cloth and did not yield, they used to lie down in front of him so that they would pass on their prostrate body. This method was mostly used in Hathras of Agra division.⁴⁰ Sometimes picketers did not come openly in front of the shop. Whenever, they saw an Indian purchaser appearing near the shop, they blew a whistle whereupon 15 to 20 picketers rushed up and lay down in front of the would be purchaser and if he tried to walk over them, they used to catch him by the feet and shout 'shame shame'. Generally European and Anglo Indian

40. A letter to the Commissioner of Agra by the Collector of Aligarh dated 20th June 1930, F.N. 151/1930, Pol. Deptt., U.P.S.A.

purchasers were not interfered with.⁴¹ Picketers of Dehradun and Mussorie were using this method.

Picketing was made at only those shops whose owner had refused to remove his stock of foreign cloth or get his stock sealed by the Congress. A pledge was presented to all the merchants dealing in foreign goods, which said they would refrain from importing foreign goods nor would they get them from other Indian markets. Pledge also said that they would get their stock of foreign cloth sealed. Merchants not signing the pledge were facing the picketing at their shops as well as their import offices. Sometimes merchants complained that pledges have been given to them with threats of picketing and stopping of the purchase of their goods from the local merchants and their commission agents who buy their goods. Merchants complained that Congress's claim of non-violent picketing was far from the truth. In a letter to Chief Secretary to the Government of U.P., dated the 25th May 1930, M/s Ramji Lal & Bros, Bankers, Importers and Piece Wood merchants of Kanpur complained that they were suffering much harassment at the hands of the Congress workers and their sympathisers.

41. A letter to the Chief Secretary, U.P. by the Commissioner, Meerut, dated 14th June 1930, F.N.151/1930, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A.

They further say that if any buyer wants to buy goods from any picketed shop they are requested not to buy from that particular shop. If the buyer persists, his broker and commission agents are approached to exert pressure on him.⁴² Apart from picketing at the shops, picketers kept strict watch at the station goods sheds and octroi offices.⁴³ In Allahabad, on the night of Sept. 25, the picketers prevented the rightful owners from taking away their packages from the octroi office near clock tower as the boxes were said to contain foreign cloth and cigarettes. The merchants could collect their boxes only when police interfered.⁴⁴ In Agra, bales of foreign cloth were allowed to pass only when 'sufficient blackmail' was paid by the merchant.⁴⁵

Fortnightly Reports of the second half of May and the newspaper reports confirm that by that time foreign cloth dealers of most of the towns had agreed not to sell foreign cloth. Almost all, barring a few Hindu foreign cloth

42. F.N. 74/1930, AICC, NMML.

43. A letter to the Chief Secretary, U.P., by the Commissioner of Agra, dated June 7, 1930, F.N.151/1930, Pol. Deptt., U.P.S.A.

44. *The Pioneer*, Lucknow, Sept. 26, 1930.

45. A letter to the Chief Secretary by the Commissioner of Agra dated 7th June, 1930, F.N.151/1930, Pol. Deptt., U.P.S.A.

merchants, have signed the Congress pledge of not selling foreign cloth, and getting their stock sealed. Not all the Muslim foreign cloth shopkeepers had signed the pledge. At some places merchants were allowed to sell off their existing stock and they in turn promised not to make fresh indent. In Badaun, small merchants and vendors were allowed to sell off their stock considering their economic condition.⁴⁶ At some places like in Gorakhpur, the bigger cloth dealers were in favour of the movement in the hope that it will ruin the smaller traders so that they themselves will make a larger profit when the picketing stops.⁴⁷ By the last week of July almost all the cloth merchants except a few Moham- madens had signed the Congress pledge of not indenting fresh stock and got their bales of foreign cloth sealed for six months by the Congress.⁴⁸

Defaulters were fined by the Bazar Panchayat ranging from Rs.500 to Rs.2000, which were given to the Tilak Memorial Society.⁴⁹ Sometimes if any merchant who had signed the

46. *The Leader*, June 17, 1930.

47. A letter to the Chief Secretary by the Commissioner of Gorakhpur dated 23rd June 1930, F.N.151/1930, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A.

48. *The Leader*, July 30, 1930.

49. *Ibid.*

pledge received any supply of foreign piece goods from outside or broke the Congress seal, his shop was at once picketed. But in these cases mostly picketing was offered to be lifted if the merchant concerned agreed to pay a substantial sum into the Congress fund. There are many instances of these payments which the merchants called extortion. For example, the payments of Rs.600 by Hanumandas Suraj Prasad and Rs.500 by Badrilal Chhannoolal of Kanpur.⁵⁰ To avoid these fines and the control of the Congress, some merchants kept on selling foreign cloth secretly from their residence. In Pilibhit and in Benaras also some merchants supplied foreign cloth on order from their customers.⁵¹ This trend must have been encouraged by the demands of the people. A report from the Assistant Secretary, District Congress Committee, Gorakhpur of 3rd June 1930 says that, due to the boycott, foreign goods had become cheaper and Swadeshi goods, which were in much demand, had become costlier. He further says that "in this condition we have heard that some businessmen have ordered foreign cloth bales from Calcutta."⁵²

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50. From the letter of M/s Ramji Lal & Bros., Kanpur to the Government of U.P., F.N. 77/1930, AICC, NMML.
51. A letter to the Chief Secretary by the Commissioner of Rohilkhand dated 20th June, 1930, F.N. 151/1930, Pol. Deptt., U.P.S.A.
52. A letter to the Secretary, AICC, from Assistant Secretary, DCC, Gorakhpur dated 3rd June, 1930, AICC. NMML.

Instances of breaking of Congress seals by merchants had started occurring by September, as shown by the fortnightly reports of the Government of U.P. But these Government reports can not be fully believed as there is a lot of contradiction in these reports. In the report of September it has been said that foreign clothes are being sold openly but the report of October says that merchants are thinking in terms of breaking Congress seals and selling them openly. Newspaper reports also do not confirm these reports. But reports from all the sources make it clear that by November and December, merchants had become restive and there are reports of breaking Congress seals by the merchants. But in these cases the defaulter merchant was pressurised by the Bazar Panchayat to pay the fines and get the stock resealed. Sometimes merchants appealed to Congress leaders to allow them to sell off their existing stock as most of them had taken money on credit and their capital was unnecessarily engaged in this. Merchants Association, especially foreign cloth dealers of Agra and Haridwar appealed to Motilal Nehru, the then President of All India Congress Committee, for allowing them to sell off their existing stocks. They had signed a pledge not to indent foreign cloth for one year from then onward.⁵³ There was a

53. F.N. G/150, 1930, AICC, NMML.

section in the Congress itself which was in favour of taking a liberal attitude towards the merchants. Sri Prakash, one of the General Secretaries of the AICC had prepared a note on the boycott on 16th January 1931. He writes that merchants had not only respected the call for boycott but had helped them materially also for carrying on the campaign. He says that "merchants are now unable to continue to bear the loss that is being entailed on them." He feared that besides the sale that was taking place secretly the merchants would soon break forth into open rebellion and to break the seals of the Congress. He expressed his doubts that with their depleted resources they would not be able to meet the situation. He suggested a little relaxation in their rigidity to maintain the seals, to keep them (merchants) sympathetic to the Congress cause and adhere to the Congress organisation for ever. He was of the view of permitting the sale of limited quantities for a limited period under Congress control till the present stock was exhausted. For this a fixed sum should be collected from the merchants which would help them in maintaining a standing corps of volunteers. He was of the view that public opinion by the time was so strong against the foreign cloth that perhaps the merchants would not find many customers. He further writes that "this will help us

in both ways, for foreign cloth would not be sold and merchants would have the feeling that they have been given a chance."⁵⁴

Picketing of foreign cloth shops was accompanied by picketing at liquor, toddy, ganja, bhang and cigarette shops. As a part of picketing at Toddy shops, Tar trees were cut down at many places. In Hamirpur, around 1000 Tar trees were cut down.⁵⁵ In Lucknow lady volunteers picketed the auction of Toddy shops on Sept. 22.⁵⁶ Picketing at liquor depots started in Ranikhet in the first half of April.⁵⁷ Success of the picketing at these shops can be assessed by the report that by 15th November there was no need for picketing at liquor shops in Kashipur as people had boycotted liquor completely.⁵⁸ But in the plains, success was not so easy. Most of the time picketing at these shops led to violent incidents. In Benaras, on Dec. 2, 1930, a violent incident which occurred near a shop, led to police lathi charge in which more than 100 people were injured.⁵⁹

54. A note on the boycott of foreign cloth and a recommendation for its relaxation by Sri Prakash, F.N. G-150, AICC, NMML.

55. *The Leader*, Feb. 7, 1931.

56. *The Leader*, Sept. 24, 1930.

57. *Shakti*, April 12, 1930.

58. *Shakti*, Nov. 15, 1930.

59. *Aj*, Dec. 4, 1930.

Educational institutions were another place where picketing had been made. Congress volunteers picketed those institutions which had tried to enforce government's circulars in July which was meant to prevent educational institutions from becoming recruitment ground for Congress volunteers. Fines and removal from the rolls were suggested by the circular. This had led to a great amount of agitation and misrepresentation on the part of the Congress. In Allahabad, a protest meeting was held on the ground of Government Inter College.⁶⁰ In Dehradun, in protest against the circular of Inspector of Schools hartal was observed by the students on 14th July. Volunteers of local students union picketed the D.A.V. Inter College, A.P. Mission School, and the Tehsil School.⁶¹ In Gorakhpur, students' union was formed to protest against the circular.⁶² In Jhansi also students observed hartal and Congress volunteers picketed the schools.⁶³ More often than not students of that institution supported the volunteers. But sometimes it had been

60. F.R., July 1st half, F.N. 18/VIII/1930, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.

61. *The Leader*, July 19, 1930.

62. *The Leader*, July 21, 1930.

63. *The Leader*, Aug. 1, 1930.

seen that they were against the picketing. For example, students of Anglo-Bengali Inter College, Allahabad, not all but majority of them, were against the picketing and they even met Mrs. V.L. Pandit who was the President of Allahabad Students Association for lifting the picketing. Mrs. Pandit, however, refused to oblige them.⁶⁴

Generally female battalions were sent to picket as these institutions. These volunteers used to rush into the class rooms, indulge in the uncommon feat of shouting with a view to prevent teaching of students.⁶⁵ Once this picketing led to aggressive reaction by the college administration. The principal of Modern College, Allahabad, Mr. Ghosh misbehaved with Mrs. V.L. Pandit and beat the volunteers and students who wanted to boycott school on 6th May in protest against the arrest of Mahatama Gandhi.⁶⁶ Picketing at Modern College continued which resulted in the closure of the college for 2 months without completing the examination.⁶⁷

64. *The Leader*, Aug. 17, 1930.

65. See 39.

66. *Satyagraha Samachar*, Allahabad, 8th May, 1930, F.N. 106, *Hom. Poll.*, U.P.S.A.

67. *Ibid.*

Picketing at universities after the circular of the education department became one of the most important programmes of the Congress. The three major universities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Benaras were being severely picketed by Congress volunteers.⁶⁸ All the three universities though nominally open were not functioning. Congress activities in Benaras Hindu University was more intense than the other two universities.

Sometimes, the students of a college themselves picketed their college as was the case in Allahabad's C.A.V. Inter College there students picketed their college on Nov. 15, because some of their colleagues were suspended from the college on the charge of taking part in Congress activities. Students were not in favour of letting the college function until the suspension of the students be revoked.⁶⁹ A similar type of incident had taken place in Ghazipur also on 21st July. There 100 students picketed the college in protest against the removal of a student of class VI for his taking part in the youth Association.⁷⁰

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68. Fortnightly Reports for the month of Aug. 1st half. F.N. 18/IX/1930, *Hom. Poll.* N.A.I.
 69. *Aj*, Nov. 19, 1930.
 70. *The Leader*, July 23, 1930.

Picketing was also done at the houses of pro-government and loyalist people and election candidates. Loyalist people were against the Congress programme of Civil Disobedience Movement and occasionally appealed to common people to refrain from this movement as they did in Ghazipur in May.⁷¹ The propaganda of social boycott against those who were against the Congress creed of Civil Disobedience and who provided assistance to the government officers to condemn this movement was common almost everywhere. In this connection 'Aman Sabha'^{*} meetings were picketed in Etawah.⁷² Those who took a prominent part in 'Aman Sabha' and 'Des Hitkari Sabha' were threatened with social boycott and some of them disgraced in the eyes of the people in Benaras.⁷³ They were abused by the volunteers at their houses⁷⁴ while those who appeared as prosecution witnesses were also boycotted. Apart from the threat of social boycott,

71. *The Leader,*

72. *Ibid.*

73. A letter to Comm. Benaras, from the Collector, Benaras dated 12th June, 1930. F.N.-151/1930. *Pol. Deptt., U.P.S.A.*

74. *Ibid.*

* Aman Sabhas were loyalist organisations set up by the government officers, landlords and other loyalists.

crowds of small boys were sent to shout Hai Hai outside their houses.⁷⁵ In Dehradun, a gang of small boys amused themselves by visiting the compound of the Tehsildar's residence and making objectionable remarks when he left or entered the house.⁷⁶

Picketing was also done at the houses of election candidates. Since the Congress was boycotting the elections, it was trying to persuade others also to boycott. The targets were mostly candidates contesting from landlords' constituencies. "Beginning with requests and persuasion the Congress and the Youth League started picketing at houses of candidates subject them to all sorts of humiliation, abuse them, caricature them, libel them, provoke a breach of public peace and the police are constrained to disperse them, roughly handle, they posed as the injured." This was the description of picketing at an election candidate's house.⁷⁷

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75. File on objectionable methods of picketing and boycott. F.N. - 14/21, 1931, *Hom. Poll*, N.A.I.
76. A Report on Dehradun, F.N. - 151/1930, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A.
77. Article by Mr. S.P. Sanyal on Picketing, *The Leader*, Sept. 8, 1930.

Sometimes in connection with the boycott of election one of the most respectable zamindar and banker of Allahabad was publicly ridiculed by the parading of his effigy which was in addition beaten with shoes at regular intervals.⁷⁸

Their methods were non-violent did not prevent the government from considering them objectionable. According to government's reports it is clear that physical obstruction to prevent customers from approaching or leaving shops had been generally practised. For example, in Benaras the method adopted for picketing was to assemble in large numbers in front of the shops dealing in foreign cloth and intimidate the would be purchaser and parade before the shop in such a way that no one could pass them without pushing them aside. If any one succeeded in buying any foreign cloth, the picketers snatched it and burnt it on the spot and maltreated the purchaser.⁷⁹ This method was practised in other places also. In Meerut, Congress workers had obstructed issues from excise warehouses by lying down on the road.⁸⁰ They had abused the police as a body and

78. See 75.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*

individually and often in the most filthy language.⁸¹ Mostly they compelled the dealers in foreign cloth to seal their stocks on pain of social boycott and picketing.⁸² In Kanpur, they took out a procession displaying donkeys dressed in foreign clothes.⁸³ These Government reports are partly confirmed by an article on picketing by one Mr. S.P. Sanyal in *The Leader* dated 8th Sept. 1930. He says that the dictator of volunteers in Allahabad, Mrs. Uma Nehru had publicly stated that "she disapproves of picketers lying prostrate on the ground," but she did not object to egress and ingress to a house being obstructed by men and women standing in a solid phalanx. Nor did she disfavour the action of her female battalions rushing into classrooms indulging into uncommon feats of bowling and shouting with a view to prevent teaching of students. Still these government reports do not seem to be fully convincing, however, there must be some truth in these reports. One factor for this type of activity might be the behaviour of volunteers. A large number of them came from illiterate fraternity who had little connections of decorum and decency.⁸⁴

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*

84. *The Leader*, Sept. 8, 1930.

Sometimes these volunteers were out to make money by blackmailing and terrorism.⁸⁵

Nevertheless there were organisations which did not swear by non-violence like the ordinary Congress volunteers. One organisation was 'Youth League' which was a more insurgent and energetic brotherhood of students. They preferred to recognise no authority over them; they took orders from none and disclaimed connections with the Congress while being hand and glove with them. There was again the 'Kranti Dal' or 'Khuni Dal', who affect red colour in their dress, who used to go about in red shorts and shirts and red Gandhi caps. They also did not swear by non-violence.⁸⁶

Violence often erupted in the course of picketing of Muslims-owned shops. Many sections of Muslims had declared their opposition to the Congress programme. For example, at a meeting of Muslim cloth merchants on April 25 in Allahabad, the day when Congress Committee decided to concentrate on boycott, an appeal was made to Congressmen,

85. A letter to the Commissioner of Agra, by the Collector of Aligarh, dated June 6, 1930, F.N.-151/1930, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A.

86. Article by Mr. S.P. Sanyal on Picketing & Boycott in *The Leader*, Sept. 8, 1930.

the public and the authority to make arrangements that their shops should not be picketed. Their plea was that since the Muslim community was not taking part in the Civil Disobedience Movement, they were not interested in boycott.⁸⁷ Though the pro-Congress Muslim leaders and the leaders of Jamait-ul-ulema appealed to the Muslims to help the Congress in boycott, their appeal appears to have made little impact on Muslim masses. On the other hand, there were cases where pro-Congress Muslim groups also asserted themselves. For example, in Aligarh, Muslim foreign cloth merchants called a meeting to organise an anti-picketing party but their attempt failed as the nationalist Muslims succeeded in getting a resolution passed which said that Muslims should not do such work which might go against the Congress activity.⁸⁸ There were also reports or at least allegations of Muslim merchants trying to terrorise volunteers with the help of goondas, and this too generally led to violence.⁸⁹ In one case, it was reported that Muslims opened a shop

87. *The Leader*, Sept. 8, 1930.

88. *The Leader*, June 17, 1930.

89. *The Leader*, July 30, 1930.

of foreign cloth only with prupose of embarassing the Congress. In Benāras on June 2, Congress volunteers tried to persuade the customers (muslims) not to go into that shop but they were pushed away. They then started picketing infront of the shop, only to be beaten up by the Muslim merchants.⁹⁰ In Allahabad, also two muslim customers beat Mr. Himanshu Kumar Panday, one of the volunteers who tried to persuade him not the boy foreign cloth on 1st May.⁹¹ But if these things originated from the side of the muslims, they were condemned by the muslims in general. Intimidation and violence on the part of the Congress volunteers towards muslims in some cases even led to communal riots. In Benaras in the first half of February, 1931, the murder of a muslim cloth merchant had led to a serious communal riot.⁹² With Hindu merchants, violent incidents generally occured as a consequence, of the breaking of the Congress seal on their foreign cloth stock. In Agra, in November, 1930 some Congress workers cut off the nose of the brother of a foreign cloth merchant who

90. *The Leader*, June 5, 1930.

91. *Satyagraha Samachar*, May 3, 1930.
F.N. 106, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A.

92. FR, Feb. 1st half, 1931, F.N. 18-1-31,
Hom. Poll., N.A.I.

had broken the Congress seal.⁹³

But these violent incidents were bound to happen in a movement which encompassed a large number of people of different mentalities and different ways of thinking. Still these violent incidents were not so much that the whole movement could be branded as violent. The reports from different districts and commissioners confirm this. In 1930, government of U.P. enacted two acts concerning molestation, boycotting and unlawful instigation. But barring three districts none of the district collectors agreed to apply these acts in their districts. Those three (of Meerut, Basti and Aligarh), who were in favour of these acts, too had called for the acts as a precautionary measure.⁹⁴

Generally police did not interfere in picketing. It used to interfere only in the case of violence and that too on their own. Seldom did the foreign cloth merchants, whose shops were being picketed, asked for police assistance. There is no evidence of a Hindu foreign cloth dealer asking for police assistance. They thought it better to deal

93. From a letter to the Chief Secretary Govt. of India, Hom. Deptt., New Delhi, from The Chief Secretary of the Govt. of U.P. F.N. 14 21 1931, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.

94. F.N. 151 1930, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A

directly with the Congress. Once some volunteers were arrested by the police in Mathura who were picketing at a foreign cloth shop. That particular shopkeeper apologized to the Congress, submitted humbly that he had not asked for police assistance and paid a fine of Rs. 31.⁹⁵ However, there are some evidences of Muslims foreign cloth dealers asking for police assistance. In Mainpuri and Shikohabad, two muslim shopkeepers made reports to the local police against certain local Congress leaders and volunteers for employing intimidation and threat to prevent them from selling foreign cloth.⁹⁶

In my period of study picketing started in the last week of April in the plain areas while in the hilly areas of Almora division it started a bit earlier. From its inception, picketing was carried on with vigors, but later on its intensity declined as most of the merchants had signed the pledge. Only a few merchants, especially muslims, were left and their shops were picketed continuously. Later on, with the decline in the Congress activities as

95. A letter to the Commissioner, Agra by Collector, Mathura, F.N. 151 1930, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A.

96. A letter to the Commissioner, Agra by the Collector, Mainpuri, 12th June, 1930. *Ibid.*

most of their leaders and cadre, were in jail, some merchants started breaking Congress seals. But these merchants were punished either by Congress (by picketing) or by Bazar Panchayats. Sporadic evidences of picketing is, however, received until February 1931.

More often than not picketers succeeded in their mission of dissuading people from buying foreign cloth. On many occasions it was seen that people who were earlier interested in foreign cloth, bought Swadeshi on their persuasion. For example, on May 2, 1930 in Allahabad, Mrs. Uma Nehru, who was picketing at a shop, succeeded in persuading many muslim women not to buy foreign goods on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr.⁹⁷

The picketers enjoyed tremendous support and sympathy from the crowd. At times, ordinary people joined picketing when police had arrested the volunteers. In Benaras, on 28th Nov. many bystanders joined the picketing when police arrested the volunteers, then police had to arrest 120 more people from there.⁹⁸

97. *The Leader*, May 4, 1930.

98. *Aj*, Nov. 29, 1930.

In most of the cases of manhandling of the volunteers, common people actively showed their support. In one case in Benaras, mentioned above, people even beat the CID police personnel who tried to save a muslim customer who had knocked down one picketer at a shop of Ganja and Bhang.⁹⁹

The success of picketing and boycott can be gauged from the fact that the sale of foreign cloth was almost absent in all the towns after 30th July. As early as May, some foreign cloth dealers of Allahabad were not providing foreign cloth even on demand. They used to say "While our sisters are taking so much pains for this why should we sell foreign cloth."¹⁰⁰ Also the collector of Mau was told by a big businessman Seth Sugar Mal that "Picketing is hardly needed in Mau even from the Congress point of view for townsmen and villagers are willing to pay a few Annas more for Swadeshi goods in preference for the cheaper or better foreign goods."¹⁰¹ A report from Kanpur

99. *Aj*, Nov. 29, 1930.

100. *Satyagraha Samachar*, May 4, 1930, F.N. 106, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A

101. A letter to the Chief Secretary U.P., from the Commissioner of Gorkhpur, 2nd June, 1930, F.N. 151 1930, *Pol. Deptt.*, U.P.S.A.

claims that in July 27, not a single yard of foreign cloth was available in the market.¹⁰² This may be an exaggeration but one can at least derive the conclusion that the drive against foreign cloth was successful to a large extent.

102. *The Leader*, July 27, 1930.

C H A P T E R - I I I

FORMS OF MOBILISATION : II

Activities classified as minor do not mean that it had less impact on masses than the major ones. I have classified them as minor only because less action was involved in these activities and also these activities did not occur for a particular period but continued throughout my period with varying intensity.

Boycott of Foreign Goods & Khadi

Apart from picketing which was the main weapon against foreign cloth other methods were also used. One of them was public bonfire of foreign cloth. This was generally organised as a part of major occasions. Local Congress Committees used to announce the date and place of public bonfire one or two days earlier in local vernacular newspapers and its volunteers started collecting clothes made from foreign cloth from different mohallas. They used to go in batches and try to convince the people about the evils of using foreign cloth. Their arguments consisted mainly of the role of foreign cloth in maintaining the economic benefits of empire for the British. Women volunteers were mostly employed for collecting foreign clothes. On fixed date meeting used to be organised which was generally addressed by Congress leaders. In the meetings they always tried to emphasize the benefits of using swadeshi and the evils of foreign cloth. Students were the main participants in these

functions. Nationalist songs were sung before the lighting of the bonfire. Many instances of public bonfire from different areas appear in this period. In Allahabad and Benaras public bonfire of foreign clothes was held in the eve of holi. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the meeting and asked the people to take the pledge of not wearing foreign cloth.¹

Leaders of national structure in the course of their speeches made appeals to the people to give up foreign cloth. Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya were the main crusader in the field. Gandhiji addressed some meetings in Allahabad and Lucknow in February 1931 and emphasized the importance of charkha and khadi. Similarly Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya too emphasized the need for swaraj and swadeshi. His speech at Kanpur on 12th April 1930 was so effective that one muslim Sardar Ali Sabri offered his cap for bonfire immediately after his speech. Thereupon caps, turbans and other foreign cloth articles began to be hurled from all sides. Ladies offered their precious 'chadars' for burning. Men and women declared in hundreds their determination not to use foreign cloth henceforth. After his speech a huge bonfire was made.²

1. *Aj*, March 19, 1930.

2. *The Leader*, April 19, 1930

There are also a few examples of linking foreign cloth with religion. The Pandits of Benaras declared in meeting called by "Swadeshi Vastra Pracharini Sabha" that wearing foreign cloth is a sin .³

Brahmins of Benaras were requested not to wear foreign cloth neither should they accept foreign clothes in 'dakshina's' or gifts because they are not pure and were purchased with beef or pig tallow.⁴ The rumour that Luncashire yarn was mixed with cow's or pig's fat also helped Congress in their boycott programme and win the cause of concern to the government. The government tried its best to counter these rumors but only for the worst. Leaflets were brought out by the 'organisations against the foreign cloth' quoting even the government sources that some sort of fat is being used in Lankashire for sizing the clothes. A leaflet being distributed in Mathura, quoting the Directorate of Information of Bombay Presidency that the fat of cows and pigs were not used because they were too costly instead the fat of goats were used as it was cheap. Eggs were also being used in printed clothes.⁵

Another type of incidents of combining the use of foreign cloth with religion were picketing at religious places

3. Aj , - April 18, 1930

4. Aj , - April 9, 1930

5. From a letter to Dy. Coll. Nainital by the DM of Mathura, F.N. - 202/1930, F.V.Ds - *Police* UP SA

mostly temples for preventing the entry of those people who were dressed in foreign clothes. On June 21, 1930, in Allahabad picketers refused the entry of more women who were in foreign cloth, into the famous temple of Alopⁱⁿ devi. They were allowed only when they removed their foreign chadars. Those ladies who were fully dressed in foreign clothes had to return without going inside the temple.⁶ In Mathura also picketings were made in the ghats of Yamuna and the temples against foreign clothes. In Meerut also 'Sanatan Dharm Mahavir Dal' decided on 22nd May that no person should be allowed to enter the temple in foreign clothes they also directed the chief priests of the temples that they should wear only 'Khaddar' cloth.⁷

The Congress in the course of the boycott programmes not only boycotted the foreign cloth but the goods of those Indian mills also who were either using imported yarn or running on foreign capital. The All-India Spinners Association had prepared a pledge which was to be signed by more mills onwards who were claiming the 'Swadeshi mill' status. In this they had to declare that their mill had the quarter part of its capital subscribed by Indian shareholders and that their mill manufactured

6. *The Leader*, June 23, 1930.

7. F.N., G - 94/1930, A. CC NMML.

cloth from yarn spun by themselves or by other Indian owned and managed mill.⁸ Congress had prepared a list of those mills whose products were considered swadeshi.⁹

Swadeshi stores were also opened in most of the towns of U.P. they were different from Khadi Bhandars. In Allahabad Youth League had opened a Swadeshi store at the instance of Jawaharlal Nehru.¹⁰ In Banaras regular Swadeshi Bazars were organised on every Sunday.¹¹ Price reduction on Khadi cloth was also made during the celebrations of important weeks and days.¹² Exhibition of Khadi clothes and Swadeshi goods was quite common during these celebrations. Even after the signing of Gandhi-Irwin pact in March, 1931 these activities of propogating of Swadeshi and Khadi clothes were taking place in the urban areas of U.P.¹³

Thus boycott of foreign cloth was simultaneously backed by the propogation of Khadi and spinning 'Charkha' and 'Takli'. Congress Committees used to celebrate 'Charkha and 'Takli' days as a part of week long celebrations. Charkhas

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8. F.N., G - 150, AICC NMML.
 9. F.N., G - 177/1930, AICC NMML.
 10. *The Leader*, June 2, 1930.
 11. *The Leader*, June 5, 1930.
 12. *Aj*, Feb. 1, 1931.
 13. *Aj*, April, 10, 1931.

and Taklis gained place sometimes in Congress processions also. In Allahabad in a procession led by Mrs. Kamala Nehru in 3rd Nov. 1930, a lableau depicted Bharatmata with Charkha.¹⁴ On 9th Nov. in Allahabad again a Takli procession was taken out.¹⁵

All these things might have received a new tinge by the advertisements which used to appear in varnacular newspapers.

Some of them are here :

- (i) सूत कातना, खादी खरीदना - यह दो काम करके हर आदमी स्वराज संग्राम में मदद दे सकता है।¹⁶
- (ii) अनज सस्ता होने से आदमी आज चरखा चला कर भी पेट भर सकता है, कताई से 8 पैसे भी मिलें तो पेट भर अब मिल जायगा।¹⁷
- (iii) खादी खरीदना हर भारतीय का धर्म है, इस युद्ध में और कुछ न कर सको तो खादी ही खरीदो।¹⁸

14. Aj , Nov. 5, 1930.
 15. Aj , Nov. 9, 1930.
 16. Aj , Nov.30, 1930.
 17. Aj , Dec. 1, 1930.
 18. Aj , Nov.30, 1930.

- (iv) खादी खरीदो, खादी से बेवाओ, अनाधों को ठिकाना मिलेगा।¹⁹
- (v) खादी को आधा स्वराज समझो।²⁰
- (vi) सरकार से बिना जोरिम की लड़ाई क्यों नहीं लड़ते - खादी खरीदना बिना जोरिम की लड़ाई है।²¹
- (vii) खादी की बिक्री बढ़े तो विदेशी कपड़े का बहिष्कार सफल हो जाय, बहिष्कार सफल हो जाय तो स्वराज मिले। इस लिये खादी की बिक्री बढ़ने से स्वराज की दूरी घटती है।²²
- (viii) आज बंगाल अकाल से पीड़ित है, अब सस्ता है पर पैसे नहीं हैं, चरखा आज खाने भर को पैसे भी देता है देशप्रेमियों! उनसे सूत क्यों नहीं कतवाते? देश न मूखा रहे न नंगा।²³

19. Aj, Nov. 28, 1930.
 20. Aj, Dec. 3, 1930.
 21. Aj, Nov. 21, 1930.
 22. Aj, Dec. 4, 1930.
 23. Aj, Jan. 4, 1931.

Thus spinning Charkha and use of Khadi was propagated as a form of passive resistance to government. According to these advertisements the role of Khadi will decrease the distance between Nation and Swaraj. They called upon the people who were not interested in direct conflict with government to buy Khadi which was almost like getting half of Swaraj.

All these things made great impact on the common people. Sale of Khadi increased tremendously. Swadeshi Leagues were formed to get a pledge of not wearing foreign cloth signed by the people. The 'Lucknow Swadeshi League' argued that Swadeshi alone could stop or atleast reduce to a minimum the economic drain on the country.²⁴ The 'Prayag Swadeshi League' succeeded in getting a pledge of boycotting foreign cloth and other goods and wearing only Khadi, signed by atleast 30,000 men and women.²⁵ In a meeting of women in Moradabad, many women declared of wearing only Khadi in future.²⁶ Lawyers of Ghazipur,²⁷ Azamgarh,²⁸ Kanpur,²⁹ Sitapur³⁰ and Aligarh³¹ decided in their Bar Council meetings to boycott foreign cloth

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24. *The Leader*, - Nov. 9, 1930.
 25. *Satyagrah Samachar*, Alld. - May 3, 1930. F.N. - 106.
 Pol. Dept., U.P. States Arch, Lucknow.
 26. *Aj*, - April 20, 1930.
 27. *The Leader*, May 21, 1930.
 28. *Aj*, May 2, 1930.
 29. *Satyagrah Samachar*, Alld, May 5, 1930. F.N. - 106.
 Pol. Dept. U.P. S.A.
 30. *Satyagrah Samachar*, May 4, Ibid.
 31. *Ibid*, April 23.

and use only Khadi in future. Students of Etawah resolved in their conference on 8th May that only Khaddar and Swadeshi was to be used by students and teachers and that they would enforce social boycott for breach of resolution.³²

Regarding individual actions, one Kashi Prasad Dikshit who was clerk in Government Press, Allahabad resigned from his post as he had been ordered by his English officer not to come to office in Khadi cloth and Gandhi Cap.³³ Apart from this, the response of the people to Charkha and Takli 'dangal' (competition) also shows their popularity.

Celebrations of Days & Weeks

Celebrations of certain days and weeks were another important activities which occurred in this period. The focus of these celebrations varied from time to time but the mode of celebrations was almost identical in all the cases. The processions used to be taken out which after marching from different areas of the towns, culminated in a meeting where they would be addressed by either local Congress leaders or by outsiders, who usually dwelt on the significance of the occasion what was being observed. Some weeks or days were celebrated in

32. *The Leader*, May 11, 1930.

33. F.N., 14/1931, AICC NMML.

every year like national week which was celebrated from 6th to 12th April every year. This year also this week was celebrated in almost every town including Haldwani,³⁴ Ranikhet³⁵ and Gorakhpur.³⁶ This year when the Civil Disobedience Movement was in its initial stage appeals were made to everybody to join the Congress as volunteers, money was collected for Satyagraha fund and ofcourse the Swadeshi and Khadi was propogated and sold. In Gorakhpur 45 people including a lady of 50 years enrolled themselves as volunteers, Rs. 52 was collected for Satyagraha fund, Khadi worth Rs. 110 was sold and 2500 people including women took the pledge of not wearing the foreign cloth.

Another types of week long celebrations were Independence week, Boycott week, Khadi week and Jawahar week. During the Independence week and Boycott week, different days were earmarked for different themes. In Allahabad, during Independence week, Mahila day, Muslim day, Vanar Sena day, Charkha day and Khadi day were celebrated. During the celebrations of a particular day emphasis was paid on that particular topic viz on Muslim day a meeting of muslims was held in muslim dominated

34. *Shakti* , April 12, 1930.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Aj* , April 5, 1930.

area and they were asked to joining the movement. On Vaner Sena day, a procession of around 6000 children was taken out, in the meeting organised later by Miss Indu Nehru, the daughter of J.L.Nehru asked the children to join Vanar Sena to help the elders in Congress to fight against the British rule.³⁷ In Banaras, during Independence week Khadi was sold at reduced rate.³⁸ In Allahabad during Jawahar week protests were made against the rearrest of Jawaharlal Nehru in October by observing Jawahar week. Processions were taking out carrying tableaus depicting scenes of Bardoli, Peshawar and Bombay.³⁹

Day long celebrations on the name of the leaders, arrested by the police was also witnessed. After the arrest of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gnadhi almost every town celebrated Gandhiday and Jawahar day. Lucknow⁴⁰ and Jhansi⁴¹ even celebrated the completion of six months of the arrest of Gandhiji on Nov. 5,1930. Jawaharlal's arrest in November led to the celebration of Jawahar day on a larger scale. Even smaller towns like Kheri, Azamgarh, Muradabad, Hathras, Firozabad,Unnao and Hardoi celebrated Jawaharday with full vigour.⁴²

37. *The Leader* , July 26, 1930.

38. *Aj* , Feb. 1,1931.

39. *Aj* , Nov. 6,1930.

40. *The Leader* , Nov. 9,1930.

41. *Aj* , Dec. 14, 1930.

42. *The Leader* , Nov. 20, 1930.

Day long celebrations in the honour of the old Congress leaders who recently died were also observed. In Mirzapur Tilak Day was celebrated on 14th August. Protest meeting was organised against the arrest of the leaders of Bombay.⁴³ In Allahabad, Lala Lajpat Rai day was celebrated on 17th November. In the meeting people were told to follow the path shown by Lalaji.⁴⁴ The death of Motilal Nehru on 6th February 1931 led to celebration of Motilal Nehru Day at many places. In Allahabad Motilal day was celebrated on 16th Feb. i.e. 10th day of his death. Complete strike was observed in the city, Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of Congress addressed the meeting. Poorna Swaraj pledge was read and repeated by the crowd in the meeting.⁴⁵

Apart from all these, days were also celebrated for Chandrashekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh and Ram Prasad Bismil. Azad day was celebrated in Allahabad on 8th March, 1931 by Allahabad Youth League.⁴⁶ It had also celebrated Bhagat Singh Day on 24th March, 1931.⁴⁷ The Youth League of Gorakhpur celebrated Bismil Day on 19th December.⁴⁸ In the meetings held on these

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- 43. *The Leader*, Aug. 16, 1930.
 - 44. *Aj*, Nov. 20, 1930.
 - 45. *Aj*, Feb. 18, 1931.
 - 46. *Aj*, Mar. 10, 1931.
 - 47. *Aj*, Mar. 26, 1931.
 - 48. *The Leader*, Dec. 24, 1930.

occassions people were asked to follow the path of Azad, Bhagat Singh and Bismil.

Day long celebrations in the name of those cities where police atrocities had taken place was also witnessed. Peshawar, Lucknow and Ballia days were celebrated in most of the towns of U.P. In all the three places police had fired bullets on peaceful processions. Bardoli Day was also celebrated in Allahabad. In the meeting that day speakers praised the farmers of Bardoli for their successful fight against the British government.

Apart from all these there were some other topics which were not very common but was celebrated at the instance of local Congress Committees. In Kanpur flag day was celebrated on 23rd February at the call of Hindustani Seva Dal.⁴⁹ In Allahabad, 'Satyagraha Divas' was celebrated on 12th March.⁵⁰ Political Sufferer's day (Rajnitik Pidit Divas) was celebrated in Banaras on 31st March, 1930.⁵¹ On this very day Azamgarh Congress Committee celebrated 'Shahid Divas'.⁵² In Benaras again Jalianawala Bagh day was celebrated on 13th April, 1930.⁵³ Moving away from the more common themes, Hindu-Muslim Unity

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49. *Aj*, Mar. 4, 1930.
 50. *Aj*, Mar. 15, 1930.
 51. *Aj*, Mar. 30, 1930.
 52. *Aj*, Apl. 5, 1930.
 53. *Aj*, Apl. 15, 1930

day was celebrated in Agra in April, 1931 after the signing of Gandhi-Irwin Pact.⁵⁴ Birthdays of Shivajee and Maharana Pratap were also celebrated but in Benaras only. Shivajee was called the first nationalist leader of India.⁵⁵

Whatever might be the process of these celebration, they attracted public attention in a big way. One example may be suffice to clear this conclusion. Writing about the Boycott week in Allahabad which concluded on 26th July, The Leader in its edition of 28th July says that the week had been an undoubted success. Congress songs had become so popular that bathroom singers wayside walking singers and even street vendors all had taken to them and "they may be heard at any part of the day and in any quarter of the city." The next visible sign of the Boycott week activities, according to the leader, was the popularity of Congress badge. It says "if one were to stand at a road crossing in the city and watch the passers by he would observe a large percentage of them wearing the badge." Congress flag was the third noticable feature. This too had gained much popularity. It says that many shops and houses and cycles and other forms of conveyance were seen decorated with it. Small boys and girls while

54. *Aj*, April 12, 1931.

55. *Aj*, March 17, 1930.

playing in the streets might be seen marching behind one of them carrying a flag and all singing in chorus one or two lines of the flag song on any other national song.⁵⁶

In the first half of the year, i.e. up to June or July 1930, when the movement was in its full stream, these days were celebrated as part of other programmes but in later part i.e. from July 1930 up to April 1931, when the movement started declining or rather not up to the level of the first half with most of its important leaders in jail, Congress used these celebrations as a tool to regain its vitality and remain in the public mind.

Newspapers, Nationalist Literature & Pamphlets

Newspapers particularly the Vernacular ones did a commendable job in arousing public consciousness during the Civil disobedience movement in U.P. These newspapers were being published even from small towns. Bigger towns usually had more than one newspaper. Apart from them there were Congress organs like 'Satyagraha Samachar' or 'Satyagrahi' published by District Congress Committees. Satyagraha

56. *The Leader*, July 28, 1930.

Samachar was being published from many places like Meerut, Rae Berreli, Agra, Allahabad, etc. These newspapers were engaged in arousing people's consciences towards the Congress movement through their editorials and articles. In this they used to analyse Congress ideas, programmes and goal. Right from the beginning of my period i.e. January, 1930, they were publishing articles and editorials related to recently concluded Lahore Congress. They welcomed the appointment of young Jawaharlal Nehru as the President of the Congress. Expressing the view that with Jawaharlal Nehru Congress had entered in to a new phase, Shakti, a weekly newspaper published from Almora, praised the proposal of J.L.Nehru in its editorial of 4th January, 1930, that Congress should work in villages and that we would not get Independence merely by speaking at conferences. Aj a daily newspaper being published from Benaras, discussed, in its editorial of 24th January 1930, the differences between 'Poorna Swaraj' and 'Dominion Status'. The editorial on 18th January 1930, of Shakti, suggested that Indians should forget their internal hatred among different casts and classes and make one aim - one nation - Bharat, One religion - independence, one language - Hindustani, one goal - India should be independent, nobody unfed. That would be the real Swaraj. These newspapers in one voice justified Gandhiji's

eleven demands. Congress's plan of no rent campaign was also justified by them. The 15th February 1930, edition of Shakti says that paying tax to government means that government should work for our betterment but since she is not doing anything for us why should we pay taxes? Before and during the movement they kept on appealing to the people to join the Congress as volunteers and fight with the Congress for their motherland. They also did a lot for the boycott of foreign cloth and propogation of Swadeshi and Khadi. These vernacular newspapers were the most common and easy means of propagating the ideas of top leaders of Congress. They also expedite the programmes and the outcome of those programmes of the Congress.

But their support to the Congress could not last for very long. Worried by the aggressive attitude of these newspapers the government enacted Press Ordinances and started using it from May 1930 in U.P. Newspapers were warned and security was demanded from the newspapers one by one for their seditious writings. The working committee of the Congress passed a resolution that newspapers should not offer any security and should cease the publication of newspapers instead.⁵⁷ Some newspapers brought out cyclostyled editions of their

57. F.N. , G - 143/1930, AICC, NMML.

newspapers for sometime. Aj of Bengaras, The Pratap of Kanpur and Swadhin Praja of Almora were the first one to face the brunt of the Press Ordinance. Refusing to pay the security to the governemnt, they ceased publication in response to the resolution of Congress working committee. Aj and Satyagraha Samachar of Allahabad appeared from sometime in cyclostyle form.⁵⁸ Some of the papers had stopped writing editorials, articles and notes but published political poems etc. They were Anand of Lucknow, Desh Mitra of Ballia, Pariwartan of Saharnpur, Shakti of Almora, Swadesh of Gorakhpur, Medina of Bijnor, Swadeshi of Jhansi etc.⁵⁹ Till 30th May 1930, 6 newspapers had been warned and security had been demanded from 3 newspapers i.e. Sainik - Agra, District Gazette, Parivartan - Azamgarh.⁶⁰ Till the end of June 38 newspapers had been warned and security had been demanded from 13 newspapers. Till the end of August the total number of Presses from which security had been demanded was 37 and those warned was 67. Total number of newspapers from which security had been demanded till 30th August rose to 23 and those warned - 52. Till the end of

58. F.N. , 1012/1930 F.V.Ds, *Police*, U.P.S.A.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

October security had been demanded from 53 Presses and 31 newspapers and 84 Presses and 64 newspapers had been warned under the Press Ordinance.

In November 1930, the period of Press Ordinance ended and then only these newspapers could come out. According to the government reports of November 1930 "the tone of vernacular Press was rapidly deteriorating" since the lapse of the Press Ordinance.⁶¹ Nearly all the Congress journals had resumed publication and were again openly supporting the Civil Disobedience Movement.⁶²

Nationalist literature and pamphlets too had an important role in spreading nationalist feeling among the literate masses especially among students. Nationalist literature published in this period were mainly the collection of poems. Flag song was the most common which can be found in almost every collection of poems. Some of the most popular poems are here:

61. FR November 1st half, F.N. - 18/XII/1930, *Hom. Poll*, N.A.I.

62. *Ibid.*

Flag Song⁶³ :

झण्डा ऊँचा रहे हमारा
विजयी विश्व तिरंगा धारा।
झण्डा ऊँचा रहे हमारा ॥
सदा शक्ति बरसाने वाला
वीरों को हरसाने वाला
मातृ भूमी का तनमन सारा

झण्डा ऊँचा रहे हमारा
स्वतंत्रता के शीषण रण में

इसकी शान न जाये पावे
चाहें जान मल्ले ही जावें।
विश्व विजयी करके दिखलावें
तब होवे प्रण पूर्ण हमारा
झण्डा ऊँचा रहे हमारा

Poems calling youngmen to join the movement were the most common in the nationalist literature. For example -

नवजवानों 64
भारत के नवजवानों मैदाने जंग में आओ।
बन देश प्रेमी अपना जीवन सफल बनाओ ॥
वे वीर त्यागी अपना कर्तव्य कर रहे हैं।
हैं राह अभी सीधी उर पर कदम बढ़ाओ ॥
हैं कौन शक्ति ऐसी जो तुमको रोक लेगी।
गा एक साथ हो कर बल अपना तुम दिखाओ ॥
जग त्याग दो अभय बन स्वतंत्र जंग देओ।
मू माँ को अपने वीरों, बंधन से तुम धुड़ाओ ॥

63. From 'Bande Matram', Publisher: Avasthi Bros

64. Ibid.

and the other one :

आओ वीरो मर्द बनो अब जेल तुम्हें भरना होगा ।
 सव्याग्रह के समर क्षेत्र में आ आ कर उटना होगा ॥
 सूर लड़ाके मर्दाने हो पैर हटाना कभी नहीं ।
 मरते मरते माता का अब कुर्ज अढा करना होगा ॥
 वक्त नहीं है ऐ वीरो अब गाफिल हो कर सोने का
 दौड़ चलो मैदानों में अब माता का दुख हरना होगा ॥
 याद करो माता का तुमने बहुत दुग्ध है पात्र कृपा ।
 दुग्ध पिचे की लाज बहादुर किसी तरह रखना होगा ॥
 शेर मर्द हो वीर बाकड़ा याद करो कर्तव्यों को ।
 मातृवेदी पर हंसते हंसते कटकर के मरना होगा ॥⁶⁵

another one :

नाजवानों वक्त है मिट जाओ कौमी आन पर ।
 देखना बड़ा न लग जाये वतन की शान पर ॥
 खिरमते हिन्दोस्ता पर बिजलियाँ टूट करे ।
 हफ़ गर फिर भी जूँ न रेगें तुम्हारे कान पर ॥
 चह चहचहाना मूल जाओगी चमत् खतरे में है ।
 बुलबुलों क्या देखती हो खेल जाओ जान पर ॥
 कसरे आजादी की राहों का पता लग जायगा ।
 गर निगाह डालो जरा चीन और जापान पर ॥
 चखकज रफ़्तार चक्कल में न आ जाये कहीं ।
 डालना है हाथ अर्जुन भीम की सन्तान पर ॥⁶⁶

65. From, 'Asahayogi Diwano ki Tarang', publisher - Sangam Lal Agrawal, Alld, Pros. Pub. Acc. No. 239, N.A.I.
66. From, Gandhi ki Aandhi, publisher - Chandrabhanu Gupta, Meerut, March 1930, Pros. Pub. Acc. No. 391, N.A.I.

Poems for boycotting foreign cloths and goods and using

Swadeshi :

विदेशी बहिष्कार 67

अब विदेशी माल बाहर से मंगवाना छोड़ दो ।
 खासा मलमल डौरी तन से लगाना छोड़ दो ॥
 क्यो प्रतिज्ञा पत्र पर दस्तरत किये बेफायदा ।
 अपने ही हाथों से इज्जत का घटाना छोड़ दो ॥
 सेठ, साहूकार हो तुम लक्ष्मी के लाल हो ।
 प्राण जी के वासियों बुटिया डुवाना छोड़ दो ॥
 वालपियर द्वारे तुम्हारे जान तक दे देंगे ।
 सोचो दिल में भाइयों आफत का दाना छोड़ दो ॥
देशी पहनो जी

अब देशी पहनो जी भाइयों फैशन को छोड़ के ।
 हैं बिनती करती जो भारत माना कर जोड़ के ॥
 जो तुम खदूर पहनो एक पंच दो काज ।
 एक तो पैसा घर बचें दूजे हो भारत आजाद ॥
 जो तुम समझो खदूर चुभता न बनते दैल दबीले ।
 भारत वर्ष के अन्दर कपड़े बनते रंग रगीले ॥
 पर पहनो जी लंदन से नाता तोड़ के ।
 भारत वर्ष के बच्चे भूखा मरते रूदन मचाते ॥
 इंग्लैण्ड के कुत्रे योरो दुष्य व बिस्कुट खाने ।
 हाथ कुद न छोड़ा जी जालिम ले गये सब लूटे ॥ 68

Poems for women :

पहनीं । चरखे से हार शृंगार है ।
 चरखा कातो तो ब्रेडा पार है ॥
 चरखा फूकेगा माल विदेशी चरखा कानेगा माल स्वदेशी

चरखा स्वदेशी की तलवार है ।
 चरखा कातो तो बेड़ा पार है ।
 बहिर्गाँ गाँधी का फरमान है, चरखा भारत का कल्याण है ।
 इसमें आबादी का इसरार है ।
 चरखा कातो तो बेड़ा पार है ।
 चरखा वर्क को नीचा दिखाएगा, चरखा स्वराज की राह बताएगा ।
 इसमें चौस्प का बाजार है ।
 चरखा कातो तो बेड़ा पार है ।
 इसमें होंगे बशरीशार फिर, होगा फखरे आलम हिन्दोस्तान फिर
 इसी चरखे पर दारोमदार है ।
 चरखा कातो तो बेड़ा पार है ।⁶⁹

Poems highlighting the work done by Gandhiji and Jawaharlal were also popular :

सतरंज का खेल है बीदाया भारत में लाल जवाहर ने । 70
 चल कर चालें चालों को दहलाया लाल जवाहर ने ॥
 पैदल जितने हैं कष्ट किये जेलों के फाटक तोड़ेगा ।
 सरदारों को किस्ती देना, दिखाया लाल जवाहर ने ॥
 वे सहलवार और फीलों से बाजी का सप्ताल है ।

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68. From *Rashtriya Samar*- publisher, K.L.Barman
 Bengaras, Pros. Pub., Acc. NO. 696, N.A.I.
 69. From *Gandhi ki Aandhi*, publisher, Chandrabhanu Gupta,
 Meerut, Pros. Pub., Acc. No. 391, N.A.I.
 70. From *Asahyogi Diwano ke Tarang*, publisher - Sangam Lal
 Agarwal, Alld, Pros. Pub., Acc. No. 239, N.A.I.

पैदल लड़ कर लड़ना रण में दिखलाया लाल जवाहर ने ॥
 धर खाली नजरो में आये उसमें ही कदम बढ़ देना ।
 तुम मात्र करोगे ये वीरो ललकारा लाल जवाहर ने ॥

गाँधी की विजय 71

अवतार महात्मा गाँधी हैं शृष्टी का भार उतारन को
 राम के संग थे लक्ष्मण, कृष्ण के संग बलदाऊ
 गाँधी के संग में हैं जवाहर, दुष्टों के संग हारन को
 राम के संग थे वानर सेना कृष्ण के संग ग्वाल
 अब गाँधी के संग में पब्लिक हैं इनको समझने को
 कृष्ण रूप में कंश पदाडा राम रूप में रावण मारा
 गाँधी ने भँडा उठाया है भारत का भार उतारन को ।

Apart from these literature pamphlets were also distributed. These pamphlets were mostly of revolutionary type instigating people to come out openly against the

71. From *Bharat Mata ki Pukar*, publisher - Munnilal Sharma, Bignore, *Pros. Pub.*, Acc. No. 294, N.A.I.

government. Hindustan Republican Association was the one organisation which preached through its pamphlets violent mode of protest. Their leaflet called "The Philosophy of Bomb" was the one of such type. The persons who were engaged in distributing these leaflets belong to youth organisation. These pamphlets were read in the meetings of young men particularly students and distributed on every important occasion. On 26th January 1930, which was celebrated as Independence day, the above mentioned pamphlet was distributed in Allahabad, Benaras, Kanpur, Agra and some other places.⁷²

The text of these leaflets generally contained the description of economic consequences of British rule and the humiliations Indians were facing at the hands of Europeans. One leaflet entitled 'Ran Nimantran' published from Kanpur blamed every Indian for all these curses. It advised the Indians particularly the government servants to kick off their job and join the non-violent struggle of the Congress.⁷³

Another type of pamphlet carried religious overtones. For boycotting foreign cloth one pamphlet said -

and the other one -

-
72. From a telegram to Home dept. New Delhi by U.P.A.O. Lucknow, dated May 1st, 1930.
F.N. 88/1930, *Hom. Poll*, N.A.I.
73. 'Ran Nimantran', F.N. 1385/1930, F.V.D., Police U.P.S.A.
74. *Pros. Pub.*, Acc. No.1003, N.A.I.

All these literature and pamphlets which came in to the knowledge of the government were banned. Among the nationalist literature, book which was banned most was Sunderlal's 'Bharat me Angrezi Raj'. Regarding pamphlets and news sheets, government banned and confiscated 46 news sheets in Mathura district alone. Some of the most important of them were 'Navyuvakon Se Appeal', 'Wiron ke manadi', 'Swadeshi gazal', 'Anaj Saste Kyon hai', 'Bharat mata ki appeal', 'Boycott ke Asal', 'Shahar Agra ke Talwar', 'Sheron ka garajna', and 'Lagan or malgujari mat do.'⁷⁵

These pamphlets and literature left much impact on literate class especially students. This can be proved by the instances of searches of rooms of students in college and university hostels. For example, in Kanpur's Sanatan Dharam College, hostel room of Shri Chail Behari Kantak was searched by the police.⁷⁶ Searches in the hostel rooms of Benaras Hindu University was quite common. Police used to search the publishers' houses and presses to confiscate the leaflets. Police sometimes confiscated the cyclostyle machines

75. F.N. 1012/1930, F.V.D. *Police*, U.P.S.A.

76. *Aj.*, Feb 16, 1930.

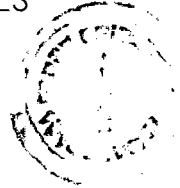
also on which these pamphletes used to be published. In Agra, on 2nd Februrary 1931 police raided the house of the editor of the 'Sainik and eonfiscated the cyclostyle machine on which 'Sainik Ka sinhnad' was being published.⁷⁷

77. Aj. , Feb 21, 1931.

C H A P T E R - I V

RESPONSE OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES

Muslims :



The muslims, in general, kept themselves aloof for the most part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The general muslim aloofness from this campaign stands out in sharp contrast to participation of masses of muslims in the nationalist agitations of 1919-22 in many parts of India. The reversal requires a proper explanation all the more because vast members of both the communities had a great deal in common at the grassroots level of their social existence.

The modes of political mobilisation employed by Congress may form an important part of explanation. Also Prof. Gyanendra Pandey in his study on "The Congress in U.P. 1926-34" has made it clear that some of the methods adopted by the Congress leaders not only during the Non-Cooperation Movement but also for the subsequent electoral and agitational campaigns served to heighten the communal consciousness. The British administration, too, sought to strengthen its own position against the growing power of the nationalist movement by encouraging separatist muslim organisations. These factors helped to give rise to a situation in which communal

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riots became too common. This also did much to spread mutual fear and hatred among the masses of the two communities.

Right from the date of Non-Cooperation Movement, the establishment of a powerful muslim organisation and agitation for the khalifa brought about a Hindu reaction in the form of an emphasis on the need for counter organisation and for purification and protection of Hindu community. This need was materialised by Swami Shraddhanand who launched a movement called 'Shuddhi' for the reconversion of Hindu converts to Islam in Western U.P. Hindu Mahasabha also adopted the Arya Samaj's Shuddhi programme. This encouraged a mushrooming of 'Suddhi' and 'Sangathan' (unity) organisations among the Hindus, matched by a corresponding growth of 'Tabligh' (propagation) and 'Tanzim' (organisation) bodies among the muslims.¹

The association of Hindu Mahasabha leaders with the Congress is well known. Leaders like Madan Mohan Malviya etc. had close links with the Congress and were in a position to influence even the policy making within the Congress. Also

1. *Pandey, Gyanendra, The Ascendency of the Congress in U.P., 1926-34, Delhi, 1978, pp.116.*

in 1929 and 1930, various branches of Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha issued statements supporting the Congress move towards Civil Disobedience Movement.²

The mode of political mobilisation employed by the Congress also had some religious overtones. The use of religious fairs and festivals for nationalist mobilisation was most common. In January 1930, the Kumbha mela at Allahabad, a great yearly bathing festivals, became an occasion for propaganda in favour of Civil Disobedience Movement. Several nationalist meetings and processions were held. 'Sadhus' and 'Sanyasis' were prominent in these, among them Baba Raghav Das; the Gorakhpur Congress leader, and calls to free the country from servitude were bolstered by the references to the '75,000 cows slaughtered daily' and by comparison of British rule with the reign of Aurangzeb.³ The very first procession in Allahabad, marking the beginning of new movement, on 26th January 1930, was started from Kumbha Mela under the leadership of none other than President of Indian National Congress Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.⁴ The celebrations of birthdays and victory days of the rulers and leaders who had

2. F.N. 186, (F.O.V.Ds) *Pol. Dept.*, U.P.S.A.

3. *Aj*, Feb. 6, 1930.

4. *The Leader*, Jan. 29, 1930.

fought against the muslim rulers was also observed. In Benaras, birth days of Shivajee and Maharana Pratap were celebrated on 17th March and 31st May respectively.⁵ Shivajee was called the first nationalist of India by the speakers in the meeting held that day. Benaras district Congress Committee was the main organiser of these celebrations and the notice which was issued two days earlier for the celebrations of the birth day of Shivajee was signed by none other than the four top leaders of U.P. hailing from Benaras, viz., Shri Prakash, Narendra Dev, Baburao Vishnu Pararkar and Sampurnananda.⁶ For propagation of khadi and swadeshi, too, Congress used some methods which had regilious overtones. Tableaus were carried in procession depicting scenes of 'Bharat mata in khadi' or 'Bharat mata spinning charkha' etc.

So, this association of Suddhi and Sangarhan with Arya Samaj and Hindu Maha Sabha, their association in turn with the Congress and the Congress's programmes carrying Hindu overturnes might have led the common muslims in general to believe that this Civil Disobedience Movement was entirely

5. *Aj*, March 1934, *The Leader*, June 5, 1930.

6. *Aj*, March 17, 1930.

a Hindu affair though I did not find any direct evidence to prove this.

To such ill considered Congress propoganda and activities was added a certain amount of direct encouragement by the British administrators who naturally wished to wean away muslim support from the U.P. Congress. On the government's behalf Nawab of Chhatari, an influential muslim landlord of Bulandshahar district, Home member of the government and acting governor of the province for a short while in 1928, tried to persuade the khilafat leader, Muhammad Ali, to make an announcement against the Civil Disobedience Movement. Efforts were also made to get the Ulema to pronounce against the Civil Disobedience Movement.⁷ Nawab of Chhatari was also responsible for a meeting of the Tausih Jamait-ul-ulema-i-Hind at Kanpur in May 1930 which strongly opposed the current Congress programme.⁸

At the stage when the Civil Disobedience Movement had attained a remarkable success, the administration went further in its effort to win over the muslims. Noting that

7. *Halifax Papers*, 23, Chhatari to L. Irwin, N.M.M.L.

8. F.R., May 1st half, F.N.-18/6/1930, *Hom. Poll.* M.A.I.

the U.P. muslims were extremely agitated by the Sarda Act, the governor of U.P. Hailey asked the Central Government to change the law.⁹ Ultimately the idea to amend the Sarda Act was not accepted but it was made clear to muslims generally that prosecution for breaches were unlikely.¹⁰

From the government's point of view it was imperative that every legitimate effort be made to prevent the muslims at large from joining Civil Disobedience Movement. The provincial government itself went so far as to give financial assistance to the U.P. Tanzim Committee, an organisation led by Shaukat Ali and a number of traditional muslim leaders, which did much to arouse masses of muslims to organise and defend themselves against the Congress.¹¹ At the district level official efforts to secure and maintain muslim opposition to the Congress were often more brazen. The Commissioner of Allahabad reported in May 1930 that 'action is being and had already been taken in quiet way.'¹² But a muslim journalist

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9. *Halifax Papers*, Haily to Haig, 10th May, 1930, N.M.M.L.
 10. A letter from Commissioner, Allahabad to the Chief Secretary, U.P. dated 9th May, 1930, FN-241/1930, GAD, UPSA.
 11. *Halifax Papers*, Haily to Cresar, dated 25th Sept. 30 as cited Pandey, op.cit, pp.128.
 12. See 10.

of Kanpur, one of the districts in the division described his experience rather differently. He said "the Collector tried to throw nets around me. He tempted me with everything including title, Honorary magistracy and service. A very big Hindu officer of the province....offered me Rs.150 per month, besides travelling expenses for delivering in the villages of Cawnpore district only four speeches against the Congress every month."¹³

The muslim organisations which claimed direct relationship with the masses were mainly two. One was Jamait-ul-ulema and the other Jamait-Tausi-ul-ulema. Both of them met at Amroha in May 1930 separately and the former being pro Congress passed a resolution supporting the Civil Disobedience Movement while the latter being anti Congress condemned the Civil Disobedience.¹⁴ The anti Congress organisation Jamait Tausi-ul-ulema was much popular among the muslim masses for the reasons mentioned above. Meetings of muslims opposing Congress programmes were a common occurrence at the time. Pro Congress meetings were also organised but without producing

13. Congress Kanpur Enquiry, F.N.-68/1931, AICC, N.M.M.L.

14. F.R., May 1st half, 1930, F.N.-18/6/1930, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.

any appreciable impression on muslim masses.¹⁵ Participation at individual level was seen here and there. The Aligarh Muslim University and other muslim educational institutions had not been affected by the Congress agitations.¹⁶ At some places muslims especially merchants were hostile to the Congress activities of picketing. They created violence by manhandling volunteers. Successful muslim counter demonstrations had also been held at Kanpur, Lucknow and other places.¹⁷ At some places they tried to form an Anti Picketing Party.

The pressure of Congress and insistence of the muslims on not succumbing to it sometimes led to communal tensions especially after January 1931. A serious communal disturbance had occurred in Benaras on 11th February 1931. The release of the members of the All India Congress Committee for the peace talks was regarded by the people as a victory for Congress and the Congress activities which had been on the wane, now revived. Picketing was one of the most important of the

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15. F.R., July 1st half, 1930, F.N.-18/8/1930, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.
16. F.R., August 1st half, F.N.-18/9/1930, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.
17. Ibid.

renewed activities and among shops picketed was that of a well known muslim cloth merchant Aga Mohammad Jan. The picketers themselves were all Hindus. On 10th February they assaulted some customers making their way to the shop. Police made a number of arrests, but that evening Mohammad Jan was shot dead in a lane while his way home from his shop. Fighting between Hindus and Muslims broke out.¹⁸

After the signing of Gandhi Irwin pact, communal rioting broke out from 15th to 17th March in Agra and from 14th to 16th in Mirzapur. In Agra, one muslim was killed and several members of both the communities were injured, the old quarrel over 'music before mosques' provided the immediate cause. Official intervention alone saved the situation on 15th March when muslims objected to a Holi procession playing music outside a mosque. The next day a crowd of Hindus attacked a muslim wedding party and a muslim crowd retaliated by attacking another Holi procession. Further rioting occurred on 17th March.¹⁹

18. *Aj*, Feb. 13, 1931.

19. *The Leader*, March 21, 1931.

In Mirzapur, a large mob of Hindu villagers massacred seven muslims in the village Manchi in Robertsganj Tehsil. A haunch of venisen sent by a muslim zamindar to a muslim tenant and believed by the Hindu villagers to be beef was the cause of the outbreak.²⁰

Communal riots in these different places affected Kanpur, which was a 'difficult city at any time' for the government. Business and industry dominated the economic and political life of the city. Another factor of importance in the political life of Kanpur was the presence of social institutions of both the Hindus and Muslims. The Arya Samaj which was active there since before the foundation of Congress, had a large following and its educational institution D.A.V. College was taking active interest in militant politics, communal as well as nationalist. Among the Muslims the Tanzim Committee was very active in Kanpur and with Tausi-Jamait-ul-ulema-i-Hind it was preaching against the Congress.²¹

By the second half of 1930 the agitation in Kanpur had achieved considerable proportions and had begun to get

20. *Aj*, March 19, 1931.

21. See, *Pandey*, op.cit., p-133.

aggressive. There were reports of harassment by Congress volunteers of buyers as well as sellers of foreign cloth and intoxicants of any kind. The police judged the movement to be more firmly established here than in any other U.P. city and expressed the fear that Congress raj might swamp the place.²²

All this, following hard on the heels of the communal propaganda and clashes of the preceding years, affected the Kanpur muslims at large. "There is no general disposition on the part of the muslims to give up their attitude of aloofness from the movement," said a report on city in May 1930. Muslim shopkeepers in Kanpur deeply resented and sometimes openly opposed Congress picketing of their foreign cloth and liquor shops. Muslim Congressmen trying to make public speeches in the city were 'hawled down' while muslim communalists were 'listened to eagerly'.²³ In January 1931, muslim leaders refused to cooperate with Congress leaders in organising a condolence meeting on Muhammad Ali's death, and two separate meetings were held.²⁴ The fairly well attended meeting of

22. Reports of Kanpur Communal Riot, F.N.-1263/1931, Police Department, U.P.S.A.

23. A letter from Commissioner, Allahabad to the Chief Secretary U.P., dated 9th May 1930, F.N.-241/1930, GAD, U.P.S.A.

24. *Ibid.*

muslims, presided over by Hasrat Mohani, to condole the death of Motilal Nehru in February cannot be regarded as a significant gesture pointing in the other direction. For barring the one instance, muslims on the whole abstained from the processions, meetings of the Congress.

The news of Gandhi Irwin agreement compounded the feelings of fear and frustration among Kanpur muslims. On March 24, 1931, news of Bhagat Singh's execution was received in the morning in Kanpur. Congress messangers went out at once to proclaim a hartal. There was much excitement. Students broke windows in shops and offices and the police intervened. Around 2 P.M. a quarrel arose on Mestun Road between some Hindu Congressmen who urged a hartal and some Muslim shopkeepers who objected to closing their shops. The quarrel led to a fight and the congregation of a large crowd of Hindus and Muslims on the spot. Lathis and brickbats appeared and general rioting broke out, to rage on for several days, in different parts of the city.²⁵

The direct losses resulting from the riot were severe. The government estimated the number of killed and injured as

25. *The Leader*, March 26 & *Aj*, March 27, 1931.

290 and 965 respectively.²⁶ The Congress put it higher at 400 and 1200. In addition the latter reported 500 buildings gutted, including 23 mosques and 37 temples, for which alone the damages were worth no less than 5 lakh rupees, the loss of movable property worth at least Rs.20 lakhs by loot and destruction, and a 'general exodus' and the 'utter dislocation' of business and normal life.²⁷

So my period i.e. January 1930 to April 1931 began with the muslims, in response to the call of Ali Brothers of Delhi, abstaining from the celebrations of Independence Day and ended with the bloody riots of Benaras, Agra and Kanpur. On the whole, muslims kept themselves aloof from the Congress's activities through out the first phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the urban centres of U.P.

Students :

Students had played the most prominent part during the Civil Disobedience Movement. Right from the beginning,

26. See 22.

27. Congress Kanpur Enquiry Report, F.N.-68/1931, AICC, N.M.M.L.

from the celebrations of Independence Day, upto the signing of Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March 1931 they had proved themselves as the most active class engaged in the movement. They were at the head of every programme whether it was Salt Satyagraha or Boycott of foreign clothes. In fact Congress had used the students as the main executor of its policies. During the celebrations of Independence Day on 26th January 1930, which was the first event of the Civil Disobedience Movement, they took very active part. In Allahabad, the national flag was seen flying in almost all the hostels of the University, students took out a procession with a national flag and attended the meeting addressed by Jawaharlal Nehru and others.²⁸ When Gandhiji began his Dandi march, students in most of the schools in various towns observed hartals in their schools and colleges. Students also took active part in Salt Satyagraha by becoming the members of the volunteers of the Congress. Many of them had received physical training before the movement, in the training camp organised by the Congress.²⁹ These students as volunteers tried to persuade common people to use swadeshi and boycott foreign cloth by placing before them the

28. *The Leader*, Alld.-Jan. 29, 1930.

29. F.N. G-44(i) AICC, A letter to J.L. Nehru by Ganesh Lal Dashora of Hindu Hostel, Allahabad University

economic and political benefits of doing so. They also propagated the ideas of nationalist leaders like Gandhiji and Nehruji on Swaraj and how Swaraj was related to the common people. They had also taken active part in picketing at foreign cloth shops and liquor shops.

Students who were not volunteers of the Congress also took active part in the movement. For example, whenever an important leader was arrested, they used to observe hartal in their schools and colleges and march in procession through out the town. For example, students of Kashi Hindu School, ignoring the intimidation of the headmaster, observed strike on the arrest of Vallabhbhai Patel in March 1930.³⁰ On the arrest of Gandhiji or J.L. Nehru or against the police atrocities in Peshawar, Lucknow and Ballia, they observed hartal in their schools and colleges. Sometimes they observed strike on the matters concerning their own schools and colleges. The students of C.A.V. Inter College, Allahabad observed hartal and picketed their own college on 15th Nov., 1930 against the dismissal of some of the students from college rolls as they had taken part in the Congress activities.³⁰

30. *Aj.*, March 12, 1930.

31. *Aj.*, Nov. 17, 1930.

Same kind of solidarity was shown by the students of Anglo Vernacular School, Meerut, but here in case of their one of the teachers. A teacher of that school was suspended on the charge of collecting funds for the Congress. Students of that school went on an indefinite strike against the suspension and took out processions along with the students of other schools and colleges.³² Cooperation between teachers and students was not, however, an unbreakable rule. In Azamgarh, the students of George High School, Sri Krishna Pathasala and Berbhi High School in joint meeting, condemned those teachers who had punished the students for taking part in national movement. These teachers were threatened with Social boycott.³³

Another important activity of the students was of hoisting the national flag upon their college and hostel buildings and lawns. The President of Allahabad Students Association Mrs. V.L. Pandit sent a letter to all the members of the Association reminding them of the resolution which had been passed by the executive committee of the Association

32. *Aj.*, March 24, 1930.

33. *Aj.*, April 20, 1930.

that the ceremony of hoisting the national flag should be carried out peacefully in every school ground and not on the school buildings and national song should be sung after that. If the school authority interfered in this - matter should be reported to her. No compromise could be made at individual level.³⁴ In other places also national flag was hoisted on college buildings. In Kanpur, students of Government High School hoisted the flag on 18th July.³⁵ Students of Christchurch College also succeeded in hoisting the flag on college building on 28th July. Six of them who had played a prominent role in it were removed from the College rolls.³⁶ In Aligarh students of Government High School tried to hoist national flag upon their school building. Though they succeeded in their attempt, they were severely beaten by police. One of them Rameshwar Yaugik was arrested by Police.³⁷ In Meerut, government closed all its aided schools as the students hoisted national flag on them and were adamant on doing that again.³⁸

34. *The Leader*, , July 14, 1930.

35. *The Leader*, , July 21, 1930.

36. *The Leader*, , July 31, 1930.

37. From 'Aligarh Janpad Ka Rajnaitik Itihas' - Chintamani Shukla.

38. *The Leader*, , April 6, 1930.

In comparison to the aided institutions, the students of these institutions which were started in the wave of 'national education' were participating more actively. Institutions like Kashi Vidyapith inculcated a public spirit rarely found among the products of government schools and colleges. It was claimed that almost all the students and teachers of Kashi Vidyapith participated in Civil Disobedience Movement.³⁹ "The Kashi Vidyapith has really always been the seminary where students are trained in extremists' method of thinking," the U.P. government observed.⁴⁰

The colleges and schools of Arya Samaj, the Dayanand Anglo Vadic Schools and Colleges as well as more traditional Gurukuls were also very active during the movement. The students of Gurukul Kangri of Haridwar were very active in the early stages of Civil Disobedience Campaign in 1930.

Another institution which comes in this list was 'Prem Mahavidyalaya' of Brindaban (Mathura). Well known

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39. F.N. - G2/1931, *AICC*, Report on Civil Disobedience by Gen. Secies., *AICC*.
40. F.N. - 127/1930, *Edu. Dept.* - Comment on Activities of B.H.U., U.P.S.A., Lucknow.

Congress figures like Acharyas Jugal Kishore, Gidwani and Sampuranand were associated with this college. In 1929, this institution provided for lectures on citizenship, economics, spinning and carding work, cleanliness and medicine and organised a tour of villages atleast once a week to collect statistics regarding village conditions. Before admission students had to pledge themselves to atleast ten years of village work. Needy students received a stipend of Rs.15 to Rs.20 per month, and after completion of their course, from Rs.35 to Rs.75 per month for continued public work. There was a branch of Hindustani Seva Dal in the College, and there was an effort to establish one or two small centres in the villages to increase rural contacts. Understandably Prem Mahavidyalaya earned the government's displeasure during the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was closed down for sometime by a special government order in 1932.⁴¹

Certain partially government aided institutions also stood out from the general run of such bodies by virtue of the education they provided and the results they produced.

41. From *Braj Ka Itihas* - K.D. Bajpai, Mathura, 1964.

One was Madan Mohan Malviya's Banaras Hindu University. It was observed that while the students of Allahabad, Lucknow and Agra Universities had shown sympathy for the Civil Disobedience Movement, none of these institutions was as enthusiastic as Benaras. A government report claims that anti government activity in the university had been most marked since September 25, 1929 when Pt. J.L. Nehru addressed the 'University Parliament' on 'Independence'. Pt. M.M. Malviya, the Vice-Chancellor, in his convocation speech at B.H.U. on Dec. 12, 1929 advised the students to be prepared to sacrifice their lives for their country and urged them to take up work in villages. When the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched, the students of B.H.U. were the first to take to village propaganda in support of the movement. In March 1930, Ram Murat Naidu addressed 500 students of the university on Gandhi's Satyagraha Campaign and reminded those present that Gandhiji had started on the day chosen by Shivajee for the commencement for his campaign. During salt satyagraha students of B.H.U. participated in large numbers. Students of B.H.U. left for other places also to offer Satyagraha. Around 100 of them went to Bombay to offer Satyagraha at the place where Pt. M.M. Malviya was arrested. The superintendent of Dehradun reported that the

situation in town had recently been aggravated by the arrival of 15 students from Benaras, who with the local people had succeeded in getting practically all the schools and colleges closed or intensively picketed. The students of B.H.U. were also working in Lucknow, Gorakhpur, Poona, Basti, Hamirpur, Madras and many other places. Over one hundred students had left the university to take part openly in the movement, extending their activities to Bombay, Bihar & Orissa and Madras.

Some of the students of B.H.U. were believed by the government to be of revolutionary thinking. Though the government knew that some of the seditious leaflets were written by the students of B.H.U., it could not prove that. It had frequently been noticed that many students of this university had hung up in their rooms in the hostel, photographs of Bhagat Singh, Balukeshwar Dutt and Jitendra Das.

Apart from the students, some of the Professors of the B.H.U. were also openly expressing the Congress programme. Two of the Professors namely Pt. Jaggannath Prasad and Prof. Achyut Patwardhan were convicted of offences connected with Civil Disobedience. Three others, Prof. Sundaram, Parmatama Sharan and Dangar Singh had shown active sympathy with the present agitation.

The S.P. of Benaras remarked about the students of Benaras - "this university is nothing but a rendezvous of revolutionaries where it is not considered safe to take notes of proceedings of a meeting. The atmosphere there is charged with anti-government views. Red turban of the police is just like a red rag to a bull."⁴²

So we see how active the students were during the Civil Disobedience Movement. They kept themselves ahead of every one in every aspect. During student days when every one thinks of his future many of them left their studies and joined the movement as full timers. For example, students of Dharma Samaj Inter College, Aligarh viz. Nawab Singh Chauhan, Trilokinath, Ramgopal Azad, Lajjaram Lalam and many others left their studies in September 1930 to serve the nation.⁴³ These students in their zeal were not afraid of going to jails. They and even their parents felt proud in their going to jail.⁴⁴ They did not have any insecurity about their future despite the fact that they were

42. Everything related to B.H.U. - From F.N. - 127/1930, *Edu. Dept.*, "Comment on Activities of the B.H.U., U.P.S.A., Luck.

43. From - "Aligarh Janpad Ka Rajnitik Itihas" - Chintamani Shukla.

44. *Shakti*, - May 3, 1930.

taking part in anti-government activities. When the provincial government was considering the issuing of a communique declaring students participating in 'subversive' movements would be disqualified from future government employment, the most revealing comment was made by the Deputy Commissioner of Rae Bareilly. The nine students then in Rae Bareilly gaol were all from Kashi Vidyapith and the Deputy Commissioner observed: "the students of Kashi Vidyapith are not likely to seek government employment."⁴⁵

Women :

Women were another section which took part actively in the Congress activities. This movement can be said to be a hallmark in the way of their upliftment. They had shown that they are not inferior to the men in any way. They joined the volunteer corps of the Congress for taking part in the movement. The women participants mainly belonged to middle class families and in most of the cases some of their male relatives were already active in the movement. Their zeal for becoming the volunteers of the Congress was remarkable. About seventy nine Bengali ladies of Benaras, many of

45. F.N.-241/1930, GAD, U.P.S.A.

them "very poor and old widows," applied to Jawaharlal Nehru for enrolling themselves as volunteers as in the present struggle 'it had become impossible for them' to remain idle spectators." They had resolved 'to follow the puranic custom to workship Goddess' Ranchandi 'to shower blessings on the brave soldiers for their victory.'⁴⁶

Women volunteers were mainly employed in picketing either at foreign cloth shops at educational institutions. They were also engaged in propaganda against foreign cloth and for swadeshi and khadi. They used to go in batches to different mohallas of the town to try to convince the people, especially the women, of the benefits of using swadeshi and khadi. They were also active in collecting clothes for the public bonfire of foreign cloth. These women volunteers took active part in Salt Satyagraha also. Batches of women volunteers prepared illegal salt at many places. In Benaras where Bengali ladies were very active they prepared salt publicly many times.⁴⁷ The illegal salt which used to be prepared by the volunteers was mostly sold by the ladies.

46. F.N.-44(i), Volunteers like, AICC, N.M.M.L.

47. Aj, April 15, 1930.

For mobilizing the women at large meetings especially of women were organised and addressed by the wives and other women relatives of the important Congress leaders of the town. They were generally appealed to by the speakers to wear only swadeshi and khadi and take active part in the national movement. In a meeting in Moradabad Mrs. Shushila Devi and Mrs. Krishna Kumari Devi appealed to the women to wear only khadi. In the immediate response to their speech many women decided to wear only khadi in future.⁴⁸ In a meeting in Allahabad on 'Satyagraha Divas' (12th March 1930) Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit appealed to the women to encourage their husbands to take part in the movement.⁴⁹ Sometimes women leaders from outside also addressed them. More important among them was the speech of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at Meerut.⁵⁰ Mrs. Bajpai of Kanpur addressed a public meeting of women only in Faizabad on 15th September 1930.⁵¹

At some places ladies formed organisations of their own as in Allahabad on 1st November 1930. The organisation was

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48. *Aj*, April 20, 1930.
 49. *Aj*, March 15, 1930.
 50. *Aj*, Feb. 28, 1930.
 51. *The Leader*, Sept. 19, 1930.

named 'Des Sevika Sangh' and was formed for picketing foreign cloth and liquor shops. At a meeting of women that day Mrs. Umadevi Nehru was made its President. She was also the incharge of picketing at foreign cloth shops, Mrs. V.L. Pandit was assigned liquor shops while Mrs. Krishna Nehru was made the leader of women volunteers.⁵² Another organised action was seen in Faizabad where lady volunteers, under the leadership of Shrimati Mata Ganju, were holding weekly meetings of ladies in principal mohallas of the city.⁵³

These types of activities led to their imprisonment as well. Mrs. Paliwal of Agra was imprisoned and awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment.⁵⁴ Her husband Mr. Ramchandra Paliwal was already in jail. Kumari Saraswati Devi of Dehradun was awarded 3 months' simple imprisonment and many other women were fined upto Rs.75.⁵⁵ Mrs. Kamla Nehru, wife of J.L. Nehru was also arrested on the charge of seditious speeches.⁵⁶ In Lucknow also six lady volunteers were arrested on the charge of picketing.⁵⁷ Upto 15th November,

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52. *Aj*, Nov. 3, 1930.
 53. *The Leader*, Sept. 19, 1930.
 54. *The Leader*, Oct. 15, 1930.
 55. *The Leader*, Oct. 18, 1930.
 56. *Aj*, Jan. 3, 1931.
 57. *The Leader*, Nov. 12, 1930.

1930 about 45 women were arrested and prosecuted all over the province.

Women's activities in the Civil Disobedience Movement were not limited upto active participation. They had also worked as a moral force. Reporting to Home Department, Government of India, the I.G.P. of U.P., Dodd said - "The women had enormous influence over stronger sex.....many loyal officials including police offers have.....suffered more than taunts and abuse from their female relatives than from any other source."⁵⁸

The activities of women in the movement was mostly confined to some of the big cities though some smaller towns were also there as exceptions. Allahabad took the lead because of the participation and leadership of the ladies of Nehru family - Mrs. Uma Nehru, Mrs. Kamala Nehru, Mrs. V.L. Pandit, Miss Krishna Nehru etc. In Benaras also the ladies of Bengali families played prominent role in the movement. In Agra, Mrs. R.C. Paliwal was leading the women while in Kanpur Mrs. Bajpai was organising them. In Lucknow, Mrs. Suniti Mitra and Mrs. Godavari Bhargava succeeded in

58. F.N. 249/1930, *Hom. Poll.*, N.A.I.

mobilizing the women. In Almora, Mrs. Shyama Devi and wife of late Shri Durga Dutt Joshi, in Aligarh, wife of late Shri Jainarayan, and in Sitapur, Mrs. Gopal Narayan and Mrs. Shambhu Nath were leading the women volunteers in the movement.

Businessmen :

Businessmen had also taken active part in the Congress agitations but they did not participate in those activities which meant going to jail or facing the wrath of the administration. But they did abide by the orders of the Congress on hartals, boycotts and provided funds for the activities of the Congress. For example, during Salt Satyagraha, the merchants of Kanpur decided in a meeting on 7th April to start a fund for the welfare of the family members of those volunteers who will go to jail. Merchants were also requested to pay half of the salary to their employees who will go to jail during satyagraha.⁵⁹ In another meeting on 11th April, a committee of eleven members was constituted to collect and look after the fund. This committee was called 'Satyagraha

59. *Aj*, April 9, 1930.

Sahayak Sabha'.⁶⁰ Merchants also responded positively to the strike calls. On 16th April, when 'hartal' was being observed in U.P. towns to protest against the arrest of Pt. J.L. Nehru most of the shops barring a few belonging to Muslims and Englishmen, were closed. Even in remote areas like Rankhet, Tarikhet and Almora, merchants followed the Congress leaders' appeal.⁶¹ At many towns they illuminated their shops and decorated their mohallas as a part of the Congress celebrations.

When Congress started its boycott programme against foreign cloth, most of the merchants dealing in foreign cloth came to terms with Congress leaders. They got their stock of foreign cloth sealed by the Congress and signed a pledge that they would not sell or indent fresh stock of foreign cloth until Congress permitted them to do so. Most of the Hindu foreign cloth merchants had signed the pledge. Some Muslim foreign cloth merchants and a few Hindus also did not sign the pledge and their shops were picketed by the Congress volunteers. Volunteers had to face some problems at the shops of Muslim foreign cloth merchants who sometimes reported to violence.

60. *Aj*, April 16, 1930.

61. *Shakti*, April 19, 1930.

It was only due to their active support that the sale of foreign cloth was almost negligible in most of the towns of U.P. Some merchants tried to break the Congress seal from their bales of foreign cloth and sell openly. But these merchants were punished by the Bazar Panchayats. Some businessmen of Allahabad formed a league called Allahabad Swadeshi League in October 1930, to promote Swadeshi and other indigenous products for the growth and development of indigenous industries. In a meeting at the shop of Lala Sanwal Das Khanna, they proposed to issue bulletins periodically to give information to shopkeepers and purchasers about things made in the country so that they might have no difficulty in getting their requirements without going for foreign articles.⁶²

Some other business groups also decided to sell and use only Swadeshi. The Tamolis ('Pan' vendors) of Allahabad decided in their meeting on 21st May to boycott foreign cloth.

Apart from supporting the Congress programmes businessmen were the main donators to Congress funds. A report of Town Congress Committee, Kanpur says that out of its total

62. *The Leader*, Oct. 15, 1930.

63. *Satyagraha Samachar*, Alld., June 4, 1930, F.N. 106/1930, U.P.S.A.

income of Rs.85,131 between 24th March 1930 to 24th April 1931, businessmen contributed Rs.34,758.⁶⁴

It is evident that the business community in general was enthusiastic about the Civil Disobedience Movement. Though they did not go to jail or come actively against the administration, their role in the movement can not be underestimated. They were one of the pillars which provided strength to the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Intelligentsia :

The participation of intelligentsia was not up to the level of Non-Cooperation Movement. This time there were very few instances of their resignations from government offices, schools, colleges, etc. We have got only two evidences when

a government servant had resigned from his job to participate in the Congress agitations. One was of Kashi Prasad Dikshit of Allahabad who had resigned from his post of clerk in Government Press. He had been ordered by his English officer not to come to office in khadi clothes and Gandhi

64. F.N. P.21/1931, U.P.P.C.C. File, AICC, NMML.

cap.⁶⁵ Another was of a CID constable Kunwar Bahadur of Badaun. He had resigned from his post to take active part in Civil Disobedience Movement. Though they (the government servants) did not resign from their vocations in large number, they might nevertheless have been supporting the movement. Evidence collected by Prof. Gyanendra Pandey says that even the wife of Mr. Jagdish Prasad, the Secretary to the Government of U.P., had given money for the Congress fund; also a secret fund collection was made by Congress in the Allahabad Police Lines and from a Police Inspector sent to arrest an organizer of the 'no-tax' campaign in Allahabad district.⁶⁶ This shows their sympathy towards the Congress movement. But those retired from the government offices were taking part in the movement. The Government of India had sent orders in May 1930 to state governments to withhold the pensions of those who were taking part in the movement. The Army Department of the Government of India also sent similar instructions to local Governments for withholding the pension of those retired army officers and soldiers who were taking part in the movement.⁶⁷ These government orders imply that

65. F.N. 14/1931, AICC, NMML.

66. *Pandey, Gyanendra, The Ascendency of the Congress in U.P., 1926-34, Delhi, 1978.*

67. Letter No.D-2440 & 13/9959/ICA.G.8, Instructions for dealing with pensioners who take part in Civil Disobedience Movement, F.No.282/1930, *Pol.Dept., U.P.S.A.*

some of the retired persons were taking part in the Congress agitations.

After the government servants came the teachers and lawyers. Teachers of government aided schools and colleges were not showing active support to the movement. But those of District Board's schools or any private institutions were very much active in the movement. When District Boards decided to place Mahatama Gandhi's photographs in schools and national flags on the buildings of the schools, almost every school carried out these instructions. This could not have been possible without the active support of the teachers. Apart from this, some of the teachers of these schools were actively participating in the movement and some had lost their jobs too due this. Teachers of private institutions were the backbone of the movement at some places. Most of the teachers of Prema Mahavidyalaya, Brindaban and Kashi Vidyapith, Benaras were the members of the Congress and had not only participated themselves in the movement but had acted as a moral force for their students.

Lawyers were the another section which supported the Congress movement whole heartedly. But here too there is no evidence of their giving up the practice for taking part in

the movement. They supported Congress's boycott programmes in their Bar Council meetings. The lawyers of Aligarh, Azamgarh, Sitapur, Lucknow and Allahabad had decided to boycott foreign cloth and to use only Swadeshi. The lawyers of Lucknow had even started a Swadeshi League for propagating Swadeshi among them. The lawyers of Jaunpur had once boycotted the Court as a protest against the arrest of Mahatama Gandhi.

So, if we include the students also, the participation of intelligentsia class was fairly good. But if we compare it with that of Non-Cooperation Movement, it was not so good.

Conclusion

It was a successful campaign on the part of the Congress. Beginning with the celebrations of Independence day on 26th January, which was not actually a part of Civil Disobedience, the movement passed through various phases between January 1930 and April 1931. After successfully celebrating Independence day, the Congress Committees of the urban centres were busy in the preparations for the Salt Satyagraha with the volunteers enrolled, funds collected, plans for the Satyagraha chalked out, the UP Congress Committee began Salt Satyagraha on 13th April, at five centres, viz. Agra, Allahabad, Benaras, Jhansi and Rae Bareli. Later on, other places were also permitted to start Salt Satyagraha. After successfully breaking the Salt law, the Congress Committees decided to launch Boycott programme at the end of April and early May. Picketing activities at the shops of foreign cloth and intoxicants, the educational institutions and the houses of election candidates and Loyalist officers replaced salt manufacture. By July, picketing started declining not because it had failed but because it had achieved its objectives. Though picketing continued sporadically till the end of February, 1931,

at the shops of those foreign cloth merchants who had broken the Congress seal on their stock of foreign cloth.

From the very beginning, the administration was following the policy of arresting only important leaders and by June almost all the main leaders of the urban centres were in jail. This was the major reason behind the lack of vitality witnessed in the Congress agitations after June and July. The second level leaders tried their best to carry on the agitations but they too were not spared by the government. Nevertheless, the Congress had succeeded in its objectives of breaking the salt law and enforcing their boycott of foreign cloth programme successfully. After October, the Congress committees turned their attention towards rural areas, this too was the cause of the decreasing activities of the Congress in the urban areas. Though, regular Congress activities like Praphat Pheris, Propaganda against the use of foreign cloth, celebrations of days and weeks continued through out the period, it did not have the same strength as it used to have in the earlier part of the movement. Even Pt Jawaharlal Nehru commented from his experiences during a brief spell out of jail in mid-October 1930 that 'the cities and the middle class were

a bit tired of the hartals and processions', and he suggested that the movement should turn towards rural areas. So, considering the condition of the movement in the urban areas, the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin pact can be said to be a wise step for the Congress both for giving respite to the people for the time being and saving its own face.

The issues of mobilisation in the urban centres were largely the same as formulated by the All India Congress Committee, viz. agitations against the Salt Law and boycott of foreign goods and intoxicants. The modes of mobilisation employed by the Town and District Congress Committees were mainly Processions and meetings, Picketing, Celebrations of days and weeks and via nationalist newspapers literature. The methods employed by the Congress for mobilisation were largely peaceful, though, there are few instances when violence erupted during mobilisation.

Through out the period, I did not find even a single evidence of revolutionary terrorism in the urban centres. Though the existence of these organisations can

not be ruled as the pamphlets related to these organisations were being distributed in the towns of U.P.

Success of the Civil Disobedience movement can be judged by the support it received from the different sections of the masses. Among its supporters students were in the forefront. They were perhaps the most enlightened about national issues. Some of them had faith in revolutionary ideas also. This is proved by the frequent searches made by the police in the hostel rooms of the students for revolutionary pamphlets and the portraits of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdey and Ram Prasad Bismil, kept by the students in their rooms. On the whole the students of B.H.U. were the most active.

Women were the other section which came out openly in the movement for the first time. They had taken part in almost every programme of the Congress, but mostly they were engaged in the boycott of foreign cloths and propagation of Swdeshi and Khadi. But the participation of women was mostly concentrated to some big cities. The women of Allahabad due to the presence of the ladies of Nehru family, were the most active among them.

Businessmen also showed tremendous support for the movement. Their response to the Congress's calls for strikes and boycott was remarkable. Though they did not take a very active part (which meant going to jail etc.) in the movement. They supported the movement through funds etc. most of the Hindu foreign cloth merchants signed the pledge of the Congress for not indenting foreign cloth for a fixed period and got their stock of foreign cloth sealed by the Congress. But it cannot be said that all of them were in complete agreement with the Congress. Some foreign cloth merchants did protest against the Congress ban on the sale of foreign cloth by breaking the Congress seal on their stock and selling them. In this situation, they had to face the threat of picketing and social boycott from the Congress as well as fines from Bazar Panchayats. However, given their normal tendency towards caution, businessmen did not generally come into conflict with the Congress. Nor do we find any evidence of any pressure from their ranks on the Congress for cessation of the movement, though their inability to withstand much longer periods of hardship was apparent enough.

Regarding the intelligentsia, their participation was certainly not up to the level of the Non-Cooperation

Movement. The most active section of this class who were supporting the Congress agitations were Lawyers and Academicians. Layers of most of the towns of U.P. decided to boycott foreign cloth sometimes. They observed hartal in support of the Congress programmes. Academicians related with national institutions were more active in the Movement than those connected with the government aided ones. At some places they provided moral force to the students for taking part in the movement.

Muslims, in general, kept themselves aloof from the Congress agitations. The communal politics of both Hindu and Muslim organisations and the Congress's programmes carrying religious overtones might have led the muslims in general to believe that this Civil Disobedience movement was entirely Hindu affair, though I did not find any direct evidence to prove this.

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