Chapter III
Women in Gandhian Movement – II

One of the significant recommendations of the Franchise Sub-Committee was the incorporation of right to vote to women over 21 years of age in the Government of Indian Act. 1935. This right gave women an opportunity to be elected to the State Legislatures only 2½% adult women obtained this right numbering around six million. It was indeed a notable achievement. An effort has been made to assess the relentless efforts made by the women organizations and individuals, despite various hindrances amidst the male dominated society.

Firstly, the concept of complementary sex was so deeply embedded in elite Hindu and Muslim cultures that women were not supposed to easily defy the domestic role as for as their equal rights were concerned. They were not allowed to plunge into politics as this was deemed reserved for the men only. The social reformers like M.G. Ranande B.G. Tilak and many others did not make any advocacy for the equal rights of men and women. It is significant to note that the women associations were founded by the social reformers and political leaders who had benevolent attitude towards the fledging women's movement.

Many revivalist movement did not make any favourable efforts as for as their multiple roles in the society were concerned. Only the rare examples are therein the classical literature where they tried to play some sort
of role in the social order. It was held by some progressive minded people that only education and association would be an instruments for the women to play a constructive role for their social amelioration. The notable were K.C. Sen and D.K. Karve who planned girls school curricula around women's role as wife and mother.4

The women's movement in its early days was not designed as a radical onslaught on the patriarchal bases of Hinduism and Islam in India. The social reformers had to face enough opposition from the traditional social elements in the name of religion and social taboos. Some efforts were made for the utilization of traditional ideals of Indian womanhood to justify women's education and participation in public life as reported by Gail Minault.5

The strategy being devised by any mind set is not necessarily to work all the time but sometimes opposite forces becomes heavy. Such thing happened in the case of women's movement in India. It may be noted that despite all leanings in compliance with the traditionalism and male domination, the formation of the first women association i.e. Bharat Stri Mahamandal (BSM) took place with the strenuous efforts of a bold woman namely Sarla Devi Choudharani. This association came into being solely due to her differences with male leaders of National Social Conference (NSC) from Bombay as testified by her own article.6 It is worth mentioning here that some differences between National social conference and Sarla Devi emerged in 1910 and later on between Gandhi and women leaders in 30s and 40s of the 20 Century.
The most important issue of women was their suffrage taken up by Women's Indian Association (WIA) founded in Madras in 1917 by three theosophist women namely Annie Besant, Dorothy Jinarajadasa and Margaret Cousins.\(^7\) Beside opening of new branches in other cities, their Theosophical Society took a lead in forming the new associations for the well being of their lot. The establishment of the All India women's Conference in 1927 as non political organisation showed utmost interest in promoting educational opportunities for women and improving their position through social and legal reforms.\(^8\) They, first of all were interested in the question of women's right to vote and were largely responsible for organizing the Sufferagette movement.\(^9\)

The Sufferagette movement in India (mainly based on the ideology of similar movement in the West, particularly in Great Britain) was initiated through a demand of right to vote to women. Infact, this demand was put forward by a deputation of women organizations to E.S. Montague, Secretary of the State for India who toured India in 1917 to assess the country's needs for the post war reforms. The deputation organized by Margaret Cousins included women organizations like the Seva Sadan, the Mahila Seva Samaj, the Indian Women's University and the Women's Branch of the Home Rule League.\(^10\) Fourteen women were included in this deputation with Sarojini Naidu as their principal spokesman. Though the deputation was sympathetically received, but no mention was made in the Montague-Chelmsford Scheme of reforms.\(^11\) Similar was the result of
the report of Southborough Committee published in 1919 wherein the same demand was placed before the committee.

The prominent women organisations as mentioned above represented before this committee included the Women's Indian Association along with its representatives of 40 branches across the country, the Women's Graduate Union of Bombay and the Women Branch of the Home Rule League. In addition, the women of Bombay submitted a petition signed by 800 ladies reiterating their demand for vote. Their demand, in fact, was turned down with the argument that purdah was a practical recommending franchise for women. Moreover, the demand was confined to a 'minority' community of educated Indian women. It is noteworthy that the two largest political organisations i.e. the Congress and the Muslim League supported their demand and endorsed by Nehru Committee Report. Sarojini Naidu while giving a witness before the Joint Committee of the Houses of Commons for the inclusion of their demands to be included in the Government of India Bill 1919 but in vain.

The Government of India Bill published in 1919 did not consider the franchise for women, but it did empower Provincial Legislature to remove the sex barrier at their discretion. Consequently, the resolutions were enthusiastically passed in Madras and Bombay in 1921, United Province in 1923, Central Province, Bengal and Punjab in 1926. The debate regarding women's franchise in Madras, Bombay and Bengal councils reveals that the
proposal was not easily acceded to. Infact, the attitude of the representatives of both Hindu and Muslim communities was vehementaly disuading at the outset of the debate. They favoured maintaining the status quo, as social reforms and legislation indirectly challenged their traditional notions of authority and privilege. The Muslims in comparison to Hindus were more conservative and orthodox as the custom of Purdah and seclusion of women was against the spirit of legislation.

The role of British members was also disgusting in this regard. They voted against social reform legislation. like the Age of Consent Bill and extension of the frenchise to women. Margret Cousins who witnessed the debates recalled how the British members emphasized the importance of social customs and conventions.\textsuperscript{17} However, the proposal was passed in all the above mentioned councils only after long debates and deliberatons. The women could now vote, be elected or nominated to provincial legislatures. The promptness with which the provincial governments acted discredited the Southborough committee. The committee, infact, had reported that "none of the local government advised the extension of the frenchise to women". The first election under the Government of India Act of 1919 was held in 1921. However, the women organisations were not satisfied with the minutes of this act as it enfranchised less than one percent of the total female population.\textsuperscript{18} The following table indicates the number of male voters to adult female voters\textsuperscript{19}:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Proportion of Electors to Adult Population (Percent)</th>
<th>Proportion of Adult Male Electors to Adult Male Population (Percent)</th>
<th>Proportion of Female Electors to Adult Female Population (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Province</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar and Orissa</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inc. Berar

The high percentage of voters in Madras and Bombay indicates the level of literacy among its female population and its attitude towards reform referring to women. Bengal's attitude towards social reform was liberal but its elite and nationalists resisted legislation sanctioned by the British Government.

The concept regarding the inevitability of the women's franchise was very clear to women leaders like Sarojini Naidu, Remeshwari Nehru and others to whom it was necessary in order to counteract the image of downtrodden and the oppressed women. They were of the firm opinion that the vote was a symbol of equality, and not a means of bringing about change in the structure of the society. Moreover, their organisations seemed to have completely
subscribed to the idea that legislation would counteract social evils and conventions also. The right to vote would enable women to express their opinion in legislatures and councils and determine the outcome of social legislation. The same ideology is testified in a speech delivered by Rameshwari Nehru at a women's college in England where she had explicitly stated that the women did not want vote for personal or selfish motive but from a desire to discharge the growing responsibility.21

The growing political and social awareness among women is evident by the number and popularity of women's organizations. The addition of one more organization i.e. National Council of Women in 1925 with an aim to provide link among various organizations already woking for the advancement and welfare of women within India may be seen as a further step in women's movement. Margret Cousins while taking the responsibility of establishing contact among the leading women appealed to the newspapers and also wrote to over 500 women who were either associated with relevant organizations or well known educationalists and social reformers.22 She also proposed to organise provincial committees in order to draw up a memorandum of educational reforms most desired one.23 In 1928 the A.I.W.C.proposed the All India Women's Education Fund to finance a college for women i.e. the Lady Irwin College in Delhi. Alongwith its primary purpose of educational reform, the campaign for other social reforms such as Hari Bilas Sharda's Bill for the prevention of child marriage, the removal of legal diabilities in the law
of inheritance and marriage, and the right of women to vote.

The women leaders of A.I.W.C. generally belonged to wealthy and intelligentsia class of India and western countries whereas the illiterate, ignorant and non-vocal women attended their meetings as evident from the statement of Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur (who had been its Secretary, President and Chairperson at various times).24 Hansa Mehta, Vice President of the organization, expressed similar views.25 A.I.W.C. had privilege to be patronised by 12 prominent ladies in the first eight years of its existence. Some women like Abdul Qadir and Ramabai Neelkanth were ardent social reformers. Mrs. P.K. Ray, another name of importance, was the daughter of a prominent leader of the Brahmo Samaj, and wife of a well known scholar of Bengal.26 Besides, Prominent Congress women such as Sarojini Naidu, Vijay laxmi Pandit and Kamla Devi Chattopadhyay were also members of A.I.W.C.

The lead taken by Mrs. K.P. Ray (President of A.I.W.C. in 1932) in regard to the decision of extension of social reform and education to political activities paved a way for the change in the ideology of the organization. She, in her observation, had feared that exclusion of political activities from the constitution of A.I.W.C. would frustrate its objective of ensuring equal opportunities for women and improving their status in society. Consequently, it was resolved in the fourteenth session of the organization that it was the responsibility of the organization to ensure that women should get equal and fundamental rights in the
Government of India Bill of 1935. Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade as President in 1938-39 supported the extension of the organization's activity to include 'Non-party Constructive Politics'. It was also added that it should undertake the responsibility of educating women on political issues, such as the nature and form of present government, the disadvantage suffered by the people under a foreign regime and fundamental political rights of the people. At the same time, the women were to be educated in the realm of democracy and their role in it. In this way, the A.I.W.C. took over from the Women's Indian Association (W.I.A.) the work of gaining recognition for women's political rights.

The Franchise Committee of the Round Table Conference toured India to assess the country's need for new reforms. Women including those in purdah in every province met the committee members both in capacity of individual as well as representatives of women organizations. The committee did not encounter any group which was hostile to the idea of franchising women except the Muslim men from north who were apprehensive of introducing any change which might make a sudden breach in the custom of purdah. The committee, besides the existing qualification of age and property, recommended not only the extension of franchise to substantially increase the ratio of women to men voters but also recommended three more qualifications for enfranchising women. Now, a wife of a man who had property qualifications and was above 25 years could vote.
Secondly, a widow over 25 years of age was qualified to vote, if her husband was franchised at the time of his death. Also included in the enlarged franchise were graduates over 21 years of age. One may get the idea of number of women declared qualified as per this new scheme from the table given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Independent property qualification</th>
<th>Literacy property qualification</th>
<th>Husband's property qualification</th>
<th>Total women's electorate</th>
<th>Total men</th>
<th>Total of women's electorate: men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>718,000</td>
<td>345,000</td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>4:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>163,000</td>
<td>592,000</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>4:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>377,000</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>4:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Province</td>
<td>414,000</td>
<td>128,000</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>4:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>101,000</td>
<td>85,000</td>
<td>376,000</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>5:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar and Orissa</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>77,000</td>
<td>280,000</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>9:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>192,000</td>
<td>220,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>4:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the literacy and property qualifications did not enfranchise a large number of women, as testified in the above table, the A.I.W.C. while objecting to such qualifications submitted a memorandum to the government on "certain questions affecting the status and welfare of Indian Women in future Constitution of India". Aruna Asaf Ali also vehemently objected to the wifehood qualification as it put a premium on marriage and did not recognise women's independent right to suffrage. This memorandum also mentioned that women did not desire any special privileges for themselves such as reservation of
seats or nomination. They would fight election in general electorates on equal footing. But the government did not agree with these suggestions and the recommendations made by the Simon Commission along with wifehood qualification were passed. It however, gave a suggestion that the age of 25 might be reduced to 21 years to include a large percentage of eligible women in that age group.

The recommendation of Joint Parliamentary Committee ignored the demand of universal adult suffrage and favoured the literary and property qualification as recommended by Simon Commission. These recommendations were condemned by the A.I.W.C. They nevertheless submitted another memorandum to the Parliamentary Committee suggesting that literary qualification should be modified to include women who could read and write in any one language. They, however, accepted the property qualification but opposed communal electorate.

All India Muslim League, while agreeing to the proposal of A.I.W.C., passed a resolution supporting the efforts made by the A.I.W.C. The All India Muslim Conference disagreed with the A.I.W.C. on communal electorate. Interestingly Begum Shah Nawaz who was a member of the A.I.W.C. favoured the extension of communal electorate. The Star of India published an editorial expressing the opinion of leading Muslim politicians. After a long debate and exercises, the Government of India Act, 1935, incorporated many recommendations made by the franchise sub-committee.
This act enfranchised 6 million women and 29 million men, i.e. one woman to every five men. Women could be elected to the legislature and 41 seats were reserved for them on communal basis. They could, however, contest election on any general seats. They included both men and women, except in case of Muslim constituencies which would include only women. The A.I.W.C. did not favour the formation of special constituencies for the women candidates. It was considered that such preferential treatment was advantageous as it protected women from the competition of experienced male candidates. The A.I.W.C. also noted that preferential treatment would detract from the status of women as citizens with equal rights and responsibilities.

The Government of India Act, though had liberalized franchise to include a large number of women but its effect was counteracted by the restrictions imposed on registering women voters. The case of women who qualified under the property clause was simple, there names were automatically recorded on the electoral roll. But the women who qualified under the literacy clause had to register their name under varied methods in different provinces. In Bengal they sent forms to leading men requesting them to list all literate women who qualified for electing a system which was erratic and arbitrary. In Bombay, application forms were to be circulated by village officers and it was their responsibility to get them filled up. In United Provinces, women could register by mail or through their husbands.
In Madras, the government required the voters to present their applications in person to the registration officer. This made it difficult for women in purdah or those who were sick or out of town to register. Moreover, the last day for submission of application was fixed in June, the holiday season when many qualified voters would be away. However, on the request of Women Indian Association, the date was extended to July as well as liberalized the rules of registering women in purdah who could now register through their husbands or other male relatives.

The number of women who enrolled as well as voted in election held in 1937 is given in the following table. The A.I.W.C. and the Women's Indian Association, however, contested the election, through its monthly journal Stri Dharma, conducted a three prolonged campaign directed at the government, the voters and the candidates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number enrolled</th>
<th>Number who voted</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1,523,248</td>
<td>479,248</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>305,750</td>
<td>129,535</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>896,588</td>
<td>46,758</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Province</td>
<td>494,752</td>
<td>95,553</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>173,459</td>
<td>58,216</td>
<td>33.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>215,490</td>
<td>17,037</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces and Berar</td>
<td>259,750</td>
<td>63,744</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>29,680</td>
<td>8,678</td>
<td>29.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West Provinces</td>
<td>4,895</td>
<td>3,498</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Orrisa 70,526 4,670 6.62
Sind 27,940 9,705 34.7

Upper House
Madras 2,578 1,420 55.1
Bombay 1,637 923 56.1
Bengal 2,136 437 20.5
United Province 1,684 598 35.5
Bihar 882 594 67.34
Assam 559 512 91.57

The above figures indicate that the demand for vote was not as widespread as the Women's Indian Association and the A.I.W.C. had claimed. The women had shown consideration apathy. But the leading members of the A.I.W.C. such as Aruna Asaf Ali argued that the results were not unexpected or surprising. Infact, women were unfamiliar with the electorl process, representative form of government and had very little opportunity for political education.

The result of elections held in 1937 gleans that in all nine women contested and won seat from the general constituency, including two from the Upper House won by Hansa Mehta and Begum Rasul. Among them Vijay laxmi Pandit and Lakshmi Ammal were successful candidates who had contested from general constituencies as the Congress candidates. In the provinces, about 80 women leaders in the formation of ministeries formed after election was concerned Vijay laxmi Pandit was inducted as a Cabinet Minister and five women as Deputy Speakers and
Parliamentary Secretaries. Sarojini Naidu like Jawharlal Nehru and other national leaders did not accept any office but remained part of the Central high command set up by the Congress. These ministeries were, however, short lived and the ministers had to resign in 1939 as protest against the government’s war policy.

Individual Satyagraha

The outbreak of the World War II (began on 1st September 1939) which, in fact, was declared by England on German Reich, “Professedly in defence of democracy and the weak nations”, could not go on without effecting Indian masses. It is needless to explain that England, while considering its prerogative declared India as a belligerent nation against the Axis-powers on 3 September 1939 without consulting the leaders of the Congress and members of the Indian Legislative Assembly or the Provincial Governments. Consequently, both Nehru and Gandhi with other like minded leaders were against the participation of Indian masses in war in support of Britain as per policy of Indian National Congress adopted in manifesto made public in 1936 about its “opposition to the participation of India in an Independent war”. Moreover, the working committee of Indian National Congress which was held (from 10 September to 14 September 1939) had also made its stand clear in the same context. This committee observed that the “declared wishes of the Indian people........ have been deliberately ignored by the British Government, and while the committee “unhesitantantly condemns the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in
Germany against Poland.............. the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people".49

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru prepared the draft of the manifests asking the British Government to state clearly in an unequivocal terms its war aims in regard to democracy and imperialism and also called upon the government to specify how these aims would apply to India. Did they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation?50 On the other hand, Gandhi who did not like the political bargaining favoured an unconditional support to the Britishers as he believed that "the Congress support will mean the greatest moral asset in favour of England and France".51

The All-India Congress Committee in its meeting on 9 October 1939, at Wardha, approved the Congress manifesto on war crisis and asked the British Government to elaborate their war and peace aims.52 But the Viceroy Linlithgow expressed his inability and assured that the Government of India Act, 1935, would be reviewed after the war.53 As this statement created profound disappointment, the Congress Working Committee considered this unfortunate statement as "an unequivocal reiteration on the same old imperialistic policy."54 Further, in a resolution of the Congress Working Committee held in November, 1939, it was hoped to explore all means of arriving at an honourable settlement between Indian National Congress and British Government.
The talk between Gandhi and Viceroy Linlithgo on 5 February 1940 was significant to some extent whereas the Viceroy put some proposal regarding the Dominion Status. Though Gandhi regarded this failure to be of use as "a stepping stone to success." As the British Government was not prepared, in any way, to concede the demand of total Independence, it provoked Gandhi to launch his *Individual Satyagraha* campaign and to openly pursue anti-war propaganda. After the AICC meeting (Bombay) on 15-16 September, 1940, Gandhi asked the Congressmen "to be prepared for anarchy and chaos" with faith in non-violence. The struggle was now launched for the denial of the right for preaching against the participation in the war. The whole movement was planned to pass through the four stages. Wherein Individual Civil disobedience which was also known as "Quality *Satyagraha*" adopted as a 'symbolic' or token 'protest' without retarding the war efforts. Only one person at a time was allowed to offer *Satyagraha* under this programme and the protest was against India being unwillingly dragged into the war.

The movement was inaugurated by Vinoba Bhave on 17 October, 1940, and he was arrested on the same day after making an antiwar speech at the village, Panwar. He was, lateron, sentenced to three months imprisonment. He was followed by Pandit Jawahar lal Nehru who was also arrested (on account of his antiwar speech) on 7 November 1940 even before a week of his proposed date. The arrest of both leaders evoked a great enthusiasm and consequently the Congress leaders started to declare
themselves as Satyagrahis one by one opposing government policy. The number of such individual Satyagrahis (including women) who had gone to jail had reached to almost 20,000 by June 1941 but the movement declined after that. So far as the women participants were concerned, they took part in the movement going on in the different parts of the country but their number was small as compared to men activists.

The first batch of Individual Satyagrahis constituted of twenty seven names as finalised by Gandhi himself out of a list of forty eight people which was sent to him by Orissa Provincial Satyagraha Committee. The movement which was in agurated there, near Blasore, by H.K. Mahatab on 1 December, 1940 included Smt. Sarala Devi. She was the first women who became women Satyagrahi. Another prominent lady who obtained permission was Smt. Priyambada Devi who did offer Satyagraha but Malati Chaudhury was not given permission to take part in the movement as her daughter was one year old at that time. Similarly, in Ganjam District where Individual Satyagraha was started on 4th December 1940, Smt. A. Lakshmibai was arrested when she was delivering anti war speech in a meeting at Berhampur. Smt. Champa Devi, a fearless lady, was also arrested on delivering anti-war speech even infront of the police at Rasalkonda (Bhanjanagarl).

The prominent women who actively took part in Individual Satyagraha in Bihar were Priyambada Devi, Janki Devi and Jagatrani Devi. Consequently, all of them were arrested in Gaya and sentenced to an imprisonment
of four months in addition to a fine of Rs. 200 each. Interestingly, some of the activist women who took part in Satyagraha were also spared from their arrest by district administration as happened in Santhal Pargana. For example, Mrs. Mahadevi Kejariwal (wife of the President of Santhal Pargana Congress Committee) who while offering herself as Satyagrahi delivered anti-war speech along with a prior notice given in written to Dy. Commissioner, at the residence of Dy. Commissioner was not arrested as he did not pass the order of her arrest.

Other Congress women of top scale who participated in individual Satyagraha were: Vijaylakshmi Pandit, Sarojini Naidu and Sucheta Kriplani. Vijaylakshmi Pandit was jailed for four months. However, Sarojini Naidu who was arrested on 3 December, 1940, had to be released from Jail on 11 December, 1940 because of her illness. Sucheta Kriplani was holding charge of women Department of A.I.C.C. at that time since 1939 also courted arrest. In Delhi, the eminent women leaders who enlisted themselves in the list of jail visitors included Satyawati, Ved Kumari, Hans Kaur and Siddheshari Devi. Besides, the name of Aruna Asaf Ali too, a well known lady, was along with her husband in the list of those chosen by Gandhi for participation in Individual Satyagraha. She along with her husband courted arrest in the same context as testified in her own statement.

The Punjabi Provincial Congress Committee, on the direction of Gandhi, was also transformed into a 'Supreme Satyagraha Committee' on 5 April 1940. It directed all the
District Congress Committee to start the enrolment of Satyagrahis. A Provincial Satyagraha Camp, with an aim to give training in the constructive programme, was inaugurated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 24 May 1940 (contrary to the earlier reports that it would be opened on 7 May) which was followed by 13 such camps organised in the month of June 1940. Smt. Sucheta Kriplani, wife of the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. J.B. Kriplani, made an appeal to women to get enlisted as Satyagrahis. Consequently, the eminent women like Smt. Bhagwati Devi (wife of Lala Dunichand) as a member of working committee Smt. Savitri Devi (wife of Ramkishan) and Smt. Prakash Kaur (wife of Sardul Singh kaveeshar) were appointed as delegates to the Congress Committee at Lahore.

At Jullundur, Smt. Lal Devi Sondhi (wife of Lal Hansraj) was elected member for the working committee and also a delegate to the District Congress Committee. About 209 Satyagrahis were enrolled in the Jullundur district. Hissar district with an enrolment of 206 Satyagrahis, by the first week of July 1940, registered itself at the second position in Punjab. The total number of registered Satyagrahis in Punjab by the end of July 1940 was 1300 as reported by the government data. However, the approved list of Satyagrahis which was sent back after Gandhi’s scrutiny from Sevagram included two women leaders Bibi Raghbir Kaur, the then M.L.A., who was to offer Satyagraha on 8 December 1940 and Smt. Bhagwati Devi for whom no date was fixed. Interestingly,
Sarla Prashar who originally belonged to a family of Hoshiarpur, an official stenographer of Bihar Assembly, voluntarily offered herself for *Satyagraha*. She was the first Sevika from the area of Doaba who was also given permission to offer *Satyagraha.*

The first phase of *Individual Satyagraha* in Punjab was inaugurated on 29 November 1940 (rescheduled date instead of earlier 26th November) at the arrest of Mian Iftikhar-Din in his home village of Baghbanpura near Lahore after making anti-war speech. He was later on sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 6000 under Rule of 38 of the D.I.R. Similarly, Dr. Gopichand was arrested and detained under Rule 26 of the D.I.R. on 30 November 1940 before he could offer *Satyagraha* in Lahore. Among the women of Punjab, Smt. Bhagwati Devi, M.L.A., was arrested on the night of 5 December at the residence of her son at Begum Road, Lahore, before she could after *Satyagraha* in meeting on 6 December as per her notice given to government. She was arrested under D.I.R. 129 and was taken to women's cell Lahore. Another eminent women leader Bibi Raghbir Kaur, M.L.A., was arrested on 8 December, 1940 in a village, Noshera Punuan in district Amritsar where she had shouted a few anti-war slogans before her arrest. She was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Rule 38 D.I.R. and was taken to Amritsar sub-Jail.

The second phase of the movement was started two days later instead of 27 January 1931 as scheduled in Punjab as the first was suspended during the Christmas.
Besides men activists, about 40 leading women of the Congress took the responsibility of visiting mohallas of Satyagrahis. Alongwith this, they propagated Khadi in a house-to-house campaign. Among the names of women selected (of the total number of Satyagrahis 652 as per official list whereas 740 volunteers as per Punjab Provincial Congress Committee) to offer Satyagraha were Mrs. Lal Devi, Mrs. Freeda Bedi and Mrs. Vidya Kumari.

Mrs. Vidya Kumari, as per her own notice to District Magistrate, was arrested on 29 January, 1941 and herself chose to go to jail instead of a fine of Rs. 50, whereas Parvati Devi of Kamalia who was arrested at Narowal (on her notice to Distt. Magistrate of Sialkot) on 30 January 1941 and sentenced to one year simple imprisonment. Nine women satyagrahis courted arrest, in the same way, during February 1941 at various places of the province including Lal Devi Sondhi, Jullundur, Smt. Amar Kaur (wife of Mohan Lal Ahluwalia, Advocate, Smt. Chand Bai wife of Lal Sham Lal of Hissar, Smt. Puran Devi, Ludhiana, Smt. Kastur Bai, Rohtak, Smt. Sham Devi, Ludhiana, Smt. Luxmi Trikha wife of O.P. Trikha, Lahore, Smt. Freeda Bedi, wife of Sh. B.P.L. Bedi, Gurdaspur, and Mrs. Kasturi Lal of Karnal.

So far as the punishment awarded to the above mentioned women was concerned, Smt. Kastura Bai of Rohtak was sentenced to a months rigorous imprisonment in C Class jail. Smt. Lal Devi of Jullunder was awarded 3 months simple imprisonment in A-class jail, Mrs. Freeda Bedi of Gurdaspur (arrested at Dera Baba Nanak of
Gurdaspur) was sentenced to 6 months rigorous imprisonment in A-class Jail. She took her charkha along with her to the women’s cell, Lahore. She was the first English woman who offered Satyagraha.\textsuperscript{93} Similarly, Luxmi Trikha, Secretary of the Gandhi Sewa Ashram, Shahdra, Lahore, was sentenced to 9 months rigorous imprisonment.\textsuperscript{94}

In connection with the third phase of the Individual Satyagraha a list of 40 Satyagrahis from Lahore including six women was approved. So far as the total strength of the Congress members enrolled in the Punjab was concerned, it was 1,13,277. Among them 9,128 were Muslims and 4,256 were women Congress members.\textsuperscript{95} The selected women were Smt. Savitri Devi, wife of Comrade Ram Kishan of Lahore, Smt. Vidyawati Seth, wife of Lala Anant Ram, Headmaster, D.A.V. High School, Amritsar; Smt. Sant Kaur wife of Dr. Gurbax Singh; Smt. Shanti Devi, wife of Dr. Sahib Dayal; Smt. Basant Kaur, daughter of Lala Chet Ram and mother of Lala Som Raj, Pledger from Amritsar, Smt. Sita Devi, wife of Shri Ram Aggarwal, from Okara. Other women like Sardarni Prakash Kaur, wife of Sardul Singh Kaveeshar, Smt. Suhag Rani, Smt. Ram Piyari and Smt. Sushila Devi, were also among the approved list.\textsuperscript{96}

Smt. Bhagwanti, Smt. Vidyawati Seth, Smt. Shanti Devi, from Jhelum, Smt. Bidhanti, Smt. Pushpa Gujral and Smt. Ram Lubhai offered Individual Satyagrah while delivering anti-war speeches and courted arrest, under Rule 38 of D.I.R. during March-April 1941. Meanwhile, the Government of Punjab (on the orders of Punjab High Court) released about 200 *Satyagrahis* who were arrested and convicted on mere plea of their having given notices of intension to offer Satyagrah. The women who were released on such orders were Freeda Bedi, Savitri Devi, Muni Devi, Kastura Bai, Budhwanti, Shanti Devi, Luxmi Trikha, Lajjawati, Bhagwanti, Puran Devi, Vidyawati and Chandrawati.

Gandhi gave permission to the released *Satyagrahis* to offer *Satyagraha* once again.

A Muslim lady, Begum Ghulam Fatima of Sheikhupura, was arrested in May 1941 for reciting an objectionable poem in public meeting held at Miani and sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment. No women of Punjab courted arrest in June-July but in the month of August 1941, only one woman Smt. Luxmi Trikha (who only was allowed) offered Satyagrah and courted arrest for raising anti-war slogans outside the Lajpat Rai Hall on 13 August 1941 and sentenced to 9 month imprisonment. In the month of November, two women from Ludhiana Distt. Smt. Puran Devi, wife of Amar Nath Bhardwaj, at her village Ilayal, and Puran Devi at Ludhiana offered the *Satyagraha* and arrested while shouting anti-war slogans. Except for such a few arrests, the movement
started loosing its popularity during the months of September, October and November. Besides no apttemp was made to revive the Satyagrah movement.\textsuperscript{102}

The Quit India Movement

The entry of Japan in the Second World War made an awkward situation for British Government in India as the war reached a dangerous proximity to the shores of India. It paved a way for two simultaneous steps to be taken one by the governement and the other by the Congress leadership. Firstly, the governement had to take conciliatory steps owing to which the civil disoledience prisoners were released\textsuperscript{103} Congress leadership decided for furtherance of the ongoing Civil Disobedience in such situation movement. So far as the acceleration of the freedom struggle came to India was concerned Cripps came to India in March 1942 for political settlement of the country. The proposed splitting of the country into three parts as per the proposal of the commission, each part to have a different style of government hence indirectly was to envisage partition of India.\textsuperscript{104}

Interestingly, the proposal was not only rejected by the Congress but also by the Muslim League leaders as it did not concede indeendence of the country immediately.\textsuperscript{105} No only this but the Congress leadership even conquered the British idea while reiterating the Bombay Resolution alongwith the declaration that “only a free and Independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis”.\textsuperscript{106}
Gandhi while taking the war as a drastic disease drew conclusion that the country could be saved from the possibility of the attack of Japan only after the withdrawal of British rules from India.\textsuperscript{107} He also feared that India might go the way of Malaya and Burma where the people in thousands perished without food and drink as testified by his interview to an American Journalist.\textsuperscript{108} That is why he said, "British rule in India in any shape or form must end. On the other hand the rulers have said," We would gladly retire if we know to whom we should handover the rein". Gandhi answered," leave India to God - if that is too much, then leave her to anarchy."\textsuperscript{109} Mean while, the Congress Working Committee drafted a resolution on 9 July 1942 asking for an immediate withdrawal of the British power from India and authorised Gandhi to take charge of the mass movement.\textsuperscript{110}

Further, The CWC passed the resolution at Wardha on similar lines on 14 July 1942 that India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in effecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity and saving the world from Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of imperialism."\textsuperscript{111} Consequently, Gandhi gave a press statement which appeared in all the leading newspapers: "There is no question of one or more chance, after all, it is an open - rebellion" and declared it a mass movement on a purely non-violent character."\textsuperscript{112} Now, at the instance of Gandhi ji, All India Congress Committee passed a historic is resolution on 8 August 1942 its Bombay session the "Quit India" resolution. That Congress
The A.I.C.C. not only asked Gandhi to lead the movement but also appealed to the people of India to face the danger and to hold together. Gandhi while accepting the decision of A.I.C.C. declared that it was the last struggle of his life. As per 12-point programme issued by the A.I.C.C., a peaceful *hartal* was also to be carried out throughout the country against the arrest of Gandhi. Instructions were also given: There will be meeting in the evening where the Congress message of "Quit India" would be delivered. As per instructions of Gandhi' it was said that every man and woman would bear a badge on his or her person with the motto of "Do or Die". He disclosed one more thing on the same day that he would make every effort to see the Viceroy or address a letter to him and wait for his reply before starting the struggle. It might take a week or a fortnight or three weeks". Maulana Azad, the then Congress President, announced in the same context that the copies of the resolution would be sent to President Roosevelt, Chinese Government and to Soviet Ambassador in London.\(^\text{114}\)

On 9 August 1942 Gandhi alongwith some fifty Congress members was arrested at Bombay. At the time of his arrest Gandhi gave a parting message to his countrymen," Everyone is free to go the fullest ungth under ahimsa. Complete deadlock by strikes and other non-violent means. Satyagra his go out to die, not to live. They must seek and face death. It is only when individuals go
out to die that nation will survive, Karenge ya marenge (we will do or die).\textsuperscript{115}

Gandhi's message, "Do or Die" became a motto for the millions, which brought about mass awakening among the Indians. Even the government employees started supporting those who were fighting for the country's freedom.

As the Congress leaders at Bombay session did not have an idea of Government's secret plan to arrest Gandhi and other prominent leaders even before the Commencement of the Quit India Movement, they did not take the information sent by the then General secretary of Delhi Congress, Mr Jagal Kishore Khanna, seriously and rather was laughed it away. Aruna Asaf Ali along with her husband Mr. Asaf Ali (the leaders of Delhi) who had brought the information about the Top secret circular of the Home Department to Railway and other concerned authorety was set aside by Sarojini Naidu and other by saying "These Delhi people always bring all sorts of news". She even called the information as the wild talk of opium workers at a Chandukhana in Delhi as testified by Aruna Asaf Ali in here own statement.\textsuperscript{116}

More over, Maulana Azad, the then president of the Bombay session of Congress Confidently asked the delegates to meet him at Birla house (where he was staying) at 7.30 the next morning for proceeding to the flag hoisting ceremony at Gowalia Tank Maidan. Now it was turn of Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali to laugh at who reminded of
her husband's arrest in the early hours of next morning. She wrote, "My husband and I were not in the least surprise in the hours of 9 August. The police knocked the door at the flat where we were staying. When they announced Asaf Sahel's Arrest, I asked 'what about me? 'There is no warrant for you madam' I was told."

No sooner did Gandhi was arrested on 9 August 1942, the people at various towns like Bombay, Ahemdabad Poona etc. welcome furious when unrest as the news reached to them. His arrest working as pouring of fuel to nationalist feeling aganist the foreign rule was sufficient to cause for the out break of hartals by Industrial labour in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Kanpur, Indore, Banglore and Mysore. The peasants also got effected by the emerging turmoil and they came out as rebels against their land owners and the agents of British authority.

The enthusiasm was so high by now that people, at various places, declared independence and took charge of the police stations. The Congress activists hoisted tricolour on government buildings like Courts and other offices. Thus the movement spread over the entire country.

The administrative machinery got paralysed in several districts in Bihar, Central Provinces, Andhra, Uttar Pardesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Assam, Orissa and parts of Bengal. In response to the movement, the government came out with several ordinances like the Penalties Enhancement Ordinance, Collective fine Ordinance, The Special Court Ordinance, the Whipping Ordinance in order to bring the situation under control.
These ordinances aimed at legalising certain forms of plunder, loot, flogging and even pilling of political offenders. Congress offices were declared illegal funds became the property of the Government India. So far as the involvement of women leaders/activists in the Quit India Movement was concerned, they took part in the movement.

Apart from taking out procession and holding demonstration in the absence of male leaders, they organised training camps in which they were given training civil duties, and first aid, education on democracy and Indian Constitution. Training in lathi and drill was also imparted in the camps.

Besides they, organised Political Prisoner’ Relief Fund and collected a large amount of money. Still some of the women were pioneers whose contribution to the movement was immense and decisive as well. It is significant to note that the Quit India Movement was practically leaderless since all senior members of the Congress had already been arrested soon after the launching of the movement. However, the news of their arrest spread like a wild fire and spontaneous hartals look place all over the country wherein women also joined in taking out processions, holding meetings and demonstrations, etc.

BOMBAY

Sarojini Naidu, a pioneer of women leader, an erudite orator and a great poetess was just released on 11 December 1940 in the lieu of her participation in
Individual Satyagraha due to her illness was again arrested on 9 August 1942. After keeping her at Ahmednagar fort, she was shifted to Agakhan Palace detention camp from 11 August 1942 to 21 March 1943.\textsuperscript{123} In Jail, she supervised cooking along with Kastur Ba when she was a little better. A sepoy and one or two convicts (thirty of whom were brought from Yarvada Prison every morning to clean up the place and take care of the garden) helped in the kitchen.\textsuperscript{124}

After coming out of jail, she remained silent for ten months and restored her political activities thereafter. On 26 January 1944, when she reached Lahore railway station, she did not entertain the notice served to her by Punjab Government prohibiting from making a speech or taking part in procession.

She rather made remarks while returning the notice that she was already under the instruction of her doctor.\textsuperscript{125} Khurshed Behn, a well-known organiser of volunteer army in 1930, preacher of the gospel of non-violence among the people of North-West Frontier and creator of awakening also took part in Quit India Movement in Bombay, taking out usual procession specially on women's day. Three procession were at Ahmedabad and one was lathicharged. Seventy six women were arrested in the processions.\textsuperscript{126}

Usha Mehta, a prominent women leader of Gandhian era, started her public and patriotic career on that historic occasion i.e. 9 August 1942 when Gandhi gave his
clarion call of Quit India to the people from the Gowalia Tank Maidan in Bombay. Even as a child and as a young school girl she was drawn into politics and once found herself in the police look-up with other little children of Vanar Sena. A witness as well as confirmed in mind to make the success of the historical resolution of Quit India Movement, she had set her mind to do something different and more challenging than mere picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops. On some one’s suggestion, she immediately made up her mind to run a secret transmission station despite of staunch opposition of her father who was a government servant and first wanted to finish her education.

Usha Mehta started a difficult and a challenging job when most of the leaders were in jail. Ultimately she got managed a transmitte space for its instalation solely with the financial help of Babubhai Khakar and Vithalbhai, K. Jhaveri. The setting up of a radio station in the name of “Voice of Freedom” came up as a unique contribution of Usha Mehta. While as an owner and the chief announcer of this radio station Usha started broadcasting on 14 August 1942; "This is Congress Radio calling on 42.84 meters from somewhere in India".

It aimed at broadcasting news and gave talks in Hindustan. This radio station was the first one to relay the news of chittagong bomb raid, Jamshedpur strikes and atrocities at Ashti Chimur etc. The speeches were basically meant to highlight the Congress stand both from national and international point of view. In regard to Quit India
Movement, the following comments were relayed; “So far we were conducting a movement, but now, we are conducting a revolution. In a revolution, there is a victory or defeat. The revolution is not of one party or community but of the whole India. We hope you will not rest content till the British Empire is burnt to ashes.”

The Congress Radio operated from 20 August 1942 till the end of December, with Dr. Rammanohar Lohia as a frequent speaker and patriotic songs like Iqbal’s Sare Jahan Se Achha Hindustan Hamara as well as Bande Mataram were regularly played. However, the radio could not function for a long time as it was raided by the government on night of 12 November, 1942 along with the arrest of Babubhai and Usha Mehta in the Radio Conspiracy Case.

In the decision of the case, she was sentenced to four months imprisonment wherein she remained till April 1946. It is significant to note that during her interrogation, the police made all possible efforts to get the details but she did not budge an inch. Though the life in cell of the jail was hard, full of filth, dirt and nauseating smell but she spent it as a brave and true soldier of freedom struggle.

A secret letter dated 27th January 1943, from the Home Department (Special) Bombay, to Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, forwarded a report by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay on the Congress Radio Case. The report contained
a note on Miss Usha Mehta who made several of the records of the programme used in the broadcast and also operated the transmitter. The report referred to her as "an ardent Congress Woman".

Miss Madeline Slade was another lady who joined Quit India movement. She was a daughter of Sir Edmund Slade and was born in 1892 in a respectable and well-to-do aristocratic family of Great Britain. Having acquired good education and widely travelled in European countries like England, France and Germany etc. she made up her mind to join Gandhi's movement. The credit, in fact, goes to a book on Gandhiji written by a French philosopher Romain Rolland, in evoking ideology and movement. She was greatly influenced with Gandhiji and asked his permission for joining his Ashram in Ahmedabad. After receiving permission, she came to India in 1925 and joined Ashram where she read books on Hindu scripture. She was given a new name of Mira Ben. She was restricted to enter Bombay city and sentenced to three months imprisonment under section 21 of Emergency Ordinance on defying the government order.

Besides joining Gandhiji's tour to England to attend Round Table Conference in 1931, Mira Ben took at her own the job of campaigning Gandhi's ideology through news to several papers in England, America, France, Germany and Switzerland. She continued this job despite warning of her arrest by government. Mira Ben did a lot in spreading the importance of Khadi by a tour throughout the country after returning from England. She went to England again in
1934 to educate the people of England in India's philosophy. She was arrested during the Quit India movement of 1942 along with Gandhi and was confined to Aga Khan palace for twenty one months.\textsuperscript{139}

Later on, she was appointed special advisor to Government of Uttar Pradesh for “grow more food” campaign. From 1947 to 1960, she was advisor for development programme. In her last days, she kept busy in running an \textit{Ashram} at Rishikesh.\textsuperscript{140} Bombay witnessed a martyr's death in Kasturba Gandhi who had shared the responsibilities of the freedom struggle with Gandhiji died as a prisoner on 24 February 1944. She could not even get the required medical help according to her own desire. It was after a great deal of correspondence by Gandhiji that physicians of her choice were allowed to attend her.\textsuperscript{141}

\textbf{MYSORE}

The people of Mysore also did not remain behind in their efforts to make the movement a success. A historical event occurred in village I sure is noteworthy in this regard. It turned into violence whereby a party of children, well prepared with nationalist feelings, while taking a lead forcibly relieved the Patil of the village who was in fact reluctant not to resign from the post asked for by \textit{Panchayats} of neighbouring villages.\textsuperscript{142}

The police officials who raided the village in favour of Patil were summoned by the party of the children and asked to wear Gandhi caps and remove their hats. The sub-Inspector, while considering the whole event as
insulting, ordered a *lathi* charge where in a girl was even wounded by a shot at the order of sub-inspector whose hat was replaced by a Gandhi cap by the same girl. This enraged the villagers, as a result, they attacked the police party and killed the sub-Inspector and *Amildar*. Thereafter, fourteen persons were sentenced to be hanged and twenty three including three women sentenced to transportation for life. However, the High Court confirmed the death sentence in the trial of five and the transportation sentence on three women.\textsuperscript{143}

**KARNATAK**

The programme of "Quit India" movement was successfully launched by students and youngesters in Karnataka. So far as the participation of the girl students was concerned, their role was by no means small. Significantly, thirty two girls were severely beaten at Kumtha Adoni on defying the government laws.\textsuperscript{144} An old women named Smt. Balamakki Bamakka, mother of two influential merchants, who was leading a procession with a flag with Gandhiji's photo, was arrested while appealing the sub-Inspector of police to region. A remarkable event took place at the District Courts at Dharwar on 23 October 1942 where girl students Miss Hemlata Sheonolikar and Miss Gulvadi while entering the court hoisted the tricolour on the judge's seat. They even asked the judge to resign his seat within a time of eight days failing which he would be treated as traitor. However, Shenolikar was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty rupees or one month imprisonment and she preferred to go to jail.\textsuperscript{145}
But the second girl, Gulvadi who had escaped from the arrest first time came again to Dharwan Bar and addressed the Bar exhorting them to support the cause of independence. She was arrested this time and sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty rupees or to undergo three months imprisonment and the brave girl preferred to go to jail.\textsuperscript{146}

**BANGAL**

The Bengali women took part in the movement like trained army men. The role of people of Jamlauk subdivision of Midnapur District who raised an army of volunteers including women was extra ordinary in this regard. Their decisive activities comprised of organising camps in order to give required training to volunteers, formation of local relief committees and organisation of a *Khadi* centre with four thousand mostly women, spinners at work.\textsuperscript{147} What is significant to note is the formation of a National Government within the limits laid down by the Congress Committee wherein ministers were also appointed to assist this government. The Congress government kept on working till 8 August 1944 when it was dissolved at the instance of Gandhiji.\textsuperscript{148}

The women of the above said sub-division took out procession and seven of them were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment each in their trial.\textsuperscript{149} Interestingly, Smt Manangini Hazra, a seventy three years old woman who led one of similar processions was hit at hand by a
police man but she did not let the flag drop. Instead, she exhorted to join the official to cease firing and to give up their job to join the freedom movement. When she was leading the procession, she got hit a bullet and consequently died. Further, seventy four women of the same sub-division were raped by the police men and other employees of the government. One other woman also died because of the assault made by the police. Again on 7 November, 1942, when the houses of the people who were involved in the political activities were set on fire by the police men, the women did not let come out. The police was rather intentionally deputed on guard outside the houses. However, they were rescued by volunteers through either back doors or by means of ladders thrown over the roofs.

Further more, the criminal assaults on volunteers of Quit India Movement did not stop thereby but repeated on 9 January 1943 when three villages of Masuria, Dalmasuria and Chandipur in Mohishadal Thana were plundered by six hundred soldiers. Beside men, 46 women in these villages were also criminally assaulted by those soldiers in a single day. The women, being trained, did not sit silent but started an organisation called Bhagini Seva Sangh aiming at protection of their chastity and honour. Some of them even faced the soldiers and policemen with weapons in their hands. Consequently, two women were prosecuted under Arms Act for drawing out daggers to protect themselves.
ASSAM

The province of Assam was equally ahead so far as the number of sacrifices made by women in the Quit India Movement was concerned. It was this province wherein the women of all age group from teenage to old age boldly participated in the movement in both ways viz in leading as well as in participating. Among some of the martyr's cases following may be cited in order to testify the fact that Assam in no way was behind the other province as rightly observed by Mitra and Chakraborty in Rebel India', is largely a struggle for Assam womanhood.” A teenager Kanak Lata Barua while leading the procession on 20 September, 1942 of five hundred people toward Gohapon Thana was shot down by the Daroga of the thana. Thereafter the boy Mukunda who immediately held her for having flag in the procession was also shot dead. Many more were killed including one pregnant woman and six others were injured. Similarly, Bhogaswari Phoo Kanani, an elderly woman, who had gone to see her grand daughter in the procession was shot dead amidst the processionists of the Congress. The Congress office was raided and seized property by the government officials.

The other places of importance where in the women faced the military and armed police during the movement were like Gohpur, Barapujjia, Teok and Brahampur. Infact, owing to the accesses committed by the military and police, the movement continued to gain momentum and the women leaders like Smt. Annupriya Barua and Sudhalata Dutta, kept on participating in the movement.
Besides, a prominent organisation. Free India’s Fighting Force was also active in the movement. The activities of this organisation was like that of Red Cross including the distribution of warm clothes and many other things to the workers and countrymen over all Assam. The nationalist feelings in the women were inculcated at such a level that they even carried on their useful work even after the organisation was banned by the government.159

The government applied chicanery including inhuman treatment in order to either dissuade the women from participating in movement or disclosing the whereabouts of their relatives. The official might go to any extent including the long time tortures as happened in case of Mrs. Anna Prava Barua who suffered the same for two long years and many times her privacy, even in sleep, at night was disrupted by lifting mosquito net so that her husband, declared absconder, could be traced.160

The procession of villagers of Bajali village on 7 October 1942 by women numbered in ten thousand is significant to note. Starting from the village Bajali, the procession reached to Pata Churkuchi Police Station Platform where the women sang national song and hoisted the flag. Moreover, they also asked the police officials to resign from their posts.161 Besides, Tejpur is another place in Assam where women from surrounding villages paraded in the streets of the sang songs, shouted slogans and hoisted the tricolour flag. About one thousand women joined together in the prayer meeting held at Kirtan Ghar in order to celebrate 26 January 1943 as independence day but the
public meetings were banned. One of the woman leaders, Chandra Prabha, who was delivering a lecture was arrested. Some other women were also assaulted of whom Sita Bhuwaneswari Devi was the worst victim. Moreover, the sand was also mixed with prasad which was to distributed among the people assembled after completion of the prayer.

ORRISA

The arrest of the important male leaders in Orissa left the ground of battle of freedom for women to display their leadership ability in the province Interestingly, like other provinces the Orissa, women contributed in both ways i.e. through underground activities as well as openly participating in strikes, hartals, protest meetings and pasting of threatening posters on the walls. Among many of activist woman leaders like Malati Devi, guided by Surender Nath Dwivedi, took over the command in launching the movement as well as controlling the tense situation in the province. She, along with other leaders, used to take help from two bulletins namely Congress Barata and Satyasambad published by the Congressmen. She issued instructions to sabotage communication by removing railway lines and disconnecting the telephone wires so as to isolate certain parts of the country in order to help the Congress workers to carry on the work in their areas.

Another prominent women leader in the movement was Sita Devi Khadanga, a first lady dramatist in Orissa,
who was well read and influenced by Bankimchandra's literature successfully infused the spirit of nationalism among the people of the province through her provocative books. Her important contributions in the field of literature are *Nari, Posyaputra, Naistik, Prachinpanth, Khyda ra Pida and Matruhina*. These books have been published in the form of *Sita Devi Granthabali*. She like her predecessors, such as Kuntala Kumari and Annapurna Patnaik, discarded the theme of romantic love between a prince and princess and wrote on the theme of liberation, propagating the message of Gandhi. The Congress workers in the province were also motivated by a number of thought-provoking letters written in Gandhian message of 'Do or Die' recovered from the Bengal nationalists.

The students of Orissa in general and particularly of Revenshaw College, Cuttack proved their commitment to Quit India Movement. While inaugurating it by holding a meeting on 10 August 1942 outside the College gate they also observed a strike on 11 August. It was on 15 August when around 200 students of the same College set fire the government's office room damaging the furniture and other equipments. Along with other student leaders Nandini Devi took active part in student's politics and was arrested by the police and released after one week. Another activist women leader Smt. Mangla Devi along with twelve women was arrested on 16 August 1942 when they were attempting to free the Congress Ashram in Bari which had even burnt the uniform of Chaukidars and police officers. Towards the end of August 1942, prominent women like
Priyambada Devi and Godavari Devi and Rama Devi etc. were arrested owing to the spread of movement as well as its conversion into violent incidents in the Cuttack district.

Their arrest caused the emergence of tense in Kaipada town wherein people were not only arrested by the police, officials but also suffered tortures under the supervision of Deputy Superintendent of Police Sri Lakshman Mishra. The people of Kaipada reached Sanyasipur in order to request Annapurna Maharana (who was addressing a meeting there) to take the leadership of their agitation. While accepting their demand, she reached Kaipada and the movement got accelerated in the area under her leadership. The situation became tense and it forced the police to open fire. As a consequence, five persons died at the spot. A boy injured by the police bullet was, however, saved by Annapurna Maharana.

The other towns where violent activities occurred at the same time were Eram, Tirtol, Jagatsinghpur and Balikuda. The people burnt some Government institutions like post offices, police barracks, etc. When the Additional Superintendent of Police reached at Bari along with armed police on 31 August 1942 to collect mass fines from the people, he was strongly opposed by the people under the leadership of Annapurna Maharana. As a result, she was arrested by the police and was kept in the Cuttack jail. In this way, the Cuttack jail was filled with women leaders mentioned above along with other activist women.
A notable event took place at Eram police station in the district of Balasore where the tragic like Jallianwala bagh occurred. The people of this area, infact, had declared their independence and had banned the government officers to function in the area. They were celebrating their achievements on that day when the police suddenly opened fire upon them without giving the slightest warning. As a result, 28 persons died on the spot and 80 were injured.

The tribal women of Koraput district also did not lag behind so far as the commitment toward the Quit India Movement was concerned. Their main leaders were Bawri Sahu and her daughter Santi Devi who moved from one place to another and gave important news to the revolutionaries. The other women who were active in the movement were Smt. Mesti Kastani, Subarana, Satank, Auyati, Kumari Jhara, Smt. Jamuna, Smt. Jani, Kumari Tanda, and Kumari Draupadi. All such worked with dedication for the Congress movement. In Sambalpur also, the movement took a violent turn at several places with the women leaders including Smt. Jambobati Devi, Pravabati Devi, Radhika Devi and Parvati Giri. Similarly, in the Puri district, Sunamani Devi, Uma Bharatiya, Gunamanjari Devi, Bimla Devi, etc. played an important role during the Quit India Movement at Katakpur, Nuagam, Delang and Satyabadi area, They tried to hoist Congress flag at government offices and did picketing and hartals throughout the Puri district. Sunami Devi was even
arrested and detained in jail till 1944 as security prisoner.\textsuperscript{178}

In the district of Ganjam, the incidents of burning and destruction of government buildings/offices under the leadership of Champa Devi, Hemalasa Devi, Smt. Suryaama and P. Taramma took place. Suryaama was also arrested during the time of \textit{hartal} at Berhampur and was imprisoned twice in Berhampur jail.\textsuperscript{179} T. Taramma also participated in the August movement at Parlakhemundi and was imprisoned for two years and six months.\textsuperscript{180} Champa Devi moved to different places for organising \textit{hartals} and picketing for which she too was detained in police custody.\textsuperscript{181}

Beside the Quit India Movement, the women of Orissa did not lag behind to face the condition of panic suddenly occurred due to apprehension of Japanese attack on coastal area during the II World War. They supported and followed Mira Ben, who was sent by Gandhiji, in creation of not only confidence among people but also encouraging women to become active all the more in the movement.\textsuperscript{182} When the people of Cuttack faced acute shortage of food stuff due to war effect a number of women got resolved the problem through an agitation, but the then Finance Minister assured the mob to provide rice through the district magistrate.\textsuperscript{183}

An Institution known as A.R.P. Institution was set up by Lady Lewis at Cuttack to provide training to women and children to protect themselves from the aerial attack of
Japanese force. On opening its branches at Puri, Balasore, Berhampur and Sambalpur, the activist women did a lot of work for its publicity and took care of the emergency camps which were opened for children and women. Besides, some prominent women of Orissa National War Front like Smt. Latika Devi also toured different places of Orissa to create public consciousness among the women to meet the war emergency. In this manner the women of Orissa played an important multi facet role in regard to national Satyagraha, Quit India movement and war emergencies.

UTTAR PRADESH

The people of Uttar Pradesh had actively been participating in the freedom movement right from its beginning. On the commencement of Quit India movement in August 1942, they continued the struggle mainly under the auspices of the Congress leadership. As a consequence, the government while taking repressive measures took the Congress office in its possession so that the activities of the Congressmen and women could be stopped. In response to government's action, a group of girl students raided the office and seized it on 10 August 1942. Some of the girl students even toured the district and rendered whatever relief and succour they could to the people. The government started stern action against the activists through inhuman treatment, malign behaviour and lot of atrocities committed on them. Besides, they were also deprived of their valuable belongings. Women of elite/
respectable families were asked to vacate their houses at the point of bayonets.\textsuperscript{187}

In some cases, the government officials even crossed all the limit of descency when the houses of even those who had given birth to children few hours or a day or two before had to leave their houses.\textsuperscript{188} The pressure was also mounted on women to part with their ornaments. In some cases, the ornaments were forcibly removed from their bodies.\textsuperscript{189} An event of martyr was also witnessed when an Ahir woman of Samnwal village of district Ghazipur was shot down when she was running away for the fear of soldiers.\textsuperscript{190}

The police officials committed sever atrocities on women at Banaras. It was reported that some women were dragged by their long haire, they were asked to perform baithak; no food was given to them. The ongoing artrocities did not end there by but reached at the peak when a child was burnt alive before her mother.\textsuperscript{191} Some women were tortured in order to disclose the where abouts of their husbands.\textsuperscript{192} Nine students were externed from Banaras Hindu University for actively participating in the movement.\textsuperscript{193}

MADHYA PRADESH

The activist Congress women in Madhya Pradesh equally contributed to the Quit India movement like the women of other provinces. The notable aspect of their commitment at final stage of the struggle was that without
a women leader, they plunged into the movement to make it a success. It was the *Raksha Bandhan* day of 1942 when the women of the province approached the government officials and members of the bar making a request the former to resign and the later to refrain from attending the courts. Considering them, infact, as their brothers, the women were aspiring to respond positively as if they were demanding their co-operation for such an esteemed national cause positively as a gift as from their brother and expected to give as an assurance of the safety and security of their future.

It was due to the women's commitment that the nationalist feelings got inculcated even in the village people and this was a great concern for the government which intended to curb the movement immediately. On 19 August, 1942, a special train reached Wardha with 200 European soldiers and about 50 Indian police constables. Who raided some of the houses and plundered the property of the inhabitants. The women of village Chimur had to suffer a great deal at the hands of the police and military. They were even mercilessly raped by them. The reports of the same event confirms the cases where women in advanced stages of pregnancy or in confinement after delivery or in menses. It is a matter of utter shocking that girls of tender age were raped by them.

A committee consisted of official and non-official members was constituted to enquire about the happenings at Chimur. As per its report, it was concluded that thirteen women were raped and some of them were raped
by more than one European. Few girls were also molested. In one of the girls case, one European soldier and one Indian soldier molested her. It was further revealed that they even took her ring and ten rupees from the mother of effected girl.\textsuperscript{197} Even the wife of the Sarpanch of the village who was pregnant was also raped.\textsuperscript{198}

Besides, Anasuyaban Kale's involement in the freedom movement had been very active in the movement since 1920. The credit goes to her in organising Bhagni Mandal in 1920 but, later on, joined as active member of All India Women's Conference. She also became the member of Central Provinces Legislature in 1928 as well as its Deputy Speaker but left in 1930 in protest to Gandhi's arrest in connection with salf \textit{Satyagraha}.\textsuperscript{199} In 1937, she became Deputy Speaker of Madhya Pradesh assembly but had to resign from office due to the policy of Congress in regard to the II World War. She remained quite active during quit India movement also. Significantly, it was due to her efforts that life of twenty five young men\textsuperscript{200} who were associated with Ashti Chimur of the freedom struggle were saved.\textsuperscript{201} She once again got a chance to become a member of legislature in Independent India.\textsuperscript{202}

\textbf{NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE}

The Khudai Khidmatgars who were the followers of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, prominently known as Frontier Gandhi, got enlisted their names in the committed freedom fighters during the Quit India movement in North-West Frontier Province. It was due to their efforts that the
movement had taken so much a strong hold amongst the women that the *purdah-stricken* Bannu also witnessed the tearing of the veils of the women. The people belonging to both Islam and Hinduism had so special respect to the activists of Khudai Khidmatgars that during the movement a grand procession was taken out as a mark of protest against the arrest of Hindu Muslim merchants for giving food and shelter to the dedicated followers of Abdul Gaffar Khan. Significantly, it was the first demonstration arranged by women in the history of the Province. As a consequent, it had a reaching effect on the people.203

SIND

The area of Sind also came under the sway of Quit India Movement. The women being well prepared took out processions as usual but their efforts were curbed by the shrewd police officers of Karachi. The officers in fact, had brought out new methods to deal with the processionists. They used to abuse the women volunteers in the most filthy Language204 in order to leg down their moral to suck a level as if they were committing some herious Crime. Moreover, after their arrest the women were taken away far off places and released in mid of night some where in unapproachable place. The women in this way, got highly harassed along with demoralising condition and had to return home only after great difficulties. Some police officers could go to any extent to humiliate the women Volunteers physically as well as mentally so that they might part with from the movement. For example, the city
Magistrate Mr. Rup Chand, while conducting the case of a girl, slapped her on the face because she had refused to apologize. However, no action deterred the girls and women who were, in fact, committed so much to the national cause that all the tactics and strategies of the Government proved futile. Significantly, two girls volunteers after entering the Court of the City Magistrate not only asked him confidentially but also gave order in writing to vacate the post as he had been found incompetent. Both girls further went ahead and distributed the copies of order in Court. Both of them were arrested, tried and were convicted to long term of imprisonment.

PUNJAB

The people of Punjab who were well prepared, to contribute their due to the national movement launched by Congress leadership. The provincial Leaders of Punjab played decisive role in this regard. They, in fact, kept on strengthening the national feelings among people by holding programmes like celebration of Independence Day on 26 January 1947, women's meeting on 4 and 5, April 1942 in Jallianwala Bagh under the leadership of Puran Devi of Lahore, holding of two Camps of women in Lahore, visits and meetings conducted by Congress volunteers, holding of exhibition of khaddar.

Besides, the tour of Smt. Sucheta Kriplani in connection with the organisation of women on 17 April
1942 (When formation of sub committee of Women Congress Committee under the leadership of Smt. Vidyawati Seth alongwith twelve women as its members was made) paved a way in strengthening the women's organisation for the future movement i.e. August Revolution. It was because of such preparations that the people of Punjab opposed the action of the British Government when the news of the arrests of Gandhi and other prominent leader's at Bombay on 9 August 1942. Consequently, hartals and demonstration were organised in several cities of the province.

The movement while making a start from Lahore and Amritsar on the same day i.e. 9 August rapidly spread into big and small towns of the province. On the contrary, the government also responded so promptly in a repressing mood that thirteen Leaders and workers of the Congress including a couple Principal Chhibaldas and his wife were arrested at Lahore in the afternoon on 9 August under Rule of 129 of the D.I.R. However, the enthusiasm of activists belonging to Amritsar converted into anger because of inflammatory speeches delivered in the meetings and processions held at various places on 9, 10 and 11 of August 1942. Incidents of stone throwing, cutting of telegraph wires by groups of agitators occurred. Besides, some government property was also destroyed at the same time. The repression tactics of the police went on side by side and the volunteers incuding women did not have any hesitation to face the consequences. Significantly, besides Lahore and Amritsar, the penetration of the
movement into other cities like Ludhiana, Jullundur, Batala and Jagraon, etc. could be noticed as successful as testified by the arrests of volunteers including women by the police.\textsuperscript{213}

For the prohibition of meetings and processions in Lahore, the section of I.P.C.144 was invoked by the District Magistrate, K.H. Henderson. Two prominent ladies Smt. Puran Devi and Begum Fatima were arrested on 11 August on account of her activities and the later one on account of her anti-government poems on 16 August 1942.\textsuperscript{214} Similarly, Luxmi Trikha and Smt. Satyawati were arrested at Anarkali Bazar in Lahore on 26 August when they organised \textit{Satyagraha} and raised slogans like \textit{Inquilab Zindabad}; ‘You the Britishers Quit India’, \textit{Swaraj} is our birth right’, \textit{Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai}. Besides, they sang songs and marched in Anarkali Bazar with national flags. Other women who participated in the demonstrations were Subhadra, daughter of Smt. Satyawati, Smt. Savitri Devi, wife of Ramkishan and Smt. Lajjawati, wife of Hemraj. All these women were arrested under Rule of 38 of the D.I.R.\textsuperscript{215}

The credit of providing a successful leadership in Punjab goes to Rameshwari Nehru of Lahore who was appointed ‘Second Dictator’ of Punjab Provincial Congress Committee by Main Iftikar-ud-Din.\textsuperscript{216} She played a decisive role in propagating to wear the \textit{Kesri Sarees} by women, circulation of Congress Bulletin including the Harijan, in sending the congress programmes, etc. It is noteworthy that she was arrested on 29 August in a dramatic scene
created by the police officials. While posing themselves as member of Harijan community they wished to meet her. On her coming out of her house she was arrested by them. Though she was released after some days but her movement was restricted. She was again arrested on 15 September, 1942. Interestingly her maid servant, Smt. Sundari Devi was also arrested along with arrest of other women volunteers like Smt. Saroj Kumari and Smt. Sukhdevi but they were later on released by the Court. Smt. Shanno Devi, M.L.A., who was arrested on 24 September at Lahore Railway Station under the Rule of 129 of the Defence of India Rules was awarded 6 months simple imprisonment.

At Amritsar, a remarkable procession was organised on Gandhi Jayanti i.e. 2 October 1942 by about three dozen Young College girls with hoisting tricolour flag and singing national song. Their commitment towards the national cause was so high that it moved the heart of people gathered in a crowd at Chowk Phuwara wala that they started throwing stones on police persons. As a result, 38 policemen sustained injury. However, the police dispersed the crowd through lathi Charge and also forcibly removed the girls to an unknown place. The girls were let off after few hours of detention.

Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, a princess of Kapurthala made all her multidimensional efforts to make the Quit India movement a success in Simla. The Credit goes to her in embarrassing the position of government by organising meetings and processions almost daily wherein she not
only spoke but also distributed pamphlets inorder to create all sorts of anti government feelings amongst the people at Simla. It is significant to note that her processions were lathi charged 15 times. She also despatched various issues of Harijan Bulletins to the recipients in Lucknow and elsewhere. The abstract of one of the Harijan Bulletins printed by Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur may be read to judge her feelings and commitment to the freedom of the country: "Harijan has been suppressed. The Navjivan Press has been locked up. But the message of Harijan can never die........", She used to ask its supporters to continue their help and support in propagating its message. While speaking to the people of service class, she reminded, "All the congressmen and women of note are locked up........ No self respecting Indian should remain in service. There service is more than chains of slavery. If all non-cooperate, the machinery would come to stand still. Have we the courage? It is certainly our duty. Let no one lag behind. The government must Come to our hand. We can only live as free men and women.......... This is final battle let us 'do or die'. Read and pass on to your neighbour".

At last Raj Kumari was arrested at Kalka on 6 October 1942 under D.I.R. and was detained in Ambala Jail where she had to face much inconveniences. But she was brought to Simla under heavy police escort and was interned in her bungalow in Simla. The Chief Secretary to Government served an order dated 8 November 1942 to Raj Kumari prohibiting her movement outside the municipal limits of Simla. Bans were also imposed on her writings.
participation and delivering speeches in meetings and processions except religious in nature. Her letters to prominent leaders like Dr. Jivaraj Mehta, etc. were also put under surveillance by Simla authority of censorship.\textsuperscript{223} The ninth day of every month was observed at various places in Punjab as a protest day against the arrest of Gandhi and his compatriots. It was remarkably observed in Lahore Jail on 9 October 1942 when Smt. Amar Kaur, Smt. Satyawati of Delhi while taking oath hoisted a national flag on the jail gate. Consequently these women were transferred from women's cell, Lahore, to Ambala distt Jail.\textsuperscript{225}

Similarly, twenty eight girl students were arrested on a December 1942 in Lahore when they were observing the day.\textsuperscript{226} During this last phase of the movement, several women courted arrest from different places of the province. At Ludhiana, the main women volunteers were Smt. Sham Devi, Smt. Puran Devi Bhardwaj, Smt. Dwarka Devi, Smt. Savitri Devi and, Raj, her an eleven-year daughter.\textsuperscript{227} At Jagraon, Smt. Har Devi, Smt. Kalawati, etc were arrested but released later on.\textsuperscript{228} Smt. Freeda Bedi and Smt. Draupadi Devi were arrested from Gurdaspur and Batala respectively, Smt. Sham Devi and Smt. Durga Devi courted arrest at Amritsar.\textsuperscript{229} Smt. Harnam Kaur Bhattal and Smt. Raghibir Kaur from Jullundur and Smt. Shakuntala Rishi courted arrest from Lahore.\textsuperscript{230} Dr. Prakash Kaur was also arrested from Lyallpur.\textsuperscript{231}

In the eastern past of the province, some prominent women like Smt. Chitra Devi, Smt. Chand Bai, Smt. Kamla
Devi, Smt. Mohini Devi, Smt. Kastur Bai etc, organised the movement and courted arrest. At Rohtak, Smt. Kastur Bai was arrested and sentenced to one year imprisonment but she was released due to her husband's death before the expiry of her sentence. At Bhiwani, Mohini Devi led the movement though she was not arrested. Smt. Chitra Devi organised the movement at Hissar and courted arrest in 1943. Smt. Lilawati Singhal courted arrest from Sonepat and Smt. Kamla organised meetings and processions at Gurgaon.

Some of the women carried on their work secretly and underground at their own risk to evade police arrest because they wanted the movement to keep alive. Smt. Subhadra Joshi (a teacher in Queen Marry College, Lalore) was the another woman who under took the work of editing a paper *Hamara Sangram* published in Hindi from Delhi. While Becoming a target of C.I.D. official, she was arrested for hoisting the national flag in the Cannaught Place, New Delhi, Later on, she was sentenced 6 months imprisonment and detained in women's cell, Lahore. However, she was released after five months due to her ill health. Another women who worked in the underground movement was Luxmi Arya of Rohtak. She used to go from place to place inorder to carry message of congress after taking leave from the school.

Besides, there were some families whose members took a leading part in processions, meetings and raising slogans as well as courted arrests. I.K. Gujral (former Prime Minister of India) belongs to such a similar family of
Jhelum whose members, Smt. Pushpa Gujral, her husband A.N. Gujral, her two daughters along with his son I.K. Gujral were arrested and detained in different jails of the Punjab.\textsuperscript{236} At Lahore, Smt. Satywati, her husband Lala Achit Ram and his two daughters, Subhadra and Nirmal were arrested on 26 August 1942 and sentenced to one year imprisonment on account of their involvement in the movement.\textsuperscript{237} Some women like Smt. Gauran Devi, Dr. Prakash Kaur, Smt. Shakuntala Rishi and Smt. Bhag Devi took a leading part exclusively in organising Congress movement in rural areas of districts, Sialkot, Amritsar, Lahore, and Ambala\textsuperscript{238} respectively as the movement had greater impact on urban areas and it was also required to spread the movement in the villages as well. The movement slowed down after the celebration of Independence Day on 26 January 1943 and the activities now came to be confined mainly to interception of Congress Bulletins by post from Bombay.\textsuperscript{239} Lastly it was withdrawn in 1944 and the Congress women volunteers shifted to concentrate on maintaining communal harmony through the newly organised Kasturba Ashrams at various places of the province.\textsuperscript{240}

The British bureaucracy as well as judiciary, being utmost imperialist in principle, did not have sympathetic attitude towards the freedom movement. That is why their treatment towards the participants remained full of antagonism throughout the movement from (1920 to 1947). It rather became harsh during Quit India movement as they treated women in confinement with full of anger as
if they wanted to teach them an ultimate lesson. As a consequent even the women like Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, a princess of Kapurthala, had to face their inhuman treatment. She was not even allowed the change of clothes for one month in Ambala Jail, the ward in which she was confined as it was filthy and excreta of pigeons and rats which were her constant companions. There was a fowl smelling latrine in the living room which she refused to use on hygienic ground. There was no arrangement for bathing except - an open space. The food was bad, unclean and uncooked which she refused to eat it. Ultimately, on the third day, she tried to eat the food of jail which spoiled her stomach. She even lost her brother while she was in jail. Her letters to her sister-in-law were event not sent.

On the harsh treatment of jail authority with the women political prisoners belonging to the royal families and fraught up in luxuries and comforts, Pattafhi Sitaramaya commented, "this is a tale that the nation would never forget".

There were numerous prominent women prisoners who though belonged to elite class families like Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who were treated like criminals in jail Smt. Pameshwari Nehru was such a womess who was sentenced to 3 months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs 1000 in default or 3 months further imprisonment. Likewise there were Smt. Amar Kaur Smt Satyawati and Mrs. Chaman Lal who were transferred from Lahore jail to Ambala jail. Some of the women prisoners were kept in solitary confinement, to pressurize them to leave the movement. Smt. Shakuntala Rishi was such a woman who
was kept in gurdaspur jail for quite some time. Sometime even the teenager girls like Subhadra were kept in a separate cell. She was not allowed to meet her mother Smt. Satyawati who was also a political prisoner in the same jail.

In this way, it may fairly be said that the British authorities tried their level best to discard the nationalist feelings from women participants who were so deeply involved in different movements. These brave women could go to any extent in regard to their sacrifices. Thus, they paved way for the Indian women to prove that the spirit of sacrifice for national cause was not less than in any way to the men. Further, their participation in this regard was so matchless that British authorities oftenly found them in a dilemma how to curb their movement.

Moreover, the way the women leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta, Sarojini Naidu and Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, etc. carried on the movement so successfully in the absence of Gandhi and other important national leaders who were confined in jail during the Quit India movement left no space for Gandhi and others to make any comment on their commitment and leadership quality as he had earlier observed during the salt Satyagraha in 1930. This time Gandhi not only allowed their participation in public domain but also used their leadership quality as front leaders with his mantra 'Do or Die'.

Furthermore, the hardship faced by the women participants during their underground activities and the degree of silent sacrifice of those who faced extremely
inhuman treatment, rape and even loosing of their children left no iota of doubt that making a sacrifice for national cause was no monopoly of the men. So their participation on the equal footing is, undoubtedly, praiseworthy in all the movements started under the official leadership of the Indian National Congress.
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2. Ibid.


8. Ibid.


11. Ibid., p.108-09.

12. One who knows, Mrs.Margaret Cousins and Her Work in India (Madras : Women's Indian Association,1956) p.4.


20. *Education in India, Ninth Quinquinneal Review*, Vol. II, p. 218 (Madras had allocated a large amount of money for the education of women. In 1926, the government had spent approximately 50 million rupees compared to 28 million rupees spent by Bengal).


31. Ibid, p. 85, The number of figures are based on estimate after making some deductions of total women's electorate as the precise strength of the new electorate was not available in quoted Vijay Agnew, op.cit., p. 120 (Ref. No. 66).

32. All India Women's Conference, 14th Session, p. 203.


34. Agnew Vijay, op.cit., p.123.


37. Ibid., p. 360.


40. Editorial, Stri Dharma, May 1936.

41. Ibid., p. 102.

42. Ibid., May 1936; June 1936.

43. Agnew Vijay., op. cit., p.127.


46. Menon Lakshmi, op. cit., p. 28.

47. Kaur, Manmohan, op. cit., p.197.


52. Ibid., October, 14, 1939, p. 308.
54. Ibid., pp. 419-20, Harijan, October 28, 1939, p. 322.
55. Harijan, February 10, 1940, p. 441, also Harijan Sewak, February 17, 1940.
58. The Tribune, October 18 and 22, 1940.
61. Confidential D.O. No. 9114-C, Cuttack, 4 December 1940, Home Political File No. 18-12 1940 (N.A.I).
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63. Raju, Rajender V., Role of Women in India’s Freedom Struggle, p. 77.
64. Nabeen, 19 December, 1940.


73. *Home Department, Political, 1940*, No. 18/6/40, *FNR of the Punjab for the second half of June 1940*.

74. *Ibid*.

75. *The Tribune*, May 13 and June 10, 1940.

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77. *Ibid*, July 4, 1940.

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81. *Home Department, Political, 1940* No. 18/11, *FNR of the Punjab for the second half of November, 1940*, *The Tribune*, November 30, 1940.


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84. *Ibid*, No. 18/12, *FNR of the Punjab for the second half of December 1940*, *The Tribune* December 6, 1940.


86. *The Tribune*, November 29, 1940.
87. Mrs. Freeda Bedi was an Irish woman, a graduate of the Oxford University and Head of the English in F.C. College Lahore. She was married to B.P.L Bedi, a communist of Gurdaspur. She was a staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi quoted in Verma, Manju, op. cit., Ref. No. 54, p. 146, *The Tribune*, January 24, 1941.


93. *Home Department, Political*, 1941, No. 18/3 *FNR of the Punjab for the month of March* 1941, *The Tribune*, February 20, 1941.


95. *The Tribune*, March 9, 1941.

97. *Home Department, Political*, 1941 No. 18/4 and 18/5 FNRS of the Punjab for the months of March, April and May 1941, *The Tribune*, March 14, 16, 26, 30 April 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 30, May 1, 3, 7, 19, 1941. Interview with Mrs. Pushpa Gujral quoted in Verma, Manju, *op.cit.* Ref. No. 77, p.147.


100. (Begum Ghulam Fatima was the wife of Syed Ali Hussain. She used to recite patriotic and inspiring poems in the public meetings from an Urdu pamphlet entitled *Sada-i-dard* (our pain) which was forfeited ; *The Tribune*, January 8, 1940) *The Tribune*, May 25, June 24, 1941, *Home Department, Political*, 1941, No. 18/6 FNRS of the Punjab for the month of June 1941.

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113. The Samaj, 13 August, 1942, also Raju V. Rajendra, Role of Women in India's freedom struggle, p. 94, Ref. No. 20.
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146. Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee - Brief Report on happenings in Karnatak, 1 November, 1942 to 13 November, 1942; *AICC Papers*.


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156. Mitra Bejin, op. cit., p.4.
158. Mitra Bejin, op. cit., p.5.
159. Ibid.
162. Ibid.
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165.
166. Raju, V. Rajender, *Role of Women in India's Freedom Struggle*, p. 82.
168. Smt Nandini Devi, the daughter of a famous Oriya writer Shri K.C. Panigrahi.
172. Maharana, Sarat Chandra, op.cit, p.34.
175. Interview with Mr. Biswanath Patnaik, *Freedom Fighter of Koratpur District* quoted in Rajender V Raju, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
183. *Nabeen*, 29 June 1943.
186. *August Struggle, op. cit.*, p.78.
188. *Ibid*.
189. *Ibid*.
193. *Ibid*.
195. Chimur is a village with a population of about six thousand people in that period in Chanda District.

196. Indian Ravaged—Being an account of atrocities Committed under British aegis, over the whole subcontinent of India in the later part of 1942, Chimmur-Bhansali, Professor, p.2, *A.I.C.C. papers*.

197. India Ravaged, Bhansali. Professor, p.13.


199. The Times of India, 8 October, 1930.

200. These men were to be hanged for taking part in the 1942 movement. They were responsible for killing of some people in the two villages of Ashti and Chimur, cited in Kaur, Manmohan, *op. cit.*, p. 223.


202. She died in 1958.


212. *Home Department, Poltical*, 1942, No 18/8, *FNRs of the Punjab for the first half of August 1942*.


221. *The Tribune*, October 4, 6, 1942; also *Home Department Political, 1942, No. 18/10. FNRs of the Punjab for the month of October 1942.*


224. *Home Department, Political, 1944, No. 29/12/44.*


226. *Home Department, Political, 1942, No. 18/12, FNR of the Punjab for the first half of December 1942.*

227. Personal Interview with Savitri Sharma, wife of Kali Charan Sharma of Ludhiana (She herself Courted arrest in Ghas Mandi) cited in Verma, Manju, *op. cit.*, p. 150 Ref. No. 162.


232. Personal Interview with Pandit Shri Ram Sharma on 6 October 1980 cited by Verma Manju, *op. cit.*, p. 150 (Kastur Bai was an Ahir Caste and belonged to Gurgaon. She was married to Rampat, a teacher of Vaish High School, Rohtak. She died in 1971 at Rohtak).

233. As per Interview with Shri Ram Sharma (Kamla was a daughter of a Jat soldier, born in a small village of Narnaul tehsil, she joined the movement in a very young age. She remained very active in politics from 1930-47.) Verma Manju, *op. cit.*, p. 139. Ref. No. 171.


239. *Home Department, Political* No. 18/1/43 and 18/2/43, FNRs of the Punjab for the months of January and February 1943.


