Chapter II
Women in Gandhian Movement - I

The year 1930 witnessed the altogether changed perspective of women in two ways in the history of freedom struggle of India. Firstly, they marked their successful and decisive leadership alongwith the changing concept of "Women uplift" to "equal right" with that of men and secondly they joined the movement in a massive participation. The launching of civil disobedience movement under the ideology and leadership of Gandhiji was to be initially carried out without participation of women in it. The women of the country in general and within Congress took it humiliating. It happened so as they had already reached to such a level of awakening in regard to the right of equality through the continuous efforts made by some prominent and dynamic women leaders, in the foregoing decade, like Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya, Basanti Devi, Urmila Devi, Rameshwari Nehru, Hemprabha Majumdar and Bee Amman, etc.

The resolution passed at the Lahore session of Indian National Congress, in regard to launch Civil Disobedience Movement was significant in two ways. Firstly it set aside the earlier demand of dominion status and demanded the complete Independence. The Congressmen were instructed to boycott elections and 26 January 1930 would be observed as an Independence Day. Interestingly, the Congressmen not only observed this day throughout India
as proposed and they also publically sang a song, *Jhanda Uncha Rahe Hamara* in the same context.\(^2\) Secondly, it empowered Gandhi to launch the movement as per his own wish and vision.

It is significant to note that at the beginning of Civil Disobedience Movement, Gandhi did not allow women to join it. He was of the opinion that the participation of women might be considered cowardice. In fact, he was thinking so in terms of his sense of chivalry.\(^3\) To him Englishmen would not touch women just as Hindus would not kill cows. But the women who were already charged with the new concept of equal rights arose to the resentment. Margaret Cousin even addressed through a letter of their protest to Gandhi. In these stirring critical days of India's destiny, there should be no watertight compartments of service.\(^4\) Further, women even went ahead while demanding that "no conference, no Congress or commission dealing with the welfare of India should be held without the presence on them of their kind. Similarly, they must ask that no marches, no imprisonment, no demonstration organised for the welfare of India should prohibit women from a share in them." Later on, they were permitted to take part in all phases of the campaign.\(^5\) Launched by the Congress.

Gandhi wanted women to join the constructive programme meant for the public welfare and nation. He even had planned a different strategy for women to be trained and disciplined as *satyagrahis* so that they could
get an opportunity to demonstrate their ability in picketing foreign cloth and liquor shops as these should be exclusively reserved for them but as for as the Salt Satyagraha was concerned their contribution would not be considerable. He further emphasized on his strategy from economic perspective also while advocating the picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops as compared to the breaking of salt laws. To him, as per calculation, the removal of salt laws would save 850 million rupees annually and successful picketing of stores would dramatize the effective and important role of women in such a political movement.

He was of the firm opinion that nationalist movement was not merely a political struggle but a new mode of regenerating and rejuvenating the Indian society. It is quite true that woman’s nature particularly suited to non-violent satyagrah as it, required no physical strength but the moral courage and spiritual determination. The non violence and self sacrifice were essential qualities required for the Satyagrahis. He even made it more clear: “To call woman the weaker sex, is libel; it is man’s injustice to women. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man’s superior. Has she not great intuition, is she not more self sacrificing, has she not greater power of endurance, has she not greater courage.”

The Gandhian movement, infact, was to be initiated through the breaking of salt laws as the centre of gravity. As salt was a common thing of use, Gandhi justified that
charging of tax by government on such a common thing was unjust for the poor masses of the country. The essential features of whole programme of Gandhian movement consisted of seven aspects to wreck the British Imperialism in the country: (a) All India Satyagraha at Dharasana Salt Work and technical breaches of salt laws elsewhere to make sacrifice (c) Intensive boycott of foreign clothe (d) ............ campaign for non-payment of land revenues and taxes in certain provinces and areas (e) breaches of foreist laws (f) Boycott of British goods and British banking, insurance, shipping and other institutions (g) Boycott of liquor shops".9

The nationalist women actively participated in the Dandi March which began from the Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi, a small village at the sea-coast about 241 miles away, where the salt laws were to be defied and challenged government monopoly over salt manufacturing. While leaving Sabarmati on March 12, 1930, he did not include any woman in the group of 79 marchers of the satyagrah as already determined.10 The women at his Ashram were disappointed as he took only four or five with him as he had replied there would be time enough for that. He explained to them that since sufficient number of men were likely to follow while the presence of women was not essential. Gandhi received not only verbal faminine reaction and response on his denial on participation of women but also in writing as well. Khurshed Behn, grand daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, wrote an angry letter to Gandhi asking him why he was not allowing women to join
the March. Mridula Sarabhai, then a student of Gujarat Vidyapith, even ignoring the instruction of Gandhi jumped into the struggle despite Principal Kaka Kalelkar's order not to do so. Consequently, both these young women were arrested at Ahmedabad.

Historical Dandi March was joined by Sarojini Naidu and Mithubehn Petite. Gandhi started his historical march on 12th March 1930 from his Ashram at Sabarmati to Dandi (a small village on the sea-coast about 241 miles away and reached the destination alongwith the batch of 79 co-marchers on 13th April. Though no women accompanied him on the march, women were everywhere on the way to greet him and to hear him. It is significant to note that about two thousand women out of approximately five thousand audience welcomed him while he was on the way to Dandi march. Similarly twenty five percent women audience were present on Matwad village on the next day i.e. 11th April and even at Dandi on 13th April, more than 500 women received him with warm welcome. Some women were, attracted by Gandhi's politics, as they believed him an incarnation of "Ranchodrai" i.e. Shri Krishna, hence they came in out thousands to have his "darshan" on the historic march.

Gandhi's speeches in the meetings on the way to Dandi exhorted women not to carry Chatties of toddy, and picket liquor and toddy shops and stores selling foreign cloth. Besides, he insisted on to wear khadi and to ply the Charkha as an alternative. While making his statement on
the importance of such assigned duties to women, he often said "Drink and drugs sap the moral well-being of those who are given to the habit. Foreign cloth undermines the economic foundations of the nation and throws millions out of employment. The distress in each case is felt in the home and therefore by women."  

While Gandhi was on his way to Dandi March along with his co-marchers, the activities at his ashram at Sabarmati simultaneously went on. He could not expect that the women would accept his decision passively and would sit silently. He had trained and educated them in a way to also think for themselves. In the same line of thinking, Khurshed Ben Naoroji started imparting training to women satyagrahis at Sabarmati Ashram. The Times of India while publishing a cynical report brings to light that "These would" be amarns will be taught to sing propaganda songs to facilitate works in the villages, how to organize village meetings and how to preserve peace and order at meetings, sanitation, first aid to injured, sick nursing and spinning."  

After the arrest of Gandhiji and Abbas Tyabji in Salt Satyagraha, Sarojini Naidu assumed the leadership at Dharasana, the scene for the mass breaking of the salt laws. Though a few Congressmen protested at the idea of exposing a woman to a situation of political violence from the police. In fact, Gandhiji had already nominated Sarojini Naidu to lead the raid at Dharasana after his and Abbas Tajabjis arrestes. It is interesting to note how after
assuming this leadership as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity as well as a staunch feminist, Sarojini successfully converted herself into a dynamic leader at Dharasan as testified by the words of her speech she made before the raid was started "the time has come in my opinion when women can no longer seek immunity behind the shelter of their sex, but must share equally with their men comrades all the perils and sacrifice for the liberation of the country."\textsuperscript{19}

As a leader, her confidence and unafraidness may further be corroborated with her sentiments as expressed at another press statement: "As is quite natural the sense of chivalry of my co-workers, particularly members of the working committee, was greatly perturbed at the idea of permitting me to undertake what by its very nature, must be an onerous task, but when on April 6th Mahatma Gandhi nominated me as one of his successors. I accepted all the implications of the risks as well as of the responsibilities of that high privilege. The leaders assembled at Allahabad also felt that it was inadvisable for me to undertake this task in view of the fact that my presence was needed for other equally important work elsewhere specially in connection with the Hindu Muslim problem, but I felt that I cannot break the word, I have given to Mahatma Gandhi."\textsuperscript{19}

Sarojini Naidu along with her fellow comrades started the raid at Dharasana Salt works in a procession in order to take possession to it on 15 May 1930. The district and
police administration, while feeling helpless how to handle the situation, decided to take passive action against the raiders. Infact, the british officers feared that any tuff action on their part would be exaggerated and publicized as an example of the brutality and rough treatment towards women. Consequently, the entire procession was cordoned off by police persons and not allowed to reach the salt depots. The activist followers got frustrated in their purpose and uncomfortable in the mid day heat as they were left to slowly disperse. The police arrested Sarojini Naidu, drove her out the city and then released her on the same day.20

Though the district administration gained success in dispersing the satyagrahis on 15th May but that was not an end of the movement. Sarojini Naidu while making second call to raid Dharasana salt works launched another Satyagrah on 21 May 1930. She now successfully led a batch of twenty five hundred raiders. A mere looking at the whole event written by Webb Miller, an eye witness, is sufficient for some one to judge the leading capacity of a true nominee of Mahatma Gandhi who was now in jail. It tells that after calling the volunteers for prayer in order to start the march, she exhorted them thus: “Gandhi’s body is in jail but his soul is with you. India’s prestige is in your hand. You must not use any violence under any circumstances. You will be beaten but you must not resist; you must not raise a hand to ward off blows.”21

The volunteers immediately marched ahead at the command of Sarojini and reached near the barbed wire
stockade which were guarded by the police. Earlier, they continued to send their fresh batches in order to take place of injured volunteers who were mercilessly beaten with steel shaft *lathis* by the police but, later on, while changing their tactics, they just sat on the ground near salt pans. The authorities did not tolerate their sitting and started kicking in their abdomen and testicles and lastly began dragging the sitting volunteers by the arms or feet and threw them in the ditches filled with water.\(^{23}\) Sarojini Naidu was arrested the same day i.e., 21 May, 1930. In a message to her comrades, she said explicitly: "Whatever happens, strictly adhere to the law of non-violence. Don't budge an inch from the place you have taken."\(^{24}\) She was released following the Gandhi-Irwin Pact\(^{25}\) signed on March 1931. During the same year, the second Round Table Conference was held in London. She attended the conference as an official representative of the women of India.

On returning to India after attending Round Table Conference in London Gandhi was again arrested on 4 January, 1932. He was confined in Poona Jail, while setting aside Gandhi-Irwin Pact by Lord Willingdon who had joined as successor of Lord Irwin. The reception committee of Congress was also declared unlawful by the government.

Sarojini Naidu, a true Gandhian, again shouldered the responsibility to respond against the attitude of British Government. Infact, it demand her duty to perform on
becoming as acting President of Congress in the same year. She not only made a call to hold the session of the Congress inorder to start the movement again but also shifted the venue of its session to Delhi. On April 20th, she was served with an order directing her no to do any act in furtherance of the Civil Disobedience movement and nor to leave the city limits without the permission of the Commissioner. Avoiding to pay heed to the order of government, she left for Bombay by Frontier Mail. The train was stopped at Bandra, ten miles before Bombay where she was arrested. Later, she was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

**BOMBAY**

The other woman leader of the nationalist movement was Kamla Devi Chattopadhya who launched the Civil Disobedience Movement at Bombay. Rising from the disuading condition even since her child widowhood she not only continued her education but also entered into public life with the support of her second husband Harinder Nath Chattopadhya, brother of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. She always remained active in politics since joining it in 1922. The credit goes to her as first female candidate contesting election for Legislative Assembly of Madras in 1926. Before joining salt satyagraha, she had already been active in preparing masses against British rule through her enthusiastic speeches. She was also associated with various other women organisations. She being an erudite orate could successfully cast the spell of her words on the
audiance. In the same context, while attending the International Congress of Women’s League for peace and freedom held at on Prague 23 August, 1929, she acquainted the audiance with the condition of India. One of her speeches may be worth here quoted to testify her passion toward the freedom of country. When she was presiding over the Youth Conference at Ahmedabad in 1929, in which she complained that “we are very fond of holding ourselves as ready for martyrdom but when the time comes for baring our necks we retreat and say wait till the next flow. Each time, the coward gets the better of it. Start Civil Disobedience, declare an independent republic, establish a parallel Government, do it at any cost.”

The commencement of Civil Disobedience Movement in Bombay was to take peace at Chaupatty, the centre as well as important place of the city. As Dharasana salt works was raided under the leadership of Sarojini, it fell to Kamla Devi to plan a raid on the Wadala, Salt Fields of Bombay City. About the gathering of raiders it has been recorded that in response to an appeal made by Bombay Provincial Congress Committee about 50,000 people assembled at the sea shore at Chowpatty to break the laws. The presence of a large number of Gujarati Women in this crowd was particularly noticable.

The enthusiasm and passion of satyagrahis on the occassion of the day of raid at Bombay has been narrated by Aruna Asaf Ali in her monograph that thousand of
women strode down to the sea like proud warriors. But instead of weapons they bore pitchers of clay, brass and copper; and instead of uniform, the simple cotton sarees of village India. Every passer-by stopped, slipped a coin into their hands and held out proudly a tiny pinch of salt. The Satyagrahis appealed to the rich, going into the cotton, grain, cloth and bullion markets of Bombay with cries of, who will buy the salt of freedom? 'Don't you want the salt of freedom? To raise funds for the movement. The auctioning of the illegally made salt would bring in fabulous sums: one package fetched Rs. 10,000. Women's participation in the salt satyagraha was on a much larger scale than in the non-cooperation movement in a decade earlier."32 Unfortunately before Kamla Devi Chattopadhya took to lead, she was arrested but her parting message to the people was: "Carry on the fight until British Imperialism becomes only a dark shadow of the past; India's freedom will open the gate for world freedom."33 She herself recalls that when she was arrested on the eve of a salt raid, she was to have led in Bombay, "I was represented by my little son of seven, who proudly carried the banner and engaged in the drama of his first battle"34.

It is interesting to note that her trial at court, her courage was so high that she invited the magistrate to buy salt and then started selling salt in court room. She even asked the Magistrate to resign the job and join the Satyagrah army. As a result, she was awarded 6 months imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 150 and three months more under Salt Act and a fine of Rs. 20 or in default two weeks
imprisonment. Both the sentences were to run consecutively. She was put in the 'C' class jail. K. Natarjan, editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, wrote strongly against this harsh treatment when he came to know of it from his daughter who happened to see Kamala Devi in the prison. She was then transferred to the 'B' class. She was released from jail in 1931.

Many a time the political prisoners had to go through a very humiliating condition as they were usually kept in prison along with ordinary women prisoners. For example, in 1932 political prisoners in Bombay were locked up with ordinary women prisoners in Arthur Road Jail. It was only after the political detenues objected on health grounds, because several of the prisoners were prostitutes then they were shifted to another barrack. When women with children in their arms were arrested, only infants under three were allowed to remain with mother. Other children were left on the streets. Jawaharlal Nehru has also testified in his autobiography such type of treatment meted out to such political women prisoners during the *satyagraha*. Kamla Devi as a visionary leader was not among those who wait for the next programme to be sent by top leadership. That is why after her release from jail in 1931, she started preparation again for a bigger fight. While making a whirlwind tour to the country, she activated her seven year old autonomous organisation i.e. the Hindusthani Seva Dal by opening its branches at various places. It is significant to note that as General Officer Commanding of her organisation, she used to
arrange training camps. The course of training included literary education, training in domestic hygiene, child rearing, sewing and spinning, organizing meetings and course of study in Indian History and Geography. The course were designed in such a way that woman could fit themselves as the country expected them to do.\textsuperscript{38}

Women volunteers in Bombay went through rigorous exercises and route marches as part of their training in such a camp at Borivli. This created uprove enve in British Parliament about a "Women's army" being raised in India. The local authorities closed down the Borivli Camp and banned the Seva Dal beside the involemnet in direct agitation and training programes of the Hindustani Seva Dal\textsuperscript{39} Kamla Devi contined to prepare students and youth by addressing their meetings and conferences. She, being Vice Chairman of the Bombay Youth League, presided over the students' conference at Lahore in October 1931. While speaking on such occasion, she condemned the education system. She said, "It is a frame that ill fits us for it is cast in a sinister mould us in slow deliberate manner."\textsuperscript{40}

She exhorted the students to organise study circles and study the political and economic problems and in turn to teach the masses. As a result she was again arrested in 1932 and was sentenced to one year imprisonment.\textsuperscript{41} She joined the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 and presided over its all India Conference at Meerut the very next year.\textsuperscript{42}

\textbf{Boycott and Picketing:} While allowing the direct involvement of women in salt \textit{satyagraha} with a compromis
spirit, Gandhi continuously insisted upon his constructive programme to be strictly followed wherein the area of operation was exclusively reserved for women. Besides salt satyagraha, the other programmes containing prominently seven issues, as earlier discussed in this chapter, were also taken up by activist women followers of Gandhiji. The credit of picketing in Bombay broadly goes to the Des Sevika Sangh which was formed by Hansa Mehta and others. Their picketing was so effective that the government had to declare it illegal.43

It has been well informed by Horace Alexander also to "Through the summer of 1930, "day by day, the streets of Bombay would be livened in the early morning with songs of freedom sung by troupes of patriots rousing the people to action........ Women could be found all over the city, sitting outside the liquor shops and foreign cloth shops, plying their little 'spinning wheels' (called taplis), silently warning every Indian that he must not buy from that shop. Sometimes the stools on which these women sat through the heat of the day were provided by the shopkeepers whose trade they were destroying. Many of the women had never taken any part in public life before. Some came straight out of purdha; at the end of the day, they would have no idea how to go home."44

There were some other prominent women also in Bombay who participated in the great struggle even at their tender age. Johri of the Bombay Youth League, having a remarkable organising capacity, successfully
organised the youngsters into Vanar Sena as twelve-year-old Indira Nehru did in Allahabad. Girls of 10 or 12 would sell prohibited Literature. Women would duplicate illegal news sheets in kitchen and born, act as messengers, write on street walls the news of the day, and picket shops selling foreign clothe and liquor."

The acknowledgment to some other equally important women freedom fighter whose contribution in no way was less important also needs to be made in this regard. Out of them were Jaishri Raiji, Hansa Mehta, Perin Captain, Sofia Somjee, Lilavati Munshi, Manibhen Patel and Khurshedbhen who prominently participated in Civil Disobedience Movement. Hansa Mehta who was an educationist and social reformer became so popular that she was even elected to Bombay Legislative Council. Whereas Lilavati Munshi, like her husband K.M. Munshi, a leading writer in Gujrati and social reformer, played equally and important role in the national movement. Perin Captain who was grand daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji accompanied Hansa Mehta and Lilawati Munshi in the performance of picketing activities taken at their own. They frequently used to visit different shopkeepers and urged them not to sell imported cloth. It was due to their continuous fervant appeals to the customers as well as shopkeepers that the first ten months of 1930 saw as many as 17,000 convictions of women, consequently, the government became so horrified that it had to declare the closing of shop as unlawful act and shopkeepers who found
violating the orders began to be arrested along with picketeers.

Aruna Asaf Ali also informs about the activities of *Des Sevika Sangh* of Bombay which was quite decisive not only in creating favourable opinion among the masses but also picketing in different ways. She further wrote: “There was no doubt that the very presence of a woman in orange was effective. We are asked for the loan of our Sevikas to picket the most unexpected things and places. One set of individuals wanted them to picket the race specials, another asked them to picket the banks to prevent the sale of government paper. An enterprising potato merchant asked the loan of a few sevikas to picket Italian seed potatoes to give indigenous seed potatoes a chance. An artist sent a request to picket the Bombay Art School as, in his opinion, it was vitiating Indian art. A delightful trio of curly-headed boys from one of the largest schools of Bombay, bashful but hopeful asked for a few sevikas to stand at every entrance of the school so that their unheeding companions might be shamed into staying away from school when the congress called for a *hartal*. We controlled the corners of our mouth and hardened our hearts against all these appeals for help.”

The volunteers of *Rashtriya Stri Sabha* also played a significant role in spreading the movement of Swadeshi throughout the city. They made door to door visit in order to get signature for the pledge of swadeshi. However, Gandhi’s ideology was more welcomed in Gujarat and it
developed like a citadel of the campaign as the province was well trained under his direct teachings. That is why Gujarat was the place where the most of the dictators were women who immediately took up command of the movement after the arrest of their male leader.

The activities such as the picketing of cloth, liquor and other foreign goods shops were not so easy as it looked. The women volunteers often had to face very adverse situation, humiliation and sufferings at the hands of the police personnel. The volunteers asked the shopkeepers and traders to stop dealing in foreign clothes which was declared illegal by the government. Henceforth, the women had to suffer of rude behaviour, lathi charges and imprisonment on all the occasions. The behaviour of jail warden and other employees towards those political prisoners as well as the living conditions inside the barracks was usually inhuman and untolerable. The female political prisoners, oftenly, were kept with ordinary criminals in the same barracks and there was hardly one foot distance between each bedding as informed in the statement made by Miss Mani Ben Patel who was imprisoned in the Satyagraha of 1930 and was treated as 'C' class prisoner.\textsuperscript{52} While verifying the living conditions of other political women prisoners in the Jail, she frankly stated: "The criminal may have come from any sort of crime-prostitution-theiving and so forth. They may have venereal diseases, their hair may contain lice, they may smell very badly because of not bathing or keeping their persons clean." she further adds, "there were 77 prisoners
with four babies including 15 to 16 ordinary criminals are locked up in this one barrack measuring 138 ft. 7½ inches by 18 ft. 6 inches, from 5-45 in the evening to 5-45 in the morning. There is one latrine in the barrack which has a door which does not close properly and has no latch. Moreover, 'C' class prisoners are not provided with even one bathroom. They may be sick or having any trouble, but they have to bathe in the open under the sky without any privacy.

The similar living conditions available for political prisoners in lock-up have been explained by another prominent satyagrahi Mrs. Sonawala in her statement given before the court: “We are kept-up in lock up for the last six days. Besides the sort of privacy in it the doors cannot be closed and the room is open on the road side. Policemen walk up and down in front of the room. It is impossible to take bath, answer calls of nature or even change clothes without being seen from outside. There is no facility for taking bath. The room is not even fir for dogs and cattle.” She even registered her awful resentment the magistrate as a matter of shame before thus: “Have you no sisters or mothers? How would you like them to be treated like this....... If you want to have experience of the lock up, you go and stay for a day. If you can not do it atleast you can see it.”

MADRAS

Two women organisations viz All India Women Conference (local branch) and the Hindustan Seva Dal were
quite active in Madras region during the civil disobedience movement. Besides, the *Vanar Sena*, which was originally started in Bombay by Shri Johri from among Youth League Leaders, also did not lag behind in multiplaying its rank and file in the same context.\(^{55}\) The credit for the first lady to be arrested in connection with the Salt Satyagraha goes to Smt. Rukmini Lakshmpati. She, being President of the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee, proved her ability in such a decisive way that the movement spreaded in masses in no time.\(^{56}\)

Durgabai Desmukh was another eminent woman the southern regions where she accelerated her activities during the Salt *Satyagraha* as she was already active in politics since 1921 when she was merely a child. It is worthy of note that she, alongwith her mother, usually went around the town selling *Khadar* during Non-Cooperation Movement.\(^{57}\) Though she had become child widow yet nothing restrained her to do excel in the various fields be it education (post graduated in political science as well as obtained a bachelor degree of law) be it participation in freedom movement, be it social service etc. She was elected a member of Provincial Assembly and later on became a member of the constituent assembly. As a freedom fighter, being an excellent trainer and well versed in Hindi language, she had trained nearly six hundred volunteers to work for Kakinada session of the Indian National Congress 1923. She not only participated in movement but took a lead in preparation of salt openly during the movement, 1930 – 31. Later on, she was
nominated as the second War Dictator after Sri T. Prakasham. She conducted the campaign sending out 80 to 90 volunteers every day. She was arrested for heroic activities at Arcot on 25 May, 1930 and was sentenced to nine months imprisonment which she spent in the Central Jail for Women at Vellore.58

George Slocombe, the editor of the *Daily Herald* wrote on the Wadala Salt raid, “......one of the raiders carried out her mission with quiet dignity, very impressive to behold. It was a woman who emerged from the crowd, climbed through the barbed wire and approached the salt mound, as if it were an alter.”59 It is further added that apart from the breaking of salt law, women also sold packets of salt and auctioned them to raise money.

**BENGAL**

In Bengal region many women organisations along with congress women participated in the salt satyagraha and picketing activities. Many women activists were belonged to leftist and the revolutionary streams also contributed successfully to the nationalist activities in several ways but their broader activities have been discussed in another chapter.

Annual Reports of Police Administration throw ample light on the activities of the Congress women who “organised attempts, seldom successful were made to hoist the Congress flag on Government buildings in the mokussil. An increasing share of the work was taken up by
the women because it was becoming more difficult to find male recruits and the presence of women folk was calculated to prove an embarrassment to the police.\textsuperscript{60} However, the report has been refuted by Man Mohan Kaur in her. She adds in her monograph thus: "Women did not join the ranks primarily to embarrass the police. The distinction of sex never worried the police authorities too much as the women were often punished the same way as men i.e., they were dragged, their procession lathi charged and life sentence passed on some."\textsuperscript{61}

In her referencial statement, the same author, Hem Nalini was hit on the head by a lathi while attending a meeting. Moreover, Samiti and Sunity and Kalyani Das were sentenced to transportation of life for their active participation many women organisations which not only actively participated in the movement but also decisively accelerated it in their respective areas in Bengal province.\textsuperscript{62}

The campaign for salt satyagraha in Bengal was mainly led by Latika Ghosal under the banner of \textit{Mahila Rashtrya Sangh} founded by herself with the help of Subhash Chandra Bose. Her mother who was nominated as the first President of the organisation was also in the lead role alongwith Latika Ghosal in opening the branches of the body at various district headquarters. Modern Review, while testifying the breaches of salt laws, gleans that the women workers of this organisation were resorted to prepare salt through simple act of evaporation of water.
at see shores side districts. Besides Salt Satyagraha, boycott of govt. added schools and colleges continued and the women workers of this organisation were active in such activities. So far as the picketing of foreign cloth shops was concerned, Arunbala Sen led the movement in the bara Bazar area. One may significantly note, that owing to their result oriented efforts, the trade of foreign cloth came to an end during the period of the movement.63

Nari Satyagraha Committee was another main organisation which also played a vital role in the Salt Satyagraha. The women workers of this organisation were well guided and supervised by a women leader namely Smt. Urmila Das who was its presidents. She was the sister of Deshbandhu C.R. Das. The important workers of the body were Mohini Devi, Samiti Das and Bimal Prativa Devi as its secretaries. One of their success was that for the first time in the annals of Calcutta, the game of football was abandoned on this day owing to lady picketeers who presented themselves at the club Tents.64

They also took out processions violating government orders in this regard. Although the police made all efforts to disuade them threatening accept their arrests. Bengal seemed to play an overall leading role in national movement. Infact, the people of this region had already have benefited by the cultural renaissance as compare to other parts of the country. Consequently, the elevated level of morality and understanding no time in bringing the other organisations closer to form a joint front. In
Calcutta, a Ladies Picketing Board was formed in May 1931 and several women organisations such as *Nari Satyagraha Committee*, *Rashtriya Mahila Sangh*, *Nikhil Jatiya Nari Sangh* not only to broke the salt laws but also sent batches of women for picketing and courting arrest. The Board aimed at the performance of following assignments in accordance with the direction of National Congress and in collaboration with Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.\(^{65}\)

To generate the feelings of anti foreign goods and promotion of home made goods by helping to develop cottage industries specially that of spinning and weaving Khadi; to persuade masses for their involvement in procession and meeting for the national cause including the feelings of liberty and equality of nations; to achieve the target of formation of egalitarian society through eradication of untouchability and last but not least to make more and more active membership of the Congress.\(^{66}\)

The assignments allotted to members of the Board were divided in many sections order to make the programme successful. The aspect of peaceful picketing in different markets and shops against the sale of all foreign goods, especially cloth, was assigned to boycott and picketing section of the Board.\(^{67}\) On the other hand, members of the *Swadeshi Prachar* section had to promote the interests of the *swadeshi* goods among masses especially the swadeshi cloth made of. Besides enlisting of women workers to join the boards activities as well as their membership of the
National Congress were also to be accelerated by the members of this Board.\(^{68}\) It is significant to note that the whole planning was to be operated along with the requirements of morning routines for every Indian male/female so that they could mentally be prepared for the use of swadeshi goods. The programmes of boycotting and picketing of foreign goods and popularisation of home made goods was carried out in accordance with the morning *prabhat pheris* as an exclusive job assigned to the section which was meant for the same purpose.\(^{69}\)

The Constructive Programmes were continuously taken up on equal footing as a separate section formed for the workers in order to strengthen Gandhian ideology in the society. The workers of this section\(^ {70}\) required to secure and demonstrate *Charkhas and Taklis*. Besides, they had also to ensure for the spinners to get in touch with market for the yarn spun by them. Moreover, they also supposed to help to manufacture handmade goods of all sorts and also ensure to get market for the same. Establishing *ashram* for spinning yarn by little girls and boys was also another duty to be performed by them. The members of the general section were assigned to hold meetings and taking out procession etc. Though this scheme was very comprehensive but the women of this province did a lot to make it a success in various parts of the Bengal.\(^ {71}\)

The six resolutions were passed at the same conference held at Commilla where this was presided over by Urmila Devi. These resolutions were aimed at (a) urging
the need for the formation of Mahila Samities: (b) Promoting the boycott of foreign good; (c) Establishing Hindu Muslim unity; (d) Bringing about the removal of untouchability and Purdah; (e) Demanding open trial of detenus still rotting in jail; and (f) Asking the ladies to support the Congress cause. Hemprabha who was President as well as first dictator of Tippera District Congress Committee was arrested. The charges of anti-government activities were levelled against her for taking out procession. So far as the punishment was concerned, she was sentenced to one year imprisonment for leading a procession and six months more for distributing unauthorized Congress bulletins. Both the sentences were to run simultaneously.

ORISSA

Owing to the passing of Lahore resolution by the All India Congress Committee, the Oriyan Congressmen and Women, did not lag behind in participating in different activities during the national movement. Like other provinces of India, the Independence pledge and the hoisting tricolour flag ceremony in the morning on 26th January 1930 at Lingraj temple, Bhubneswar began to taken place. Both hoisting tricolour flag and the proclamation of pledge was also held at Ramadevi’s residence in the evening on the same day.

The independence day was also celebrated on the same day as resolved at Lahore Congress. Both the men and woman registered their anguishness by sacrificing their
lives in India's struggle under theleadership of Gandhi for
the liberation of their motherland.

The provincial committee i.e. OPCC while deciding to
start the Civil Disobedience Movement on 16th March
1930, directed the DCCs to recruit the volunteers for the
same purpose. Inchudi at Balasore district and Kujang in
Cuttack district became two most important centres where
the salt laws were broken. The first meeting was held
under the presidentship of Kedarnath Roy on the river
bank of Kathojodi on 5th April. It was attended by more
than five thousand people.

The Civil Disobedience Movement, infact, was begun
on 13th April, 1930 when satyagrahis broke the salt laws
under the leadership of Acharya Harihar who was arrested
the same day for the compliance of 144 Cr. PC imposed by
government. At the initial stage, it gained momentum due
to the efforts of the prominent women leaders like Rama
Devi, Malati Devi, Gouri Devi, Subhadra Devi, Sarla Devi
etc on. About 1500 rural women took part in the
procession of Satyagraha with blowing conches. While
amidst the salt preparation, police mercilessly charged
Lathi on the batch of women activists who were led by
Kiranbala, Rama Devi, Kokila Devi, Subhadra Devi and
Malati Devi. The similar type of action was taken by
police at Sundarichak four miles away from Balasore where
women of neighbouring villages came for help and nursed
the wounded Satyagrahis under the supervision of Rama
Devi and Sarla Devi. On 21 April, 30 women of Kuantpur
joined the Salt *Satyagraha* and thousand flocked to see them and hundreds of volunteers of different villagers manufactured mound of salt at different centres.\(^{81}\)

The other important centres where salt laws were broken during the movement were Tundra, Koligam, Rasulpur and Kasha, etc. Huge quantity of salt which was manufactured at these centres was brought by volunteers to Balasore for sale.\(^{82}\) Two processions of *Satyagrahis* were intercepted by police at this time. The movement was in full swing as even admitted by the government that campaign had been pushed more energetically in Balasore than it had been in Bihar.\(^{83}\)

Another prominent centre of Salt *Satyagraha* was Inhudi which had second place in the history of this movement after Gujarat.\(^{84}\) It is significant to mention here about a big meeting of women was held on 22nd April under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Kumudini Dasgupta at Cuttack inorder to generate patriotic fever among women and to enroll them as *Satyagrahis*.\(^{85}\) After returning from Balasore *Satyagraha*, Rama Devi also organised a similar type of meeting on 18th June at Nabapatana which was attended by a large number of women.\(^{86}\)

The failure of movement at Kujang, which as a big salt centre, led the arrested of male leaders, the command was taken by the women leaders. The salt was prepared in pots by women under the guidance of Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Rama Devi, Malati Choudhary, Smt. Praful Kumari Hota alongwith members of monkey brigade (*Banar Sena*).\(^{87}\) It is
worthy of note that Rani Bhagyawati Devi, the queen of Kujang, not only welcomed the *Satyagrahis* but also joined them. By sheer of her inspiration, about 500 women along with children came out with baskets and rags to collect salt. They all went to Gondakipur and broke the salt law. Where the police remained a silent spectator.

Rama Devi visited Bari where she encouraged the women for joining *Satyagraha*. She delivered inspiring speeches there. The women leaders at Bari who followed her were Priyambada Devi, Susila Devi, Harapriya Devi, Usha Devi, Kumudini Devi, etc. and they were arrested on the ground of disobedience of Civil Law. Similarly, sites of Puri district such as Astarang, Chilika, Latra, Singheswari, Mandanki, etc, witnessed the breaches of salt laws under the leadership of Pandit Nilkantha Das. Smt. Nismani Devi had also inspired the women on these sites where the women not only joined the movement but also promised not to wear foreign clothes.

Gunamanjari Devi also successfully visited various sites like Nuagaon, Chandanpur, Biswanathpur, etc. and prepared hundreds of women to join the movement.

On 7th May 1930, Malati Devi and Rama Devi were arrested while addressing a public meeting at Cuttack which was organised in response to the arrest of Gandhi on 5th May.

Similarly, the district of Sambalpur was led by Jambhupati Devi where numerous women joined the
Satyagraha because of her efforts. On 20th April, fifteen Telgu Satyagrahis from Behrampur started to manufacture salt at Kotbombali under the leadership of Ramalingam Pantulu, Chairman, Behrampur municipality. Some other women from Parlakhemundi and Chicacole also joined under the supervision of Smt. P.Taraama and Suryama. Later on, Salt campaign in Ganjam took off of a mass upsurge due to effective leadership of Niranjan Patnaik, Smt. Malati Devi who encouraged the man and women for joining the satyagraha and liberally gave donations to Congress fund. The credit for raising Congress fund goes to Kundlata who initially herself donated her ornaments to Sarala Devi and persuaded others also for donations. Laxmi Devi and her daughters also joined the movement and they were tortured by the police. The Union Jack was burnt by the activists like Jogaya Pantulu, Laxmi Bai, etc. for which they were arrested.

The continuous breach of salt laws at centres like Ganjam, Huma, Laxmipur, Pallibandha, Jayantigarh, etc., Sarala Devi along with other male members was arrested under act 117 of Penal Code and sentenced to six month imprisonment for which she remained in Vellore Jail. She was given honour by the people of Behrampur for her heroism and kept on observing hartal and a mass procession on 1 June, 1930. She was released from Jail on 8 December, 1930. On her release, a meeting was held under the presidency of Smt. Binapani Devi in order to give warm welcome to Sarla Devi. The leaders delivered nationalitic speeches and burnt the British flag. In this
manner, the east coast of Orissa from Inchudi to Ganjam, manufacture of contraband salt continued with vigour and enthusiasm till the advent of rainy season wherein hundreds of women plunged into the movement.

Besides field activists, some women writers also plunged into the battle of freedom in order to prove that pen in no way was less fighter than a sword for the national cause. In this regard, the names of Kuntala Kumari Sabat, Annapurna Devi and Debahuti are unforgettable who being versatile genius successfully infused the ideals of freedom among the people of Orissa. Kuntala Kumari Sabat, being inspired from Gandhi’s ideology and inspiration of Bal Gangadhar Tilak revealed that the miserable socio-economic condition of the country was outcome of British maladministration and, therefore, raising the voice against British raj was inevitable.102

Her another poetice composition sphulinga103 was imbuded with full of ideas of developing national consciousness among oriyan women. Her Visionary analysis may be witnessed in her poetic work Ahwan wherein she unspired through her writings in order to awaken the young boys and girls for national cause she equates there the flow of everlasting water of river Phalgue with the flow of blood in their veins. In her writings, she even blames them as hidden heroes in home out of shyness and despair so that they could cope up from such a situation.

Another prominent name in women litteraleurs was Annapurna Devi who also infused a revolutionary zeal in
the heart of people not only through her poetic lyrics namely work *Jagran* but also through her nationalist speeches as well. Infact, it was her literary ability. The editing work of a leading Journal of her time, *Sahakar* was given to her. Beside giving a new life, shape and vigour to it she also ably united the writers of Orissa for the nationalist cause. Both her leadership qualities and poetic abilities can be well ascertained from the articles which were published then in the *Telegraph*. During the struggle for the creation of a separate province of Orissa, she put forth the demand for the same before the Philip-Duff-Committee in a bold manner. Through her poems she tried to free the women from all types of social customs that restrict their freedom. The poetess Debahuti was also very active in pro freedom writings during this period. She published her poetic works in *Mukur and Sahakar*, etc. which were nationalistic in character.

**Boycott and Picketing**

At the outset of Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa region, 17 ladies belonging to respectable Hindu families enrolled themselves as volunteers to start picketing the liquor and cloth shops. Later on, more and more women joined the programme. Actions and reactions in regard to boycott, picketing as well as the arrest and imprisonment went side by side. For example, Malati Devi was sent to jail for two month, Rama Devi while picketing in front of foreign cloth shop at Calcutta was sentenced six month imprisonment and Smt. Surama
W/o Venkata Narayan, a prominent Oriyan leader, on picketing at Behrampur was given imprisonment for six months.\textsuperscript{109}

One significant feature of the movement may be noticed was that the social boycott of all government officers and policemen took place against those who were on salt prevention duty and they could nothing but to depend entirely on their supplied.\textsuperscript{110} As per the process of picketing programme which was carried mainly by women volunteers as reported in government reports regarding Cuttack and Balasore\textsuperscript{111} they approached the shoppers to sign a pledge promising not to sell any foreign cloth, liquor and other foreign goods, etc. They picketed only those shops that refused to sign such pledges. Owing to the picketing of clothes as well as liquor sales dramatically declined as admitted by government in its report.\textsuperscript{112}

The spining as well as weaving \textit{Khadi} were not only inevitable in the direction of accomplishment of Gandhi's \textit{satyagraha} but were equally important for the economic and moral salvation of the country as well. To make the programme success women leaders like Rama Devi and Sarala Devi while popularising \textit{Charkha} and \textit{Khadi} set an example for others by wearing \textit{Khadi saree}. Kamla Devi was apparently the first lady to address a public meeting wearing a \textit{Khadi saree}. Similarly, Subhadra Mahatab along with her husband Hare Krishan Mahatab reorganised the Gandhi \textit{Karma Mandir} at Agarpara and started Khadi work.\textsuperscript{113}
The people even did not lag behind in the programme of nonpayment of tax and thus refused to pay Chowkidari tax. When the police threatened to apply force, the people at Srijang even mandhandled the policemen. Consequently, they had to face indiscriminate arrest, brutal assault, plunder, rape, torture and confiscation of property along with the imposition of a fine tax by district administration. On receiving such news, women leaders like Rama Devi, Sarala Devi and Malati Devi rushed towards Srijang and disobeyed the law and condemned the severe oppression of the British Raj.

The participation of teenagers (below 16) under the banner of Banar Sena was another notable contribution of the Civil Disobedience Movement. They popularised khadi, distributed Congress bulletin, carried letters, cooked food, pasted posters and circulated leaflets and pamphlets. Anapurna, the daughter of Rama Devi played an important role in the monkey brigade when Rama Devi was touring Balikuda to popularise the Civil Disobedience Movement. Her daughter collected subscription for the Congress fund.

Many girls were also active in Banar Sena. They moved on the road with their Banar Sena singing heart touching and patriotic songs. Annapurna Devi often got encouragement from Gandhiji through his letters for popularising the Khadi and Charkha programmes in Orissa. Under the leadership of Annapurna Devi, many other girl students also joined Banar Sena intensifying the
Congress activities. The government took stern action against *Banar Sena* but they could not suppress their patriotic spirit and sentiment of the young girls.

**UTTAR PRADESH**

The main lead into Salt *Satyagraha*, when spreaded in Uttar Pradesh was taken by the women of Nehru family. At Allahabad particular, the whole Nehru family had plunged into the movement. It has been well informed that by the middle of April 1930, twenty seven out of forty eight districts government officials were given special powers to reach under salt act in Uttar Pradesh. At Handia (a tehsil headquarter about 32 kilometres east of Allahabad, over ten thousand people gathered to witness the historical event of salt laws breaking which was accomplished by Congress volunteers. The woman leader Kamla Devi Nehru herself manufactured the salt at the Katra crossing in Allahabad in association with Swaroop Rani, Pandit Narsingh Dayal etc. The newly made salt was auctioned by Uma Nehru who after leading a march to the manufacturing ground held a meeting also at the same place. It was presided over by Swaroop Rani who made a special impact on the masses through her dynamic speech dedicated to motherland.

The salt was prepared at Kanpur also under the leadership of members of Nehru family members. Infact, Vijaya lakshmi Pandit and Krishna Nehru while visiting Kanpur not only prepared salt from sea water brought from the coast but also encouraged the women alongwith the
singing a song *Jhanda Ucha Rahe Hamara, Vijayi Visva Tiranga Hamara*.\textsuperscript{125} In this way, nearly all the district of the United Provinces got involved in the activities for the national cause.

The district authority of united provinces though did not directly restrict the women leaders and the volunteers from breaking the salt laws but certainly came out with an indirect way to make a control on such activities. They circulated and addressed a letter to the zamindars not to allow the salt to be manufactured otherwise they would be fined.\textsuperscript{126} Further, the reaction of the district authority in regard to male and female volunteers varied. In fact, male volunteers were arrested without hesitation whereas females were indirectly encouraged to lead the procession as testified in one instance which took place in Faizabad wherein men who were manufacturing the salt were immediately arrested while only a strict eye was kept on the women performing a similar task.\textsuperscript{127}

Beside salt *Satyagraha* the boycott of foreign clothes was equally enthusiastically acceded to by *satyagrahi* women of Uttar Pradesh. It has been correctly analysed, that three ideas were interwoven though not shared by all middle-class women: the *Charkha* as a symbol of nationalism, as a symbol of economic efficiency and as a symbol of respectability.\textsuperscript{128} However, for somewomen, the *Charkha* was just another household item like other domestic object for them the *Charkha* had no political significance and no political symbol attached with it. In
picketing foreign cloth shops also, the ladies of Nehru family took lead. For example, the task of organising volunteers in Kanpur was initiated by Kamla Nehru and Mrs. Jawahar Lal Rohtagi. The volunteers marched to the streets carrying placards which proclaimed, 'Trade in foreign cloth is sucking the life blood of India'.

In Lucknow, the campaign was led by Suniti Debi Mitra whose efforts not only successfully persuaded the shopkeepers for closing the sale of foreign clothes but some customers even returned the clothes they had bought from the Chowk Bazaar. The task of picketing relied on the social pressure it could exert and the women were often drawn from the same caste as the men frequenting the stores. In certain places there was a social boycott with the help of caste panchayats of merchants who refused to comply.

Agra seemed to be the most significant town where the sale of foreign clothes was decisively disrupted by the volunteers under the leadership of Parvati Devi, Sukhdevi Paliwal and Damyati Devi. Their activists managed to get 150 signatures on pledge of the shopkeepers declaring not to sell foreign clothes for six months. It is interesting to note that on the insistence of Sukhdevi Paliwal, temple pujaris in Ferozabad clothed their deities in khadi and some temples even stopped the entry of people wearing foreign cloth.

At Nauchandi Mela in Meerut, foreign cloth was boycotted by the and this set women for fourteen hours a
day on dharna.\textsuperscript{135} It was declared that if a woman leader or an activist was arrested on any occasion, the Mahila Satyagraha Samiti of Meerut would organise a bonfire of foreign cloth. Poems of Govind Ram Gupta were read out on such dharnas where printed leaflets were distributed.\textsuperscript{136} At the end of each day, the foreign clothes were burnt in public bonfires. This was referred to as 'holi', the name of an Indian festival that celebrates the victory as the good over evil. The 'good' here was regarded the Indian nation and the evil was the power of the colonial ruler. Stopping the sale of foreign cloth and wearing home spun cloth were a means of support for the national boycott as well as symbolic acts of pride in the indigenous industries. The public burning of cloth referred to as 'holi' which was also an instance of 'propaganda by deed', used effectively by the Congress for mobilisation.\textsuperscript{137}

The British officers responded negatively on two levels in regard to the movement. Firstly, they would dismiss picketing as tamasha or spectacle; and, secondly, undermine the nationalist leanings of volunteers by referring to them as 'professional agitators' or extremists. In relation to women's participations and subsequent conviction in the United Provinces, the Meerut Commissioner mentioned that women were 'possessed of less sober judgement' and more and more led away what they see in the paper.\textsuperscript{138}

Even though the British Government expressed a political concern which was reflected through a tightening of the ordinances. The Prevention of intimidation
ordinance of 1930 was expanded to include 'molestation' 'boycott' and 'unlawful instigation', 'to deal with cloth and liquor shop picketers' in Muzaffarnagar, Dehradun, Bulandshahr and Saharnpur.¹³⁹

Though picketing was successful as there were broader issues that could be discerned for the official correspondence as testified on the police assistance and protection from the picketeers asked for by Muslim shopkeepers but the Hindu shopkeepers never asked for such help. However, the nationlist Musalman Nisar Ahmed Sherwani of Aligarh unanimously made everybody agree through a resolution that Musalmans should not in any way stand in the way of the Congress.¹⁴⁰

What is significant to note is that Hindu picketers did respect the religious sentiments of Muslims to a greater extent by not picketing during Moharram and Bakr-I-Id. On the other hand, some Hindu merchants who saw the 'brisk sale' of foreign cloth by Muslim shop owners resisted Congress demands to seal their foreign stocks.¹⁴¹ Alongwith foreign cloth, cigarette and handkerchief and hosiery shops were also picketed. Some local Muslim leaders like Mushir Husain Qidwai, Haifz Hidayat Husain and Hafiz Usman made efforts and even persuaded some Muslims in Saharanpur join hands with the Hindus in the movement.¹⁴² On the other hand some meetings also witnessed an anti-muslim stance due to the Arya Samaj Committees.¹⁴³

The picketing of liquor shops was an inevitable target of volunteers not only for national and domestic economy
but also for maintenance for peace at home, where women had drunken husbands, as insisted upon by Gandhi himself. The most intense picketing took place at Firozabad in Agra where male and female volunteers sat on a dharna before 22 to 23 shops which was successful since the sale of liquor declined.

In Agra district, in small towns such as Pinhat, Faizabad Samshabad etc. volunteers began destroying palm trees from which toddy was prepared. Similarly, at Tagapur they cut down the toddy trees while at Manoharpur and Sikandpur, zamindars pledged not to lease out their toddy trees. Besides, the auctions of liquor shops were also disrupted at the time it was in process. The programme of picketing at liquor shops was carried out alongwith the popular slogan of time, 'Toddy bacha hai hai' (Toddy babies be doomed, be doomed).

Alongwith women, students and youths also played a significant part in the movement. A significant feature in this regard was the formation of youth league. Volunteers belonging to this organisations played a praiseworthy role in closing down educational institutions. From July to August 1930, the universities at Allahabad, Lucknow and Banaras stopped functioning.

PUNJAB

Although the leadership of Punjab Congress Committee was already quite alert and active on the call of Gandhi. The holding of Provincial conference at Rohtak on
8th and 9th March 1929,\textsuperscript{149} under the Presidentship of Dr. Satyapal, for the celebration of 'Independence Day' on 26 January 1930 as well as the celebration of All India Martyr's day (30 March 1930) at different places\textsuperscript{150} may be cited to testify their interest towards the freedom struggle. However, the Salt \textit{Satyagraha} could not be launched because of non-availability of sea water in Punjab as per the opinion of the provincial leadership of Punjab Congress Committee.

Infact, it was because of Nehru's decisive persuasion during his visit to Gujranwala, where he addressed the conference in which he angrily said, "Everywhere else the movement has started but you are still debating. What is matter?" When the women pointed out that Punjab is not near the sea, Jawarha Lal Nehru said, "Don't be silly, you may not be near the sea but you have a big river, the \textit{Ravi} and breaking the Salt law is only a symbol."\textsuperscript{151} Consequently, the \textit{Satyagraha Committee} was formed at the same conference and 13 April 1930, (the day of Baisakhi) was fixed for beginning of \textit{Satyagraha} in Punjab.\textsuperscript{152} But, thereafter, the date was changed to 11 April. A huge meeting with an audience of 40,000 people was organised a day before i.e. 10th April at Lahore to ensure the success of the programme. Puran Devi recited a patriotic song on this occasion.\textsuperscript{153}

The salt law was broken next day in Punjab on the bank of river Ravi (as inspired by Nehru) in a huge gathering on 11 April 1930, under the leadership of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Mohammed Alam.\textsuperscript{154} The work was
accomplished through evaporating two bucketful of salty water over five stoves along with patriotic songs and thundering shouts of "Gandhi Ki Jai". After preparation, the contraband salt was auctioned - the first packet to the highest bidder, Raizada Hansraj, for Rs. 25. The enthusiasm, at the site, was so great that a young girl of 16, Kumari Shanti Devi Govil offered herself as a volunteer to break the salt law. The event was witnessed not only on 11 April but continued on 12 and 13 April as well whereon the people came out with the slogan Nimak Ka Kanun for dia salt law is broken.

In the same way, the salt Satyagraha movement was undertaken in various parts of the place in Punab. Some of important events may be cited in this regard. For example, the sale of contraband salt was fetched Rs. 10000 for 36 packets at Amritsar on 13 April 1930, women offered their gold rings to purchase the salt. At Rewari, a twelve years old girl, Kasturi Bai purchased the so called contraband salt for Rs. 60 which she had collected through her paltry savings at the rate of two paisa a day. A Sialkot women, Damyanti Devi also purchased the salt for Rs. 135 the highest bid. Similarly, at Ambala, salt was prepared under the leadership of Kumari Vidyawati, daughter of Lala Duni Chand, and at Jullundur, women volunteers took part in the salt Satyagraha under the leadership of Mrs. Hansraj.

The movement during April - May 1930 had not only become a symbol of protest but also developed as magnetic force wherein. Even the purdah nashin women
belonging to various regions of the province discarded *purdah* to join the movement.\textsuperscript{163} For example, Begum Alam whose husband was arrested during the first phase of the movement came out of her forty year's purdah and took the place of her husband and addressed a public meeting at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore.\textsuperscript{164}

Similarly after the arrest of Comrade Hussain Shah, his wife Begum Fatima and his sister, while discarding the veils, joined the movement.\textsuperscript{165} Prominent women who assumed the role of leadership in Punjab were Smt. Lado Rani Zutshi, Smt. Puran Devi, Smt. Parvati Devi of kamalia, Smt. Gyan Devi, Smt. Durga Devi, Smt. Kartar Kaur, Smt. Amar Kaur, Mrs. Hansraj, Smt. Vidyawati and Smt. Raghbir Kaur.\textsuperscript{166}

Besides Salt Satyagraha, Punjabi women actively took part in *hartals* and processions also. Such processions and meetings etc. were organised by women activists themselves at almost all the main towns/cities of the province in order to popularise *swadesi* and to propagate the programme of the Congress.\textsuperscript{167} Regarding the observation of *hartals* the incidences at Lahore, Multan, Ludhiana, etc. are noteworthy where the boy and girl students observed fast and refused to attend the classes on 5 and 6 May, 1930.\textsuperscript{168} Similarly they observed complete *hartal* to protest against the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.\textsuperscript{169} On 8 October 1930, the girl students at many places in the Punjab observed *hartals* to protest against the conviction and death sentences passed on the three revolutionaries Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev.\textsuperscript{170}
Besides seditious speeches, patriotic national songs were also sung in the meetings and processions by women volunteers in order to arouse the feelings of nationalism and patriotism among the common people. Prominent women singers were Smt. Bhagwati, Smt. Puran Devi, Smt. Jamna Devi, Begum Fatima, Mrs. Dunichand and Shushila Mohan. Some of them were even arrested also like Jamna Devi of Amritsar who was sentenced to two month's imprisonment.

The boycott of foreign goods and cloth being integral part of Satyagraha movement was also taken at hand by the women volunteers of Punjab like other provinces. At the outset two huge processions were organised at Lahore on 20 April 1930, carrying effigies of Lancashire, Manchester and buyer of foreign cloth. The volunteers were carrying different placards appealing to the people not to purchase foreign cloth and insisting upon to use swadeshi and khaddar. In the procession, six donkeys dressed in foreign clothes, hat on their heads with posters "Rai Sahib Khota Mall" were also carried. At the end of procession, Dr. Syed Mohammad set fire to the huge heap of foreign clothes amidst thundering shouts of 'Jai'. On 26 April 1930, about one thousand women followed by men, paraded the streets of Lahore and appealed for boycott of foreign cloth. Mrs, Lado Rani Zutshi lighted the heap of foreign clothes collected on the way by processionists. Similar procession was carried out at Amritsar also and a huge bonfire of foreign cloth was made at Jallianwala Bagh.
At Multan, Smt. Lajwanti appealed to the women to boycott foreign cloth and people positively responded to her appeal. At Lahore, Begum Alam enthusiastically addressed the gathering of women at Arya Samaj Mandir to boycott foreign cloth and use of Khaddar as reported by the Bombay Chronicle. The girls of Lady Maclagan Girls School of Lahore passed a resolution to boycott foreign clothes and to wear khaddar in school hours. Picketing of foreign cloth shops were also started in Lahore and other parts of Punjab. A separate committee of women was formed in this regard. So far as the impact of such picketings were concerned, it may be said that 'Lahore Cloth Merchants Association' warned the London Chamber of Commerce, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and the Hemburg Chamber of Commerce sternly: “We cannot accept any foreign order as there is no chance of any sale in future. The boycott of foreign goods is the order of the day and whosoever dares to go against the current is himself boycotted and his business premises and house are picketed specially by ladies.”

At Amritsar, women volunteers commenced picketing of foreign cloth shops on 23 May 1930 and got signed the pledge even in front of police. At Jullundur picketing was carried under the leadership of Mrs. Hansraj and Bibi Rajinder Kaur whereas Shanti Sagar performed the same duty at Ludhiana. The shopkeepers dealing in foreign cloth at Ferozepur also faced the same wrath of women volunteers. At Lahore, the foreign cloth dealers agreed to
stop the sale of foreign cloth for three months with effect from 15 July 1930 at the demand of the Congress.\textsuperscript{184}

Similar negotiation was made between the cloth Merchand Association and Congress leaders that they would not sell and purchase foreign cloth upto 15 October 1930, provided the Congress modify its pledge that from October, no restriction would be imposed. However, on refusing to accept any such condition by Congress leaders such as Abdul Qadir, Dr. Gopi Chand and Pt. K.Satnam the negotiation failed and the volunteers started picketing again on 23 July 1930.\textsuperscript{185} In this way, women played an important role in picketing shops saling the foreign cloth at Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Sialkot, Jhelum, Gujranwala and Ambala etc.

Another decisive step which was taken to make the movement was picketing at religious places like Mandir, Gurdwaras, Shrines and compound of melas wherein the entry of people wearing foreign clothes was not allowed by women picketeers. The towns like Lahore, Amritsar, Ambala, Ludhiana, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Multan, Hoshiarpur, Gujranwala and several other small town witnessed the picketings.\textsuperscript{186} The government imposed ban on them bt imposing Section 144 inorder to prevent such activities.\textsuperscript{187} However, women pickteers could not be detered and continued picketings.\textsuperscript{188}

The picketing at the Assembly at Shimla was also carried out under the leadership of Man Mohini Zutshi, Shakuntala Devi, her younger sister Avinash and Shiama
Zutshi, Mrs. Dunichand from *Punjab Congress Committee* and Mrs. N.L.Verma, Smt. Satyawati and Mrs. Gandamal from Shimla Congress Committee on 9 July 1930. They took out the small flags hidden in their khadi sarees. When the Viceroy Lord Irwin came to inaugurate the session of the Assembly, women shouted slogan like "No peace yet", *Inquilab Zindbad*, "Up with Revolution" and "Gandhi Ki Jai". Women also displayed placards on which it was written "your dagger is so lovely Mr. Viceroy, use it upon us".\(^{189}\) In response of the government, they were lathi charged by the hill police. Next day on 10 July 1930, women picketed Longwood Hotel, the residence of the members of the Assembly and houses of M.L.A.'s Mr. S.C.Mitter and Mr. Amarnath Dutt who did not attend the assembly on women's persuasion.\(^{190}\)

The election process of Punjab Legislative Council was also disrupted, at Sialkot by Women picketers under the leadership of Kumari Vidyawati.\(^{191}\) Similarly, women volunteers of Hindustan Seva Dal picketed the University Hall at Shimla, consequently, only a few could cast their vote.\(^{192}\) Smt. Luxmi Chand of Ambala picketed at Morinda, a small town, with her team of women volunteers on 12 September 1930. As a result, only 17 votes were secured out of 970.\(^{193}\) The school girl volunteers also carried out picketing at various towns. The Hindustani Sewal Dal girl volunteers picketed the local girls school at Lahore on 30 June 1930 and *swadesi* cloth. Amongh picketeer was a Mohammedan girl also.\(^{194}\) At Ambala also, the women volunteers wistigated the local students to
come out and did not let the teachers enter the school compound. On 8 October 1930, the S.D.College, the D.A.V. College, the D.A.V. School, the Dayal Singh College, Lahore, were closed down as a protest against the conviction and sentences passed on Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru. But the government Institutions were not closed. The picketeers in Lahore belonged to the Students Union under the leadership of Manmohini Zutshi (President of Union). As a result, seventeen women including three Zutshi sisters were arrested for defying the govt. ordinances.

Picketing of Liquor shops by women volunteers of Punjab was also organised at many places of the province. On 2 July 1930, a large number of women demonstrated infront of liquor shops and the houses of liquor sellers in Lahore under the banner of Anti Drink Sabha and its main leaders were Lado Rani Zutshi and Smt. Puran Devi. At Ludhiana, the wife of Shanti Sagar and other women came forward to picket the liquor shops after the arrest of male volunteers. At Jullundur, women took out a procession in the street singing national songs, asking people to boycott liquor. At Nawan Shahr too, women took their full share in the movement. Similarly, a group of local ladies at Jhelum organised a peaceful picketing of liquor shops in June 1930. At Gujranwala also, two women picketed liquor vender's house and did not allow anyone to take liquor from the house. Two ladies, Smt. Gian Devi and Smt. Dhan Devi were arrested on 9 August 1930 while picketing liquor shops at Lyallpur.
In case of picketing failed to persuade the cloth shopkeeper/merchants and liquor venders to stop their sale the Congress volunteers restored to the method of *siapa* or mock mourning in front of the shops or liquor store or at the house of their owners: Effigies of the recalcitrant merchant liquor sellers were burnt and all the usual morning ceremonies were performed in front of their houses. On 23 July 1930, a group of men and women volunteers performed such *siapa* in front of the house of a man who had tried to smuggle foreign cloth. At Multan also, women performed *siapa* at the shop of a silk merchant who had reported the police for not allowing him to enter a temple. Similarly, a *siapa* was performed in September 1930, in front of *Rallia Ram Bhurian Wala*’s residence who had refused to accept the Congress terms. The police while responding to his report arrested nine women volunteers including wife of Sunder Singh, Smt. Vidyawati, Smt. Kartar Kaur and Smt. Atma Devi. At Amritsar, cloth merchant Messrs Dhano Mal and Mohan Lal’s families were socially boycotted by the women volunteers when they did not stop the sale of foreign cloth. The women volunteers asked the sweepers not to clear the house of such people. C.L. Nayar, a big businessman of Lahore and his partners shut down the business under the pressure of the social boycott.

Besides the prohibition of sale/purchase of foreign clothes, sternuous efforts were made to popularise *swadeshi* in Punjab. At Lyallpur and Ludhiana, processions were led by the women almost everyday. Gian
Devi took a leading role in Lyallpur in this regard. Almost at every place of the province, women joined these processions in large number to popularise swadeshi.\textsuperscript{204} In order to carry out an intensive propaganda, women formed Mahila Khaddar Parcharini Sabha and Swadeshi Pracharini Sabha at Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Taran Taran, Jhelum, Lyallpur and Ambala.\textsuperscript{205}

The anti-British speeches of women and processions alarmed the Punjab Government that led to the arrest of women activists by the end of May 1930. At Jullundur Rajinder Kaur, Amar Kaur, Phul Kaur and Bhagwan Kaur of Ropar were arrested, under section 108 Cr.P.C. and sent to judicial lock up. Similarly, main leaders like Lado Rani, Vidyawati, Durga Devi, Usha Devi, Ram Piari, Raghbir Kaur, Atma Devi, Saraswati Devi, Kartar Kaur were also arrested under various sections such as 17-A, 108, 123, 124-A and 506 of Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code.\textsuperscript{206}

It is significant to note that Lado Rani Zutshi on refusal to furnish a bail of Rs. 10,000 was awarded one year simple imprisonment.\textsuperscript{207} Further, in month of October 1930, her three daughters were also arrested. The official estimate of the Civil Disobedience prisoners undergoing imprisonment in jails of Punjab on the 31st December 1930 was 1843 in total including 51 females. Of these 49 females were Hindus and 2 females were from Sikh communities.\textsuperscript{208}
Women volunteers who were detained in jails in connection with the movement faced many hardships during their imprisonment. They were kept in dark dingy cells, sometimes in filthy rooms, adjacent to immoral criminals and lepers. The furious environment in the rooms of jails may be noticed as told by Smt. Kartar Kaur, Assistant Captain of Satyagrah, in her pathetic speech delivered on 10 September 1930 at Jallianwala Bagh. She said, "Government has now run shortage of bread even a lamp is not to be got in the jail and they throw snakes, scorpions and centipedes from within...... nothing appear in the paper....... Sixteen women who were sentenced to transportation for life were sold and the amount recovered, therefore, was kept by the government; they have run short of money............." Harsh treatment, bad environment in jail badly effect the health of women leaders also like Lado Rani, Satyawati, Swadesh and Gian Devi.

Besides the police behaviour, the attitude of public towards these women was also indifferent at that time. Sometimes, they were abused and insulted by the shopkeepers while performing picketing activities. Numerous incidents of such kind occurred at the places like Amritsar, Multan, Gujranwala, etc. in this regard. After Gandhi-Irwin Pact (5 March 1931), the organisational work of Congress was taken at hand during 1931. The Karanchi session of Congress was held from 29 March to 31 March 1931 where the Punjab Congress Committee remained busy. Similarly, a ladies provincial branch of All
India Hindustani Sewa Dal was formed at the Karachi session.213

Picketing activities also continued at some places like, Lahore, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Jhang, Rohtak, Bhiwani, Sialkot etc. Women formed their separate committees also almost at every place in Punjab like Istri Sabha Mahila Congress Committee, Istri Samaj and Mahila Khaddar Parcharini Sabha214 a conference was held at village Nahri (Rohtak) on 3 May, 1931215 to popularise Congress. At Mokhra (Rohtak) in a rural Conference held on 20 April 1931, Chitra Devi unfurled the National Flag. She was first lady who was arrested under section 108 (C.P.C.) and 153 (IPC) for her political activities after Gandhi-Irwin Pact.216

The second phase of Civil Disobedience Movement was resumed on 4 January, 1932 as per the resolution passed in the Congress Working Committee held at Bombay (1 January 1932) in response to the Lord Willingdon’s (new Viceroy) refusal on the implementation of Gandhi-Irwin Pact (5 March 1931). According to this pact, the government had to withdraw its repressive policy and release of all political prisoners. Under its term, the government had also to recognise the rights of Indians to manufacture salt and rights of peaceful picketing with certain limitations.217

Infact, the movement now practically restored with the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Rajender Prasad on 4 January 1932. Same day, four new
ordinances were promulgated and all the Congress organisations were declared unlawful. Only those activists who could face bullets were asked to join the movement. They were given instructions to defy the ordinances, boycott the British goods and concerns through strict observance of non-violence. Besides, they were expected to use hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar*.

As the Congress Committees were already dissolved; their offices were taken over by the war councils along with a dictator each to carry out the programme effectively. Beside men, the designation was also conferred upon women activists. 19 women in total were appointed as dictators at various places of Punjab. It is noteworthy that a continuous routine of processions, meetings, conferences and hartals went on throughout the year. Lahore, along with other towns, took a lead in the movement. The prominent women leaders under whom the programmes of protest were accomplished were lado Rani Zutshi, Saraswati Devi, Swadesh Kumari, wife of Gopi Chand Bhargava and Ram Piari. As a result, lathi charge on their procession and arrest were made by the police. For example, nine women were convicted at Lahore on 9 January 1932 under section 151 IPC. Ram Piary was also arrested on 5 February 1932 under Section 108 Cr. P.C.

At Lahore the *Mahila Khaddar Parcharini Sabha* under the leadership of Prakash Kaur was organised in a meeting
on 18 May 1932 and soon after that she was arrested under Section 108 Cr. P.C. for her fiery speeches.224

Similarly at Amritsar, a huge procession was taken out on 7 January 1932 and the second procession on 24 February 1932 when police not only lathi-charged but also arrested 22 women alongwith 4 minor girls and 6 volunteers. Another procession, At Amritsar, another procession was organised on 4 June 1932 under the leadership of Kartar Kaur, Atam Devi and Ram Kali but later on all the three were arrested. In the evening of the same day, five other women including Sham Devi made an attempt to hold the conference but all were also arrested. On 5 June 1932, Raghbir Kaur in defiance of restraint order read out the resolutions, distributed leaflets and hoisted the flag successfully. The police arrived at the scene and arrested her.225 At Jhang, Luxmi Trikha led several processions of women in the month of February. A political conference was also held at Lyallpur in August 1932. Though in the mid of 1932, the Congress activities slowed down yet the second phase of Civil Disobedience Movement dragged up to May 1933.226

The picketing programme of the cloth shops was carried on side by side. At Lahore picketing was organised on 18-19 January 1932 under the leadership of Kumari Swadesh alongwith Adarsh Bala, Krishna, Yashoda and Shakuntla Devi227 and all of them were arrested. Hartal was observed at Lahore on 20 January to protest against their arrest. Moreover, their arrest could not dissuade the women volunteers and picketing continuously carried on in
the ten districts of the province. The movement was strong at Rohtak and Lahore inspite of 327 arrests including 55 women. Intense picketing was organised at Amritsar also on 29 January 1932 and its leaders Malan Devi, Ishar Kaur and Kanso Devi were arrested as well as awarded six months imprisonment and fine of Rs. 50 under Section 17(1) Cr. L.A.A. Bhiwani, Hissar and Rohtak were equally important towns where picketers performed their work enthusiastically under the leadership of Mohini Devi, Chand Bai, Luxmu Arya, Chitra Devi, Kasturi bai and Kamla.

The performance of Siyapa (mock mourning) was also undertaken in 1932 as testified by the arrest of sixteen women at Lahore who were observing it at the shop of Brij Lal Suri on 24 February 1932. Infact, the boycott of foreign goods and popularise of khaddar were also undertaken continuously side by side at towns like Lahore and Amritsar. As a result the sale of cloth dropped to a considerable amount as depicted by The Tribune. The women activists inspired the people in such programmes to follow the programme of boycott as may be noted in the content of speech made by Sita Devi who said, "Every Englishman prefers his own country-made goods then why Indians should not use their own goods."

Two important organisations 'Swadesh League' or 'Buy Indian League' and Parcharini Sabha significantly popularised the Swadeshi. In this regard, they organised meetings and processions at Lahore, Amritsar and Jhang, etc. Besides, house to house and door to door sale of
khaddar by women was also undertaken during the national Week (6 April to 13 April 1932) and ‘Gandhi Jayanti Week’. At Sialkot, Khaddar hawking resulted in the sale of khaddar worth Rs. 3200 and thus registered at the top of the province.

The government, on the other hand, countered all the activities of volunteers with promulgation of repressive ordinances. As a result the activist volunteers including women leaders were arrested several times from January 1932 to December 1932. In December, Harnam Kaur was perhaps the last woman who was convicted for leading a Congress procession at Lahore. The month wise statement of the official record indicated that in the next five months (January 1933 to May 1933) no woman was convicted till the movement virtually suspended in May 1933.

The most adverse side of the movement was perhaps the behaviour and treatment of jail authorities towards women volunteers who were confined in jail as convicts. They were generally treated like felons in jail wherein the food given to them was ‘C’ class. The important women convicts in Lahore Jail were Prakash Kaur and Vidyawati, though both belonging to respectable families yet rigorous imprisonment was imposed on Vidyawati who even being suffering from malignant pulmonary disorder had to face harsh treatment of jail authorities. The atmosphere of Multan jail was also not congenial for ladies. In the end of February 1932, seven women were transferred from Lahore Female Jail to Multan Jail in a severe cold night. All of them had to pass their night in extreme cold without
Similarly, the Hissar Jail was most badly run and ill managed. It was here that Mohini Devi who was kept here was also not treated properly. As a result, she had to go on hunger strike several times to get her grievances redressed. At Jhang, Luxmi Trikha was arrested on 18 May, 1932 and sentenced to two months rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 100 or in default one month further imprisonment. She was kept in a solitary confinement as commented in editorial of The Tribune. At the demand of the public, she was later on transferred to the women's cell of Lahore Jail.

Beside the harsh treatment, as discussed above, the women volunteers were also kept under strict surveillance. Moreover, they were also served notices, under Section 4 of Emergency Power Ordinance to keep them away from political activities. Such restrained orders were served on Kanso Devi, Swadesh Kumari, Vidyawati, Sita Devi, Sham Devi, Dilbhar Devi, Man Mohin Zutshi, Shiama Zutshi, Janak Zutshi, Kaushalya, Kartar Kaur, Raghbir Kaur, Bhagwan Kaur, Atam Devi, Devki Devi, Luxmi Devi, Rajender Kaur, Basant Kaur, Lachhman Kaur, Lado Rani and Ganga Devi.

The house of women activists who were in jail were raided by police to realise the fine imposed on them from their family members. For example, the house of Lado Rani Zutshi was raided along with rude behaviour to realise
the fine imposed on her daughter. Similarly the houses of Nanaki Devi, Lilawati, Sita Devi Lajwanti Devi, Puran Devi and Mrs. (Dr.) Gopi Chand Bhargava were also raided for the same purpose. The police, in order to comply with, forcibly removed household articles from the houses.240

The third phase of the movement was resumed in Punjab on 1 August, 1933 with the launch of a new programme of Individual Satyagraha in response to the arrest of Gandhi's arrest under Section 3 of the ordinance. On receiving the new, hartals were observed at Amritsar, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Rawalpini, where speeches were made exhorting the use of khaddar and swadeshi.241 Though he was released on 4 August but rearrested and sentenced to one year simple imprisonment under section 14 of the Bombay Special Power Act of 1932.242 The Individual Satyagraha was confined to a few attempts to hoist the Congress flags on public buildings and to picket shops at Lyallpur and Jaranwala.243

Mrs. Khurshid Ben from Bombay who paid a visit to Punjab, in regard to movement, was arrested on 12 August 1933 with the object of disobeying the order. During the second half of August 1933, meetings were organised in Lahore on 21 and 23 August to protest against the refusal of government to allow Gandhi all the facilities demanded to carry on his Harijan campaign but meetings except Sheikhupura, Sialkot and Lyallpur were poorly attended. At Sheikhupura the cloth merchants were warned to stop the sale of foreign cloth.244
Infact, the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement failed to generate any enthusiasm among masses as it seemed to have lost its credibility and vitality all over the country. However, the meetings and processions were restored to some extent to attribute the leaders who had lately been released from jail as completing their sentences. Moreover, due to 'National Week, the activities were mostly confined to the sale of Khaddar.²⁴⁵ So far as the participation of women in last phase of the movement is concerned, it was meagre. From January 1933 to May 1934, no woman of the province was arrested in connection with Civil Disobedience Movement in Punjab. Now the women of this province concentrated on the Constructive Programme of Gandhi and lastly this movement was suspended in May 1930.

DELHI

Gandhi’s expectation from women for continuation of picketing, his way back to jai, did work on the mind of women of Delhi also. Amrit Bazar Patrika a famous newspaper of Calcutta, went to to tell us that the Civil Disobdience Movement in Delhi initially took place on the refusal of 24 girl students to salute the Union Jack as a result of which their names were struck off from the rolls.²⁴⁶

The observance of picketing by women volunteers is testified in Miss Marry Campbell’s writings, who was a temperance worker in India, published in the Manchester Guardian a London based news paper in June 1931 which observes that the women 16 or 17 in number came out and
picketed all the shops in Delhi. The author who watched them day after day informs that the women stood there saying nothing but politely salaaming each customer who approached. The same thing happened repeatedly. The man would stop saying: ‘I beg your pardon sister; I forgot myself in coming here’ and went away. That went on - for some days until the licensees appealed to the Government. The women volunteers did not give up the picketing on warning of shafty policemen who had arrived in Vans. As fast one relay was arrested, another took its place. In this way, altogether about sixteen hundred women were imprisoned in Delhi alone. Though the shops were opened no one went in........ At last the licensees themselves close them......

The court premises were also visited by women volunteers who persuaded the lawyers and judges to suspend their work. While declaring the assembly unlawful, the police officer in charge ordered the lathi charged as a result Mrs. Sahni and mother-in-law of Jawahar Lal Nehru along with other volunteers were injured as testified by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru who himself was present at the court premises. He further informed that the police officer, accompanying no magistrate, even threatened to open the fire if the crown did not disperse. In the meantime five armoured cars reached the scene. However, the women and other marched back to the city only after the police was withdrawn to the farthest end of the courtyard and the road was left free.

The movement was accelerated in Delhi under the dynamic leadership of Satyawati, grand daughter of Swami
Shardanand. While defying social taboos, she plunged into the Congress movement in 1930 at the age of twenty three. She held meetings, led processions, picketed foreign cloth shops not only in markets but also on the river Jumna where the marwari ladies usually came to bath in foreign clothes. As a result of her efforts, some 50% of the women changed their silk garments into khaddar. She generally used to deliver speeches in the meetings inorder to enthuse the volunteers. For example, on 12 May, 1930 Ami Lal died in a procession as a result of gunshot as has been pointed out by her: “Such things do happen in attaining freedom and that flames of such fire would reduce the tyrant to ashes.” She was arrested under Section 108 of India Penal Code (to furnish security to cease dissemination) and was asked to furnish security of five hundred rupees or to show good behaviour at least for six months.

She refused to furnish the security and hence she was also sent to jail. She was full of confidence at her trial at Delhi as testified by her remarks on this occassion; “We have abandoned our home and children to redeem our motherland from foreign bondage and neither the threat of the dungeons nor the bullets and the merciless beatings can deter us from the duty which we owe to ourselves and the coming generation. I and thousand of my sisters are ready to suffer but we must win India’s freedom.” She was sentenced to six months imprisonment. She was released only to be rearrested again in 1932. This time she was sentenced to two years imprisonment. It is surprising
to note that a dangerous disease like that of tuberculosis, developed during imprisonment and had to suffer further and all this could not deter her and she again took up political work in order to mobilise her counterparts in a more considerate way.\textsuperscript{252}
References and Notes

7. Vijay, Agnew, *Elite Women in Indian Politics*, p.44.
15. *Young India*, 10 April, 1930.
16. Dadabhai Naoroji’s grand daughter and a follower of Mahatma Gandhi.
23. *Ibid*.
25. Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended by the Congress and the Government agreed to release all the prisoners as the consequences of Gandhi-Irwin Pact.
34. Ram Krishan, her child by Harinderanath Chattopadhyay, brother of Sarojini Naidu.
41. *Ibid*.
42. *Ibid*.
45. Monkey brigades named after the army that assisted the hero of the *Ramayana epic*.
56. *Ibid*.
57. *Ibid*. 


60. *Annual Report of Police Administration*, Bombay 1932, p. XI.


62. *Ibid*.


67. *Ibid*.


69. *Ibid*.

70. *Ibid*.


73. *Ibid*, 2 April, 1931.

74. Raju, Rajender V., *Role of Women in India’s Freedom Struggle*, p. 43.

75. *Samaj*, 19 March 1930.


77. Raju, Rajender V., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

78. *UD*, 26 April 1930.


80. Raju, Rajender, V., *op. cit.*, p. 46

81. *Young India*, 8 May 1930
82. Mahatab, H.K., *Sadhanara Pathe (Orriya)*, Raju Rajender op.cit., p. 47
83. *Home (Dept.) Poll* Prog. F No. 18/61/1930
85. *Young India*, 8 May 1930
86. *Nabeen*, 24 June 1930
88. *UD*, 14 June 1930
90. *Nabeen*, 24 June 1930.
92. Jambu Devi, the wife of Bhagirathi Pattanaik, the great freedom fighter of Sambalpur, *Samaj*, 9 November 1979.
98. *Nabeen*, 3 June 1930.
100. *Nabeen*, 3 June 1930.
102. Withdraw no longer, You Indians !
103. But, avenge the attacks
104. On your humanness
   Oh, fellow men !
   Unless you fail to awake
   We the women will move forward
   With the sword of non-cooperation (-Ahwan)
   Sixteen crores of women will marrily rise.
   To the spirit and rhythm, of bande Mataram !
105. They will swear to save the country
O, brothr and sisters. (-Sphulinga)
*The Telegraph*, 23 November 1904.

106. Debahuti, daughter of Raghbananda Das (a Deputy Collector), was born at Kuranjipur of Puri district. After marriage she started living at Patna. She wrote a number of poems and other articles and sent for publication to Orissa. Quoted in Raju, Rajender, *op. cit.*, Ref. 84, p. 71.


110. *Home (Deptt.)* Poll. F.No. 56/2/1932, F.No. 251/1/1930.

111. *Ibid*, F.No. 18/1/1931.

112. *Ibid.,* F.No. 18/1/1930.


114. Fortnightly Report for second half of July, 1930 *Home (Deptt.)* Poll., F.No. 18/1/1931.

115. *UD*, 20 April 1930.

116. *Home (Deptt.)* Poll. Prog., F.No. 18/1/1931.


118. Oh. dear motherland!

119. Blinded by your love

120. We have come forward
Breaking loose from the Shackles of all bondages
I have left behind my crying child
We have to forego his mother
Like Parasuram
Only for your glory
Birakishore, Rana Dundhabi, (Oriya), (Cuttack, 1972) p. 17.
Quoted in Raju, Rajender V. *Op.Cit.*, Ref. 116, p. 73.

126. *Ibid*.
129. *The Leader*, 1 May, 1930, p. 11 and IOR : L/Pj/7/293 Telegram from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces to the Secretary of State of India 12 November, 1932.
135. *Ibid*.

139. File No. 151/1930 Police Deptt. Correspondence from commissioner of Meerut division to Kanwar Jagdish Prasad, Secretary to the Government of United Provinces.


142. Thapar-Bjorkert, Suruchi, op.cit., p. 115.

143. Ibid, Ref. No. 70, p. 137.

144. Gandhi, M.K., Young India, p. 121.

145. Thapar-Bjorkert, Suruchi, op.cit., p. 117.

146. PP. Hin. B.33, 1931, pp. 52-54.

147. Interview with Sushila Devi Misra quoted in Thapar-Bjorkert, Suruchi, op.cit., p. 13 Ref. 74.


150. The Tribune, April 1, 2, 4, 8, 9 and 10, 1930.


152. The Tribune, April 8, 1930.

153. Ibid, April 12, 1930.
156. Ibid, April 15, 1930.
157. Ibid.
158. Ibid, April 23, 1930.
159. Ibid, April 16, 17, 29, May 2, 1930.
160. Ibid, May 1, 1930.
161. Ibid, April 27, 1930.
166. *The Tribune*, Files of April to December, 1930.
167. Ibid.
170. Ibid, October 10, 1930.
171. Personal interviews with Mrs. Duni Chand, Comrade Ram Kishan and Shri Anant Ram of Okara quoted in Verma, Manju, *op.cit.*, Ref No. 88, p. 110.
173. Ibid, April 22, 1930; *The Abhyudya*, April 29, 1930
175. Ibid, May 1, 1930.
176. Ibid.
179. Ibid, April 24, 1930.
185. Verma Manju, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
186. *The Tribune* May 10, 15, July 3, 6, 20, August 6, 12, 15, 20, September 6, 23, 30, 1930.
193. *Home Department, Political*, 1930, File No. 173/VIII, NAI.
197. *The Tribune*, October 10, 12, 1930.
200. *Home Department, Political*, File No. 3/XI.
203. *Home Department, Political* 1931, File No. 33/6.
204. *The Tribune*, May 2, 10, 16, June 10, 22 August 1, 7, 12, 1930.


208. *Home Department, Political*, 1931, File No. 23/26 NAI.


210. *Home Department, Political*, 1930, File No. 173/VIII


212. *The Tribune*, May 1, August 29, September 18 and November 11, 1930.


220. *Home Department, Political*, 1932, File No. 5/46

221. *The Tribune*, January 25, 31 February 3, 4, 10, 14, 18, 24, 27 March 9, 14, 20, April, 15, May 4, 12, 21, June 2 and July 4, 1932.


235. *Home Department, Political*, 1933 File no. 3/II.
236. *The Tribune*, February, 6 and 8, 1932.
237. *Ibid.*, March 5, 16, April 20 and May 1, 1932.
244. *Ibid.*