CHAPTER II

Quit India Movement: Events and Participants

The historic "Quit India" resolution is a landmark in the history of freedom struggle of India. It was passed by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on July 14, 1942 and endorsed by the All India Congress Committee on August 8, at Bombay by an overwhelming majority. This resolution was moved by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and seconded by Sardar V.B.Patel. The resolution demanded the immediate withdrawal of British power from India for the sake of India. The Congress party vested the leadership in Mahatma Gandhi who was to conduct a non-violent mass movement in case the demand was not accepted by the British Government.¹

The Congress resolution contemplated that 'on the declaration of India's independence, a Provisional Government will be formed' with the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country; its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression together with the Allied Powers. After that the Provisional Government would evolve a scheme, for a constituent assembly, which would prepare a constitution, acceptable to all sections of the people. It further declared 'that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand, a world federation and an independent India would willingly join such a federation'.²

¹. Amendments to Resolution,1942, F.No.1/1942 p-I, All India Congress Committee Papers.
². Ibid.
The Working Committee also resolved 'to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence the starting of the mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest possible scale'. This resolution not only represented the decision of All India Congress but also represented the voice of the whole of India. Nehru said in his speech before this resolution was passed that "it represented the voice of the entire oppressed humanity of the world". He further said that "if British had accepted this resolution and acted according to its demands they would have seen such a change not only in India but all over the world. It would have changed the whole nature of the war. It would have given a revolutionary background." He pointed out that the essential thing about this war was that it was something infinitely more than a mere war. "It was a world war all right but greater than that, it was a prelude and a precursor of a vast revolution that was enveloping the whole world. The war might end now, but no peace would be established, no equilibrium attained until this revolution run its appointed course".

The struggle for freedom was to be renewed afresh. The struggle, in so far as the country was to utilize all the non-violent strength which had gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle, was the extension of the struggle that began as Non-co-operation in 1920. It was the last of the three great mass

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
movements for the national emancipation conducted under Gandhiji's leadership.\textsuperscript{6}

The "Quit India" resolution of 1942 is a great event in the history of India. Commenting on the "Quit India" resolution, Jai Prakash Narayan observed that the resolution of 1942 occupied the same place in the history of this country, as French and Russian revolution in the history of their respective countries. The amplitude of the resolution had not only no parallel in Indian history but also left an impact on Asia and World.\textsuperscript{7} It not only brought a complete transformation in the country, but it gave birth to a new India and gave new direction to its political life.

This resolution represented the high watermark both of Congress nationalism as well as its internationalism. It demonstrated the height of nationalism because the Congress refused to suffer foreign domination any longer, even if the alternative was an open revolt and collapse of war efforts with its inherent danger of Japanese victory.\textsuperscript{8}

Due to this resolution, Britain, United States and other countries realised the feelings and courage of Indians and their attachment towards freedom and democracy. Another historical importance of this resolution was that it gave power to Indian and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{6} Amendments to Resolution, 1942, F. No. 1/1942, p-1 A.I.C.C. Papers.
  \item \textsuperscript{7} Narayan, J. P., Foreword to Govind Sahai's '42 Rebellion.
  \item \textsuperscript{8} Gandhi, M.K., Correspondence with the Government, 1942-44, pp. 274-76. ( Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1945. )
\end{itemize}
Asian people against Fascism, Nazism and Imperialism. It also removed the black clouds which were spreading over the country. It laid great stress on the need of world fraternity and organisation in order to end the future war. Consequently, the Asian and African people started mass struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and oppressive forces wherever these existed.

Hitherto the Nationalist Movement suffered from individual initiative. The masses always looked to the leadership for guidance. But this time every man and woman who participated in the movement was the leader of himself or herself because of political consciousness.

Summing up the significance of the "Quit India" resolution it would be appropriate to say that it influenced Indian, Asian, African and other people in changing their attitude towards nationalism and freedom of their country and it brought about enormous political awakening. Thus the Indians started the Quit India Movement with a new spirit and a hope for immediate transfer of British power to India.

Now the question arises why this resolution was adopted by All India Congress Committee and what were the circumstances which compelled the All India Congress Committee to adopt such a resolution. There was no single factor but several factors were responsible for the adoption of this resolution.
The Second World War which broke out on September 3, 1939 put the Congress leadership in a difficult situation. The Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, immediately and without consulting anybody in India, declared that India would give her full support to Great Britain and her Allies. He spoke as the head of the British administration in India as he was fully entitled to do so, and there was also no doubt about his capacity in that position to secure whatever material resources were obtainable from India. But the Viceroy's action gave a rude shock to Indian nationalists. The Congress, however, was not wholly unprepared for this decision. The Congress had expressed its sympathy with the victims of Nazi aggression. At the same time it had equally, strongly and persistently opposed India being made a party to any war by a decision of the British Government without the consent of Indian people. This consent would be forthcoming only if British conceded independence.

Soon after the British declaration of war the Viceroy invited Gandhi to meet him. On September 5, 1939, Gandhi told him that he had no instructions from the Congress Working Committee and he could not speak on its behalf. He also told him that he was irrevocably committed to non-violence; he could not represent the national mind. Whatever negotiation or understanding took place it would have to be between the Congress and the Government. As for his own sympathies, they lay with Britain and France, "from the purely humanitarian standpoint".  

On September 14, 1939, the Congress Working Committee held its meeting in which Gandhiji also participated. The Committee took the gravest view of the action of the Viceroy in declaring India a belligerent country without first obtaining the consent of the Indian people. It recalled that the Congress had repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of Fascism and Nazism and had condemned their aggressions, and saw in them the intensification of the principle of Imperialism. It, therefore, felt that it must unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of Nazi Germany against Poland and sympathized with those who resisted it. At the same time it recalled the oft-repeated Congress stand that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people, and that no outside authority could impose this decision upon them nor could the Indian people permit their resources to be used for imperialist ends. The Working Committee invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms as to what their war aims were in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that was envisaged in particular; how these were going to be applied to India.10

On October 17, 1939, the British Government replied through a long statement issued by Lord Linlithgow. He said that as for the objectives for which Britain was fighting, the Viceroy declared that the British Government had not yet defined with any precision its detailed objectives, and emphasised the unwisdom and

impracticability of precise definition at so early a stage.
This, however, did not mean that there was any doubt or uncertainty about the broad general objectives for which the British Government had entered the war. It was fighting to resist aggression whether directed against itself or against others. It not only wanted victory, but looked forward to laying the foundation of a better international system in which war would not be the inevitable lot of each nation.\footnote{Bhuyan, A.C., \textit{The Quit India Movement}, Delhi, 1975, p.5.}

As for the British intentions regarding India, the Viceroy declared that he could do not better than to refer to the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on February 6, 1935. That statement had made it clear that the British Government did not intend to repeal the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919, rather it confirmed the interpretation put upon that preamble in 1929 by the Viceroy Lord Irwin, that the national issue of India's progress as contemplated was Dominion status. So far as the immediate present was concerned, the Viceroy declared that it was not possible to improve the scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935. At the end of the war, the British Government would be very willing to enter into consultations with the several communities, parties and interest in India, and with the Princes with a view to framing such modifications as might seem desirable. Turning to arrangements for securing the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war, the Viceroy...
thought that the right solution would be to establish a consultative group representing all major political parties in British India and the Princes in native states.  

This statement of the Viceroy prompted Gandhi to declare that the Congress had asked for bread but got a stone. 13 "If this is the final answer of the British Government to the people of India" Gandhi said in course of a joint statement with Abul Kalam Azad, "then there is no common ground between the two and our paths diverge completely". 14 In a similar statement the Working Committee on October 22, 1939, described the Viceregal statement as wholly unsatisfactory and calculated to rouse resentment among workers for freedom. The request to the British Government to declare its war aims particularly in their application to India, the Working Committee added, had been made not only on behalf of the people of India but of millions of people all over the world who were weary of war and violence and of fascist and imperialist systems, and who yearned for a new order of peace and freedom. The Viceregal statement, on the other hand, was an unequivocal reiteration of the old imperialist policy. The committee, therefore, was opposed to supporting Britain in the war, for it would amount to an endorsement of the old imperialist policy. As a first step, the

12. Congress and war Crisis, op. cit., pp.40-50
13. Ibid., p.58.
14. Ibid., p.60
committee called upon the Congress ministries formed under the Government of India Act of 1935 to resign. Beyond this it called upon Congressmen to be prepared for all developments and eventualities, but warned against any hasty action in the form of civil disobedience, political strikes and the like. According to Gandhi, this "mild" resolution afforded scope to the British Government for repairing the blunder.

The Congress ministries in all the eight provinces followed the direction of Working Committee and resigned. The Congress leaders, however, had not yet given up all hope for a settlement with the British Government and moved cautiously in view of the international situation. "I hold the opinion strongly" wrote Gandhi, "that whilst by their own action the British Government have made it impossible for the Congress to cooperate with them in the prosecution of the war, the Congress must not embarrass them in the prosecution". He also declared that there was no hurry to precipitate civil disobedience. But no settlement with the British Government could be achieved while the Viceroy emphasized the differences between the various parties and interests in India as hindering the political advance of the country; the Congress insisted that British intentions about the immediate independence of India be made clear. Talks held in November 1939 and in February 1940 produced no result.

Consequently, the Congress felt that it might not be possible to gain its objective by negotiations alone. At its annual session held in March 1940, at Ramgarh (Bihar), it declared that the involvement of India and the exploitation of her resources in the war without the consent of the Indian people was an affront, and no self-respecting and freedom-loving people could accept or tolerate it. The recent pronouncements on behalf of the British Government, the Congressmen said, had demonstrated that Great Britain was carrying on the war fundamentally for imperialist ends. In such a situation, being a party to the war, directly or indirectly, would mean working for the perpetuation of imperialism. The Congress, therefore, decided to resort to civil disobedience, which would be started as soon as the Congress organization was fit enough for the purpose, or in case the circumstances precipitated a crisis. ¹⁰

In such situation, however, the Congress leadership still sought to avoid civil disobedience if at all possible. In spite of the arrests of several younger Congress Leaders, like Jayaprakash Narayan, the Working Committee at its meeting in April, 1940 did not give any call for civil disobedience. Gandhi, who had been entrusted with primary responsibility for starting and leading civil disobedience, declared that he had no desire whatsoever to embarrass the British, especially at a time when it

¹⁰. Congress Bulletin, April, 1940 (1934-42; Allahabad: The All India Congress Committee).
was a question of life and death with them. In answer to the younger elements in the Congress who were growing impatient of waiting, Gandhiji said that the Congress should continue to wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the Allied countries subsided and the future became clearer. He added, "we do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin; that is not the way of non-violence." 

Soon the war situation took a decided turn for the worse so far as Great Britain was concerned; the collapse of France became imminent in June, 1940. This catastrophe not only changed the international situation which the Congress had to take into account but also brought it face to face with the fundamental question of the defence of India. The sweeping victories of Hitler convinced Gandhi more than ever that the world must adopt non-violence to save itself from complete destruction. He even commended the action of the French leaders insuing for peace with Hitler:

"I think the French statesmen have shown rare courage in bowing to the inevitable and refusing to be a party to senseless mutual slaughter. There can be no sense in France coming out victorious if the stake is in truth lost. The cause of liberty becomes a mockery, if the price to be paid is whole-sale destruction of those who are to enjoy liberty. It then becomes an inglorious satiation of ambition." 

22. Harijan, June 22, 1940.
In such a situation, it was possible for the Viceroy while stating the position of the British Government on August 8, 1940 to emphasize again the differences among the Indian parties. He announced that he had been authorised by His Majesty's Government to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join his Executive Council and to establish a War Advisory Council which would also contain representatives of the Princely states and other interests in the national life of India as a whole. As regards the future, the Viceroy assured the Muslim League and other such elements in India that no transfer of power from British to Indian hands would take place unless they were satisfied. "It goes without saying", said the Viceroy, "that they (the British) could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life."23

The Viceroy promised that soon after the war, India would attain Dominion Status in full freedom and equality with this country and other Dominions under a constitution to be framed by Indians by agreement among themselves and acceptable to the main elements in Indian national life, subject of course to British obligations for the protection of minorities including the Depressed classes and of British treaty obligations to the Indian states and

to the settlement of other matters arising out of their (British) long association with the fortunes of the Indian subcontinent. 24

This statement of the Viceroy became famous as the 'August offer' but was considered unsatisfactory in the Congress circle because there was no time prescribed for the grant of Dominion Status. It was not made clear whether "the body representative of the principal elements in India's national life" was to be full fledged constituent Assembly or simply another Round Table Conference. Moreover, it was promised that interests of the minorities would be safeguarded in the constitution which Congress might frame. The Muslim League too found reasons to reject the offer because it gave no assurance regarding "partition of India". 25

Thus the "August Offer" failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people. Even leaders like C. Rajagopalachari and Jawaharlal Nehru, who were in favour of an active help to the British in their war efforts, turned against them and the Congress pledged under the leadership of Gandhiji to launch non-violent agitation for the vindication of India's freedom. The All India Congress Committee firmly believed in the policy of non-violence not only in struggle for Swaraj but also in its application in free India. A free India will throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament

25. Ibid., pp.877-79.
and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Effective disarmament and the establishment of world peace by the ending of national wars depend ultimately on the removal of the causes of wars and national conflicts. These causes must be rooted out by ending the domination of one country over another and the exploitation of one people or group by another. The Congress and its leaders believed that the realisation of India's independence would lead the world towards peace and progress. It was with this objective in view that the people of India desired to attain the status of a free and independent nation. Such freedom would be the prelude to the close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace and progress of the world. 26

Mahatma Gandhi was requested by the All India Congress Committee to guide the Congress and decide the future course of action in the situation arising out of the disappointing "August offer". In view of the critical war situation, instead of launching once again a mass Civil Disobedience movement, Gandhi adopted a new practice of agitation which was called Individual Civil Disobedience Movement or Satyagraha because Gandhiji gave the right to individuals chosen by him, for their character, public work and belief in non-violence, to offer civil disobedience by preaching against war and courting imprisonment. In fact, the

26. Ibid., pp.875-81.
individual satyagraha of the Congress was "a demand for civil liberty, a demand for the fullest freedom to pursue its policy, a token of the yearning of a political organisation to achieve the freedom of 350 million people." 27

Vinoba Bhave had the honour of being the first Individual Satyagrahi who initiated his campaign by addressing a small village audience at Sewagram Ashram near Wardha on October 17, 1941. After his arrest, Jawahar Lal Nehru, and then Brahma Dutta were nominated, but all of them were arrested. After their arrest, Gandhiji adopted a new plan which consisted of extending civil disobedience to qualified persons selected from particular groups. The first group being composed of (i) members of the Congress Working Committee, (ii) Legislatures with (iii) "a few others." 28

The provinces taking greater part in the Satyagraha were Bihar, Assam and U.P., but as time went on, it became more and more concentrated in U.P., and a large number of arrests continued to be made there for some months. The movement lasted over fourteen months and about 25,000 Congressmen were arrested. Throughout this period the attitude of the British Government was hostile to Indian freedom and it functioned in India as a completely authoritarian government, insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people. 29

27. Home Political, F.No. 3/6/42.
28. Ibid.
Meanwhile, the war situation had taken a serious turn following Germany's attack on the swift advance into the Soviet Union in mid 1941. Japan was consolidating its position in the Far East. Pearl Harbour was attacked on December 7, 1941, thereby bringing about complete U.S. participation in the war on the Allied side. Indo-China, Indonesia and Malaya fell before Japan like skittles. The war thus knocked at the doors of India and the British Prime Minister Churchill admitted that there were no 'assured means' for India's defence.

The Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli (23-30 December, 1941) to assess the changed situation. It reiterated that a free and independent India was essential in the then state of world turmoil. The committee also held that real peace and freedom could only be established and endured on the basis of world co-operation between free nations. Congress rightly assessed the gravity of the situation. Japanese fascism was considered to be more worse than British imperialism.

The Chinese and the Americans were also getting concerned nationalist India's reluctance to fight the war. They realised that without popular participation it would be difficult to mobilise the masses behind the war machine. Chiang Kai-Shek of China visited

30. Shuyan, A.C., The Quit India Movement, (Delhi, 1975).
31. Indian National Congress Report, Bardoli Session, 1941, p.1
India in the spring of 1942. He appealed to the British to concede India's demands. Dr. Evatt, Australia's Foreign Minister, also urged the British to take suitable steps to satisfy the hopes and aspirations of Indians. The pressure on Churchill was immense. When Rangoon fell to the Japanese a serious turn was given to British attitude towards India. The outcome was the coming of Sir Stafford Cripps to India.

The British Government decided to send to India a member of the War Cabinet fully apprised of their deliberations and furnished with instructions to carry out discussions with Indian leaders to overcome the deadlock. The man chosen for this purpose was Sir Stafford Cripps who came to Delhi on March 23. After preliminary consultations with the Viceroy and with the leaders of the Congress and other parties in India, he published a week later the Draft Declaration, embodying the proposals of the British War Cabinet. The object of this Declaration was to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which the British Government proposed to take for the earliest possible realisation of self-government by the creation of a new Indian Union, which would constitute a Dominion, with the right to decide to adhere or not adhere to the British Commonwealth.

33. Ibid., p. 461.
Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities there would be set up in India a constitution making body, consisting of representatives elected by the lower houses of the provincial legislatures and appointed by the Princely states, to frame a new constitution. The British Government made it clear that the constitution made by this body would provide the provinces the right to remain out of the Indian Union. Treaty with the British Government would also cover all necessary matters arising out of the transfer of powers from British to Indian hands. Until the new constitution was framed the British Government must bear the responsibility for the defence of India as part of their world-wide effort. The Government of India would try to organise the full military, moral and material resources of India with the co-operation of the people of India. With this end in view the British Government desired and invited the immediate and effective participation of the Indian leaders in the councils of their country, the commonwealth and in United Nations.  

The Congress did not react favourably to these proposals. 'If this is your entire proposal to India', Gandhiji told Cripps, "I would advise you to take the next plane home".  

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35. Louis Fishcher, A Week With Gandhi (New York, 1942) p.15
the proposals and considered their many implications"; writes Nehru "the greater was my feeling of depression". The Working Committee communicated its rejection to Sir Stafford Cripps on April 2, 1942. The committee recognised that self-government for India had been accepted in principle, but pointed out that it had been faltered, circumscribed and accompanied by provisions which would gravely imperil the development of a democratic and united India.

Cripps left Delhi on April 12. The earnestness shown by Cripps in the negotiations had raised high hopes which were now dashed by their abrupt termination. "The reaction," writes Nehru, "was strong and bitter". "It is a thousand pities", declared Gandhi shortly after the departure of Cripps, "that British Government should have sent a proposal for resolving the political deadlock which, on the face of it, was too ridiculous to find acceptance anywhere. And it was a misfortune that the bearer should have been Sir Stafford Cripps, who was acclaimed to be a radical among the radicals and a friend of India".

The dominant note in the Indian reaction to the failure of Cripps Mission was frustration. The military situation in Malaya and Burma had shown that the British were incapable of stemming the Japanese advance and had exposed India to the Japanese invasion. Yet the only door through which the Indian people could or perhaps enter the struggle against Japan was closed by the refusal of Cripps to consider any diminution in the powers of the Viceroy till the cessation of the War.

37. Ibid., p.473.
37(a) Tendulkar, op. cit., Vol.VI, p.90.
This frustration was reflected in the resolution of May 1, 1942, by the All India Congress Committee. It noted that the Cripps proposals created great bitterness in India against the British Government and declared that Congress would no longer consider any scheme which retained any element of British control or authority in India. The British hold on India must be abandoned. It was only on the basis of independence that India could deal with Great Britain on any other nation. India's involvement in the war was the result of a purely British act. Had India been free and independent country, she could have determined her own policy. In such situation her sympathies would in any way have been with the victims of aggression. At the same time, in view of the danger of increasing pro-Japanese sentiment in India as a result of bitterness against the British Government, the All India Congress Committee took care to repudiate the idea that freedom could come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign country, whatever might be the professions of that country. "If such an invasion take place, the Indian people must resist it, through non-violent non-cooperation against the invaders and non-interference with the work of the British forces". 38

This resolution gave only a faint hint of what was coming. Gandhi had already concluded that the only remedy for the situation created by the juxtaposition of Indian bitterness against the

British Government and the imminence of Japanese attack lay in immediate and complete British withdrawal from India. "My firm-opinion", he wrote to a British friend, Horace Alexander, shortly after the failure of the Cripps Mission, "is that British should leave India now in orderly manner and not run the risk that they did in Singapore and Malaya and Burma. The act would mean courage of a high order, confession of human limitations, and right doing by India". A few days later, Gandhi publicly expressed this idea and declared that the safety of both Britain and India lay in adopting it.

Gandhiji also realised that his constant exhortations on Hindu Muslim unity could not produce any solution. National unity would never come so long as the third party i.e. British Government continued on the scene. Its presence, Gandhiji believed, had immeasurably aggravated disunity and communal differences. He, therefore, came to the conclusion that the only salvation for India lay in immediate British withdrawal. For this he was even prepared to face the risk of a complete breakdown of law and order in the country; out of such chaos some lasting solution might emerge. Besides, the Congress and the Muslim League with their organized mass-bases, would soon be able to restore order in the

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39. Leader of the Friends Ambulance Unit in India, June, 1942.
40. Tendulkar, op. cit., VI., p.92
41. Harijan, April 26, 1942.
country. The Congress, with its non-violent programme and non-communal approach commanded respect of people. To eliminate any chance of military take-over, Gandhiji suggested that the Indian army should be abandoned immediately along with the withdrawal of the British from India. Any Japanese thrust into India would be met by "unadulterated non-violence". 42

The danger of Pakistan's creation had been sharply brought home by the Cripps Mission. Gandhiji had been implacable in his opposition to Pakistan. Conceiving it to be a division of India into two separate states, he regarded it as a crime to divide India and he was never clearer in his opposition than in his final speech. To him India had always been one land. He strove to keep it united. He called upon the Congress to work for unity for he undoubtedly felt that Cripps' proposal was likely to lead to a split in that unity. 43

Gandhiji's demand for immediate and complete British withdrawal from India received the official backing of the Congress when it was incorporated in the resolution issued by Congress working Committee on July 14, 1942 at Wardha. It declared that British rule in India must end immediately, not only because foreign

42. Ibid., April 26, May 24, May 31, June 7, 21, 28 & July 5, 1942
43. Chopra, P.N., Quit India Movement (Delhi, 1976), p. 152.
domination even at its best, was an evil in itself and continuing injury to the subject people, but because India in bondage could play no effective part in defending herself and in shaping the fortunes of the War that was desolating humanity. The Congress was eager to avoid the experience of Singapore, Malaya and Burma, to transform Indian resentment against Great Britain into good will, and to make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise for securing the freedom of the World. But India's co-operation was possible only if she felt the glow of freedom. It had no desire to embarrass Britain or other allied powers in their prosecution of the war or to encourage Japanese invasion on India or further pressure on China. It would therefore, agree to the stationing of the armed forces of the allied powers in India in order to ward off and resist the Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China. If, however, the British refused to end their rule in India, the resolution continued, the Congress would view with the gravest apprehension of the continuation of the present state of affairs, involving a progressive deterioration of the situation and the weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. It would then be compelled to start a widespread struggle on non-violent lines under Gandhiji's leadership.44

The All India Congress Committee ratified the stand of the Working Committee at Bombay on August 8, 1942, through what became

44. A.I.C.C. Circulations to P.C.Cs., 1942, A.I.C.C., Papers, F.No. P-1, Part-2.
famous as the "Quit India" resolution. Within a few hours of passing of the historic resolution the bureaucratic machinery was set in motion. Mahatma Gandhi along with the members of the Working Committee were arrested, and they were taken to unknown places. The Congress organisation was banned and most of the Congress Workers arrested in all the provinces. 45

Disturbances started in Bombay with the arrest of Congress leaders and began with displays of mob violence which spread swiftly eastwards. Mass railway sabotage and interference with telegraph lines to the comparative exclusion of more normal acts of violence such as looting occurred almost simultaneously on August 11, and August 12 in South Bombay, Central Provinces, Madras, Bengal, Assam, United Provinces and Bihar. The two last named areas soon became centre of serious troubles. 46 Railways sabotage began simultaneously in widely separated localities on August 11 and took similar form on all lines, namely, attacks on station buildings, destruction of railway telegraphs, blockage of instruments and signals and damage to track. In some areas there was looting of railway property and of goods in transit and burning of coaching stock. In the first week all railways suffered to greater or less extent, but those seriously affected were in east India region. On Bengal and North-Western Railway and Madras and


46. Mansergh Nicholas, op. cit., p. 904.
Southern-Maharatta Railway, there was total interruption of traffic between Mogulserai and Kiul on main line and between Mogulserai and Gaya. On Bengal and North-Western Railway there was total interruption of line north of Gangas East of Allahabad. On Madras and Southern-Maharatta Railway there was serious sabotage in neighbourhood of Bezwada and also damaged the line from Guntakul to Bangalore and Bangalore to Hubli.  

"Posts and Telegraph communications too were particular objects of attack by the people. Principal areas seriously affected were Bihar, United Provices, Eastern Bengal, Northern Assam, Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Amraoti, Akola districts in Madras, Bombay and Poona and surrounding districts. The usual method was to attack the post offices and burn furniture, forms and records. In case of telegraphs and telephones, damage was done by cutting wires and uprooting posts. Till the first week of September, total number of post offices attacked were 553, mostly small offices. Of these 28 were burnt down and 237 were seriously damaged with large number of letter boxes which were stolen or damaged amounting to One lakh of rupees."
stones and bottles of soda water at trains, buses, cars and even at the police. Some buses were also burnt. Similar incidents occurred in Poona, Ahmedabad and in some suburban areas of Bombay. Consequently, the situation became tense. In order to protect the interest of industrialists, mills and factories were closed.49

Disturbances spread very rapidly in nearby areas like Kaira, Thana, Panch Mahals, Godhra, Surat, Ahmednagar, East and West Khandesh, Nasik, Satara, Belgaum, Dharwar, Rathnagiri, Sholapur, Bijapur, Kanara and Kolaba on August 11. Whatever the Bombay people did on 9 and 10 August was followed avidly by the people of these places.50 The markets, including the cloth shops, remained closed and work was resumed only in December. Schools and Colleges remained closed.51 To suppress the movement, the police was ordered to fire on many occasions; it killed eight persons and injured forty-four persons on 9th and 10th August.52

In other parts of the province the movement was in full swing. On 28th August, several processions were taken out in Kaira district. A crowd of three thousand people forced the Sub-judge to put on a Gandhi cap and join them in shouting slogans on

49. Home Political(I) F.No. 3/15/43.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., F.No.3/34/42.
52. Ibid., F.No.3/15/43.
3rd September at Satara. The crowd then went to Kacheri and forced the Mamlatdar to allow them to hoist the Congress flag there. A mob armed with swords, daggers and other weapons attacked Government officers at Mahad in Kolaba district on September 10. By the middle of September the intensity of the mass upsurge subsided. Till the end of September 1942, 2600 persons were arrested in Bombay City only.

Bihar was the next Province where there was a large scale effect on normal life of the people. The arrests of Ganchiji and Congress leaders in Bombay and of Dr. Rajendra Prasad in Patna on August 9 came as a shock to the people of Bihar. They answered it with a cry of open rebellion. The movement was conceived and also carried out in the spirit of 'Do or die'. The situation took a serious turn in Bihar when the police opened fire on the crowd which was demonstrating near the Secretariat building on August 11. Thereafter, trouble began to spread from one district to other districts. A number of police stations were attacked, and attempts were made to hoist the Congress flag on district and sub-divisional offices, buildings of local bodies and schools. Curfew was imposed in Patna and Arrah when the situation became very serious. Indeed, events in Bihar took the form of a rebellion spreading from urban to rural areas. Patna was completely cut off from the rest of

53. Ibid.
55. Ibid., F.No. 3/22/42.
India by 12th August. All official residence at Dehri-on-Sone were burnt on August 14. 40 wagons of British troops "rations" were burnt at Bihta on August 15. The people of Bihar used all sorts of weapons in their fight with the police. They generally used their own indigenous weaponry which included spears, bows, arrows and other local products. People of all classes, professions and callings took part in the movement.56

The people of United Provinces did not lag behind in the movement. Many big meetings were held in protest against Government for the arrest of their popular leaders in almost all parts of the province like Banaras, Allahabad, Meerut, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Nainital. On August 9, students attacked Government buildings. Students were the mainspring of the movement at nearly all places. On August 12 at Banaras and Allahabad, situation turned worse when women began to participate in all activities. The authorities had no other alternative except using police. In the afternoon of the same day, the Kotwali was attacked by a large crowd.57 In the end of September, 1942, 900 persons were arrested throughout United Province. Among them most important leaders was Kesho Deo Malaviya who was the General Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee.58

56. Ibid., F.No.3/30 p. 42, also see Home Political (Fortnightly Reports, Bihar, August, November 1942) F.Nos.18/8/42 to 18/11/42.

57. Ibid., (Fortnightly reports U.P. August to September 1942) F.Nos. 18/8/42 to 18/9/42.

58. Home Deptt., F.No. 3/31/42 - Poll(I) K.W.
Central Provinces too responded quickly and energetically to the news of arrest of Gandhiji and the other Congress leaders. Disturbances started in Central provinces from August 10. Hartals were observed in almost all parts of the province. The most affected districts were Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandra and some parts of Amraoti district. On August 12, in Nagpur, disturbances began when crowds went round the city and attacked police posts setting fire to the Government property. In Akola, the mill-hands took prominent part in dislocating the means of communication. Students were the most active participants in towns and cities of the country. "Independence Day" was observed on September 9 in some places with big processions. For defying the prohibitory orders about 54 men and 11 women were arrested. 4859 persons were arrested till the end of September, 1942. Ganpat Ambolikar, Maruti Choharvar, Gopal-Chutke, Baburao Zire, Arjun Baji Rao, Narpan Rao Bangade and Ram-Chawhan were the main leaders who were killed in police fixing.

As soon as the news of the arrests of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders reached Bengal, the whole of Bengal rose in rebellion against the British. The people of Bengal condemned the arrests of Gandhiji and other prominent Congress leaders. Hartals were observed in many places of the province. A number of processions and meetings were held in Calcutta, Dacca, Burdwan,

59. Home Political (Forthightly report, C.P. August-September, 1942), F.No. 18/8/42 and 18/9/42.
60. Home Political (I), 1942, F.No. 18/9/42.
Murshidabad, Faridpur, Bakarganj. Situation took serious turn only after 13th August. These were aimed principally at damaging or interrupting communications and essential services. Court buildings were damaged by mobs in Dacca, Burdwan and Khulna. On September 9, a crowd of Silliguri attempted to attack the police station upon which the police opened fired killing many people. On September 28, the mob burnt the collector's office and irrigation buildings at Kalingar, the Khasmahal office at Henria and the Sub-Registry Office at Kaligarh.

In Assam, Nowgong district was the main effected area where serious incidents took place. A crowd of some thousand people burnt six cart loads of thatch collected for military purposes. Important leaders were arrested. The students and villagers in the disturbed area of Nowgong, Darrang and North Kamrup and South Gealpara were extensively under Congress influence. Under the leadership of Gunabha Ram and Kumari Kanaklata this region played a leading role in the movement. On August 26, a farmer was shot dead by a military patrol while cutting the road leading to Jangalbalahugarn bridge and later on when she was hoisting the national flag on the Gohpur Police station, Madan Chandra Barman, Tilak Chandra Dey, Lakshmi-Huzarika, Mahi Ram Kachari, Mani Ram Kech and Sarunath Chetia were shot dead by police while participating in the movement.

62. Home Political (Fortnightly reports, Bengal, August-September 1942) F.Nos. 18/8/42, 18/9/42.
63. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
The whole province of Orissa especially the districts of Koraput, Balasore and Cuttack responded to the Congress call with great enthusiasm. In Balasore district, a mob attacked an outlying police station, injuring the police staff and setting fire to the station house and the officers quarters. In the Koraput district, markets were raided; liquor shops, police stations and road bridges were damaged. On September 6, a mob in Cuttack burnt a police barrack, the records of a police station, a revenue office and tehsil office. In Balasore district, a crowd of about four to five thousand of people chased a police party at Dhamnagar, resulting into firing, killing and injuring several persons.66

With the arrest of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders, the people of Delhi observed hartal and the students took the lead. On 11th August serious trouble started when the police opened fire on the procession in Chanani Chowk. Thereafter many serious incidents of sabotage occurred and damaged Government and Municipal properties. The processionists murdered a Sub-Inspector of Police and stole his revolver, while the Deputy Commissioner and several police Officers received minor injuries.67 In the rural area, particularly Narela, Congress Workers urged the people to observe hartal and picket village schools.68 Ratan Lal Gautam was shot dead by the

66. Home Political, (Fortnightly reports, Orissa, August-September, 1942) F.Nos. 18/8/42, 18/9/42.
67. Home Political (I), 1942, F.No. 18/9/42.
68. Encyclopaedia of India's Struggle for Freedom, (Delhi, 1971).
police in front of Delhi Town Hall on August 9, 1942 while partici­
pating in the movement. Aruna Asaf Ali went underground and direc­
ted the movement until her warrant for arrest was withdrawn by the
Government of India. Other prominent personalities who participated
in the movement were Dr. Yudhvir Singh, Dr. Nigam etc. Till the
end of September 1942, 453 persons were arrested in Delhi. 70

Disturbances began to spread in different part of Madras
province from 11th August onwards. The areas which were affected
seriously were Guntur, West Godavari, Ramnad, Madura, Tanjore,
Coimbatore, Nellore, Anantpur, and Cuddaph districts. On August
24, some people attacked Sulur aerodrome and set fire to 22 lorries.
Schools, Colleges and law courts were picketed. Women also took
part in these demonstrations. A wooden bridge was destroyed in the
Nilgiris district. Salt was removed from a swamp in Ramnad district

The North-Western Frontier Province was yet another
province in India during the Quit India movement. The decision of
the Congress to start the movement attracted the attention of the
people of this province. Public meetings were held and the speakers
condemned Government's policy and blamed them for all current ills.

69. Home Department Poll (I), 1942, F.No. 3/34/42.
70. Mansergh Nicholas. op. cit., p.68.
71. Home Political, (Fortnightly reports, Madras, August to
September 1942 ) F.Nos. 18/8/42, 18/9/42.
Hartals were also observed, but the local Congress at initial stages had no concerted plan, and there was a noticeable lack of enthusiasm for their activities among the public. The one person who led the movement in this province was Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Due to his efforts picketing of liquor shops started on August 14, 1942 in Peshawar, Bannu and other small towns. On August 10, 1942, hartal was observed and a procession was taken out by Hindu shopkeepers in Abbottabad, as a mark of sympathy with the people wounded in the Bombay firing. In Dera-Ismail Khan the Congress party split into two parts and this caused some difficulty in gaining the sympathy of the public.  

There was, however, unusual activity of Muslim League representatives in countering Congress propaganda. The workers of the National War Front aimed at countering the efforts of the Congress to weaken enthusiasm for the movement. They propagated that if British government withdraw from India, the Muslims would be at the mercy of the Congress party. Despite this propaganda, the Congress Red Shirt party gained considerable influence in several parts of the province particularly in the Mardan and Bannu districts. Abdul Ghaffar Khan intensified and guided this movement with great discipline and he was finally arrested on October 30, 1942. The Government, however, crushed the movement.

72. Home Political (I), 1942, F.Nos. 18/9/42 and 18/10/42.

73. MSS. EUR F.125/23, October 30, 1942 Linlithgow to Amery. Linlithgow Collection. NMML, New Delhi.
Thus till the end of September 1942, the movement was in full swing but due to suppressive policy of the British Government, the movement began to lose its vitality day by day. Till the end of September, the casualties figure under these heads:

(a) Military (b) Police (c) Railways (d) Post and Telegraph (e) other services;

(a) Military:- Numbers killed by military firing were 312 (half 624), Number wounded by military firing were 151, Fatal casualties suffered by military were 11, Non-fatal casualties suffered by military 7 in addition 3 military personnel were killed and 27 injured in railway accidents arising out of disturbances.

(b) Police was the next force which fired 367 times. There were 474 casualties with the guns of police and 1225 people were wounded. 34 police personnel were declared dead by the mass-violence and 536 were wounded. In this movement around 73 police stations got damaged or destroyed. (c) In these disturbances Railways suffered very much. There were many fatal casualties among railway staff and around 21 staff people got injuries. 276 Railway stations were attacked causing huge damage. 45 cases of derailment were recorded. (d) In post and telegraphs staff there was 33 cases of injuries. 809 post office were attacked, 56 half of 112 were destroyed and 367 seriously damaged. 6,000 cases of damage to telegraph or telephone systems were recorded in this movement. There was a huge loss in cash, stamps and valuables looted during the period. This did not include figures for damage
to apparatus, buildings etc. (e) Fatal casualties among other Government servants were 11 with non-fatal 24 casualties. Other Government buildings which were destroyed were 188.  

From August 8 to the end of September 1942, communication system, viz., railways and posts and telegraphs received special attention of the people. It was believed that by disrupting the communication network, the people could capture a few isolated tehsils and thanas as a first step towards the occupation of the district headquarters. Attacks on communication lines were also intended to hamper the Allied war-efforts and bring pressure on the British Government.  

Another important dimension of the Quit India was that immediately after the arrest of all the prominent leaders, many local Congress and Congress Socialist Party Workers particularly in the most affected provinces went underground to evade arrest and continue the organisation of the movement. The unarrested members of All India Congress Committee met in Bombay where last message from Gandhi was read out in which it was said that every man was now free to go to the fullest lengths by non-violent means including complete deadlock and strikes and ending with words, "do or die".  

74. Mansergh Nicholas, op. cit., p.67.  
75. Home Political (Fortnightly report, C.P., October 1942) F.Nos. 3/26/42 and 18/10/42.  
76. MSS.EUR F.125/23, October 3, 1942. Lord Linlithgow to Amery, Linlithgow Collection.
A twelve point programme was drawn up in which it was stated that with arrest of Gandhiji every man and woman in India would be his successor; victory or death would be their motto. The copies of the twelve point programme were distributed in respective provinces. J.P. Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalani, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, Sadiq Ali etc. were among the prominent leaders who played an active role.

The underground movement made some dents in Bihar, U.P., Bengal, Delhi, Orissa and Assam. In Bihar, J.P. Narayan was the chief leader; the close proximity of Nepal enabled him to operate there from his headquarters in Nepal's Terai region. He started a regular guerilla training school. The underground movement spread out widely in Bihar. The Bengal groups were also active in places like Jamshedpur etc. The Nepalese police arrested J.P. Narayan alongwith Ram Manohar Lohia and three others on 21st May 1943. They were kept at Hanumannagar police outpost. On the very next day a group of guerillas came and attacked the police outpost and they were able to release the prisoners.

Immediately after the Hanumannagar incident, J.P. Narayan and other leaders left Nepal and entered Bihar. They sent their men to military cantonment areas to tamper with the loyalty of

77. Ibid.
78. Home Political, F.No. 4/4/44.
79. Ibid., F.Nos.3/39/43 nd 3/68/43.
Indian soldiers and procure dynamites from nearby coalfields in order to blow up bridges and dislocate communication lines. But at last J.P. Narayan was arrested in the Punjab in the end of September 1943. His arrest upset seriously the entire plans of the underground movement and completely dislocated the Congress Socialist Party's strategy.

Guerilla bands were most active in the districts of Kolaba, Broach, Satara, Surat, Belgaum, Poona, Ahemdabad and Bombay. Satara made the most significant contribution to the underground movement in the Bombay presidency. The underground activities of Bombay Province had its own organ called Krantikari (Revolutionary). It was published in Marathi, and edited by Achyut Patradhan and S.M. Joshi. Most of the leading Congress Socialists used to contribute articles to this paper. In March 1944, the police also seized the press and arrested ten persons associated with it.

The underground movement was also active in U.P. and Delhi. Banaras became the centre for setting up underground cells all over the province. Baba Raghav Das of Gorakhpur was the main organiser who was assisted by Dr. Swami Nath and Chander Sekhar Asthana, a Professor of Kashi Vidyapith. Other active centres of the movement in U.P. were Balla, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Gorakhpur, Kanpore, Allahabad, Lucknow & Agra.

80. Ibid. F.No. 3/68/43, also see Home Political, F.No. 18/8/43.
81. Ibid., F.No. 18/10/43.
82. Ibid., F.No. 18/11/43.
83. Home Political, F.No. 18/6/43.
84. Ibid., F.No. 18/3/44.
85. Home Political, F.No. 3/68/43.
After Bombay, Delhi proved to be the second biggest bomb manufacturing centre. The police seized a large amount of ammunition from two places i.e. Karol Bagh and Bazar Sitaram. The stock consisted of 186 gelignite sticks, 183 detonators, 1200 feet of fuse, 30 lbs of gun powder, 46 empty cast iron containers designed for bombs, a large quantity of chemicals, and some documents. The underground movement made little headway in Assam and Orissa.

The third dimension of the Quit India Movement began with Gandhiji's self-purification fast which commenced on February 10, 1943 and ended on March 3, 1943, against the repressive policy of Government and the charges of inciting violence levelled by the Viceroy. Within a few weeks after the disturbance, the Government alleged that they had a clear evidence in their possession which showed that Mahatma Gandhi and the members of Congress Working Committee had a hand in inciting the people to violence. Mahatma Gandhi resented this charge bitterly. He was, in fact, greatly perturbed at the acts of violence committed by the people. He wanted that either he should be allowed to clear the position publicity or should be tried in a court of law. The Government decided that Gandhiji should not be released unless the Quit India Resolution was withdrawn. It was at this stage of helplessness that

86. Ibid., F.No. 3/6/43.
87. Home Political, F.No. 18/2/43, 1st half of Feb., 1943.
Gandhiji began his famous fast for 21 days on February 10, 1943.

Gandhiji's condition became very critical after 13 days. The doctors declared that Gandhiji might collapse within 24 hours unless he was released and ended the fast. An emergent meeting of Viceroy's Executive Council was called and a majority of the Executive Councillors expressed that Gandhiji's release would disturb public peace. Messrs H.P. Modi, N.K. Sarkar and M.N. Aney, who voted against the majority decision, resigned from the Executive Council as a protest against the majority decision.

The All Parties' conference was held at Delhi on February 19, 1943, in which it was urged upon the Government that Mahatma Gandhi should be released immediately and unconditionally. But the Government did not release Gandhiji. Ultimately Gandhiji broke the fast successfully on March 3, 1943. In April 1944, Gandhiji suffered from anaemia and malaria and his condition began to worsen. The Government finally released him unconditionally on medical grounds on May 6, 1944.

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88. MSS.EUR. J.F. 125/24, Linlithgow to Amery, 20 Feb, 1943, Linlithgow Collection.
89. MSS.EUR. F.No. 125/125, 20th February, 1943, Sir T.B. Sapru to Sir Laithwaite, Linlithgow Collection.
90. The Tribune, February 20, 1943.
92. Ibid., p.952.
After his release from prison, he made his first public appearance before a small group of Congress workers in which he reaffirmed his belief in non-violence and non-violent non-cooperation, and urged the Congressmen to have faith in it and avoid any sense of frustration over the failure of 1942.93

Gandhiji was interviewed by Gelder of the News Chronicle of London to elaborate his programme. He said that he would never use the weapon of 'civil disobedience during the war unless for a very grave reason such as thwarting of India's right to freedom. Gandhiji suggested that the immediate formation of a National Government with full control of the civil administration composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly should be considered first priority. He believed that under the National Government the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief would have complete control of military operations; there would be a portfolio of Defence in the hands of the National Government. The Allied Forces would be allowed to carry on operations on Indian soil. The expenses of such operations should not be borne by India. He was of the opinion that he would advise the Congress to participate in the National Government if formed. 94

Gandhiji assured the Viceroy on July 27, 1944, that if the Government agreed to make an immediate declaration about Indian

93. Ibid., p. 1101.

94. Ibid., p. 1102.
independence and showed its readiness to install a National Government, he would advise the Congress Working Committee "to declare that in view of changed conditions mass civil disobedience envisaged by the resolution of August 1942 cannot be offered and the full co-operation in the war effort should be given".  

On 15th August, 1944, the Viceroy replied that his proposals could not provide basis for discussion because the Government was committed "to safeguard the interests of the racial and religious minorities and of the depressed classes, and their treaty obligations to the Indian states". The Viceroy added that a National Government could only be formed if there was a prior agreement between Hindus and the Muslims and other elements about the methods by which the new constitution would be framed. The Government was at that time not prepared to share military and defence responsibilities with any other authority.

In order to meet the Viceroy's point about the need for a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League, Gandhiji accepted the C.R. formula which provided that if the Muslim League endorsed the demand for independence and co-operated with the Congress in forming a provisional interim Government during the war, the Congress would agree to a future plan according to which the Muslim majority districts could be demarcated through a plebiscite.

96. Ibid., Lord Wavell to Gandhi, August 15, 1944, pp. 7-9.
97. Governor General to Secretary of State for India, August 22, 1944, Home Political, F. No. 51/6/44.
The situation in the whole country in August 1942 was undoubtedly unprecedented and revolutionary. The arrest of all prominent Congress leaders was a clear indication for the outbreak of an 'open rebellion' against the British Government. There was widespread indignation and retaliations in various forms erupted spontaneously when they heared the news of arrests of their beloved leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, V.B.Patel, Maulana-Abul Kalam Azad etc. As soon as this news reached the towns and cities, there were strikes and bandhs, which varied from place to place. At prominent cities like Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Kanpur and Lahore, the strikes were observed from one week to two weeks. The people showed resentment, anger and dissatisfaction against the British Government. They held large scale demonstrations and took out procession. The response of the people in terms of their attendance of mass meetings was immense. Thousands of people of all callings joined the mass rallies and meetings. Student participation was immense in these processions and meetings. Schools and Colleges began to close while students organised demonstrations with patriotic zeal. The participation of the industrial workers in the movement was a remarkable phenomenon in this regard. They struck work and came out of their mills and factories in principal cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras, Delhi, Jamshedpur, Kanpur, Nagpur etc. They organised mass meetings, arranged demonstrations and educated their brethren about the
fundamentals of independence. The crowds of people carried National flags and shouted national slogans in cities and towns. Their main purpose was to hoist these flags at numerous public places and government buildings. Many of them succeeded in hoisting national flags on the buildings of schools, colleges, municipal boards, district courts and government secretariats. The property of the Government was badly damaged. The Government buildings, Police stations, Municipal schools, hospitals and private buildings were severely damaged. The cases of bomb explosions were also noticeable in various regions. To deal with these cases, special courts were set up. The Government records indicate that 23,358 persons were convicted by ordinary courts, 313 by military courts and 41 were given death sentences. 98

Thus this movement was a great challenge to the British Government since the Mutiny of 1857. A large section of the people of Bombay, Bihar, United Province, Central Province, Bengal, Assam, Orissa etc. responded energetically and enthusiastically to the news of arrest of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders. Though some people of the Punjab participated in the movement but did not give wholehearted support to the movement like the people of other provinces. About the response of the Punjab towards this movement an attempt has been made in the next chapter. The situation of the Punjab was entirely different than the other provinces. Here the ruling party was the Unionist Party whose attitude was pro-British. This party supported the war efforts and made strenuous efforts in crushing the movement in the province. Moreover, the roots of the Congress in the Punjab were not so strong as were in the other provinces.