CHAPTER - V
The success of the nationalist movement depended upon winning the support of the masses. For winning this support, the leaders of the movement had to devise and employ many different methods. As seen above, during the course of the Civil Disobedience Movement as well, the leaders of the Congress evolved programmes to mobilize the masses. The basic effort was to educate the people about the disabilities of colonial rule and the benefits of Swaraj or self rule so that a nationalist feeling could germinate among them and they become natural supporters of the movement. Generally, the broad guidelines of the programmes for mobilisation and participation would come from the AICC, but the local Congress leaders and activists also contributed by interpreting these to suit local conditions and traditions. The main responsibility of implementing these programmes was assigned to the volunteers and ordinary Congress workers.

In this process, the Congress took the help of its various sister organizations and I include here a brief description of the more important of these organizations. The most important of them was, the Hindustani Seva Dal which was the main supplier of volunteers to the Congress. Anybody could have become a member of this organization by signing a pledge which was prepared by Jawaharlal Nehru. The pledge expressed complete agreement with the Congress
creed of "attainment of complete independence by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means". In addition to that, the members of the Dal had to take a vow that they would maintain non-violence in word and in action, that they would endeavour to promote unity and fraternity amongst all castes and communities of India, to use only swadeshi, hand spun and woven cloth, to be always ready to go to jail and, in that eventuality, not to ask for any compensation either from Congress or from Hindustani Seva Dal.¹

In mid 1931, the Congress Working Committee (CWC) decided to convert this organisation into an expert and trained body and made it the central volunteer organisation of the Congress, to be called the Congress Seva Dal.² The objectives of the Congress Seva Dal were to instill the qualities of self-discipline, self-sacrifice, self-reliance, simplicity, service, tolerance and aptitude for corporate and co-operative work and life in the youth, so that (a) they may be trained for organised and disciplined national service according to the policy and objects of the Congress and (b) become ideal citizens of India. Its second objective was to promote national unity by rendering service through the constructive programmes to all persons irrespective of caste and creed. Thirdly, to improve the health and physique of Indian people through physical culture and training and lastly, to act, in times of emergency, as a

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1. FN.14/1930, AICC, NHML.
2. FN-68/1931, AICC, NHML.
peace and relief brigade and undertake to protect the life, honour and property of the people.³

The CWC had advised every PCC to appoint a General Officer Commanding of its Provincial Seva Dal and till October, 1931, 18 Provinces had appointed their Seva Dal Boards. The Dals were to consist of three sections: children (Dal), boys and girls (kumars and kumaris) and adults (proudhs). The Seva Dals were to take a pledge laid down by the CWC to hold aloof from all party politics within the Congress. The CWC had also drawn up elaborate rules and a training programme for the Dal.

In U.P., a training scheme was prepared by the Kashi Vidyapith and Provincial Seva Dal together, and in August a six months training camp began in Benararas. The course included a series of over a hundred lectures on subjects as varied as Indian history, the labour movement and cleanliness and health. Some of the Congress's best known intellectuals participated as teachers. Volunteers were also given physical training and education in spinning and propaganda techniques. Arrangements for examinations were also made. To begin with, one worker from every DCC in the province took the course.⁴

3. FN.G-8/1931, AICC, NMML.
Another organisation which played an important role in mass mobilisation was the Youth League. It was an organisation of students and youth who were a little more militant than the Congress volunteers. Although they refused to recognise any authority over them and disclaimed any connection with the Congress, they were very much part and parcel of the Congress as the President of the Congress used to be the President of the Youth League also. Their proclaimed political creed was Revolution and its Allahabad office displayed their motto: *Raidroha Dharm Hai* (Treason is our religion). The stated objective of the League was to promote union among the youths with a view to bring about "a newer, better and a more youthful order of Indian society". To achieve this objective, the League undertook, from time to time, to work for the abolition of antiquated social and religious customs which had outlived their usefulness, to fight communalism in every form and shape and to foster among them a broad, tolerant and cosmopolitan outlook, to develop in the youth the habit of sound study of public questions and of independent thought, disciplined freedom and civic sense of duty and responsibility, to mix with the children of the poor and impart them literacy and to study economic and social conditions of labourers and


The volunteers of the Youth Leagues were very active in popularising swadeshi and in the boycott of foreign goods. In August 1930, the Benaras Youth League started a shivir called 'Swadeshi Police Camp' for the training of their members in picketing and other Congress duties and work against CID and other police officers who obstructed the public activities. But it seems that with the decline of movement from August 1930, they started losing faith in non-violent agitation and turned towards revolutionary terrorist ideas. This feeling was further encouraged by the refusal of Gandhiji to make the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, conditional on the commutation of the death sentences of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev as well as by the killing of Chandra Shekhar Azad in a police encounter in Allahabad on 27 February 1931. After that the members of Youth Leagues everywhere became very active in organising Azad days and Bhagat Singh days. Most of the time their attempts to celebrate these days were foiled by the authorities. The frustration at the hands of authorities further affirmed their conviction that non-violent agitation was not going to bear any fruit for the nation and the gap between them and the Congress widened a little more. The intelligence report of 22 August 1931 informs us that the Kanpur Youth League had practically broken away from the

7. Ibid.
8. WRPA, Aug. 9, 1930, UPID.
Congress and its members were openly condemning the Congress creed and the Gandhi-Irwin Truce. Of all the towns of UP, the Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Meerut, Gorakhpur and Bareilly branches of the Youth League were the most active.

Apart from these two, another organization which was very active in this period was the Naujavan Bharat Sabha. In contrast to other youth organisations, this was an ardent advocate of communist ideology, as one of its objectives was to establish a free republic of workers and peasants in India. Any person between the age of 16 to 40 could become its member provided he or she was not associated with any communal organization. In UP, the Kanpur branch of the Sabha was the most active while at other places they used to work along with the members of the Youth Leagues.

Some other organisations like Students Association, Bal Bharat Sabha, Vanar Sena etc. were also active and helping the Congress in its propaganda work. It was with the help of all these organisations the the Congress set out to propagate nationalist ideas in order to convert the Civil Disobedience into a real mass movement. The most important methods which it employed in this process were the organisation

11. FN. G-39/1931, AICC, NMML.
12. FN-10/1930, AICC, NMML.
of processions and meetings, boycott and picketing and propaganda through nationalist press and literature.

PROCESSIONS AND MEETINGS;

Organization of processions and public meetings were the most common forms which the Congress and other organizations employed for popular mobilization and participation. Generally, processions were taken out from a fixed place, announced by the Congress Committees a little earlier, and after passing through the various streets of the city would convert into a public meeting. Most of the time, the meetings were addressed by the local leaders but occasionally the leaders of provincial and national stature were also invited to address the people. The topics of discussion at the meetings were generally the current and burning issues on which the procession had been taken out. Before dispersing, the meeting would pass resolutions on various subjects.

The processions were usually led by the office bearers or important leaders of the local Congress. In their absence or after their arrest, women leaders and activists or ordinary Congress volunteers were seen taking charge of the processions. For example, in Allahabad, the women of the Nehru and Malviya families led the processions after the arrest of the main leaders. In Benaras, the Bengali women not only led the ordinary congress processions, but also took out their own processions on several important issues. Similarly, in Agra, Lucknow and Kanpur, the wives of
important Congress leaders and other women like Mrs R.C.D. Paliwal and Mrs Suniti Devi Mitra took charge of organising processions and meetings on important national or local issues.

Mostly, processions consisted of only volunteers and an accompanying crowd, but sometimes these were accompanied by band parties, playing national songs. This was very common during salt satyagraha. Volunteers going to offer Satyagraha against the salt law were more often than not taken in large processions. These processions were sometimes also accompanied by a band party and an ambulance with a doctor and a nurse to meet the eventuality of a police attack. This was seen, for example, in Agra on 7 April, 1930. In Allahabad, during the salt satyagraha, salt was prepared on a vehicle in a procession which was led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs Kamla Nehru.

At times, processions were accompanied by jhankis or tableaus, depicting scenes of national interest. In Allahabad, in a procession led by Mrs Kamla Nehru and Mrs Uma Nehru on 3 November, 1930, tableaus (locally known as chaukis) depicting the scenes of Bardoli, Peshawar, Jalianwala Bagh, Jawaharlal Nehru in jail and General Dyer were carried. In the same procession, a tableau depicted Bharat Mata spinning a charkha, thus propagating charkha and

13. Ai, April 9, 1930.

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Special processions for propagating khadi, charkha and takli were also regularly taken out during the first phase of the movement. In one such procession in Benaras on 7 November 1930, the women accompanying the procession displayed the use of charkha and takli at every chauraha (road crossing).

Processions in protest against a particular law or report or an ordinance were also organised. In these processions, effigies of that particular law and report used to be carried with the full fanfare of a funeral procession and burnt at a fixed place with shouts of hai hai and nash ho. One such funeral procession was taken out in Allahabad on 25 April 1930 when an effigy of the salt law was burnt as a mark of the end of the salt-satyagraha. Again in Allahabad, on 26 June 1930, a funeral procession of the Simon Commission Report was taken out. During the second phase of the movement, when even taking out of a simple procession had become very difficult in view of the official attitude, the Allahabad Congress leaders organised a funeral procession of the Emergency Powers Ordinance and Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code on 20 May 1932. Although they could not succeed in burning the effigies as the police snatched the biers from them, they were at least successful

15. Ai, Nov. 5, 1930.
16. Ai, Nov. 9, 1930.
17. The Leader, April 28, 1930.
in registering their protest. In Benaras city, the women of the Bengali Tola Congress Committee organised a protest meeting against the misbehaviour of the police with women volunteers in one of the police stations of the city and burnt an effigy of the British empire on 19 March, 1932. In the process 63 women were arrested by the police and when they were being carried to the police station, around 200 women and one thousand men accompanied them. Funeral processions of recalcitrant businessmen especially foreign cloth merchants were also common. During the first phase, it was used in most of the towns, but in the second phase, it was witnessed mostly in Kanpur. In this case also, the same method was applied. For example, in Kanpur on 24 February, a mock funeral procession, carrying a coffin which was covered with khaddar cloth was taken out. The procession after marching through the streets of the Generalganj market, stopped at the house of Niranjanlal, a foreign cloth merchant, and started shouting slogans like hai-hai (shame-shame) and Niranjanlal ka nash ho (Down with Niranjanlal). The intention behind taking out a funeral procession of a businessman, seemed to be to frighten the conservative family members, especially the women. For them (the family members of the merchant) this kind of procession

was an ill-sign and they would have tried to prevail over the merchant concerned to refrain from dealing in foreign cloth.

Apart from these, the arrest of any important leader anywhere in India and particularly the arrest of influential leaders were also the occasions when processions and meetings and strikes were organised in most of the towns. In the meetings resolutions used to be passed condemning the arrest and congratulating the leaders for being convicted. This was the most common type of protest witnessed in the towns of UP. The arrest of Jawaharlal Nehru in April and October 1930 and in December 1931 were followed by strikes and protest meetings in most of the towns of UP. In October 1930, the speech for which he had been prosecuted was read in public meetings in every town as a mark of protest. Similarly, the arrests of Vallabhbhai Patel, M.M. Malviya, V.J. Patel, Mrs Sarojini Naidu etc. and of the provincial leaders were also followed by some types of hartals and processions and meetings. The arrests of Mrs Sarojini Naidu and other women leaders were sometimes followed by processions and meetings consisting only of women, as observed in Allahabad on 24 May, 1930.

22. Ai, April 16; Shakti, April 19; The Leader, October 14, 15, 1930.

23. The Leader, May 25, 1930.
At times, processions consisting of only children were also witnessed at some places. In Allahabad, Miss Indu Nehru and Miss Chand Nehru, grand daughters of Motilal Nehru, led a procession which had been organised in protest against the arrests of P.D.Tandon and Acharya Narendra Deo. On 24 July 1930, as a part of 'Vanar Sena Day' celebrations in Allahabad, around 6000 children from different localities of the city assembled at Moti Park and took out a procession. After marching through some streets, it converted into a meeting where Miss Indu Nehru asked her fellow children to join Vanar Sena and help their parents in the fight against the British empire.

Yet another kind of procession was witnessed when Harijan upliftment work started in August 1932. In this period, processions consisting of mainly Harijans were taken out by the Congress volunteers which after marching through the streets of the city, would culminate in a meeting. In these meetings, speakers generally requested the people to work for the removal of untouchability and providing Harijans a respectable position in Hindu society. In one such example at Kanpur, the city Hindu Sabha organised a procession of untouchables on 2 January 1933 which was accompanied by a band party of Harijans and posters announcing that

As stated earlier, these processions usually culminated in meetings which were generally addressed by local leaders and sometimes by guest speakers from outside. The speakers at these meetings used to concentrate on the topic of the day on which the procession and the meeting had been organised. Topics of speeches kept on changing with the times. For example, during the first phase of the movement, speeches were made on Poorna Swaraj, Salt Law, Boycott of Foreign Cloth, Swadeshi, Khadi and Charkha etc. Overall, the emphasis was to explain to the people the political and economic condition of the country in a manner that they could easily understand the drawbacks of foreign rule and the benefits of Swaraj. All other aspects, such as Swadeshi and Khadi, were linked to Swaraj. Apart from these, the ideas and wishes of important leaders like, Mahatama Gandhi and others were also conveyed to the people. Direct appeals were also made by the leaders to the public for supporting the Congress movement. Most of the time, people immediately responded to these appeals by enrolling themselves either as Congress members or as volunteers. For example, in Mirzapur, after Yusuf Imam’s speech on 4 April 1930, 12 persons joined as Congress volunteers, one of them was around 75 years old. This was made possible by the constant efforts of the local


27. Ai, April 12, 1930.
leaders of Mirzapur like Mahadev Seth and Hanuman Pasad Pandey who were propagating the ideas and message of Gandhiji by marching down the streets in groups or in processions. 28 In Nanda Devi, Mr Badri Dutt Pande and Mr Har Govind Pant, the two leaders of Almora district, appealed to the people to follow the path of Gandhiji and to come out openly in favour of the movement. 29

Sometimes the speakers took the help of religious occasions to reach the people. In Allahabad, during the Kumbha Mela, nationalist speeches were very common. In one meeting at the Punjab Sanatan Dharm Sabha camp, Mr Radheshyam Tripathi compared Gandhiji’s charkha with Lord Krishna’s chakra and urged his audience to take a vow of charkha and swadeshi at the time of taking a bath in the Sangam. 30 In another meeting at the same venue, Jiwan Das advised the people to avoid drinking tap water as it was ‘injurious’ and the government, being foreign wanted to destroy their religion by erecting water works. 31

Religious meetings were much more frequently used by Muslims for political purposes. The anti-Congress Muslim leaders had always used the Friday congregations at mosques to project their views. Sometimes the pro-Congress Muslim

28. Ibid.
29. Shakti, April 5, 1930.
30. WRPA, Jan. 18, 1930, UPID.
leaders also got a chance to put forward their views in these prayer meetings. In one such meeting at the Saharanpur Juma Mosque, Mr Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari, 'a Punjab suspect', urged the Muslims to join the Congress as the British Government was 'bent upon destroying Islam'. He explained to his audience that Muslims had defeated the British in Palestine, Egypt and Spain and now it was the duty of Indian Muslims to liberate their country. In his speech he taunted Muslims on their inactivity and appealed to them to make no difference between 'Independence' and 'Dominion Status' but to get rid of the 'White Cyclone' first. But at the same time, he cautioned them to follow only the non-violent path as the violence would not result in any good.  

In a similar meeting at Muzaffargarh, Maulana Anwar Shah, ex-head Mudarris of Deoband, supported Gandhiji and the Civil Disobedience Movement. He also said that, "according to the Prophet, no tax should be levied on air, water and salt", and that if any such taxes were levied, the Muslims should refuse them even at the cost of their life.

The platforms of caste associations were also used for nationalist propaganda. Speaking from the platform of the Jain Maha Sabha in Agra on 11 April, 1930, Mrs Parbatji Devi urged the crowd to use only khaddar and give up liquor. She declared at the meeting that Indians were not made to face

the 'shoes of the Government' and requested her audience to oppose this government which thrived on their blood.34

Processions and meetings were also organized in honour of a visiting national or state level leader. For example, Motilal Nehru and M.M. Malviya addressed several meetings at Kanpur, Benaras, Rae Bareli, Agra and other places. Mr V.J. Patel, after relinquishing his post as the Speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly visited most of the towns of UP. In the meetings he advised people to follow the path of Mahatma Gandhi and join the movement to free their motherland. Mahatma Gandhi also addressed some meetings in Allahabad and Lucknow when he visited the province in February 1931. These visiting leaders generally congratulated the people for taking part in the movement and requested them to spin the charkha and use only khadi or Swadeshi.35 In one of the meetings of youth, organized by Naujavan Bharat Sabha at Mathura in May 1931, Subhash Chandra Bose spoke at length on the importance of the youth movement. He said that the youth movement should not go against the Congress, rather it should support it. He further said that young men should understand that Congress was their national party, so they should not do anything which might hamper its reputation. He advised them to join the Congress in large numbers and influence its programmes. To the Congressmen, he said that they should have confidence in the

34. Ibid, April 19, 1930.
35. Aj, Feb. 4, 1931.
young men as they were the future of the country. Regarding the activities of youth organisations, he suggested that they should concentrate on workers and peasants. His speech was so impressive that Ai wrote an editorial on it and published the entire speech, on 30 May, 1931, 'for the benefit of those who did not get the chance to listen to him'. Jawaharlal Nehru also addressed some meetings of youths and students. Speaking to the students of B.H.U. on 22 August 1931, he said that the last year's movement had not only increased their strength, but also increased the respect of Indians in the world community. He reminded them not to forget the vow of complete independence that they had taken last year and forbade them from sitting quietly until this objective was achieved. He also congratulated them for taking part in the movement.36

After the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March 1931, the tone and content of the speeches of Congress leaders changed. Before the Pact they had asked the peasants not to pay rent and revenue as a political protest and also because of the prevailing low prices of grains. But the provisions of the Pact restricted them from openly proclaiming non-payment of rent, so they decided to take up this question of rent remission in constitutional manner through talks with the Government. Concurrently, the content of their speeches also changed. They now asked the tenants to pay only such amount as they could but only in lieu of the discharge from all their dues. In the urban areas, their

speeches were directed more towards criticising the Government's attitude towards peasants and explaining the efforts that they were making in getting the rent remitted. At the same time, they also clarified to their audience that the Pact was not a final settlement and that they should be prepared for the next round of struggle. Speaking at a public meeting near Benaras on 21 July 1931, P.D. Tandon said that their fight was for the attainment of Swaraj which meant Government by the people for the people. He said that they bore no ill-will towards Englishmen, but they were not prepared to accept them as their rulers. He further said that the present government was deliberately ignoring the interests of the Kisans and labourers and was favouring the interests of a few Englishmen and capitalists of this country. He also made it clear that they were not against landlords either, rather they wanted them to cooperate in the attainment of Swaraj but at the same time warned that the landlords would not be allowed to oppress the tenants and to monopolize all the good things on the earth. In one similar meeting at Lucknow, Pt Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Congress stood for complete independence and since the real "representative of India was one behind the plough", Congress considered it its duty to better their condition. It was for this purpose that the Congress was keen on bringing about an amicable settlement between landlords and the tenants. During the course of his speech, Pt Nehru criticised the Government

37. The Leader, July 24, 1931.
for being slow in announcing the remission in rent and revenue and for pressurising the landlords to pay their dues in full.\textsuperscript{38}

During the second phase of the movement, it became difficult for the Congressmen to organize processions and meetings. Any attempt to incite the people against the government was strictly dealt with by the authorities. Calling for the boycott of foreign goods was a crime in this period, but the propagation of \textit{Swadeshi} and \textit{Khadi} was allowed. So, Congressmen tried to make best of this concession and concentrated their speeches mainly on \textit{Swadeshi}. One typical example of this kind of speech could be the one which Pt M.M. Malviya had delivered in Benaras at the time of launching of his \textit{Swadeshi Sangh}. Pt Malviya began by explaining the economic condition of the country and said that "swadeshi is the only remedy for this sad condition of our country". He stressed on the point that every country of the world was following some sort of protectionist policy and encouraging their indigenous industry. "Even in England a movement is going on to persuade the people to use only British goods. While the Indians, oblivious of this reality and pressurised by the Government are using foreign goods". In his speech he made repeated requests to the audience that "if they want the independence and the progress of their mother land, they should use only \textit{Swadeshi}". He also asked them that if they were not engaged in serving the country in

\textsuperscript{38}. \textit{Ibid}, July 31, 1931.

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any other way, they should organize **Swadeshi Sanghs** in their areas and mobilize people in support of **Swadeshi**. 39

In another meeting, organized in Benaras on **Swadeshi** day, Govind Malviya also talked in the same vein. He said that "England too has shifted to the protectionist policy and it is no longer following the free trade policy". Accounting his experience of England, he said that when he was there in connection with the Round Table Conference, he could not find a single non-British vest in the market. He further said that Indians, too, can make this possible by taking a vow of **Swadeshi**. In the same meeting, Ramchandra Verma requested the people to follow **Swadeshi** as they follow their religion as this was the only way to happiness. 40 In yet another meeting organized by the students of Allahabad University, Acharya Kriplani spoke on the importance of **charkha**. He said that for a poor country like India where the per capita income was only Rs.60, **charkha** provided the best alternative. It would not only make the country self-sufficient in clothes, but would also help the **Kisans** to substantiate their agricultural income. He also said that other substitutes like dairy, poultry farms, and small scale industries were not feasible as they needed substantial capital while **charkha** did not need any capital. So he suggested every student to


40. *Ai*, June 1, 1932.
propagate charkha and khadi to make their country economically self-sufficient.41

Government's response towards processions and meetings kept on changing in accordance with its overall policy. In the beginning of the first phase of the movement, i.e., till May 1930, its attitude was almost passive and we do not find any instance of interference by the authorities in the organisation of processions or meetings. But after that the authorities started taking action against 'seditious' speeches and it was under this changed policy that the speech of Jawaharlal Nehru at Allahabad, on 12 October 1930, landed him in jail for two years.42 Several other leaders were also convicted on the same charge. Chittu Pandey of Ballia had already been arrested in April 1930 for making a seditious speech and showing lantern clippings to the people.43 Regarding processions in this period, the Government's attitude was not at all vindictive. It never interfered with any ordinary procession but it did impose a ban on their entering certain areas of the city especially white dominated residential or market areas. Sometimes Congressmen took these ban orders as a challenge and entered these restricted areas in procession. More often than not, these infringements resulted in serious conflicts between the processionists and the administration. Generally the

41. Ibid, Oct. 15, 1933.
42. FN-513/1930, Hom.Poll., NAI.
43. Aj, April 5, 1930.
processionists, when stopped by the police in these areas, used to squat on the road until the administration allow them to pass through that area or forcibly removed them. In Allahabad, for example, a procession which was taken out as a part of the second day's celebrations of Jawahar Week in November 1930 was stopped by the police at the Albert Road Crossing from entering the civil lines area. Then the processionists under the leadership of Sunderlal and the women of Nehru family squatted on the road and started singing national songs. Later on, Moti Lal Nehru also joined them and the processionists, despite the arrest of Sunder Lal and Manzar Ali Shokhta, kept on sitting till 10 pm. After that the police force was removed and they succeeded in passing through that area. Next day again a procession was taken out but the police did not obstruct and they passed through the area peacefully. 44

However, the administration at other places was not so lenient. In Nainital, the volunteers kept on sitting for many days but they were not allowed to enter the Mall Road 45 and in Lucknow, the processionists were lathi charged by the mounted police when they insisted on going through the restricted Hazratganj on 26 May 1930. Next day again the Congress declared its intention to take out a procession through Hazratganj. The administration, on the other hand, made full arrangements to foil this attempt and the British

44. Ai, Nov. 6, 1930.

45. The Leader, May 23, 1931.
army troops were seen encircling the Congress Office from where the procession was to come out. But the volunteers dodged them and a batch of 11 volunteers came out from a different place and passed through Hazratganj unhindered. However, their success enraged the administration and the police, out of frustration opened fire at another procession which came out later from the Congress Office, leaving several dead and many injured.46

Nevertheless, this kind of stubborn attitude was not a regular feature during the first phase. But in the second phase, lathi charges and firing to disperse processions became all too common. It was, in fact, the change of policy at the upper level of the Government towards the movement which resulted in this kind of approach. The Government had realised by this time that the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was a mistake. Accordingly, the Government machinery, under the leadership of the new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon prepared itself well before the resumption of civil disobedience to crush any further attempt to revive the movement. The promulgation of Emergency Powers Ordinance in UP in December 1931 to counter the no-rent movement, were just a sample of the things which was to come later in 1932. The no-rent movement which the UP Congress started in December 1931 was suppressed ruthlessly with the help of this ordinance. The propagation of non-payment of rent became a crime under this ordinance and anyone found doing this was

46. Ibid, May 29, 1930.
immediately arrested and sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. Important Congressmen were served notices under the ordinance to refrain from organising processions and speaking at public meetings. These notices were violated by the Congressmen which resulted in their arrest and conviction.

This stubborn and belligerent policy further stiffened when the Civil Disobedience Movement was resumed in January 1932. In the very beginning, i.e., on 4 January, Government arrested Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai Patel, the Congress President, and on the same day came out with four more Ordinances to quell any protest against these arrests. Under these Ordinances, organization of processions and meetings were prohibited and the Congress was declared an unlawful organisation. The ordinary people were warned against supporting Congress or participating in any Congress led agitation. Still, Congressmen in some of the bigger towns of UP succeeded in staging large scale protests. The largest of these protests were seen in Benaras and Allahabad. In Benaras, a complete strike was observed on 5 January and a large procession started for the Town Hall where a meeting was planned to be organised despite the prohibitory order under section 144 Cr PC. But by the time the procession reached Town Hall, it was already occupied by the police and the processionists were prevented from entering into it. Then the processionists along with a 20,000 strong crowd squatted at its gate and started singing
national songs and shouting jaïs to Gandhiji and other arrested leaders. The D.M. and S.P. present at the site, allowed this situation to continue for some time and after that they ordered the policemen to disperse the crowd with a lathi charge. But this infuriated the crowd and they started pelting stones. Then the police was ordered to fire which resulted in the death of three persons and injury to more than a hundred. Next day again, Congressmen tried to reenact the same scene but the authorities were more cautious this time and did not allow them to precipitate the situation. The policemen acted swiftly and dispersed the crowd with a mild lathi charge.47

In Allahabad, processions were organised both on 4 and 5 January. On the 4th, a procession marched towards Purshottam Das Park but was stopped near Johnstanganj Crossing and ordered to disperse by the DM. But the processionists, emboldened by 20,000 strong supporters in the form of a crowd, were in no mood to comply. The DM ordered the police to disperse them with a baton charge. In the pandemonium that prevailed after it, two persons got trampled to death and many more received serious injuries. The police also arrested some 50 persons in connection with the defiance of prohibitory orders. Next day again, a procession was taken

47. Details in Chapter No.3. Aj and The Leader, Jan 7 & 8, 1932; FR, Jan.1, 1932, FN-10/1/32; Telegram from the Government of UP, No.32, to the Home Department, New Delhi, dated Jan 9, 1932, FN-5/46/1932, Hom.Poll., NAI and WRPA, Jan 9, 1932, UPID.
out on the same route and was again stopped at the same place. But this time the leader of the procession, Mrs Uma Nehru, persuaded the processionists to squat on the road and sing national songs and shout *jais*. The condition remained the same till 6.30 pm but after that the processionists and the crowd dispersed according to the prearranged programme. The authorities, too, did not interfere in their activities. 48

At Kanpur, Lucknow and many other places, attempts to organise processions and meetings were severely dealt with by the authorities. Most places reported *lathi* charges by the police to disperse the processions. In Kanpur, the city administration clamped a curfew in the city on 6 January to prevent any breach of law and order. 49

Throughout the second phase, especially up till August 1932, when the movement was comparatively stronger, we find regular attempts to organise processions and meetings in the towns of UP. But except some real serious attempts at Allahabad and Benaras, these attempts were more to defy the ban orders than to organise processions. In fact, defying the prohibitory orders by taking out a small procession had become an important form of agitation in this period. In Allahabad, it seems, the authorities were a little lenient and more understanding or rather not too bellicose as compared to their counterparts in other cities. Also, the

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.
Congress organisation in the city was a little stronger than in the other cities. That is why we find regular efforts in organising processions and defiance of the prohibitory orders. Immediately after the demonstrations of 4 and 5 January, 1932, the city administration modified the ban orders and allowed a procession to go up to the Purshottam Das Park to organise a meeting on 7 January.\textsuperscript{50} Next day, the prohibitory orders under Section 144 Cr PC were completely lifted. On 9 January, Congressmen took out a procession under the leadership of Mrs Uma Nehru, in connection with the arrest of Dr M.A. Ansari, the acting President of AICC. When the procession reached P.D. Park, Mrs Nehru decided to move towards Civil Lines area which was still restricted for processions. At the Albert Road crossing, the police stopped them and the DM allowed them three minutes to disperse. But his orders were not followed and the processionists squatted at the same place and started singing national songs. Then the police was ordered to baton charge and disperse them. Many people including several women got injured and Mrs Uma Nehru was arrested. Next day again, a procession was taken out on the same route under the leadership of Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, but was dispersed at the same place by the mounted police.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{50.} Weekly Telegraphic Reports, Jan 9, 1932, FN-5/46/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.

\textsuperscript{51.} The Leader and AJ, Jan 11 & 13, 1932.
Efforts to take out processions through the civil lines continued even after that. During the celebrations of National Week between 6 to 13 April, two serious attempts were made by Congressmen. On the evening of 8 April, the procession was stopped near P.D. Park and the processionists as usual squatted on the road. A large crowd of onlookers collected behind them. This situation lasted till 7 pm when the SP ordered his men to charge on them. The police charge resulted in serious injury to many people including Mrs Swaroop Rani Nehru. This infuriated the crowd and they started fighting pitched battles with the police in many parts of the city. Next day again, the same scene was repeated, only the baton of the policeman was replaced by the gun. 3 persons died in the firing by the police, but the crowd undeterred, continued pelting stones on the police and the Government officials. On 10 April, the city administration imposed a curfew to prevent any procession but even then they could not stop them (Congressmen) from organising a bonfire of foreign cloth in a different part of the city. Again in May, as a part of the third day's celebration of Congress week, a procession with an 'arthi' (coffin) of the

52. The Leader & Aj, April 10, 11, 13, 1932; FR, April 1, 1932, FN-18/7/1932; Weekly Telegraphic Reports, April 16, 1932, FN-5/46/1932, Hom.Poll., NAI and WRPA, April 23, 1932, UPID.

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Ordinance tried to enter Civil Lines area but was stopped. Then a small group took a different route and succeeded in entering the area. But their adventure resulted in the arrests of 20 volunteers.53

In Benaras also, some attempts were made to organise processions and meetings though most of the time these attempts were foiled by the authorities. For example, on 24 April 1932, a procession was taken out from Dashashwamedh Ghat to protest the arrest of M.M. Malviya and Mrs Sarojini Naidu. But this procession which was led by three young girls was not allowed to go very far and was stopped near Bans Phatak Crossing. Then the processionists along with a large crowd squatted on the road and dispersed only after the police arrested 16 of their leaders.54 Similar effort had been made on 13 April, the last day of the 'National Week', when a procession led by Mrs Usha Malviya (daughter in law of Madan Mohan Malviya) violated the prohibitory orders.55

In Kanpur, right from the very beginning, the authorities were very strict in maintaining law and order. They were of the belief that any let up from their side would encourage the Congressmen to organise demonstrations on a larger scale which could lead to the flaring up of communal tension. So, strict prohibitory orders and occasional night curfews were imposed in the city. In this situation,

53. The Leader, May 22, 1932.
54. Ai, April 27, 1932.
55. Ibid, April 15, 1932.
organisation of large processions and meetings became very
difficult for the Congressmen and they had to satisfy
themselves by organising regular violation of these
prohibitory orders. The method they followed was to organise
small meetings in different parts of the city without any
prior notification to the public and disperse on the arrival
of the police. Similarly, small processions of 8-10
volunteers were sent to defy the prohibitory orders. Most of
the time these violations resulted in immediate arrests. For
example, three processions were taken out on 26 January in
Kanpur which resulted in the arrest of 17 persons.56 In the
same way six meetings were organised on 6 January 1932 in
Chawalmandi area of the city, but the police could not make
any arrest as the speakers and audience used to disperse on
the arrival of the police.57

In the rest of the second phase of the movement, we do
not come across even this kind of attempts from the
Congressmen to organise processions and meetings. It was not
the lack of interest in the Congressmen but the stiff
resistence by the Government machinery which was responsible
for this trend. The strict measures resulted in a gradual
decline in the number of meetings in the province. Even in
February, 1932, when the movement was just one month old,
the number of meetings in the whole province reduced to 28,
17 and 14 in the first, second and third week respectively.

In comparison with this, there were 165 meetings in the whole province in the first week of January 1932. 58

From the account of processions and meetings given above, it is clear that this activity received considerable response from the masses. During the first phase of the movement, attendance of 20,000 persons in any meeting in the larger towns like Allahabad, Benaras, Kanpur, Agra etc. was not a rare thing. But in the second phase, we rarely find such a large crowd in any meeting organised in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. In the same way, participation of masses in the processions was also remarkable. We have just seen how processions used to swell to thousands in a very short time. The almost regular occurrence of lathi charges and firing by the police to disperse these processions only highlights the success of the Congress in mobilizing the masses. This mobilisation was certainly at its height in 1932 when we see the crowd fighting pitched battles with the police in Allahabad on two consecutive days. The lathi charges and firing by the police no longer frightened them and in almost every case we find a repetition of events which had led to firing or baton charges, on the following day. However, the kind of public support that we come across during the first phase of the movement especially during salt satyagraha was really unprecedented. In this period, we find people erecting welcome gates to receive the procession in their localities

58. WRPA, Jan.9 & Feb.6,13,20, 1932, UPID.
and offering sweets and sherbats to the satyagrahi volunteers. At some places, the path of satyagrahi volunteers was festooned with small flags of coloured paper and the roads were strewn with flowers. At one place every volunteer going to offer satyagraha was offered a chadar.59

It appears, thus, that processions and meetings were among the most important forms of mobilisation which the congress utilized very successfully. How great was the effect of this form on the masses can be assessed by a report in The Leader on 28 July, 1930:

"... the Congress songs have now become so popular that the bathroom singers, way-side walking singers and even street vendors all seem to have taken to them and they may be heard in any part of the city and in any quarter of the day. Small boys and girls while playing on the streets may be seen marching behind on them carrying a flag and all singing in chorus one or two lines of the flag song or any other national song."

BOYCOTT & PICKETING:

Boycott of foreign articles, clothes, liquor etc. and picketing of shops selling these items was yet another programme of the Congress which helped in mobilising the masses in its favour. Although this programme occupies a very important place in the Civil Disobedience Movement, it was started well before the commencement of this movement. At the Calcutta session

59. The Leader, Jan. 29 and Apr. 21, 1930.
of the Congress in 1928, when the British Parliament was given one year's time (till 31 December, 1929) to accept the Nehru Report, it was decided that propaganda in favour of complete independence should be carried on and the boycott of foreign articles, clothes and intoxicants formed an integral part of this propaganda programme. In an attempt to make the boycott a success and to avoid the necessity of picketing foreign cloth shops, the Congress Working Committee called upon the foreign cloth importers and dealers in February 1929, to "refrain from placing any further order for foreign cloth and cancel all such orders already placed".

In its another meeting on 17-19 February, 1929, the Congress Working Committee adopted the scheme for the boycott of foreign cloth. According to this scheme, the Congress organisations were asked to remit volunteers, men and women who were "to go from door to door in every town and village... and collect foreign cloth in the possession of the householders and deliver and receive orders for khadi required by such householders". It also called for the

60. The resolution of Calcutta Congress said: (i) "In the Legislatures and outside every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks; Picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organised wherever desirable and possible. (ii) Inside and outside the Legislatures methods suited to respective environments shall be immediately adopted to bring about boycott of foreign cloth and advocating and stimulating production and adoption of hand spun and hand woven khaddar". FN-14/28/1931, Hom.Poll. NAI.

61. Ibid.
voluntary preachers to popularise the use of Khadi and to advocate the complete boycott of foreign cloth. Besides other things, the scheme emphasised the importance of visiting foreign cloth dealers individually with a view to "enlisting their help and inducing them to stop further purchase of foreign cloth and to cancel all cancelable orders". At this meeting, the members of the Working Committee also resolved to formulate a Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee which was to monitor the boycott programme in the whole country. This Committee which had ten members commenced its work on 1 March 1929 under the Chairmanship of Gandhiji.62 On 4 March 1929, at Calcutta, Gandhiji took the lead in initiating a campaign against foreign cloth by lighting a bonfire in a public park before a crowd of thousands. After the Lahore session of the Congress, Jairamdas Daulatram, Secretary to the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee, appealed to all the Congress Committees to chalk out early a definite programme of work in connection with the boycott.

The boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, thus, became one of the most important items of the Civil Disobedience Movement. In UP, the Congressmen after successfully violating the salt law took over the boycott programme in the first week of May, 1930. Picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops started in most of the towns. The enlistment of volunteers had already been completed by this time.

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62. Ibid.
Generally, these volunteers consisted of local residents, but sometimes people from nearby villages were also recruited for this purpose. At some places these outsiders were paid some money and chana (gram) by the Congress Committees. For example, at Hathras, they were getting 6 Annas a day.63 These volunteers used to go for picketing in small batches, wearing a uniform of a sort with Tricolour badges and a national flag. Every batch had a different name, viz. Mahavir Dal, Abhimanyu Dal, Hanuman Dal, Swayam Sevak Dal, Nauyuvak Dal, etc.64

The methods adopted for picketing were almost identical in all the towns. Except for the truce period when only peaceful picketing could be made, these methods remained the same in both the phases of the Movement. The most common method employed by the volunteers was to stand guard or to keep walking in front of the shops selling foreign cloth, saying 'brethren, do not buy foreign cloth, buy only swadeshi'. Their main motive was to dissuade the purchasers from buying foreign cloth. Whenever they found a purchaser not agreeing to their persuasion and insisting on buying foreign cloth, they used to lie down on their back in front of the entrance of the shop. Generally, they found it more effective to stand

63. A letter to the Commissioner, Agra Division by the Collector of Aligarh dated June 6, 1930, PN-151/1930, UP Police Dept, UPSA.

64. An article by Mr S.P. Sanyal on Picketing in The Leader, Sept.8, 1930.
outside a shop for hours and hours together as their very coming in to the market and standing in front of a particular shop prevented all the intending purchasers from entering that shop. Sometimes, the picketers did not stand in front of any shop but kept roaming around in the market. Whenever a purchaser wishes to enter a foreign cloth shop, they used to blow a whistle whereupon 10 to 15 picketers rushed up to him and lay down in front of him. If the intending purchaser still tried to walk over their body, they used to catch him by the feet and shout 'shame-shame'. Another method, which was generally followed by the picketers at Kanpur, was to catch hold of the feet of shopkeepers selling foreign cloth. In this way they tried to persuade the shopkeepers to refrain from selling foreign cloth and get their foreign cloth stock sealed.

Before the commencement of picketing, a pledge was served to all the merchants dealing in foreign goods which said that they would refrain from importing and selling of foreign goods. It also said that they would allow the Congressmen to inspect their shop and godown and put a seal on the existing stock of foreign cloth.

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65. A letter to the Chief Secretary of UP by the Commissioner, Meerut dated June 14, 1930, FN-151/1930, UP Police Dept., UPSA.


67. A sample of this pledge which was served by 'Foreign Piecegoods Boycott Committee', Kanpur to all the
Refusal to sign the pledge by the merchants invited immediate picketing at their shops as well as their import offices. Sometimes merchants complained to the Government officials that they were served pledges with threats of picketing and stopping of the sale of their goods to the local merchants and their commission agents. In 1931 when, under the provisions of the Pact, the picketing was to be 'peaceful', some merchants complained that Congress was not adhering strictly to the pact. In a letter to the Chief Secretary of UP dated 25 May 1931, M/s Umraolal Ramjilal &

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...Continued...

foreign cloth merchants of the city in 1931:

Foreign Piecegoods Boycott Committee
Letter of Covenant
The only aim of the Congress [is] to give effect to complete boycott of foreign piecegoods trade.
I......Father's name.......resident of......Proprietor of firm......having witnessed my duty and God above, without pressure and prejudice on my part, and without any covetousness and greediness bind myself to promise that neither I shall do any business against Congress orders nor shall I ever send for any foreign piecegoods either from any foreign countries or from any other parts of India. I will not give help even to my relatives by money, or by any means to trade in foreign piece goods. I also take vow not to get despatched any foreign piece goods lying in some other cities in India to Cawnpore. I shall have no trade connections with such a businessman who is acting against this vow letter of the Congress. I will be prepared to allow the members of the Foreign Piecegoods Boycott Committee or Committee itself formed by the executive body of the local congress committee on 21st March 1931 to examine my important accountant books relating to stock in my possession.

Source: Letter from National Bank Ltd., Kanpur to the the Collector, Kanpur, dated April 14, 1931. FN-33/13/1931, Hom.Poll., NAI and FN-74/1931, AICC, NMML.
Bros., Bankers, Importers and Piecegoods merchants of Kanpur, complained that they were suffering much harassment at the hands of the Congress workers and their sympathisers. They said that since they had not signed the Congress pledge, their shop and import office was regularly picketed and their brokers and commission agents were approached to exert pressure on them. Apart from picketing at the shops, Congress volunteers also kept strict watch over railway station's goods sheds and octroi offices to prevent any import of foreign goods. In Allahabad, for example, on the night of 25 September 1930, the Congress volunteers did not allow 'the rightful owners' to collect their boxes, which were said to contain foreign cloth and cigarettes, from the octroi office near the clock tower. 'The rightful owners' could collect their boxes only after police intervention. Similar evidence was also received from Agra but here the Commissioner of the Division complained that Congressmen were demanding 'sufficient blackmail' for allowing the bales of foreign cloth to pass.

68. FN-33/13/1931, Hom.Poll, NAI.
69. Letter to the Chief Secretary of UP from the Commissioner, Agra, dated June 7, 1930, FN-151/1930, UP Police Dept, UPSA.
70. The Pioneer, Lucknow, Sept. 26, 1930.
71. Letter to the Chief Secretary of UP, from the Commissioner, Agra dated June 7, 1930, FN-151/1930, UP Police Department, UPSA.
Picketing was also done at the shops of those merchants who continued selling foreign goods even after signing the pledge or those who broke the Congress seals from their foreign cloth stock and were found selling the same surreptitiously. In dealing with these merchants, the Congressmen took the help of Bazar Panchayats and the merchants' respective community Panchayats. In most of these cases the Panchayats used to impose fines on these defaulter merchants. For example, in Hathura, Congressmen approached Agarwal Sabha in April 1931 to penalise two defaulter foreign cloth merchants. The Sabha in turn imposed a fine of Rs.21 and 11 on these merchants. When these merchants refused to pay the fine their shops were picketed.72

Similarly, in Agra, 'a Hindu dealer' was fined Rs.51 for importing a fresh supply of foreign cloth and, in Hathras, four dealers were fined Rs.101 each for breaking the Congress pledge.73 Merchants, on the other hand, termed these payments as 'extortions' by the Congress. Sometimes they complained to the authorities about these 'extortions'. In his letter to the Chief Secretary of UP, the proprietor of the firm, M/s Ramjilal & Bros of Kanpur mentioned two such cases of 'extortion' by the Congress. One of them was the payment of Rs.600 by Hanumandas Suraj Prasad and the other was Badrilal Channoolal who paid Rs.500. The letter also says

72. FN-33/1/1931, Hom. Poll., NAI.
73. FR, July II, 1931, FN-18/7/1931, and FN-33/27/1931, Hom. Poll., NAI.
that the Congressmen sometimes offered to lift the picketing if the merchant concerned agreed to pay a substantial amount to the Congress fund or to some other ostensibly charitable fund' like 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' etc. Although these allegations were denied by the secretary of the Kanpur TCC, it was true that fines were regularly being imposed by the Congress on the recalcitrant merchants in almost all the towns. 74

Even after all the picketing and fines, there were some merchants who kept on selling foreign cloth surreptitiously from their residence. In Pilibhit and Benaras, some businessmen were reported to be supplying foreign cloth on order to their customers. 75 This kind of trend must have been encouraged by the decline in the prices of foreign cloth. A report from the Assistant Secretary, DCC, Gorakhpur dated 3 June, 1930 says that "due to the boycott, foreign goods has become cheaper and khadi and swadeshi, a little costlier". 76 Nonetheless, it was...

74. Letter from Messrs Ramjilal & Bros to the Chief Secretary, Government of UP dated May 25, 1931, FN-33/13/1931, Hom.Poll, NAI and A letter from the Secretary, TCC, Kanpur, to the General Secretary, AICC, Allahabad dated Sept.6, 1931, FN. G-139/1931, AICC, NMML.

75. Letter to the Chief Secretary, Government of UP from the Commissioner of Rohilkhand dated June 20, 1930, FN-151/1930, UP Police Department, UPSA.

76. Letter to Secretary, AICC from Assistant Secretary, DCC, Gorakhpur dated June 3, 1930, FN-77/1930; AICC, NMML.
beyond the capacity of the Congress to put a complete ban on the sale of foreign goods.

It was, probably, this kind of attitude of some foreign cloth merchants that led some organizations to take an aggressive attitude towards them. We hear of threatening letter being sent to these recalcitrant merchants by various revolutionary organisations. For example, a foreign cloth dealer of Kanpur received a letter from the 'Indian Republican Association' in February 1931 which said that a bomb would be thrown at him if he continued to sell foreign cloth.77 Similarly, Hazi Abdul Razaq, a foreign cloth dealer of Lucknow was threatened in December, 1930 that if he did not get his stock of foreign cloth sealed by the Congress, his shop would be burnt and a bomb thrown at him.78 Even in 1932, when the Government had made it very difficult for the Congressmen to picket at the foreign cloth shops, these types of letters continued to be issued to the businessmen by various revolutionary associations.79

Apart from these threatening letters which were sent mainly to scare the businessmen and the threats seldom carried out, there were instances when businessmen

77. WRPA, Feb 21, 1931, UPID.
78. FN-14/21/1931, Hom.Poll., NAI.
79. WRPA, Feb 13, 1932, UPID.
were subjected to severer punishment. For example, in Agra, the official sources report that a brother of a foreign cloth merchant had his nose cut off by 'some Congress workers'. This businessman had not only broken the Congress seal from his stock but had also sought police protection when his shop was being picketed. 80

In Benaras, a Muslim shopkeeper who had refused to come to terms with the Congress was shot dead in February, 1931. The merchant in his dying declaration mentioned the name of the Captain of local Congress volunteers as one of the murderers. 81

Apart from these few instances, the Congressmen did not generally indulge in violent activities though merchants, especially Muslims, very often took resort to violence for warding of the picketers from their shops. Muslims, in general, had declared their opposition to the boycott programme. In Allahabad, the Muslim cloth merchants held a meeting on 25 April 1930 and issued an appeal to the Congressmen, the people in general and the authorities to ensure that their shops were not picketed. Their plea was that since their community was not participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement, they were not interested in boycott. 82

However, the pro-Congress Muslim leaders and the Jamait-ul-ulema made an appeal to the Muslim community to help Congress

80. FN-14/21/1931, Hom. Poll., NAI
81. FN-14/28/1931, Hom. Poll., NAI.
82. The Leader, Sept. 8, 1930.
in its boycott programme but their appeal appears to have made little impact on Muslim masses. However, at some places these pro-Congress Muslims did succeed in their efforts. In Aligarh, for example, the Muslim foreign cloth merchants called a meeting to organise an anti-picketing party, but their attempt failed as the nationalist Muslims succeeded in getting a resolution passed which said that Muslims should not do anything which might go against Congress activities. While at some other places, as the newspaper reports alleged, Muslims shopkeepers tried to terrorise the volunteers with the help of goondas. In one case at Benaras, Muslims opened a foreign cloth shop just to embarrass the Congress and when the volunteers went to picket at that shop, they were severely beaten up. In Allahabad also, two Muslim customers thrashed one of the volunteers, Himanshu Kumar Pandey, who had tried to persuade them against buying foreign cloth. Nevertheless, the Muslims in general were against this kind of violence and more often than not condemned these acts.

The attitude of the Government regarding picketing varied in the different phases of the Movement. During the first phase, the police did not generally interfere with

83. The Leader, June 17, 1930.
84. Ibid, June 30, 1930.
85. Ibid, June 5, 1930.
86. Satyagraha Samachar (SS), May 3, 1930, FN-106, Police Department, UPSA.
picketing unless it took a violent turn. In 1930, the UP Government had promulgated two laws concerning molestation, boycotting and unlawful instigation but, barring three districts, none of the district collectors agreed to apply these acts in their districts. Even the three [Meerut, Aligarh and Basti] who had agreed to apply these acts, did this as a precautionary measure. 87 However, in the second phase the stance of the Government completely changed. It was in no mood to allow any picketing and liberally used the anti-molestation act, promulgated on 4 January 1932. Regular arrests and convictions of picketers made picketing difficult for the Congress and they had to shift to underground propaganda against foreign cloth.

Though picketing was the main weapon of the Congress against foreign cloth, there were some other methods also which it utilized to achieve this end. One of the methods was the organisation of public bonfires of foreign clothes. This was generally organised as a part of major celebrations. The date and place of these bonfires were announced by the local Congress Committees one or two days earlier in the local newspapers or through pamphlets. For this occasion, Congress volunteers, mainly women, would collect foreign cloth from different localities of the towns and in this process they tried to convince people about the evils of foreign cloth. Their arguments consisted mainly of the role of foreign cloth in maintaining the economic benefits for the British empire.

87. FN-151/1930, Police Dept., UPSA.

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On the fixed date, a meeting would be organised at the site where the benefits of swadeshi were explained by the speakers and nationalist songs were sung. There were many instances of public bonfires reported from different areas. But this programme was mainly followed in the first phase of the Movement. On the eve of Holi in Allahabad and Benaras in 1930, a bonfire of foreign cloth was organised in place of the traditional holika-dahan.88

Leaders of national stature in the course of their speeches always made appeals to the people to give up foreign cloth and use swadeshi instead. Among the leaders of UP, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya was the main crusader in this field. In one of the meetings at Kanpur on 12 April 1930, his speech was so effective that the audience discarded their caps, turbans and other foreign articles. Ladies offered their chadars made of foreign cloth. Then all these discarded foreign goods were collected and burnt amid cheers and the people took the oath of using only swadeshi clothes.89 But Pt. Malviya's crusade against foreign cloth was most effective and fruitful in 1932 when his organisation 'All India Swadeshi Sangh' spread in most of the towns of UP.

Beside these, there are also a few examples of linking foreign cloth with religion. The Pandits of Benaras had declared in a meeting of Swadeshi Vastra Pracharini Sabha

89. The Leader, April 19, 1930.
that wearing foreign cloth is a sin. Brahmins of Benaras were advised by their community panchayat that they should not wear foreign cloth. They were also advised against accepting foreign cloth in dakshinas or gifts because they were not pure and were perched with beef and pig tallow.

This rumour that the Lankashire yarn was mixed with cow's or pig's fat, helped Congress a lot in its boycott programme. On the other hand, this rumour became a cause of concern for the Government which tried its best to counter it, but only for the worst. Pro-Congress organisations like 'Organisation against the foreign cloth' brought out leaflets, quoting even the Government sources that some sort of fat was being used in Lankashire for sizing the cloth. One of the leaflets which was being distributed in Mathura quoted the Directorate of Information of Bombay Presidency that instead of the costly cow's and pig's fat, the fat of goats were used as it was cheaper and for printed clothes eggs were in use.

Another variation of linking boycott with religion was the picketing done by volunteers at religious places especially temples to prevent the entry of those people who were dressed in foreign cloth. In Allahabad, on 21 June 1930, the picketers refused entry to those women who were in

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90. Ai, April 18, 1930.
91. Ai, April 9, 1930.
92. Letter from the DM, Mathura to Deputy Collector, Nainital, FN-202/1930, Files of various Departments (FOVD), Police, UPSA.
foreign cloth into the famous Alopin Devi Temple. 93 Similarly, in Mathura, picketing was done at the ghats of the Yamuna river and at temples against foreign cloth. In Meerut also, the members of Sanatan Dharm Mahavir Dal decided on 22 May 1930 that no person should be allowed to enter in temples in foreign clothes. They also directed the priests of the temples to wear only khaddar. 94

The boycott of foreign cloth was simultaneously backed by the propagation of khadi and spinning of charkha and Takli. For popularising the use of khadi, its prices were reduced during the celebrations of important days and weeks. The spinning of charkha and Takli were projected by the Congress as the most important alternative for the common public to supplement their income from other sources. So, for popularising its use, Congress Committees celebrated charkha and takli days as part of week long celebrations. On these days, the use of charkha and takli were displayed in processions. For instance, a takli procession was taken out in Allahabad on 9 November 1930 and on 3 November 1930, a tableau which was a part of a procession depicted Bharat Mata spinning charkha. 95

93. The Leader, June 23, 1930.
94. FN. G-94/1930, AICC, NMML.
95. Aj, Nov. 5 & 9, 1930, 1930.
All these efforts must have received a new dimension by the advertisements which were appearing in the form of slogans in vernacular newspapers of the province. Some of the important slogans were:

1. भुले कार्यना, छाडो कारोडना - यह दो काम करेंगे वर आदमी स्वराज लेगे में मदद दे करता है 96

2. अनाज सस्ता होने से आदमी अगर फसला वला कर भागे पैट भार सकता है, कलाई के 8 वेंसे भागे मिले तो पैट भार अन्य मिल जावेगा 97

3. छाडो कारोडना वर भारतीय का काम है, इस दुःख में आरे कुछ न कर सको तो छाडो ही कारोडो 98

4. छाडो कारोडो, छाडो से बेबाक़ आदार को रखना मिलेगा 99

96. Ai Nov 30, 1930.
98. Ai, Nov. 30, 1930.
Thus, spinning charkha and the use of khadi was propagated as a form of passive resistance to the Government and the increasing sale of khadi was to reduce the distance

100. Ai Dec. 3, 1930.
101. Ai, Nov. 21, 1930.
103. Ai, Jan. 4, 1931.
between nation and swaraj. The advertisements also gave a call to those people who were not interested in direct conflict with the Government to buy khadi which was almost like getting half of swaraj.

All these efforts of the Congress resulted in the increased demand and sale of khadi and swadeshi clothes. In Allahabad, the sale of khadi at one of the two shops of Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar rose up to Rs.10,245 in October 1930. In November, the other shop reported a sale of khadi worth Rs.10,671. At Benaras, Shree Gandhi Ashram Khadi Bhandar succeeded in selling khadi worth Rs.8,055 and Rs.11,099 in October and November, 1930 respectively. In January 1931, this shop reported a sale of Rs.7,843. In Lucknow, the sale figures of Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar were of Rs.4,612 and Rs.8,011 for October and November 1930. In January 1931, this shop succeeded in selling khadi worth Rs.5,627. In addition to khadi, the sale of swadeshi clothes also increased considerably, though its figures are not available. In most of the towns, khadi was in short supply and the Congressmen had to propagate swadeshi clothes in order to make boycott of foreign cloth a success. The Secretary of DCC, Ballia wrote to the Secretary, AICC on 9 May 1930, that even by importing khadi from other districts, they were not in a position to fulfill the demands of the people. So, he proposed to propagate Indian mill cloth as this could also

104. UP Spinner's Association, FN-G-46/1931, AICC, NMML.
have satisfied those who did not want to wear khadi.105 To meet this situation, the AICC prepared a list of Indian mills, the produce of which were to be considered swadeshi and thus propagated in place of foreign cloth. The list included the names of those mills which declared that: (i) they were in full sympathy with the national aspirations of the people; (ii) not less than 75% of their share capital was held by Indians; (iii) not less than 66% of the Directors of the company apart from the ex-officio Directors were and would continue to be Indians; (iv) there was no foreign interest in Managing Agents firm; (v) they promised to assist in the propagation of swadeshi, firstly, by taking steps to eliminate the competition of mill cloth with khadi and secondly, by refraining from exploiting the situation arising out of the movement in respect of price or quality of cloth; (vi) the partners of the Agents firms or firm were not interested in any foreign insurance companies or in the import trade of foreign yarn or foreign piecegoods or import of British machinery or stores; (vii) the ownership as well as the management of the mill was Indian and is pledged to safeguard the Indian interest.106

105. Letter from the Secretary, DCC, Ballia to the Secretary, AICC, Allahabad, dated May 9, 1930, FN. G-150/1930, AICC, NMML.

106. Boycott of Non-swadeshi mills, FN.G-177/1930, AICC, NMML and FN-33/6/1931, Hom. Poll; NAI.
This list was regularly updated and made available to all the Congress Committees who were instructed to persuade the businessmen to indent clothes from these recognised mills only. Besides this, the Congress Committees and other sister organisations helped people in opening exclusive swadeshi stores. In Allahabad, for instance, members of the Youth League opened a Swadeshi store at the behest of Jawaharlal Nehru.\textsuperscript{107} In Benaras, regular swadeshi bazars were organised on every Sunday in 1930, while in 1932, we hear of a permanent swadeshi bazar being started with the help of All India Swadeshi Sangh.\textsuperscript{108} In addition to this Swadeshi Leagues are started in most of the towns to collect pledges from people regarding the boycott of foreign cloth. In this campaign, the Lucknow Swadeshi League argued that Swadeshi alone could stop or atleast reduce to a minimum the economic drain of the country.\textsuperscript{109} The Prayag Swadeshi League succeeded in collecting around 30,000 signatures on the pledge regarding boycott of foreign goods and use of only swadeshi and khadi.\textsuperscript{110} At other places also, Swadeshi Leagues were very active and it was due to its intensive propaganda that the lawyers of Kanpur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Sitapur and Aligarh decided in their Bar Council meetings to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{107} The Leader, June 2, 1930.
\item \textsuperscript{108} The Leader, June 5, 1930 & Ai, May 29, 1932.
\item \textsuperscript{109} The Leader, Nov. 9, 1930.
\item \textsuperscript{110} SS, Allahabad, May 3, 1930, FN-106/1930, Police Dept., UPSA.
\end{itemize}
boycott foreign clothes and use only khadi and swadeshi. Regarding individual action, we have the example of Kashi Prasad Dikshit, a clerk in the Government Press, Allahabad. He resigned from his post as he had been ordered by his British Officer not to come to office in khadi clothes and Gandhi cap.

So, in retrospect, we find that the Congress left no stone unturned in its struggle against foreign cloth and it was fairly successful as well. During the first phase of the movement, Congressmen succeeded in persuading, within one month, most of the foreign cloth merchants, except a few Muslims, in almost all the towns of UP, to sign the pledge of not selling foreign cloth and getting their stock sealed by them. At some places merchants were allowed to sell off their existing stock of foreign cloth on the condition that they would not make any fresh indent. As for instance in Badaun, considering their economic condition, the local Congress Committee allowed small merchants and vendors to sell off their existing stock. But Badaun was just an isolated case and this precedent was not followed at other places. The foreign cloth merchants of many places especially of Allahabad, Agra, Kanpur and Haridwar approached Mr Motilal Nehru, the acting President of the Congress for

111. The Leader, May 21, 1930; Aj, May 2, 1930, and SS, April 23, May 4 & 5, 1930, FN-106/1930, Police Dept, UPSA.

112. FN.14/1931, AICC, NMML.

113. The Leader, June 17, 1930.
permission to dispose off their stock but were refused. In addition, Mr Nehru warned the local Congress Committees to refrain from negotiating any agreement with the foreign cloth dealers regarding the disposal of existing stock. As a result of this the sale of foreign cloth fell sharply. As early as May 1930, in Allahabad, some foreign cloth dealers were not providing foreign cloth even on demand. They were heard saying that "while our sisters are taking so much pains for this why should we sell foreign clothes". In Kanpur, The Leader reported on 27 July, 1930, that 'not a single yard of foreign cloth was available in the market'. These reports might be a little exaggerated, but reports from various other sources underline the point that, by July 1930, sale of foreign cloth decreased considerably. In addition, the tremendous increase in the sale of swadeshi and khadi also confirms the same point.

This success against foreign cloth would not have been possible without the support of businessmen. Throughout the first phase, the merchants gave considerable support to the boycott programme and largely stuck to the pledges they had taken. However, instances of breaking of Congress seal by some recalcitrant businessmen started occurring occasionally from September 1930. Although these cases were dealt with

114. FN. G-150/1930 and G-151/1930, AICC, NMML.
115. Ibid.
117. The Leader, July 30, 1930.
effectively by the Bazar Panchayats, one cannot ignore the fact these occasional acts of defiance were a sure sign of restiveness among the merchant community. This fact was realised by a section in the Congress itself which supported a liberal attitude towards the businessmen. Sri Prakash, one of the General Secretaries of the AIIC, prepared a note on the boycott on 16 January, 1931 in which he advocated a 'little relaxation' in their 'rigidity to maintain the seals' in order to keep the merchants 'sympathetic to the Congress cause and adhere to the Congress organisation for ever'. He wrote that right from the very beginning, merchants had respected their boycott programme and helped them materially in carrying out this campaign, but now they were finding themselves 'unable to continue to bear the loss' that was being entailed on them. He feared that besides the sale that was taking place secretly at that time, the merchant would soon break forth into open rebellion. So, he suggested the sale of limited quantities of foreign cloth for a limited period under Congress control till the present stock was exhausted. For this, he said, a fixed sum should be collected from the merchants which would help the Congress in maintaining a standing corps of volunteers. He believed that public opinion at that time was 'so strong against the foreign cloth that perhaps the merchants would not find many customers'.

118

118. A note on the boycott of foreign cloth and a recommendation for its relaxation by Sri Prakash, FN.G-150/1930, AICC, NMML.
Perhaps these recommendations were accepted by the Congress in principle, though not officially, during the truce period in 1931. In this period Congress had to go a little easy in the picketing of foreign cloth shops as the provisions of the Pact allowed only peaceful picketing. Besides this, the activities of the Congress in this period in UP was mainly concentrated in rural areas and urban areas received only scanty attention. As a result of this, complete boycott of foreign clothes could not be enforced as successfully as it was during the movement. In the towns of UP, two trends were witnessed in this period. In the small towns and in those centres where Congressmen were not engaged in rural agitations, the boycott was fairly successful. For example, in the towns like Sitapur and Jaunpur, the local Congress workers succeeded in almost completely prohibiting the sale of foreign cloth in just four days of picketing.119 While in the larger towns like Allahabad and Kanpur, which were also the major centres of rural agitation, they did not achieve this kind of success. In these towns, it seems, Congressmen had unofficially allowed the merchants to dispose off their existing stocks on the condition that they would not indent any fresh stock. In Kanpur, the Secretary of the PCC lamented that due to the lack of volunteers, they were in no position to picket the whole foreign cloth market. So, they were concentrating on wholesale merchants only. At the same time, they had taken a pledge from around 300 foreign

119. Aj, July 8, 1931.
cloth merchants, both retailers as well as wholesalers, that they would not order for fresh stock. However, Congressmen did not interfere in their disposing off of their existing stock.120 In Allahabad, on the other hand, the Congressmen did not allow the merchants to dispose off their existing stock of foreign cloth. This led to a 'good deal of discontentment' among many of the cloth dealers of the city. They were even contemplating to form an alliance of a sort to adopt some effective means to demonstrate their feelings of discontent against picketing. But even after this strict attitude, the Congressmen in Allahabad could not succeed in prohibiting the sale of foreign cloth. The Leader reported that even after more than two months of regular picketing, Congressmen could secure pledges from just about a dozen merchants in the city.121

Nevertheless, this sustained work of the Congress against foreign cloth in this period paid dividends in 1932 when the Movement was resumed. This time the Congress faced a determined Government bent upon foiling every attempt to picket the foreign cloth shops. In the very first week of the resumption of the movement, the Government promulgated, along with others, the 'anti molestation ordinance' to curb the picketing activities. This ordinance was immediately applied

120. Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Secretary, PCC, Kanpur dated June 27, 1931 and the Secretary, PCC, Kanpur to the General Secretary, AICC, Allahabad, dated July 1, 1931, FN.G-139/1931, AICC, NMHL.

121. The Leader, Sept. 12, 1931.
to almost all the districts of UP and action under this
started being taken. Every attempt of picketing by the
volunteers resulted in their arrests and by the end of
January 1932, around 215 persons were convicted under this
Ordinance. Apart from taking action under this
ordinance, the Government of UP ordered the district
officials to provide all kinds of help to the businessmen
so that they could continue dealing in foreign goods.
The Governor of the province himself came down to
Kanpur on 9 January 1932 and addressed the merchants of
the city. He promised them full support in protecting their
business interests. He also asked the district officials
to help businessmen in forming an association to
protect their rights against picketing.

However, even this all out support could not win
over the businessmen to the Government's side, as one
of the official reports says that there was
considerable sympathy among the business community
especially 'Hindus' towards Congress. If we believe
the same report, then by February 1932, there was hardly
any need for the Congress to picket the foreign cloth


123. The Leader, Jan 11, 1932; FR, Jan.1, 1932,
FN.18/1/1932 and Weekly Telegraphic Reports. Jan.

124. Ibid.

shops in some larger centres like Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur. It says that there was 'marked disinclination for shops to stock or purchasers to buy foreign articles of any kind'.\textsuperscript{126} Yet this kind of attitude was especially marked against British goods and 'Japanese goods were having better sales along with Indian articles'.\textsuperscript{127}

Nonetheless, this all-out war of the Government forced the Congress to undertake underground propaganda against the foreign cloth.\textsuperscript{128} And it was as a result of this that one intelligence officer reported from Allahabad that "students especially have begun to live very simply, and sales of soaps and fancy goods are affected adversely".\textsuperscript{129} By the end of March 1932, one of the Congress reports suggests that the whole stock of foreign cloth at Benaras, Agra, Pilibhit and Bahraich had been sealed by the Congressmen and at Allahabad, Kanpur, Mathura, Ballia, Sitapur, Hamirpur, Banda, Bijnor and Ghazipur, picketing was being done on the shops of just a few recalcitrant businessmen.\textsuperscript{130} The report further says that the sale of British goods such as cycles, ironware, and general merchandise had 'practically stopped in Allahabad,

\textsuperscript{126} FR, Feb.II, 1932, FN-18/2/1932, Hom.Poll., NAI.
\textsuperscript{127} WRPA, March 5, 1932, UPID.
\textsuperscript{128} FR, Feb.II, 1932, FN-18/2/1932, Hom.Poll, NAI.
\textsuperscript{129} WRPA, March 5, 1932, UPID.
\textsuperscript{130} A special Bulletin issued by the AICC on March 30, 1932, FN. P-35/1932, AICC, NMML.
Etah and Mathura' and 'practically completely in Benaras and Agra'.

Even the fortnightly report for the second half of March says that the demand for foreign goods was poor. All these efforts of the Congress received a further boost with the emergence of the Swadeshi Leagues under the leadership of Pt Madan Mohan Malviya in March and April, 1932. Pt Malviya found in swadeshi 'a most powerful and practicable weapon' owing to its 'extent, effectiveness and comparative immunity from the clutches of the Government's ordinance', and set out to use this weapon to the best purpose possible. His call to celebrate 29 May as an All India Swadeshi Day proved to be a great success and his 'All India Swadeshi Sangh' quickly spread its influence to other parts of the country. In UP, apart from Benaras, which was its headquarter, the Allahabad Swadeshi League was the most active. It had placed a board saying 'Buy Swadeshi' on almost every shop of the town and encouraged merchants to enroll as members of the League. Acting on the advice of Malviyajee, it also started a permanent Swadeshi Bazar at its office which was a great success. The Kanpur and Benaras Swadeshi Leagues were also engaged in 'intensive and

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131. Ibid.
133. FN-5/68/1932, Hom.Poll., NAI.
134. The Leader, May 4, 1932.
135. The Leader, June 3 & 6, 1932.
extensive propaganda' through mohalla meetings, house to house campaigning and swadeshi literature.136 Everywhere the Swadeshi Leagues were getting considerable success in their campaign. The intelligence report for the week ending 11 June 1932 says that "the Swadeshi League propaganda is attracting politically-minded persons, and efforts are being made to obtain the support of loyal subjects by emphasising the patriotic nature of the League's programme".137

So, due to the underground propaganda and sustained work by Swadeshi Leagues, picketing was hardly needed in the towns of UP and it had gradually become rare. In Allahabad, for instance, picketing was resumed on 20 July after a gap of two months. Here, the Congress Committee claimed to have sealed the foreign cloth stocks of 62 out of 71 merchants. In Kanpur and Benaras also, picketing was being done only on the shops of intractable businessmen who were very few in number.138

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Along with the boycott of foreign goods, the Congress in UP also undertook quite earnestly the boycott of liquor.


137. WRPA, June 11, 1932, UPID.

toddy, ganja, bhang and cigarettes. The main intention behind the boycott of these items was not only to reduce the revenue of the Government (the Government was earning around 9% of its total revenue from the sale of liquor, tobacco, cigar and cigarettes) but also to purge society of these evils. However, this programme did not receive the kind of attention it required. This could be because concentration in UP was on the boycott of foreign cloth and other items. It was during the first phase only that the local congress committees paid some attention to this programme. During the truce period and the second phase, the boycott of liquor and other intoxicants was not taken very seriously.

Here again the most important form of implementing the boycott was picketing. Picketing at the liquor shops was mostly done by male volunteers, though occasionally women volunteers were also engaged. The volunteers, apart from picketing the shops, also picketed the auction of these shops organised annually by the Government in every district. At some places, as a part of picketing of toddy shops, tar trees were cut down. In Hamirpur, for example, around 1000 tar trees were cut down. During the study of this period, we find two variations in this picketing. First, in the larger urban centres like Allahabad and Kanpur, the concentration was on picketing of the auction sales of the shops and underground propaganda through leaflets and other

139. FN. P-22/1932, AICC, NHML.

140. The Leader, Feb. 7, 1930.
literature. The picketing of shops selling intoxicants was not a very regular feature. On the other hand, in smaller towns, picketing of shops selling liquor and other intoxicants was an important part of the programme of the Congress Committees. This was done in addition to the underground propaganda and boycott and picketing of the auction of shops. Therefore, the programme of boycott of liquor and other intoxicants was more successful in smaller towns than the larger towns. Again, in the small hill towns of the province, picketing of liquor shops and depots was one of the most important jobs of the Congress activists. Since they were in no position to start a salt satyagraha, they had resorted to the boycott programme quite early. In Ranikhet, picketing of liquor depots started in the very first half of April 1930.141 As a result of this, by 15 November 1930, when the Congreeemen in other towns were trying hard to enforce a complete boycott of liquor, some of the hill towns, like Kashipur, etc, reported a complete ban on the sale of the same.142

During the truce period and the second phase of the movement, the emphasis and intensity of picketing at the liquor shops declined a little. According to the official reports, in 1930, around 1600 liquor shops out of a total of 7200 in the whole province had been picketed. While in 1931, till the end of June, just 220 shops were picketed. This

141. Shakti, April 12, 1930.
142. Ibid, Nov. 15, 1930.
figure kept on decreasing. The fortnightly report for the first half of August 1931 says that in the first fifteen days of July, only 112 shops were picketed while in the first half of June first half, this figure was 212. Despite this trend, the excise earning of the Government from these shops did not increase but kept on decreasing.143 This reduction in the excise revenue might have been the result of the propaganda of the Congress against intoxicants. However, this propaganda was not of much avail in some larger towns. In Allahabad, for instance, despite a fortnight long propaganda against the auction of the toddy shops and the persuasion of the prospective buyers by the Congress workers, the sale attracted prices which were much higher than 1930. In 1930, the nine toddy shops of the city were sold for just Rs.23,145, while in 1931, the same shops attracted a price of Rs.36,245. The main reason behind this higher price could be the decline of Congress activity in this period in the urban centres of UP. Still, at some places, Congressmen did succeed in hampering the auctions. At Ghazipur, Congress workers succeeded in persuading many prospective bidders to abstain from the auction and as a result of this the sale attracted prices below the expectations of the officials.144

In 1932, the emphasis and intensity of picketing at liquor shops further declined despite the fact that


144. Ai, Aug. 27, 1931.
the boycott of intoxicants was one of the more important features of the boycott programme of the Congress in this period. From the study of the three comparatively larger cities of Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur, we find that picketing of liquor shops had become a rare phenomenon in this period. Therefore, the auction of liquor shops of Allahabad and Kanpur cities for the year 1932-33 attracted 'sensational prices'. In Allahabad, 81% increase in the revenue from the auction of liquor shops was reported while in Kanpur, this rise was around 87%. In 1931, the ten liquor shops of Kanpur city had been sold for Rs.58,303 whereas in 1932, 12 shops were sold for Rs.1,07,750. Quite surprisingly, at both these places, Congressmen did not make any attempt to picket these auctions.145

Thus, these facts confirm our conclusion that the Congressmen in the larger urban centres of the province did not attach much importance to the liquor boycott programme. It was not that they were against its boycott, but they probably considered other programmes more useful and undertook picketing of shops selling liquor and other intoxicants only occasionally. While in the smaller towns, the congress committees took up this programme as enthusiastically as they had taken up any other programme.

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145. The Leader, April 20 & 27, 1932.
Educational institutions were another place where picketing was done by the Congressmen. This was mainly witnessed in the first phase of the movement. In July 1930, the Government of UP issued a circular to all the educational institutions of the province to take measures to prevent these institutions from becoming the recruitment ground for Congress volunteers. The circular suggested monetary fines and removal from college rolls as deterrent measures. This resulted in a great amount of agitation by the Congressmen. Protest meetings were held at many places and Congress volunteers set out to picket those institutions which had tried to enforce this circular. In Allahabad, a protest meeting was organised by the Students Association on the grounds of the Government Inter College. In Dehradun, a hartal was observed by the students on 14 July and the volunteers of the local students union picketed DAV Inter College, A.P. Mission School and Tehsil School. In Jhansi and Gorakhpur also, the students union observed a strike and picketing was done at different schools. As a part of these protests, the universities of Allahabad, Benaras and Lucknow were also severely picketed, leading to a complete suspension of teaching.

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147. The Leader, July 19, 1930.
Generally, picketers received the full support of the students of the concerned schools and colleges. Yet, on some occasions, picketing was done against their wishes. For example, in Allahabad, the majority of the students of Anglo-Bengali Inter College were against picketing and they had even made a representation to Mrs V.L. Pandit, the President of Allahabad Students Association, for lifting the picketing. But Mrs Pandit refused to oblige them and picketing was continued.149

Mostly female battalions of volunteers were sent to picket these institutions whose main intention used to be to disrupt the teaching activities. In most cases, these institutions used to suspend teaching on their arrival but on some occasions picketing led to aggressive reaction by the college administration as in Allahabad in May 1930.150 Here the principal of Modern College, Mr. Ghosh, misbehaved with Mrs V.L. Pandit and beat some of the volunteers and students who wanted to boycott classes on 6 May to protest the arrest of Mahatama Gandhi.151 This incivility of the principal resulted in intense picketing of the college which forced the management to close the college for summer vacation ten days earlier.152

149. The Leader, Aug. 17, 1930.
150. An article by Mr S.P. Sanyal in The Leader, Sept. 8, 1930.
152. Ibid.
On some occasion, students of a particular institution themselves picketed their school or college. In Allahabad, for example, the students of C.A.V. Inter College picketed their college on 15 November 1930, to protest the suspension of some of their colleagues from the college for taking part in Congress activity. The students were not in favour of letting the college function until the suspension order was revoked. A similar incident took place in Ghazipur as well. Here, more than a hundred students picketed their college in protest against the removal of a student of class VI from the college for taking part in the activities of Youth Association.

However, the picketing of educational institutions was a feature of the first phase of the movement only and we do not find any incident of this kind either in the truce period or in the second phase.

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Congressmen in UP also took effective measures to boycott the pro-Government or 'loyal' elements of the society. These 'loyal' elements were not only against the Civil Disobedience Movement but were also helping the officials in every way to suppress the movement. They were.

154. The Leader, July 23, 1930.
also the main constituents of the Aman Sabhas\textsuperscript{155} and Desh Hitkari Sabhas.

In an attempt to socially boycott these people, Congressmen mostly took resort to picketing at their houses. Congress volunteers along with many ordinary people would stand outside their houses and shout \textit{hai-hais} whenever any member of their family would come out or enter the house. Sometimes their effigies were taken out in a procession, beaten by shoes at regular intervals and burnt in front of their houses. For example, in Allahabad, an effigy of 'the most respectable' zamindar and banker was paraded in his locality.\textsuperscript{156} So the main intention behind these picketing was to disgrace and expose these people in the eyes of the people.

However, this method of social boycott was mostly used against government, especially police, officials. Their boycott was preceded by the request that they should give up their jobs and support the Congress agitation. Many pamphlets of this nature were found posted near police stations or sent directly to police or other government officer's home by post. When there was no response to these requests, a kind of social boycott was started against them. At many places shopkeepers refused to sell goods to them and

\textsuperscript{155} Aman Sabhas were loyalist organizations set up by the government officers, landlords and some other pro-government elements to counter the Congress propaganda.

\textsuperscript{156} An article by Mr S.P. Sanyal in \textit{The Leader}, Sept 8, 1930.
menial workers declined to work for them. At Kanpur, members of the Youth League tried to persuade the house owners to evict police, CID and district intelligence staff from their houses. The members of the police force were projected as the most tyrannical elements, dancing to the tune of the British officials and ready to do anything suppress the Congress agitation. As a result of this, as the intelligence reports for July 1930 confirm, while in a number of districts anti-police feeling had been 'confined to abuse, pure and simple', in others agitators had worked up crowds to the point of direct action. At many places like Kanpur, Bijnor, Haridwar, Jhansi and Mirzapur, police had to face 'showers of brickbats' and angry demonstrations.157

Besides this, the AICC, from time to time, gave directions to the people to boycott certain government activities or services. For instance, in December 1930, it directed its workers as well as the people in general to boycott census operations which were to begin in early 1931. In a circular issued to all the PCCs, the AICC directed them to advise people "not to undertake any duties connected with census department", "not to give any information asked by the census department in connection with the census"; and "to suffer such penalties as may be imposed for such non-cooperation". The census operation was one activity of the government which required the willing cooperation of

157. WRPA, July 12 & 19, 1930, UPID.
all the citizens. The AICC, accordingly, considered it an unique opportunity of offering mass civil disobedience on a large scale and advised people to avail of this opportunity. Its circular said that "if we succeed in making our boycott effective, the record of the government will be incomplete and they will have to admit in one of their public documents that they could not secure the cooperation of the people in one of their important operations".158

Similarly, in 1932, the AICC gave a call to boycott all government services which provided it a substantial revenue. This included the boycott of railways and post and telegraph department which provided 17% and 9% of the total revenue of the Government of India.159 Some efforts to boycott railways and post and telegraph department were made by the Congress Committees in UP though it was never a serious effort. In Benaras and some other places, picketing was done by the Congress volunteers of railway passengers to persuade them to avoid travelling by train. The boycott of the post and telegraph department took on a different pattern. As a part of this boycott, letters stored in post boxes were burnt almost regularly and at some places post offices were picketed. But it seems it was beyond the capacity of the Congress to implement a complete boycott of such essential

159. FN.P-22/1932, AICC, NMML.
services like railways and postal department. In fact, they themselves were very much dependent on these services for their day to day work. The significance of this programme can only be understood in the specific context of severe government repression which made the usual civil disobedience methods extremely difficult, if not impossible. Refusal to travel by train or post letters could not be punished under any law since it did not violate any law, but it could express popular support for the movement nonetheless and keep the spirit of resistance alive.

PRESS & NATIONALIST LITERATURE

In the process of mobilization of the masses for the Civil Disobedience Movement, and at its various turning points, the press -- not only periodicals but also pamphlets, leaflets and posters and, indeed, cyclostyled and hand written notices -- played a crucial part.

"Never before [1930] had the press played so important a part in the national campaign... enthusiasm was kindled and maintained by the vigorous action of the Nationalist newspapers. The facts of daily arrests of leaders, vast processions, injuries to congress volunteers who had come into conflict with the police were all displayed in bold type. Indeed, all the methods which a nationalist press might be expected to use in a country at war were employed by the journals supporting the movement".160

Around this time, there was a considerable number of newspapers and periodicals being published in UP. In 1930, their number was 626 of which 266 were in Hindi, 225 in Urdu and 84 in English. Among them the largest number (around 256) was of monthly journals followed by weeklies (207). In comparison, there were just 36 daily newspapers. Among the places of publication, Allahabad, no doubt, was the place from which the largest number of newspapers and journals were published. Benaras and Kanpur were also publishing a considerable number of periodicals. The following table makes this amply clear.

<table>
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<th>English</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

161. In 1931, these figures remained virtually the same viz, the total number of newspapers and periodicals was 632 of which 237 were in Hindi, 250 in Urdu and 78 in English, statement of newspapers and periodicals published in the year 1931, FN-230/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.

Circulation-wise also some of these newspapers were doing quite well. In 1930, there were six newspapers and periodicals which had a circulation of 10,000 and above. Among them were two dailies, The Leader and The Pioneer. Both of them were being published from Allahabad and had a circulation of around 14,000 and 12,000 respectively in 1930. Another two were weeklies, Pratap and Bhavisya. Pratap was being published from Kanpur and Bhavisya from Allahabad. They had a circulation figure of 16,000 and 11,000. The other two which had a circulation of more than 10,000 were Chand and Kalyan. Both of them were monthly magazines and were published from Allahabad and Gorakhpur. Apart from them, there were 7 newspapers and periodicals which had a circulation of between 5,000 and 10,000 and around 22 others had a circulation of between 3000 to 5000.163

But the circulation figures cannot give us the exact number of readers of these journals. Periodicals were very cheap in the 1930s - the daily Aj cost only 2 paisa. Even so the number of buyers gives no indication of the actual readership. Even today, the Aj newspaper, pasted up on a wall outside the paper's office in Benaras, attracts scores of readers throughout the day. In 1920s and 1930s, many vernacular newspapers and journals in India bore such slogans as 'Read this yourself, read it to others, and give it to a peasant'. The Indian Statutory Commission noted in 1928 that vernacular papers 'can be, and

163. Ibid.

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are, read to illiterate hearers by their literate fellows in
towns, villages, railway carriages, public meetings and so
on'. 164 So, it is very difficult for us to find out the
exact number of people reached by the press.

**TABLE-II**

**SOME IMPORTANT NATIONALIST PERIODICALS IN UP, 1920-30**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>1927</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Abhivyudaya</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ai</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Benaras</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bharat</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>Bi-Weekly</td>
<td>NA*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bhavisya</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Chand</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Hind Kesari</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Benaras</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>4000</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Indian Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Lucknow</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The Leader</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Hazdoor</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Kanpur</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>5000</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Medina</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Bijnor</td>
<td>Bi-weekly</td>
<td>12500</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Mustagil</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Kanpur</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
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<td>12. Pratap</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Kanpur</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>10000</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Sainik</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Shakti</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Almorah</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Swadesh</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Gorakhpur</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Yartman</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Kanpur</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The NA Column occurs because these periodicals had not started then

Source: Statement of Newspapers and Periodicals published in UP for
the relevant years. Ibid.

In UP, the number of periodicals directly supporting the Congress programme or openly sympathetic with it had increased since the early 1920s. In 1930, some of them older ones which had lost some of their readers in the mid 1920s, regained the level of circulation of the Non-cooperation period and in a few important cases even surpassed it (Table-II).

This shows a return to something like the enthusiasm of Non-Cooperation times at least among groups that could afford to buy newspapers and journals. At the same time, on the other hand, it is important to note that both the Urdu periodicals listed in Table II declined in circulation. This is probably an indication of the growing Muslims disaffection with the Congress programme.

Right from the days of the Lahore Congress, these newspapers, especially the vernacular ones, were engaged in popularising the new creed of 'complete independence'. Through their articles and editorials they were trying to enhance the people's awareness of the ideas, programmes and the new goals of the Congress. The appointment of Jawaharlal Nehru as the President of the Congress and his Presidential speech was commended by most of the nationalist newspapers. The Aj remarked that the Presidential Address was full of vigour and enthusiasm. "It is not the groan of an invalid but a roar of a strong and ardent youth which shows the way to life and glory. It conveys the message to the country that its bad days are over and that it can take its place among the free nations after it has undergone the sufferings
necessary for the purpose. Pt Jawaharlal Nehru has raised his voice not for the liberty of only any particular class but for that of labour and peasants also...."165

The Vartaman, a Hindi daily of Kanpur also praised the speech and said that "the address gives us an idea of the profound statesmanship, unbounded patriotism, deep learning and wonderful farsightedness of Pt Jawaharlal Nehru. It will be no exaggeration to say that the remedy prescribed by him is infallible".166 The Medina, a Urdu bi-weekly newspaper from Bijnor, paid a warm tribute to Pt Jawaharlal Nehru's patriotism and love for freedom and highly commended his Presidential address, 'especially for its socialistic spirit'.167

However, The Leader, a liberal paper, criticised the speech and the resolutions as highly detrimental to the interests of the country. It further said while throwing a challenge, Jawaharlal Nehru ignored the hard realities. "He has been simply carried away by his political theories which are unsound and impractical. If an effort is made to put them into practice, nothing but disaster will result. The complicated Indian problems cannot be solved by such heroic remedies as Pt Jawaharlal

165. Note on Press, Jan.4, 1930, NAI.
166. Ibid.
167. Ibid.
prescribes. It would be a mistake to take his views seriously. 168

The strongest criticism came from some Muslim papers who warned their co-religionists against participating in Congress activities. The Ghazi said that "The independence resolution of the Congress is another instrument forged for the destruction of Muslim interests..." 169 The Aziz Hind considered the passage of the independence resolution as a childish act and a regrettable event, and warned the Muslims against entangling themselves in any mischievous movement. 170

Gandhiji's programme of civil disobedience also attracted a good deal of attention and support from the nationalist press. The Ai said that "the Congress will carry on its non-violent campaign under the tri-coloured flag standing for energy, mercy and renunciation. It is quite possible that there may be some disturbances but our effort will be to prevent and check them. We do not want Chauri-Chaura but are also not afraid of it". 171 The Abhyudaya said, "Mahatama Gandhi has decided to fight the last battle of his life. This is war between religion and irreligion, between justice and injustice, between the aspirations of people and the shackles of bureaucracy and for liberating the

168. Ibid.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid.
171. Ibid., Feb. 22, 1930.
Indian people from slavery". Referring to Gandhiji's march for satyagraha, The Medina recalled the march of the Prophet Muhammad with the resourceless band of 330 crusaders who went to fight an armed warlike power.

However, the open support provided by the newspapers to the Congress could not be tolerated for very long. Worried by the aggressive attitude of these newspapers, the Government enacted a Press Ordinance in the last week of April 1930. Action under this Ordinance started being taken in UP from May onwards. Several newspapers were warned and securities demanded from them for their 'seditious' writings. The Congress Working Committee, on the other hand, passed a resolution that newspapers should not offer any security and cease the publication of newspapers instead. Thus, Ai of Benaras, Pratap of Kanpur and Swadhin Praja of Almora became the first ones to face the brunt of the Ordinance. Refusing to pay the securities to the Government, they ceased publication. Though Ai and Satyagraha Samachar of Allahabad appeared surreptitiously for sometime in cyclostyled form. Till the end of October,

172. Ibid, March 1, 1930.
175. FN.G-143/1930, AICC, NMML.
176. FN-1012/1930, FOVDs, Police, UPSA.
when the Press Ordinance lapsed, securities had been demanded from 31 newspapers while 64 others had been warned.

After the expiry of the Press Ordinance in the last week of October 1930, these newspapers resumed publication. But most of them still refrained from writing editorial articles and notes as the existing situation was 'more terrible' than when they were stopped. So, in a situation when the 'repression' was 'in full swing' and the nation was 'firmly proceeding on way to freedom', 'true news alone' was 'to serve the purpose of comments'.177 The Ai, the leading nationalist newspaper carried a statement in place of its regular editorial comments which said:

"The editorial comments are the non-violent ideas which arise in the heart of every patriot on seeing the poverty of the country, the drain of its wealth to foreign countries, the lathis showered on heads and the jail filled with patriots".178

There were some other newspapers who continued to leave their editorial space blank. Still, there were some who resumed publication on their characteristic aggressive note. As, for example, the leading article of the Sainik of Agra which read:

"'Come on to fight, come on to fight' - with this cry the rebellious Sainik has again jumped into the field of battle. With its characteristic slogan it resounds the battle field and,

encouraging those national soldiers who have fought with great enthusiasm and heroism during these six months, it congratulates them from the bottom of its heart. It will again crack its terrible whip over the cowards and the traitors and will employ its special weapon to extinguish the fire of bureaucratic repression. It is to be seen how long, in the face of its terrific roar the cowards and the cruel authorities remain in safety. It does not care even for life; all it wants is that oppression and repression should cease...."179

At the time of the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, most of the vernacular newspapers welcomed the truce. The Ai termed it as the need of the hour. But even after the Pact, they continued their crusade against foreign cloth and liquor and highlighted the plight of peasants through their editorials and special articles. The execution of Bhagat Singh and the killing of Chandrashekhar Azad and the subsequent suppression of protests of students also featured prominently in these periodicals. It was their laudation of these revolutionary leaders (who had become cult figures by that time) which became the raison d'etre for the Government to pass the Press Act in October 1931. Although this was projected as 'designed to curb the growth of revolutionary ideas among youth', it was in fact devised to 'gag' the Press in view of the deteriorating political condition in various parts of the country.180 In UP, the talks which were going on between the Government and the Congress regarding

179. FN. 13/6/1931, Hom.Poll., NAI.
remission of rent and revenue had come to nought and the Congress was planning to start a no-rent agitation. The Government thus required some sort of control over the newspapers. The nationalist, especially the vernacular newspapers of the province protested against this act. They initiated a move to form an association to launch an organised protest. For this purpose, the journalists of Benaras met on 4 October and formed an association. The Aj exhorted the journalists of other towns also to form an association to launch a joint protest.181

The same Press Act also helped the Government in controlling the newspapers in 1932 when the Civil Disobedience Movement was resumed. Most of the nationalist newspapers had again stopped writing editorial articles and notes. The Aj which had initially continued with its editorial articles, though in a rather mild tone, stopped these completely on 6 January 1932. The paper said that, unlike 1930, 'they have decided against defying the Press Act and get prosecuted'. Rather they would stop publishing editorials and notes and continue disseminating news to their readers. Even after this stance, many newspapers were warned and securities demanded from them. The Pratap of Kanpur was asked by the Government to furnish a security of Rs. 2000 on 25 February, 1932. The notice which was served to them said that they were supporting the

Congress movement and their editor was a member of the Congress.\textsuperscript{182} The \textsl{Ai} was also served a notice on 23 June 1932 to deposit a security of Rs.1000 for publishing an objectionable news item.\textsuperscript{183}

Given this situation, it became quite difficult for them to provide open support to the movement in its second phase. Nevertheless, even the news items they carried contributed a great deal to maintaining the enthusiasm of the people towards the movement.

Besides these conventional newspapers, the Congress committees in most of the larger towns of UP started their own newspapers (\textsl{Satyagraha Samachar}) at the beginning of the Civil Disobedience campaign; the main intention behind their publication was to carry to the people first hand information of the numerous agitations going on at different places. Although the publication of these newspapers could not last for very long as the Press Ordinance of 1930 severely restricted their publication and distribution, in their short span of life they did a lot by way of increasing people's awareness about the campaign and exhorting them to join the movement. For example, one of the editions of the \textsl{Satyagraha Samachar} said: "Why are we fighting?" The fight was for the 90\% who were poor, the \textsl{kisans} who produce the grain and then yearn for the morsel and a rag'. 'Why is their condition so terrible?' It asked further, and answered 'Because we do not

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{182} \textsl{Ai}, Feb. 28, 1932.
\item \textsuperscript{183} \textsl{Ai}, June 24, 1932.
\end{itemize}
have Swaraj. The remaining 10% of India's population included handicraftsmen, traders and service people. The former used to be more prosperous than their counterparts in any other country before the coming of the British, and they exported beautiful manufactured goods, the paper declared. Now, it lamented, only raw materials were produced in India and even they had to be exported for manufacturing purposes; the British had opened enterprises in their own country and ruined India's manufacturers. The educated had also suffered, it added. If they were unable to work on the land they paced about the cities looking for employment. For every vacant post, there were thousands of applicants. 'The chief reason for this war [Civil Disobedience] is to rid the country of this pitiable condition', 184

The Congress also made extensive use of nationalist literature and pamphlets. Through these, the Congress addressed its appeals for support to the entire population. Generally, appeals were addressed directly to discrete sections of society. Pamphlets and leaflets surviving from the 1930s provide examples of calls to students, 185 to

184. SS, April 23, 1930, FN-106/1930, Police Dept., UPSA.
185. Proscribed Publication (Prosg.Pub.), Accession No. (Acc.No.) - 112, 1031, etc., NAI.
shopkeepers, launderers and barbers,\textsuperscript{186} to factory workers\textsuperscript{187} and above all to the general category of kisans.\textsuperscript{188} Apart from these regular addresses, we also find leaflets addressed to policemen and army personnel. Some of these pamphlets were, \textit{Fauj aur police ke sipahiyon 'saydhan'} and \textit{Angrezi fauj aur police ki mulajimat mat karo}. These pamphlets generally contained statements to the effect that the beating of unarmed Indians should be a matter of shame to the policemen and that they should give up their jobs and join the Congress movement.\textsuperscript{189} One typical example of this kind of leaflet was \textit{police ke bhaiyon se}, which was sent by post to the houses of police officers of Indian origin and pasted on the walls and lamp posts near police stations in April, 1932. It said:\textsuperscript{190}

\begin{quote}
"It is a matter of great regret that your attention has not been drawn to the daily happenings in this country. If the appeal had been addressed to the villagers, who perchance, have no knowledge of the present day Nadirshahi, it would not have matters much, but it is highly surprising to find that you who have during the last month, witnessed innumerable deeds of barbarism at the hands of British government, nay, who have directly helped the government in its satanic dance, have not yet awakened from your stupor."
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{186.} \textit{Ibid}, Acc No.1284.
\textsuperscript{187.} \textit{Ibid}, Acc No.533.
\textsuperscript{188.} \textit{Ibid}, Acc No.1141, 1151, 1156, 1163, etc.
\textsuperscript{189.} \textit{WRPA}, July 27 & Aug. 23, 1930.
\textsuperscript{190.} FR, April 1, 1932, FN-18/7/1932, \textit{Hom. Poll.}, NAI.
Brethren! have you ever paused to think as to what you are doing? You shower lathis and bullets on peaceful and non-violent Indians squatting on the ground with folded hands. Why and by whose order you do this? [You do it] by the unjust order of a foreign government which is equally an enemy of both of us. You obey their orders only for the love of a small sum of money....

The sole aim of Englishmen is our exploitation.... The English leech does not cease sucking the blood of our poverty-striken kisans. Brethren! when thousands of farmers are allowing their fields, cattle, etc., to be publicly auctioned, when innumerable men and women are courting the tortures of jails, can you not kick away the service of this foreign government and participate in this religious struggle to emancipate mother India. Brethren! we request you not to drench your hands in the blood of your brothers; rather you too should join their ranks with open breasts and sacrifice yourselves at the altar of Mother India".

However, the most characteristic pamphlets were those addressed to kisans in general. Especially after October 1930, when the decision to start a no-tax campaign was taken, much of the UP Congress propaganda effort was concentrated on the kisans. They were asked: 'kisan brothers, how long will you let these leeches suck your blood'. They were also sometimes urged to set up their own law courts in every village and fight for food and independence. Propaganda among the peasants was especially strong in a number of districts towards the end of 1931, just before the renewal of Civil Disobedience Movement when the UP Congress had launched

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191. Pros. Pub., Acc No. 1141, 1151, 1186, etc., NAI.
a no-rent movement. The Intelligence Department reported the
distribution of a 'considerable amount' of literature in
rural areas at that time. In Kanpur, Unnao, Rae Bareli,
and elsewhere, there was an effort to broadcast thousands of
notices regarding the rent and revenue question. Only
in Kanpur, the government officials seized more than 10,000
leaflets of various kinds which were being sent to Unnao for
distribution among the peasants. One of the pamphlets
which was being distributed in the Kanpur dehat in this
period read:

"Let it be known by beat of drum in each and
every village -- stop payment of rent at once -- this
is the proclamation of Congress.... The Congress
deputation has been to a number of tehsils in the
Cawnpore District. More than 12,000 cultivators have
asked permission to start a 'no-rent' campaign from
them. The cultivators have urged the Congress that
they had nothing to eat and so from where could they
pay the rent. Therefore, the TCC in order to
alleviate the distress of the tenants, was obliged to
ask permission of the PCC to start a 'no-rent'
campaign which they have now given....

From today, December 12, each cultivator of
Cawnpore District, should consider himself a
'satyagrahain'. On the 12 December at noon tenants
should hold meetings in each and every village and
take a vow underneath the flag to the effect that
they will fight out the struggle to their utmost
keeping in view the principle of non-violence and
will follow the advice of the Congress".

192. WRPA, Dec. 5, 12, 19, 26, 1931 and Jan. 2, 1932, UPID.
193. FN-33/36/1931, Hom. Poll., NAI.
194. Ibid.
One leaflet asked all Allahabad tenants who had been ejected whether subsequently restored to their land or not, to file details of their lands and ejectments at a Congress office in any of a number of specified places. It listed the names of some 20 places in the district and promised that 'the District Congress Committee' will do all it can to help the kisans once it has all the information necessary. Another leaflet which was distributed in Allahabad in November 1931 outlined the Congress' efforts to obtain concessions for the peasants and emphasised the Government's unresponsiveness and called for the withholding of rent and revenue until further orders were issued by the Congress.

Other messages addressed to 'Our Brother Cultivators' made the appeal even more direct:

"Just as on behalf of Congress notices are being sent to 'you', Government is also sending you notices to frighten and threaten you through the police etc.... You know that Government has not granted remissions with any graceful clemency. Government has been governing 150 years, there have been many droughts and famines, why did not Government give remissions then. For the last two years, why has Government began to give in succession remissions; why was Allahabad given the mostremissions? There is only one reason: your obstinate defiance and your satyagraha... if you remain firm...and do not pay a single paisa, you will not only get back the fields from which you were ejected and get four times as much remission...."


196. FN-33/36/1931, Hom.Poll., NAI.

However, despite these examples of direct and pointed addresses to different classes, if we examine the nationalist literature seized by the Government in the very different districts of UP, we would find that the emphasis of the Congress was on a general and undifferentiated nationalist appeal. Although the titles of publications do not reveal much, Table No. III suggests a preponderance of such appeals over those addressed to specific groups or classes.

**TABLE - III**

Classification by subject of Nationalist Literature Seized in Mathura (1930) and Allahabad (1933)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mathura:</th>
<th>Allahabad:</th>
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<tr>
<td>Seizures under</td>
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<td>Seizures for 1933</td>
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<td>alone under Indian</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Press (Emergency</td>
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<tr>
<td>Powers) Act</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. No. of Leaflets, etc. | 1640 | 10,474 |
2. No. of different titles | 52 | 60 |
3. General Nationalist | 25 | 21 |
4. Congress Circulars, Bulletins, etc. | 4 | 17 |
5. Concerning Peasants | 12 | 13 |
6. Concerning Boycott of foreign goods | 2 | 3 |
7. Concerning Boycott of Intoxicants | - | 1 |
8. Concerning the Census | 3 | - |
9. Concerning Students | 3 | 1 |
10. Concerning the Volunteers | 2 | - |
11. Appeal to Women | 1 | - |
12. Appeal for Hindu-Muslim Unity | - | 3 |
13. Revolutionary-Terrorists | - | 1 |

Source: F.No.1012/1930 and 1589/1931, UP Police Dept., UPSA.
More than half of the unauthorised pamphlets and leaflets that came to the Government's notice fall into this category, over 55% in the case of Mathura and 63% in the case of Allahabad if we consider column 3 and 4 alone. The vast majority of items listed in these two columns broadcast news of Civil Disobedience in the different parts of the country, accounts of meetings and resolutions, exhortations to strengthen one or other aspects of the movement and congratulations for the great nationalist spirit displayed by all. Much of the literature addressed to particular groups also had a similar content.

Some of the collections of patriotic songs contained in such publications also indicate this very broad appeal. It is not uncharacteristic that one such anthology should begin with the invocation, "Bande Mataram. Sat Sri Akal. Allah-O-Akbar". It is also interesting to note that the song popularised by Bhagat Singh, "Mera rang de basanti chola" was reproduced in numerous tracts and handbills and in each case carried additional verses reflecting the local colour of the struggle in terms of regional, sectional, and sectarian interests involved in it.

The themes of these songs illustrate a very wide range of nationalist ideas. A pamphlet entitled Bijli, published

198. Pros. Pub., Acc No.255, NAI.

199. In the Azad Bharat tract, the song mentions Shivaji, Maharana Pratap, Abbas Tyabji, Tara Singh, and numerous others. Pros. Pub., Acc No.576, NAI.
in Gorakhpur in 1930, contained songs on 'flag salutation', Khadi, 'non-violent war', 'Memories' (of greatness of India's past), 'Give the nation its salt', 'Martyrs of India', 'Jawaharlal Nehru', 'Man' (describing the need for nationalist pride and courage in any real man), 'A lackey of imperialism', 'Students' (an appeal), 'Foreign cloth merchants' (an appeal), 'The Civil Disobedience Movement', 'The Peasant', 'Swadesh', and 'the two sons of India' (Hindu and Muslims). 200. Around the same time, Baburam Pengoria, a well-known Congressmen of Agra, wrote and published a collection of songs entitled 'Bharat ki Rastriya Alha', or 'The Patriotic Ballad of India'. 201 Its preface read: 'In view of the satyagraha being launched, this book is written to help reader understand the past, present and future of India.... In this book is related the history of the total destruction of India. Any number of tears that may be shed over this [history] will be insufficient'. His songs covered such subjects as India's past, prices old and new, Lord Clive and other prominent Britons in India, 'the baseness of the fair [skinned]', 'thoughts on the dumping of British goods in India', 'Atrocities against weavers', 'India's present history', 'Income expenditure', 'service in the courts', and 'the condition of the peasants'.

The continuing refrain of the Congress Committees was that their messages, information, and reports should

200. Pros. Pub., Acc No. 316, NAI.
201. Pros. Pub., Acc No. 285, NAI.
be in the vernacular, i.e., in Hindi or Urdu in UP. For only via the use of the vernacular could they extend their reach among the people. As a result of this policy, the Congress notices, circular letters, resolutions and general information for workers were being published mostly in vernacular journals. This is why Madan Mohan Malviya's indictment of 'Repression in India', written in English and published in The Leader in March 1932, is found in Hindi among the publications confiscated by the UP Government.202 This again probably was the reason behind the letter which Kesho Deo Malviya wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru in 1934 about an article in which the latter had propounded his socialist views. The letter said: "You have only introduced the [socialist] idea to the uppermost crust of the population.... Your message must be carried to the millions through a flood of easy, straightforward and cleverly worded literature".203 Another example illustrates the importance of vernacular press in nationalist propaganda. One of the many thousands of pamphlets proscribed and seized by the Government during the movement was 'Jwalamukhi arthat dabhi hui aag'. It was written by Gopinath Vaidya, Secretary of the Haldaur Congress Committee, Bijnor, and published by that committee in 1930. The

203. A letter from K.D. Malviya to Jawaharlal Nehru dated Jan. 13, 1934, JN Correspondence, NMML.
preface of the fourteen page pamphlet said that it was written for Congress propaganda in the villages. The author claimed to have written it in such a language that even a school boy reading in Class II would be able to read it out and illiterate villagers could comprehend it easily.\textsuperscript{204}

The tone of these pamphlets was very often emotional. One of the bulletins issued by the TCC, Allahabad said: 'Foreigner! you have tasted the blood and flesh of Pathans, Gujeratis, Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Biharis, Madrasis, all.... speak! did you find the flesh of our little children delicious? Foreigner! Do not get tired.... Do not let your lathis and guns rest. Do not talk of compromise and truce. Today, on the day of Holi, we issue you a new invitation to war:

"Khun ka keechad faag machao, laashon ki rangoli hai.
Khel phirangi khoob khel le, lahu loth ki holi hai".\textsuperscript{205}

In addition to these important modes of propaganda, there were some others like organisation of political conferences, right from the provincial level to the tehsil and village level and celebration of 'days' and 'weeks'. Several 'weeks' and 'days' were especially celebrated with a strong emotional appeal to memories of national suffering or

\textsuperscript{204} Pros. Pub., Acc No. 457, NAI.
\textsuperscript{205} Pros. Pub., Acc No. 1175, NAI.
national achievement like 'National Week', 'Jalianwala Bagh Day', 'Gandhi Day', 'Lajpat Rai Day', 'Quaid Day', 'Khadi Day', 'Swadeshi Day' and so on. Still more, the prabhat pheris (nationalist groups which went out in procession every morning singing and raising slogans) were another routine programme which helped in arousing nationalist consciousness among the masses and in maintaining it.

This immense variety of activity and modes of participation and mobilization enabled the movement to reach diverse sections of the people. There was something on offer for everybody. Those who could not offer satyagraha or go to jail could at least wear swadeshi and may be came to meeting those who could not read could at least hear the songs and those who could wield the pen with great effect could write in or bring out newspapers and journals or produce pamphlets. Old and young, women and men, peasants and townsmen -- the movement had tried to evolve some programmes, some activity, some form, which suited their genius and excited their imagination. In the following chapter, we try to evaluate the response of different groups and sections to the movement and its various forms.