CHAPTER - IV
The promulgation of Emergency Powers Ordinances in UP which had given the district officers many repressive powers to deal with 'the no-rent movement', was a part of the broader policy change at the top level of British administration in India. Of late, the higher British officials and the new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, had realised that the Delhi Pact between the government and the Congress was a mistake as it had not only enhanced the political prestige of the Congress but also boosted the political morale of the public. They were now determined to reverse these losses and their future policy emphasised three major aspects. First, Congress and Gandhiji were not to be permitted to build up the tempo for a massive and protracted mass movement as they had successfully done in 1919, 1920-21 and 1930. Second, the government functionaries, right from the village officials to higher bureaucrats and the government loyalists had to be shown the might and the will of the government so that they did not get intimidated by the rise in status of the Congress. Third, the national movement was to be prevented from consolidating itself in rural areas as it was doing in the later part of the first phase of the movement all over India, especially in UP, Bihar, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Bengal and NWFP. Thus, with
Gandhiji away in London, the Government of India formulated its plans for the ensuing battle with the nationalist forces. It decided to launch 'a hard and immediate blow' against any attempt to revive the movement and to arrest Gandhiji and other important organisers at the very outset. The promulgation of 'Emergency Powers Ordinances' in the later part of the truce period in UP, Bengal and NWFP, were just samples of what was to come a little later.

Meanwhile, the Round Table Conference in London had failed, as expected, to reach any conclusion. Gandhiji came back to India on 28 December 1931, in a completely changed political situation. The Congress Working Committee met at Bombay on 29 December and decided to resume civil disobedience. On the same day, Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy asking for a meeting to discuss the happenings in UP, Bengal and NWFP, but the Viceroy refused to see him and justified the Government's action in these provinces. Consequently, on 31 December, 1931, Congress declared the resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement with similar programmes as earlier, such as the complete boycott of foreign goods, picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops, manufacture of illegal salt and violation of the notices issued under Ordinances. The programme now included the boycott of Post, Telegraph, Railways and any other services which provided revenue to government.

The Government of India, on the other hand, launched its preemptive strike by arresting Gandhiji on 4 January, 1932. Further, it strengthened itself, on the same day, with four
more Ordinances viz., Emergency Powers Ordinance, Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, Unlawful Association Ordinance and Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance.

The arrest of Gandhiji and Sardar Patel, the Congress President, sparked off unprecedented protests in almost all the towns of UP. All over the province the main protest was organised on 5 January as the news of their arrests reached in the afternoon of 4 January. That day only partial hartals could be organised. Benaras and Allahabad were the towns where the largest protests were organised.

In Benaras, complete hartal was observed on 5 January. All the markets and schools were closed and in the evening a large procession started from Dashashwamedh Ghat towards the Town Hall where a meeting was to be organised despite the prohibitory order under Section 144 Cr.PC. But before the procession could reach the Town Hall, it was already occupied by the police to prevent any meeting. The procession which had swelled into a large crowd of more than 20,000 persons was stopped at the gate of the Town Hall by the police. Seeing the large posse of police under the leadership of the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, one of the leaders of the procession, Swami Namah Shivay, tried hard to divert the procession towards Kabir chaura. He suggested that five volunteers should symbolically violate the prohibition order and the rest of the procession should proceed towards Dashashwamedh Ghat through a different route and
organise a meeting there. But nobody listened to him and the whole procession including the onlookers squatted there and started singing national songs and shouting *jais* to Mahatma Gandhi and other arrested leaders.

The District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police allowed them for some time to express their protest and then requested them to go back. But the crowd, encouraged by some women volunteers, remained there and was in no mood to disperse. In the meantime, one of the volunteers got up and started reading a resolution condemning the government for arresting Gandhiji and other leaders but was stopped in the middle and arrested. After that around 45 women and some men volunteers were arrested. But the crowd remained stationary and even the plea of the Secretary, DCC, who requested that, since their objective of disobedience to the prohibitory orders had been achieved, they should come back, was ignored. When it started getting dark and the leader of the procession Swami Namah Shivay expressed his inability to take the procession back, the DM ordered the police to do a baton charge and disperse the crowd. However, at the same time the crowd started pelting stones and the police was ordered to fire, resulting in the death of three people and injuring more than a hundred.

The next day, again, a procession marched towards the Town Hall from Dashashwamedh Ghat. But the moment it reached the Town Hall, where a large crowd had
already assembled, police came into action with their lathis and dispersed them. The whole city observed a complete strike with the exceptions of some Muslim shops. On 7 January, the situation, the officials claimed, started becoming normal.¹

In Allahabad, a complete strike was observed and processions were taken out on 4 and 5 January. On 4 January, news of Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai Patel’s arrest reached around 10 in the morning and ‘spread like a wildfire’. Markets were closed immediately and a procession was taken out around 4 PM in the afternoon which marched towards Purshottam Das Park but found its way closed by the police near Johnstanganj crossing. The processionists accompanied by a crowd of 20,000 insisted on going ahead. The DM after some initial warning ordered the police to lathi charge and disperse the crowd. In the pandemonium that prevailed after it, two persons got trampled to death and many more received serious injuries. The police arrested around 50 persons that day. The next day, a complete strike was observed and even the shops of Muslim merchants were found closed. Again, a procession was taken out on the same route which was stopped by the police at the same point. But this time, the leader of the procession, Mrs. Uma Nehru, did not insist on going ahead and directed the processionists

¹ Ai, Jan. 7 & 8, 1932; The Leader, Jan 7, 1932; FR, Jan. 1, 1932, FN-18/1/32; Telegram from the Government of UP No.32 to the Home Department, New Delhi, dated Jan. 9, 1932, FN-5/46/1932, Home Poll., NAI and WRPA, Jan. 9, 1932, UPID.
to squat on the road and sing national songs and shout *jaïs* to the arrested leaders. Mrs. Uma Nehru and Mrs. Motilal Nehru addressed the crowd at the same place and the situation remained the same till 6.30 PM. After that the processionists and the crowd withdrew according to their pre-arranged programme. The authorities, too, did not interfere with their activities and no arrest was made.  

On 7 January, the prohibition order was modified by the authorities and an 'orderly' procession was allowed to reach Purshottam Das Park.

In Kanpur, small meetings and processions were organised on 4 and 5 January to defy the prohibitory orders. But only partial *hartals* could be observed as the Muslims were totally against the strike. The district authorities, too, were very strict in maintaining law and order to avoid any flaring up of communal tension and it is for this reason that a precautionary night curfew was imposed on the city. The partial hartal continued on 6 January as well and the local Congress Committee decided in a meeting to send one leader at a time to defy the ban order. On the same day, a batch of six ladies was arrested at the Generalganj crossing when they were giving lectures in connection with civil disobedience.

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2. Ibid. and *The Leader*, Jan. 6 & 7, 1932.


4. Ibid.
Most of the other towns of UP observed complete to partial strike in protest against the arrest of Gandhiji and Patel. At many places the police resorted to lathi charge to break up the processions and meetings. In Lucknow, two meetings were organised on 4 January and a batch of Congressmen including Gopinath Srivastava, Mrs. Suniti Devi Mitra, Chandra Bhanu Gupta, and Hari Prasad Saksena defied the ban orders and were arrested.

For the rest of the month, political activities consisted mainly of defying the prohibition orders. Batches of Congress volunteers and ordinary workers were sent to defy the orders. They would carry national flags and sing national songs and songs preaching the boycott of foreign goods, especially cloth. Meetings were also organized regularly in different localities of the towns and speeches made in favour of the boycott of foreign cloth, liquor, and government services such as Post and Telegraph Departments and Railways. Generally, these meetings were organized on a small scale without any prior notification as their main intention was to defy the ban against organising meetings. In most of the cases, police used to intervene immediately and arrest the organisers and speakers.

However, these arrests only augmented the resolve of the Congressmen to work further against the ban order. For example, in Benaras, a batch of five volunteers was arrested on 8 January when they were distributing a leaflet carrying

5. Ibid.
the Congress programme. As a result, three more batches of six volunteers each came out and marched through the streets of the city in different directions, shouting slogans and singing national songs. In Kanpur, on 6 January, seven meetings were organised in different localities of the town to defy the ban on meetings. 6

In Allahabad, where prohibition orders under Section 144 Cr.PC had been lifted by the DM, a procession was taken out on 9 January in connection with the arrest of Dr. Ansari, the acting President of the AICC. After marching through its normal route, the procession reached the usual meeting place, the Purshottam Das Park. At this point the leader of the procession, Mrs. Uma Nehru, decided to move towards the Civil Lines area before returning to Purshottam Das Park. The Civil Lines area was restricted for processions and the police led by the DM himself intercepted the procession at the Albert Road crossing and ordered them to disperse within three minutes. But the processionists did not budge an inch and squatted on the road and started singing national songs. Then the DM ordered the police to disperse them with a lathi charge. Many people, including women, received injuries and Mrs. Uma Nehru was arrested. The next day, again, a procession was taken out on the same route under the leadership of Mrs. Vijaya

6. Ai, Jan. 9, 10, 1932 and The Leader, Jan. 9, 1932.
Lakshmi Pandit. This procession was also dispersed by the authorities with the help of mounted police. 

The Government had been following a policy of arresting only the leaders and the main organisers. The volunteers or ordinary Congressmen were generally not being arrested and if arrested, they used to be released after a few hours. In the above mentioned case of Benaras, when three batches of Congress volunteers had come out in defiance of prohibitory orders, the arrested volunteers were released by the police after being kept in the lock up for 3 to 4 hours. Still, the number of arrests in UP, under Ordinary Laws and Ordinances, reached 789 on 14 January. Allahabad district alone reported 275 arrests till that date.

On 12 January, the Government of UP applied all the four ordinances of the Central Government in the province. This was followed by the declaration of all the Congress Committees of the province as illegal. Even the subsidiary institutions of the Congress such as the Gandhi Ashrams, National Educational Institutions, Congress Seva Dals, Youth Leagues, War Councils, Bal & Naujavan Bharat Sabhas came under this declaration.

8. Ibid., Jan. 9 & 10, 1932.
Their offices were 'notified' and sealed by the police.

In Allahabad, the police occupied the Swaraj Bhavan which, besides being the permanent headquarters of the AICC Secretariat, also housed the Congress Free Hospital, Allahabad Swadeshi League and buildings of the City Congress Committee and Naujawan Bharat Sabha. In Benaras, the offices of the District and Town Congress Committees, Bengali Tola Congress Committee, Kashi Vidyapith, Gandhi Ashram and Mahavir Dal were sealed by the police. Further, on 15 January, the DM published a notice that if anybody was found helping these organisations or their members in any way, he or she would be liable to be punished under Section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. In Mathura, along with the Congress Committees, the Prem Mahavidyalaya of Vrindavan was declared unlawful and was forced to close down. In Rae Bareli, two volunteer camps were burnt to ashes by the police. The Khadi Bhandars and production centres of Akbarpur and Rath were taken possession of and khadi worth Rs.13,000 and cash over Rs.1000 were confiscated. Khadi Bhandars of Dehradun, Kanpur, Gorakhpur, and Farrukhabad were also closed down, though later these

12. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
properties were returned.\textsuperscript{15} Efforts were also made by the Government to trace and seize the funds of Congress Committees. Warrants were issued to check the books of banks and of businessmen who were considered to be in possession of Congress funds. As a part of this assault, cash and securities worth Rs. 24,000 belonging to the Prem Mahavidyalaya of Vrindaban were seized.\textsuperscript{16}

Even before the Government clamp down, Congressmen had dissolved the different Congress Committees and formed one 'War Council' with a dictator. But after the repression began, these organisations started working in disguise from different houses in the cities. In Allahabad, some members of the City Congress Committee constructed a shed in Muhammad Ali Park for use as their office.\textsuperscript{17} When this was destroyed by the police, just a Congress flag and a signboard bearing the name 'Town Congress Committee' remained fixed on a tree. \textbf{The Leader} reported that some volunteers used to come and spend some time under this tree and sing national songs.\textsuperscript{18} In Benaras, new temporary offices of the District and Town Congress Committee were established at Dashashwamedha Ghat. But here

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} A special bulletin issued by AICC on March 30, 1932, FN.P-35/1932, AICC, NMML.
\item \textsuperscript{16} FR, Jan. II, 1932, FN-18/1/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.
\item \textsuperscript{17} The Leader, Jan. 18, 1932.
\item \textsuperscript{18} The Leader, Jan. 23, 1932.
\end{itemize}
also the police removed them and seized their papers and furniture. 19

At the same time, Congress activities like salt manufacturing and picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops were also being carried on. Regarding picketing, the fortnightly reports for January say that only 'half hearted' attempts were made at picketing and the efforts of Congressmen were mainly directed towards persuading the wholesalers to refrain from ordering fresh stocks and to sealing the stocks of large retailers. 20 In Allahabad, picketing started on 20 January when around 30 Congress volunteers including 20 women picketed the foreign cloth shops of Chowk. Since there was no 'untoward incident', nobody was arrested. 21 But on 23 January, 8 men and 6 women volunteers were arrested for picketing. 22 Again, on 25 January, 7 men and 7 women volunteers were arrested in connection with picketing. 23

In Benaras, picketing started on 10 January and continued for some days without any arrest. But it was said that picketing was not pursued intensively as it would cause serious financial loss to businessmen. So, instead of

22. Ibid., Jan 25, 1932.
23. Ibid., Jan. 27, 1932.
standing at one place, the volunteers kept on moving around in the market propagating boycott of foreign goods. Still, 3 male and 10 female volunteers were arrested on 13 January and on 15 January 8 women and 7 men picketers were arrested from a foreign cloth shop. On 17 January, Boycott Day was celebrated in Benaras. Picketing was organised, on a somewhat larger scale, of shops selling foreign goods. In the evening an attempt was made to hold a meeting at Dashashwamedh Ghat. A bonfire of foreign cloth was also organised by the women volunteers at the same place before the police intervened and dispersed the crowd with a lathi charge. Boycott Day was also celebrated in Kanpur on the same day. Almost all the shops of Hindu businessmen were closed and six processions were taken out by the Congressmen but the police dispersed all of them and arrested 31 persons. Still a meeting was organised at Hulaganj and the Boycott Resolution was read.

Interestingly, before picketing could start in the province, the officials had completed all preparations to deal with it. The Governor himself came to Kanpur on 9 January and addressed the businessmen of the city. He assured them all kinds of help in protecting their

business interests. All District Magistrates were asked to help in forming an organization of businessmen to protect their rights against picketing, etc. In Allahabad, the Commissioner of the Division, Mr. P. W. Marsh, called a meeting of the merchants of Allahabad on 13 January to consider the measures to deal with picketing at shops selling foreign cloth and British goods. Around 30 Hindu and Muslim businessmen attended the meeting. The Commissioner assured them all kinds of help in carrying out their business activity. A similar meeting was organised in Benaras as well. The fortnightly report for the second half January noted that, as a result of these preparations, 215 persons were convicted under the Molestation Ordinance. But at the same time it also noted that there was considerable sympathy among the business community, especially the Hindus, towards the Congress.

Picketing occurred at some places of railway passengers as well. For example, the volunteers of Benaras Tehsil Congress Committee picketed at the Shivpur Railway Station to persuade the passengers not to travel by train.

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28. Ibid.


Other activities such as the manufacturing of salt were not very seriously undertaken at the larger centres like Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur. It was concentrated in the smaller towns and in rural areas and convictions in connection with manufacturing of illegal salt were reported from many districts. 32

The official reports suggest that the agitation had started declining during the last week of the month. 33 In the week ending 23 January, only 47 meetings were reported to be held in the whole province with 4, 5 and 1 meetings in Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur districts respectively. 34 Only a 'slight recrudescence' of activity was witnessed on 26 January owing to Independence Day. But the magnitude of the celebration could not even touch the 1931 level and remained concentrated in some larger towns such as Allahabad and Benaras. In Allahabad, the day began with the arrest of one volunteer who was announcing the programmes of the day. Later, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit hoisted the National Flag

32. For example, 7 volunteers of Syed Raza of Benaras District were awarded 6 months rigorous imprisonment for breaking the Salt Law on 21 of January, Ai, Jan. 23, 1932; On 15 January, 3 volunteers of Benaras Tehsil Congress Committee were awarded 6 months of rigorous imprisonment for breaking the Salt Law. Ai, Jan. 17, 1932; In Ghazipur, Mirzapur and Farrukhabad, salt making was the main activity of the Town Congress. A special bulletin issued by AICC on March 20, 1932, FN.F-35/1932, AICC, NMML.


34. WRPA, Jan. 23, 1932, UPID.
in the Chowk and led a procession to Mohammad Ali Park where a meeting was organised to take the independence pledge. Celebrations were also held in some rural areas. In Handia Tehsil of the district, thousands of villagers assembled in village Hanumanganj to hold a meeting in defiance of the order forbidding meetings. Two of the local Congressmen who addressed the meeting were immediately arrested by the police. Overall, the Ai reported that 270 meetings were organised in the rural area of the Allahabad District and 81 people were arrested in connection with the celebrations of Independence Day.

In Benaras, the main celebration was to be held at Dashashwamedh Ghat. But it was already occupied by around 80 policemen right from day-break. Then one Mr. Lodhuji hoisted the national flag on a boat in the Ganges and while he was singing a nationalist song, the police reached there and arrested him. In the course of the rest of the day, seven processions were taken out by the Congressmen but all of them were dispersed by the police. Overall, around 30 people were arrested by the police for defying orders.

35. The Leader and Ai, Jan. 28, 1932.
36. Ibid.
In Kanpur, no large celebrations could be held. Nevertheless, the Congressmen succeeded in taking out three processions which, in turn, were dispersed by the police immediately. The Hindu merchants of the city observed a strike on that day, which resulted in the arrest of many of them. Some of them were released just after furnishing a bond of good behaviour while others like Kedar Nath and Rameshwar Das had to pay Rs.32 and Rs.200 to the Aman Sabha for their release.\textsuperscript{40} 26 arrests were made in the city in connection with the celebration of Independence Day.\textsuperscript{41}

Towards the end of the month, political activities including the defiance of orders continued though they were 'less marked'.\textsuperscript{42} Picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops also continued throughout the province. However, officials expressed satisfaction that in most of the districts there was 'little to indicate' that the Congress was 'engaged in deadly struggle with the Government'.\textsuperscript{43} Though at another place they sounded a little perturbed that the 'Congress still enjoyed considerable public sympathy' and seldom did the officials receive any support from the

\textsuperscript{40} The Leader, Feb. 1, 1932.
\textsuperscript{41} The Leader, Jan. 29 1932 and Ai, Jan. 28 & 29, 1932.
\textsuperscript{43} WRPA, Jan. 23, 1932 UPID.
Regarding rent and revenue, 'improvement' in the condition was reported from almost everywhere except the Allahabad and Fatehpur districts. At the end of the month, 3,627 persons including 83 women were convicted in the province.

In comparison to January, there were fewer demonstrations and political activities in February. In the first week, there were just 28 meetings organised in the whole province, in the second week this number came down to 17 and in the third, it further reduced to 14 meetings. The police remained vigilant throughout the month and any defiance of orders attracted immediate arrest. Every attempt at protest by the Congressmen was either prevented or obstructed. In the very first week of the month, 12 Congress workers of Allahabad including two women were arrested from a house. They were considered to be members of the 'War Council' and according to the police were holding a meeting to discuss the future course of action. Even the released prisoners who came out of jail after serving one month's imprisonment were served prohibitory notices. In Allahabad, a batch of Congressmen who were sentenced to one month's

44. FR, Jan.II, 1932, FN-18/1/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.
45. Ibid. and Weekly Telegraphic Reports, Jan. 30, 1932.
46. FN-5/73/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.
47. WRPA, Feb. 6,13, and 20, 1932, UPID.
rigorous imprisonment was released on 10 February. At the jail exit, some of them like Manzur Ali Shokhta, Radhey Shyam Pathak and A.K. Dutt were served with a notice directing them not to leave the municipal limits of Allahabad for a period of one month and not to take part for the same period in the organisation of hartals, public meetings and processions.49

Despite this unprecedented repression, political activities continued. Among others, celebration of days and weeks proved to be the most popular programme of the month. Gandhi Day was celebrated in most of the places on 4 February to mark the completion of one month of his arrest. In Allahabad, Hindu shopkeepers closed their shops and a meeting was organised in the evening at P.D. Park. The police did not interfere. In Benaras, however, the police was quite vigilant. Right from the morning, they were busy in preventing a hartal by forcing the shopkeepers to open their shops. Many Congress volunteers who came out on the streets in twos with the national flag and shouting national slogans were arrested. Altogether, 12 volunteers were arrested for defying the prohibitory orders and 24 others were arrested in a raid on the local Satyagraha Ashram at the bank of Ganga.50

On 5 February, Peshawar Day was celebrated in Benaras and Kanpur. Again shops were closed and attempts were made to defy the prohibitory orders. In Benaras, three processions

49. The Leader, Feb. 12, 1932.

were taken out in defiance of the orders only to be dispersed by the police at the end. Bonfires of foreign cloth were also organised at some places.51

In Kanpur, Maulana Hasrat Mohani chaired a meeting of Muslims at the Juma mosque. Around 7000 Muslims attended the meeting and most of them had tied red badges to express solidarity with the people of the Frontier Province. In a resolution passed at the meeting, the repression unleashed on the people of NWFP was condemned.52

On 6 February, 'Motilal Day' was observed throughout the province to mark the death anniversary of Pt. Motilal Nehru. In Allahabad, a procession was taken out and a meeting was organised in the evening. The speakers at the meeting were arrested immediately. In Kanpur, two processions were taken out in defiance of Section 144 Cr.PC.53 Towards the end of the month, 'Azad Day' was celebrated at some places to commemorate the killing of Chandra Shekhar Azad on 27 February. Members of the Youth League and Students Association organised strikes in Allahabad and Kanpur. In Allahabad, a procession was taken out to Alfred Park where Chandra Shekhar Azad was killed and a meeting was organised and glorious tributes were paid to Azad. In Kanpur, only a partial strike could be observed. The district magistrate had issued a warning to the people in general not to take

51. Ai, Feb. 6 and 7, 1932
52. Ai, Feb. 8, 1932.
part in the celebration as there were chances of the procession being unruly and the police might resort to firing. Still a procession was taken out which was dispersed by the police with mild lathi charge. The leader of the procession Jageshwar Prasad Dwivedi and eight other participants were arrested. Apart from these, strikes were also observed in most of the towns on 16 February in protest against the arrest of Sardar Sardul Singh, President of the AICC.

Picketing at foreign cloth shops was continued in February as well, though in a sporadic form. The ever alert police officials had made it difficult for the volunteers to do proper picketing. Even in the larger centres, seldom did the picketing take place. Though, perhaps, by this time, there was hardly any need for Congressmen to picket the foreign cloth shops in some larger centres like Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur. The fortnightly report for the second half of February noted that there was a 'marked disinclination for shops to stock or purchasers to buy foreign articles of any kind'. This kind of attitude was especially marked against British goods and consequently Japanese goods registered better sales along with Indian articles. An intelligence officer reported from Allahabad

55. The Leader, Feb. 20, 1932.
56. FR, Feb II, 1932, FN-18/4/1932, Hon Poll., NAI.
57. WRPA, March 5, 1932, UPID.
that "students especially have begun to live very simply, and sales of soaps and fancy goods are affected adversely". 58

This success against foreign goods was achieved through intense underground propaganda which was especially marked in Kanpur. 59

Further, the UPPCC issued a bulletin in the form of a leaflet which emphasised the need for causing financial loss to the Government through fall in revenues from import duty. People were urged not to purchase foreign goods for at least three months. Another leaflet issued by the 'Emergency Council' gave figures showing the reduction of imports of foreign cloth, especially in Bombay. 60

Another important feature of the boycott movement was the tremendous support it was getting from the Hindu businessmen. Most of the time they needed just an intimation of the strike call to respond positively. In Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur, there were very few cloth merchants except some Muslims who were still selling foreign cloth. The regular closure of shops in support of the strike calls issued by the Congress invited the wrath of the authorities. The arrest of businessmen for closing their shops during strikes had become very common in Kanpur and Benaras. Most of the time they were released only after a formal apology or after furnishing surety bonds for good behaviour but

58. Ibid.
60. WRPA, March 5, 1932, UPID.
sometimes they had to pay a fine. Kedar Nath, a sarafa merchant of Kanpur, paid Rs.100 for his release. Apart from arrests, some merchants of Kanpur were also served notices under 'Emergency Powers Ordinance', ordering them to leave Kanpur city within four days but remain within the district. For example, Ram Ratan Gupta, Guru Prasad Kapoor, Buddhu Lal, Lallu Mal, Ratan Singh and some other merchants were ordered to leave Kanpur city within four days. They had been punished for supporting the Congress movement. But such was the confidence the movement had intilled in them that some of them like Ram Ratan Gupta dared to defy that order and were convicted for that.

The students, who had shown great support for the movement earlier, were not so far, very active in this round of struggle. This may have been due to the examinations going on in this period. However, the fortnightly report for the month expressed the fear that "since the examinations are over, they may come into the fray" The students of Benaras Hindu University again proved themselves to be the most aware and active towards the national movement. Around 200 of them had enlisted themselves with Pandit Govind Kant Malviya for Congress work while 104 students had already left their studies at his behest in order to devote themselves

61. The Leader, Feb. 5, and Aï, Feb. 8, 15, 1932.
63. The Leader, Feb. 19, 1932.
completely to political agitation. Even the 'university servants and menial workers' were reported to have held private meetings and decided to leave their jobs to join the civil disobedience movement.65

In the second half of the month, the District Magistrates of Allahabad and Lucknow issued orders to the Municipal Boards, under the Emergency Powers Ordinance, to remove Congress flags from its buildings as "the continued flying the Congress flags (the Congress flag being the emblem of civil disobedience) on the Municipal Board's office" and other buildings "was an act in furtherance of the movement prejudicial to public safety and a challenge to law and order".66 In Allahabad, this order was issued on 17 February and despite the protest from the Municipal Board, the flags were removed by the police from its office, the clock tower, the middle school and the girls' high school.67 These removals sparked of protests from the public and a strike was observed in Allahabad on 22 February.68 This also gave the Congressmen a new issue to agitate on. Regular efforts started after that to replant Congress flags over these buildings. Sometimes they succeeded in their effort but the flags used to be immediately removed.

65. Ibid and WRPA, Feb. 20, 1932, UPID.
66. The Leader, Feb. 21, 1932.
In Lucknow, the Congress volunteers started picketing the Municipal Board office and the house of its chairman Babu Bishambhar Nath for not resisting the orders to remove the national flag from the office. In Benaras, efforts were made by the Congress volunteers to plant a national flag over the Chowk Police Station. One by one around 6 volunteers were arrested when they proceeded towards the police station building with national flags. Consequently, pigeons were flown with national flags tied to their legs. Two of the pigeons after hovering around the building for some time sat over the flag mast of the building and this was enough to satisfy the volunteers.

No doubt, the number of demonstrations reduced in this month but it was not the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the people which was responsible, but the extra alert administration which foiled their every attempt to demonstrate on a larger scale. Also the indiscriminate and frequent arrests left the Congress with very few volunteers and efforts were made by Congressmen to recruit fresh volunteers. Most of the main organizers had been arrested and the agitations were being led by the fourth and fifth rank leaders.

In this month, 3008 persons including 115 women were convicted under Ordinary Laws and Ordinances in

69. The Leader, Feb. 21, 1932.
70. AI, Feb. 24, 1932.
71. WRPA, March 20, 1932.
connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. Nevertheless, Congressmen continued the underground propaganda to keep the movement alive and it was this underground work that resulted in almost complete boycott of foreign cloth and British goods. So, we can say that the movement was only pushed underground and was not suppressed. Even the fortnightly report of the month attests to this point by saying that "if the Ordinance is withdrawn tomorrow, the movement will break out again".

Apart from strictly enforcing 'law and order', the Government also engaged itself in counter propaganda against the Congress. Right in the first week of the resumption of civil disobedience in January, all the DMs were instructed to form District Publicity Committees, enlist the sympathy of the zamindars and start a non-official campaign against the Congress propaganda. Initially, an attempt to engage teachers of village schools in this activity was made but later on most of them were found to be 'disloyal'. The DMs were also instructed to hold regular meetings themselves and to direct their subordinates to do the same to enlist the aid of zamindars, to improve relations between landlords and tenants and counter the Congress propaganda. Apart from these, Aman Sabhas were organised and its meetings were encouraged.

The decline in open political activity continued through March. Open defiance of Government orders and agitational activities like picketing etc., remained at a low ebb. The officials expressed satisfaction with this trend and took it as an indication of the growing disinclination among the Congressmen to defy the government openly for fear of arrest. However, they acknowledged the strong anti-government feeling among the people especially in large towns like Allahabad and Kanpur. The constant underground propaganda had maintained this feeling throughout the province.

The AICC issued a circular on 1 March to the workers of all the provinces reminding them that in this 'fight to the finish', they should not slacken their pace even for a day and promised all kinds of help viz., money and literature, in broadening the base of their two main programmes, i.e., economic boycott and civil defiance of the Government. Regarding the economic boycott programme, it made it clear that in addition to foreign cloth and British goods, railways, post and telegraph, financial institutions and other utility services which pay heavy taxes, should also be boycotted. For the success of this programme, it suggested that 'the non-combatants' (those who were not openly participating in the movement) should be mobilized as the refusal to pay any indirect taxes did not attract any

75. FR. March I & II, 1932, FN-16/5/1932, Home Poll., NAI.
76. Ibid.
arrest. Regarding the second, it exhorted the workers that the Government should not be given a day's rest. Open defiance of the Government and 'jail pilgrims' must continue so that a feeling of 'defeatism' might not infect the people.77

Despite this exhortation the agitation continued to slacken. The number of arrests kept on declining. In comparison to 3008 arrests in February, there were just 1160 convictions in March. During the week ending on 19 March, there were just seven small meetings held in the whole province.78

In Allahabad, efforts were made to hoist the national flag over the clock tower, which had been removed in the previous month by the order of the district magistrate. On 3 March, three volunteers were arrested when they tried to plant the national flag over the clock tower. The following day again a batch of volunteers made an attempt but were arrested by the police.79 After that no further attempt was made till 27 March, when the effort was organised on a somewhat larger scale. But they did not succeed even that day and had to satisfy themselves by hoisting the flag in a pole outside the tower. Even this resulted in the arrest of fifteen volunteers including their leader Mrs. Suryu Devi.

77. Circular letter No.1, issued by AICC, dated March 1, 1932, FN. P-22/1932, AICC, NMML.


The response of the crowd was still significant as the police twice had to resort to lathi charge. 80

'Gandhi Day' was celebrated in most of the towns on 4 March. In Allahabad, a procession was taken out which later converted into a meeting at P.D. Park. Except for the arrest of one of the speakers, Ram Kumar Shastri, who had been earlier served with a notice to leave Allahabad within 12 hours, the police did not interfere. 81 In Benaras, two young men waved a national flag and shouted slogans in the court room of the city magistrate on 8 March. They were immediately arrested and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment. 82 On 14 March, a strike was observed in most of the towns including Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur as a part of Etawah Conference Day and against the arrest of Sri Prakash, the acting President of UPPCC.

All the UP towns witnessed almost complete strikes and even the Muslims closed their shops after the news of the arrest of Maulana Azad, the acting President of the AICC, was broadcasted. In Allahabad, a procession and meeting was organised in its usual way and no arrest was made while in Benaras, three batches of volunteers came out with national flags and all of them were immediately arrested. In Kanpur and other places also no procession was allowed. 83

82. Aj, March 10, 1932.
Apart from these, a strike was also observed in Benaras on 18 March in protest against the illtreatment of women volunteers by the police in one of the thanas of the town. In the evening, a massive meeting was organised in the Town Hall where Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya demanded an inquiry into the incident. Women organised a separate meeting and burnt an effigy of the British empire. This resulted in the arrest of 63 women.

The boycott of foreign cloth and British goods continued in this month also. At most places it met with considerable success. In Benaras, Agra, Pilibhit and Bahraich, the whole stock of foreign cloth had been sealed. At other places like Allahabad, Kanpur, Mathura, Ballia, Sitapur, Hamirpur, Banda, Bijnor and Ghazipur, picketing was still going on. In Allahabad, where 'the great majority of dealers had got their stock sealed', picketing was being done only at a few shops by members of the 'Vanar Sena'. The advantage in employing the members of the Vanar Sena was that picketing could be continued without any fear of conviction. Since they were just children, they used to be released about

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84. Ai, March 17, 20, 1932.
85. Ibid.
86. A special Bulletin issued by the AICC on March 30, 1932, FN.P-35/1932, AICC, NMML.
87. Ibid.
or 12 miles away from the city and not convicted. In Benaras, picketing was mostly done by the ladies. They were also not regularly convicted and were released after being detaining in the thana for few hours. House to house propaganda against foreign goods was also going on, especially in Lucknow, Kanpur and Bareli.

Meanwhile, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya had established an All India Swadeshi League in Benaras for the propagation of Swadeshi. In Benaras, it had organised a meeting on 13 March in which Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya explained the benefits of using Swadeshi and requested those who were not engaged in the service of the nation in any other way, to organise Swadeshi Leagues in their area. As a result of all this, the sale of British goods, such as cycles, ironware, general merchandise had practically stopped in Etah, Mathura, Allahabad, Benaras and Agra. Even the fortnightly report for the second half of the month accepts that the demand for foreign goods was 'poor'.

Students, except those of the BHU, were still keeping away from the agitation. Many students of BHU had been arrested in different places but their example had not

88. Ibid. and Ai March 11, 21, 1932.
89. Ai March 13 and 14, 1932.
90. Ibid, March 14, 1932.
91. A special bulletin issued by AICC on March 30, 1932; FN. P-35/1932, AICC, NHML.
generally been followed by the students of other institutions. Efforts to solicit their support had been going on and Congress literature was regularly circulated among them. One of the pamphlets issued by the Students Association of Allahabad entitled *Vidyarthi Sangh Ki Bulletin* urged the students to work for the country and to subscribe to the Congress through the Association. The Association planned to appoint representatives in various educational institutions of Allahabad.

Towards the end of the month, attempts were made to celebrate Bhagat Singh Day in Allahabad and Kanpur. In Allahabad, the proposed meeting at Alfred Park was prevented by the police while in Kanpur the members of Naujavan Bharat Sabha took out a procession which resulted in the arrest of its leaders. Throughout this period, the authorities were bent upon preventing any proliferation of revolutionary ideas among students and the youth. CID officers had special instructions to find out the sources of 'red pamphlets' and to prevent their circulation. It was with this aim that the district authorities of Allahabad decided to dig up the tree in Alfred Park under which Chandra Shekhar Azad was shot the previous year. It had become a pilgrimage for students and young men. The digging up of the tree in the night of 27 March resulted in violent protests. A bomb was thrown on the city *kotwali* on 28 March and an attempt was made to organise a protest meeting in Alfred Park on 1 April. A few days later, the officials found, at the spot where the tree had been, a pamphlet at
the place covered with flowers which condemned the cutting down of the tree and lauded the activities of Chandra Shekhar Azad.  

A spurt in the activities was witnessed in the first half of April. This was due to the celebration of National Week from 6 to 13 April. The AICC had issued a detailed instruction regarding the programme for the National Week. However, it seems these instructions could not reach the local Congress Committees as we do not find any similarity between the instructions and the actual celebrations. For example, there was no instruction to manufacture illicit salt in the AICC programme while in the towns of UP, this programme was given a lot of importance. Most probably these local committees devised their own programmes and due to various reasons could not even establish any kind of coordination among themselves. That is why we find 'salt day' being observed in Kanpur on the very first day of the national week, i.e., 6 April, while in Allahabad, it was celebrated on 11 April.  

Of all the towns of UP, Allahabad again proved itself to be the most active. Here, major incidents took place on 8 and 9 April. On 8 April, a procession started from Khaddar


94. FN. P-22/1932, AICC, NMML; The Leader, April 8, 13 and Ai, April 13, 1932.
Bhandar in the city and marched towards the Civil Lines, a banned area for processions. However, it was stopped near P.D. Park by the police. Then they squatted on the road with a large crowd of onlookers collecting behind them. This situation continued till 9 PM when the Superintendent of Police ordered his men to charge on the crowd which resulted in injury to many people including Mrs. Swaroop Rani Nehru (wife of late Sri Moti Lal Nehru). After that the crowd got unruly and fought pitched battles with the police in many parts of the city till midnight. The next day, the same scene was repeated, only the police baton was now replaced by guns. Police resorted to firing many times, which resulted in the death of three persons. The crowd continued pelting stones on the police from the side lanes and rooftops and many policemen including many officers were injured and the situation could be controlled only around 3 O'clock in the morning. 95

The following day, i.e., 10 April, all kinds of processions were banned and massive police arrangement was made and in the evening curfew was imposed in the city. Still, the city observed hartal for the third consecutive day and the Congressmen again tried to take out a procession on the same route but were prevented and the leader and the volunteers were prevented and the leader and the volunteers were

arrested. However, some of them succeeded in organising a bonfire of foreign cloth and a small meeting in another part of the city. 96

On 11 April, salt was manufactured at about ten places resulting in the arrest of six persons. The Chawk Clock Tower was one of the places where salt was manufactured without any interference of the police and a meeting was held in Muhammad Ali Park nearby. 97 On 13 April, the last day of the National Week, Jalianwala Bagh Day was celebrated. Again an attempt was made by the Congress workers to take a silent procession to the Civil Lines areas but they were stopped at the very outset. The satyagrahis, about 40 in number, then squatted on the road and after staying for about an hour, the leader addressed them and they themselves withdrew in accordance with their original programme. 98

Celebrations at other places did not take such a violent turn and peaceful protests with regular arrests were made. In Benaras, the most active day was the Jalianwala Bagh Day on 13 April when a procession led by Mrs. Usha Malviya (daughter in law of Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya) violated the prohibition order. When stopped, the processionists squatted on the road and started shouting slogans. But after the arrest of

96. Aj, April 13, 1932.
97. The Leader, April 13, 1932.
98. The Leader, April 15, 1932.
their leader and some volunteers, they withdrew. In Benaras, a **khadi week** was started right in the middle of the National Week. The swadeshi activities of Madan Mohan Malviya's All India Swadeshi Sangh were growing in strength.

Other activities such as picketing continued at their usual pace. In Kanpur, picketing gathered momentum in the first half of the month as, according to the fortnightly reports, the armed police had been removed from the city. However, once the picketing became intense, a fresh police force was called in and picketing declined. However, as a part of the National Week, picketing was not only done at foreign cloth shops but also at Post Offices and Telegraph Offices.

In a circular to all provincial workers, the acting President of the AICC, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, had asked them to celebrate the week from 21 to 27 April as an all India "Postal Boycott Week". But, it seems, this circular, which also contained the programme for the National Week, was intercepted by the authorities and could not reach the Congress workers of UP. The Government, on the other hand, was completely prepared for this boycott. The District

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100. Ai, April 13, 1932.
101. Ai, April 2 & 4, 1932; *The Leader*, April 4, 6 & 9, 1932 and FR, April 1, 1932, FN-18/7/1932, Hom.Poll., NAI.
Magistrate of Allahabad issued a notice on 19 April informing the people about the post offices where they could post their letters without any fear of destruction during the "Postal Boycott Week" from 21 to 27 April. This notice "sprang a surprise among the Allahabad Congress circles" as they had "never considered the question of observing a 'Postal Boycott Week' and had made no announcement on the subject". However, tampering with the letter boxes had been going on for quite a long time. In Allahabad, letters inside six or seven letter boxes were found destroyed on 12 April. On 13 April again 7 letter boxes were found tampered with. On 25 April 3 more pillar letter boxes were tampered with by using burning match sticks. In Benaras, letters were found burnt in the letter box of the main post office on 15 and 22 April. After that, police constables were posted at all the post offices of the city. In almost each case of letter box burning, officials blamed Congressmen but Congressmen denied any hand in it.

Apart from this, cutting of telegraph wires and destruction of railway properties were also reported from

103. Circular No.3 issued by AICC dated March 18, 1932, FN.P-22/1932, AICC, NMML, and The Leader, April 21 & 23, 1932.

104. The Leader, April 15, 21, 23 and 27, 1932.

105. Ai, April 27, 1932.

106. The Leader, April 23, 1932.
some places. The boycott of liquor, it seems, was not taken very seriously by the Congressmen in this phase of the movement. The picketing of liquor shops was a rare phenomenon even in the larger centres. As a result of this, "sensational prices were fetched at the auction of liquor shops" of Allahabad and Kanpur cities. In Allahabad, about 81% increase in the revenue from the auction of liquor shops was reported while in Kanpur, the increase was 87%. In 1931, 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 the auction sale.\textsuperscript{107}

The AICC had planned to organise its annual session at Delhi in the last week of April. But since the Congress had been declared an 'unlawful organisation', the Government was in no mood to allow this session to be held. It had taken every precaution to prevent this session. The delegates were either prevented from proceeding towards Delhi by serving preventive notices to them or they were arrested on their arrival at Delhi. Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, two elected Presidents of the session were also arrested before they could reach Delhi. Nevertheless, some Congressmen succeeded in organising a symbolic session.

In the towns of UP, public reaction to the arrest of Malviyaji and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was immediate. Strikes were observed in most of the towns to express protest. In

\textsuperscript{107} The Leader, April 20 and 23, 1932.
Benaras, the show of protest was even stronger. Here, a large procession was taken out despite the prohibitory orders which resulted in the arrest of 16 persons including 3 girls and 5 women.\textsuperscript{108} In Allahabad, a strike was observed on 24 April and a procession and a meeting was organised without any interference from the police.\textsuperscript{109}

At the end of the month, 1129 persons including 78 women were convicted in the province. This took the total number of convictions in the previous four months to 8925.\textsuperscript{110} While the all India total for the same months rose to 44,753. Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, however, estimated the total number of arrests in the whole country at 66,646.\textsuperscript{111}

Besides the Congress agitations, a new feature which was being witnessed in the previous couple of months was the growing activities of revolutionary terrorists. This kind of activity expressed the frustration of the youth caused by Government repression. Not being allowed to even celebrate the anniversaries of their heroes like Chandra Shekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh probably forced them to take recourse to terrorism. We see in this period that most of the revolutionary activities were timed around these anniversaries. For example, in the last week of April 27, 1932.

\textsuperscript{108} Aj. April 27, 1932.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{110} FN-5/73/1932, Hom.Poll., NAI.
\textsuperscript{111} Aj. April 28 and May 30, 1930.
February, four bombs were thrown in Allahabad and all of them were targeted at police officers.112

In Benaras, five youngmen armed with revolvers committed a dacoity in the shop of a wholesale cloth merchant on 1 March. They threatened the merchant not to report the case to the police as the cash looted, Rs. 262, was to be utilized for the benefit of the country.113 On 31 March, again in Benaras, five youngmen, Dwarka Das, Bhagawan Das, Panna Lal, Jwala Prasad Bismil and Mahadeo were caught red-handed by the police when they were planting dynamite in one of the pillars of the Dufferin bridge which spanned Ganges.114

Red leaflets (revolutionary leaflets believed by the government to be HSRA publications) threatening the policemen were also regularly found pasted in the cities.115 For example, in Benaras,a notice in Bengali which was found pasted at Dashashwamedha Ghat, urged the people to kill the police and CID officers.116 Another cyclostyled leaflet, in English, Bengali and Hindi, found pasted at the same place, announced that the All India Revolutionary Party had declared war against the British Government and every Indian youth

112. WRPA, March 5, 1932, UPID.
114. Ibid., April 16, 1932.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., May 7, 1932.
should enlist in this party as a soldier.\textsuperscript{117} In the last week of April, a red HSRA manifesto, believed by the CID officers to have been prepared by the Delhi Revolutionary Party for issue on Bhagat Singh Day, was widely distributed in Allahabad and Kanpur. This pamphlet, which was signed by Mrs. Prakasho Devi, Secretary, Publicity Department, HSRA, urged the extirpation of British rule and modelling of Indian society on the lines of Soviet Russia. To realise this goal, it said that HSRA was planning an "armed mass movement" as there was "no other way of delivering the country from slavery". Its concluding portion said, "No other Party but ours (HSRA) has the strength or the courage to oppose this tyrannical government. Therefore, it is the duty of our countrymen to help us with body, mind and goods.... Revolution is not distant now, it rests with your own endeavours. Long Live Revolution, Long Live Peasants and Labourers, Down with Capitalism, Down with Imperialism".\textsuperscript{118} Another leaflet titled 'Toofan' was distributed and found pasted in Allahabad in the first week of May. It also criticised the non-violent satyagraha and urged the people to "oppose illegal force by force".\textsuperscript{119}

In UP, Kanpur seemed to be the centre of revolutionary terrorist groups as it was in Kanpur that they were most

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., April 23, 1932.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., May 7, 1932.

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., May 21, 1932 and Aj, May 5, 1932.
active. On 28 May, the Kanpur police, on the information of the CID, raided a house in Nachghar area and recovered a large cache of arms and ammunitions along with some proscribed books. The CID officials believed this to be the headquarters of the HSRA. However, the owner of the house, Sheo Narayan, informed the police that these things were given to him by his neighbour, Mr. Manilal Pandey, who was undergoing imprisonment on account of participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement.120

Away from the urban centres, in the rural areas, the no-rent agitation, started in December 1931, had now practically died down.121 The main reason behind this was again the arrest of most of the main Congress leaders, though it was carried on for some time by the peasants themselves. As the revenue kept on coming in smoothly, the officials were not bothered about the no-rent agitation. By the end of the current financial year on 31 March, over 95% of the revenue demand had been collected in 3/5th of the Province.122 Even in Allahabad district, where the no-rent movement was considered to be the strongest, 93.3% revenue had been collected by 31 March. In its most notorious tehsil, Handia, where the collections were

122. FR, April II, 1932, FN-18/7/1932, Hom.Poll., NAI.
very poor till the beginning of March, officials succeeded in collecting as much as 99.9% of the revenue demand.123

In the months of May and June, political activities remained at a low ebb. A declining trend and weariness in Congress circles was quite visible. However, the Congressmen continued their endeavour to keep the enthusiasm alive either by means of surreptitious distribution of propaganda leaflets or through the medium of political conferences.

After the Delhi Congress in April, Congressmen all over the country began to concentrate on the holding of political conferences as an important programme which could help them in reviving the enthusiasm of the masses. Therefore, regular attempts were made in UP to organise district or provincial level conferences. The first attempt of this type was made at Agra on 4 May to endorse the resolutions passed at Delhi. Although the police tried its best to prevent the holding of the conference, a small group of Congressmen succeeded in meeting and confirmed the Delhi resolutions.124

In Allahabad, an attempt was made to organise a district political or kisan conference on 24 May, as part of the last day's programme of the 'Congress Week'. Here, the Congressmen employed the tactics adopted during the Delhi

123. A special bulletin issued by AICC on March 30, 1932, FN. P-35/1932, AICC, NMML and The Leader, April 4, 1932.

Congress and kept the time and place of the conference a close secret. At about 2 in the afternoon, a bugle was sounded and hordes of "peasants and others who were waiting in some neighbouring houses or other places" rushed to the zero road crossing which is very near to the Chowk, the busiest business centre of Allahabad, and the meeting was held on the footpath under the Presidentship of Mrs. Mukund Malviya. But the police rushed to the place immediately and just as Mrs. Mukund Malviya had begun her speech, she was arrested along with four others. The police then prevented any further attempt to organise a meeting by guarding the regular meeting places and detaining the delegates from rural areas.125

In June, several more attempts were made to organise political conferences at Hamirpur, Farrukhabad, Mathura, Muzaffarnagar, Agra, Rampur and Benaras. In Agra, a provincial level conference was attempted on 19 and 20 June. The government took every precaution to prevent this conference. Delegates from outside were prevented from reaching Agra and the two would-be Presidents, Acharya Jugal Kishore of Mathura and Malikhan Singh of Aligarh, were arrested. Still the conference started with around 3000 people including 500 delegates (though the government report says it was a small presence). Mrs. Vidyavati Rathore, who had replaced Mrs. Chandravati Devi Sukla as President after her arrest, addressed the audience

125. The Leader and Aij, May 26, 1932.
and the conference passed eight resolutions. Immediately after that the police raided the place and dispersed the crowd with a lathi charge and arrested around 450 persons. 126

Similar efforts to organise District Political Conferences were also made in Kanpur and Benaras on 26 and 29 June respectively. In Kanpur, the police utilised its excellent intelligence system and thwarted every attempt to organize the District Conference. 127 The district magistrate had promulgated Section 144 Cr.PC and arrested around 78 persons well before 26 June. 128 Despite this, subjects committee met on a boat in the Ganges and a meeting was started on the opposite side of the river. But before the conference could pass any resolution, the police reached the spot and arrested Raja Ram Shastri, the Chairman, and 9 others. 129 In Benaras, the Chairman designate, Yagna Narayana Sharma, was arrested one day before the conference and the police left no stone unturned to foil the attempt to hold the conference. Yet, the conference started at Manikarnika Ghat at 7 in the morning in the presence of about a 300 to 400 strong audience. The Chairman, Gopal Prasad Shastri, read the speech of the arrested Chairman designate


127. WRPA, July 2, 1932, UPID.

128. The Leader, June 27, 1932 and Ai, June 29, 1932.

129. Ibid.
and the conference passed five resolutions. All this was finished within half an hour and before the police could do anything, the conference ended. At all these places, the Presidential Speeches were printed and circulated among the delegates and the audience. According to the intelligence officials, these speeches were highly objectionable, containing not only the usual abuse of the Government but made references to non-payment of rent and contained appeals to the police to stop helping the 'satanic government'.

Regular Congress activities also continued in these months. Apart from the regular 'Gandhi Day' which was being celebrated everywhere on the fourth day of every month, a 'Congress Week' was celebrated in Allahabad from 18 May to 24 May. A day to day break down of how the Congress Week was celebrated reveals the variety of political activity that was organised through this novel form. The celebrations opened on 18 May with the hoisting of the national flag in the Muhammad Ali Park. The next item of the day’s programme was the posting of 'Congress Police' on the two road crossings in the Chowk. However, when the volunteers took up their duties, they were arrested by the real police. A hartal was also observed by the Hindu merchants of the city. The second day was observed as 'Boycott Day'. Picketing was done at some of

131. Ibid. and WRPA, July 2, 1932, UPID.
132. The Leader, May 20, 1932.
the bigger post offices of the city which resulted in the arrest of two volunteers.\textsuperscript{133} On 20 May, the third day of the week, a procession with an \textit{arthi} (coffin) of the Ordinance was taken out which tried to enter the prohibited Civil Lines area. When stopped by the police on the main route, the processionists took a different route and succeeded in entering the area. But this endeavour cost them 20 volunteers who were arrested by the police. The fourth day was celebrated as 'Flag Day'. A procession with the national flag was taken to the \textit{kotwali} which was dispersed by the police by resorting to \textit{lathi} charge.\textsuperscript{134} The next day, small meetings were organised in different localities of the city and speeches were made in favour of swadeshi and the boycott of different services.\textsuperscript{135} On the fifth day, which was being celebrated as 'Salt Day', illegal salt was prepared at more than 12 places in the city.\textsuperscript{136} On the last day, i.e., 24 May, a District Political and Kisan Conference was organised.\textsuperscript{137}

In Benaras, 'Delhi Congress Day' was celebrated on 25 May. Processions and meetings were organised that day

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{133} \textit{Ai}, May 20, 1932.
  \item \textsuperscript{134} \textit{Ai}, May 22, 1982.
  \item \textsuperscript{135} FR, May II, 1932, FN-18/8/1932, \textit{Hom.Poll.}, NAI.
  \item \textsuperscript{136} \textit{Ibid.} and \textit{Ai}, May 26, 1932.
  \item \textsuperscript{137} \textit{Ibid.}
\end{itemize}
and resolutions of the Delhi Congress were accepted.\footnote{138} On 13 June, an all India 'Prisoners' Day' was celebrated in almost all the towns of UP. Processions and meetings were organised that day to project the hardships of the political prisoners.\footnote{139}

Shortly before this, on 29 May, an 'All India Swadeshi Day' was organised, at the call of Pt. Madan MohanMalviya. Pt. Malviya had given the programme for the day which included enrolling of new members for the Swadeshi Leagues, propagation of swadeshi, and organising of processions and meetings to popularise \textit{khadi} and \textit{swadeshi}.\footnote{140} This celebration was a huge success in most of the towns of UP. In Benaras, where Malviyaji had taken personal interest in the celebrations, a procession was taken out with a portrait of Mahatama Gandhi and a national flag and a 'monster meeting' was organised in the Town Hall. Speaking at the meeting, Pt. Malviya urged the people to take to swadeshi to secure the economic freedom of the country.\footnote{141} At Allahabad, the Allahabad Swadeshi League celebrated the day with great enthusiasm. Efforts were made by the members of the League to enroll new members and to obtain pledges from the citizens to use only swadeshi. In the evening a procession and a meeting was organised where appeals were

\footnotesize
\begin{flushright}
139. \textit{The Leader} and \textit{Ai}, June 15, 1932.
140. \textit{Ai}, May 15, 1932.
141. \textit{Ai} and \textit{The Leader}, June 1, 1932.
\end{flushright}
made to the people to use goods made in their own country.\textsuperscript{142} The Swadeshi Leagues of Kanpur, Agra and Moradabad also celebrated the day with great enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{143}

In April 1932, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya had replaced Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as the acting President of the AICC and one of his first steps was to intensify the swadeshi campaign. Under his leadership, the Congress found in the swadeshi movement '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.\textsuperscript{144} The call given by Malviyaji to celebrate 29 May as an all India Swadeshi Day was also an attempt to this end. The All India Swadeshi Sangha, established by him a couple of months earlier, quickly spread its influence to other parts of the country.

In UP, apart from Benaras, which was its headquarters, the Swadeshi League was the most active in Allahabad. It had succeeded in placing a placard saying 'Buy Swadeshi' on almost every shop of the town and merchants had been encouraged to enroll as members of the League. The Allahabad Swadeshi League also had plans to publish a journal called 'Swadeshi'.\textsuperscript{145} Acting on the advice of

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} FN-5/68/1932, Hom.Poll., NAI.
\textsuperscript{145} The Leader, May 4, 1932.
Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya that a permanent swadeshi exhibition should be established in every district, the Allahabad League started a 'Swadeshi Bazar' at its office. This was a 'great success'. The Kanpur Swadeshi League was engaged in 'intensive and extensive propaganda' through mohalla meetings, house to house campaigning and distribution of swadeshi literature. Everywhere, the Swadeshi Leagues were achieving considerable success in their campaign. The intelligence report for the week ending 11 June 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".

Other political activities also continued in this period though they were infrequent and less intensive. Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth and goods was rarely done as the intensive swadeshi propaganda had left no scope for it. It was now restricted to the shops of a few recalcitrant merchants. In Benaras, a cinema hall was picketed on 14 May for showing a British film. The manager had earlier accepted the conditions of the Congress regarding not showing any British film. After a few hours of picketing, the manager of the hall agreed to replace that

146. The Leader, June 3 & 6, 1932.
147. The Leader, June 5, 1932.
148. WRPA, June 11, 1932, UPID.
Other than this, the government complained that Congressmen were resorting to petty mischief like burning of letters in post boxes, cutting of telegraph wires and damaging of railway property. Although these kinds of activities were taking place occasionally, the Congress Committees always denied their hand in it.

During the months of May and June, 577 and 681 persons were convicted in the whole province. This shows an almost 50% decline in convictions in comparison to the months of March and April. However, the total number of convictions in the province since January was larger than that of any other province. It was 10,182 (including 385 women) in UP while the nearest to it was Bengal where 9,918 persons including 600 women had been convicted till the end of June. In the same period, the Bombay province reported the conviction of 9,689 persons which included 588 women.

The beginning of July saw some more attempts to organise political conferences in different districts. But nowhere could they succeed in organising a proper conference as the official machinery was determined to crush any such attempt.

A lull in political activities seemed to have set in during this period. Realising this fact which had by now become a general phenomenon in the whole country, the acting President of the AICC sent some "exciting and stimulating

149. Aj, May 15, 1931.
150. FN-5/73/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.
programmes" to all the PCCs. One of the programmes he had suggested was the celebration of an All India Prisoners' day on the fourth day of every month which was till then being celebrated as Gandhi Day. Regarding this, the acting General Secretary of the AICC reminded the PCCs that the celebrations should not be a "poor show" like other days and "every attempt should be made to make the day's celebrations as impressive as possible". The next programme that the acting President had given was to make attempts to take possession of the various Congress offices in the country which had been "unjustly confiscated" by the Government. All these raids were to be made by the volunteers in a peaceful manner from 15 July to 31 July. To undertake this kind of "ambitious" programme, collection of proper ammunition was necessary and the PCCs were called upon to enroll thirty thousand volunteers before 15 July. The quota fixed for UP was five thousand and the buildings earmarked for raids were mainly the 'Swaraj Bhavan' in Allahabad and Kashi Vidyapith in Benaras.

In Allahabad, volunteers were summoned from other districts and regular 'raids' on Swaraj Bhavan started on 24 July when around 100 volunteers made repeated attempts to enter the building. But the heavy police arrangement foiled

151. A letter to Secretaries, all PCCs from Acting General Secretary of AICC dated June 21, 1932, FN.P-22/1932, AICC, NMML.

152. Circular No.16 to all PCCs dated June 17, 1932, FN. P-22/1932, AICC, NMML.
all their attempts. Another attempt was made on 26 July when around 64 volunteers, all of them with the national flag, started in a procession in the city and moved towards Swaraj Bhavan. But they were prevented by the police from reaching the Swaraj Bhavan. A third attempt was made on 29 July, again without success. On 31 July, the police took the offensive and raided the Congress Ashram in the city where the outstation volunteers were staying and arrested around 46 of them. After that no further attempt was made to raid the Swaraj Bhavan by the Congressmen. Overall 110 volunteers were arrested by the police in this endeavour.

In Benaras, two 'raids' on the Congress Office at Kashi Vidyapith were organised by the Town Congress Committee on 25 and 27 July. Here, too, the police foiled their endeavour, though on 27 July, some volunteers managed to climb on to the building and hoist the national flag. They were immediately arrested and the flag was uprooted. Right from the beginning the Congressmen knew that they would

not be able to get possession of those buildings in this way, but the real motive behind this adventure was to refurbish the waning enthusiasm of the people and to rejuvenate the movement.

Another similar endeavour was undertaken by the Congressmen in August when they tried to demonstrate against government offices, especially courts, and to hoist national flags over these buildings. The main idea was to replace every 'Union Jack' with a tricolour national flag. The first day of August was fixed as the date for major demonstrations against government offices. But it seems the police sleuths sensed this plan and made massive police arrangements at all the government offices of Allahabad right from the morning of 1 August. Thus, nothing could happen in Allahabad, but in Benaras, the demonstrations at the Collectorate and the District Court was fairly successful. Some volunteers here succeeded in planting a national flag over the Collectorate while others successfully distributed Congress bulletins to magistrates. In Allahabad, this 'attack' on official buildings was continued for sometime all over the district. In many tehsils of the district, Congress workers very often succeeded in hoisting the national flag on the tehsil offices and disrupt office work.

158. Circular No.16 to all PCCs dated June 17, 1932, FN. P-22/1932, AICC, NMML.
160. Ibid., Aug. 12, 1932.
Other political activities like picketing of foreign cloth shops, celebration of days, occasional hoisting of national flags on public places, post box incendiarism, etc. continued in these months also. As reported earlier, picketing had become increasingly rare in this period as it seems in most of the places, Congressmen had succeeded in sealing the shopkeepers' foreign cloth stock and picketing was being done only against intractable shopkeepers. In Allahabad, where the Congress officials claimed to have sealed the foreign cloth stocks of 62 out of 71 merchants, picketing was resumed on 20 July after a gap of two months. The target were the remaining 9 merchants who happened to be the Muslims and had resisted the Congress persuasion so far. In Kanpur, where the government reports claimed that the Congress was facing difficulty in getting volunteers for picketing, it was resumed after a long gap on 10 August. Two volunteers visited the shop of Kanhoomal Agarwal and grabbed his feet to request him to refrain from indenting fresh stock. They were ultimately arrested by the police. In Benaras, picketing was never given up for a long period as there were always some shops which needed picketing.

As regards celebration of days, the theme which we come across for the first time in this period was the celebration of 'Anti Untouchability Day'. In Benaras on 17 July, a large

162. FR, June I & II, FN-18/9/1932, Hm. Poll., NAI.
163. The Leader, Aug. 13, 1932.
meeting of untouchables was convened on this day. It was addressed by Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya. During his speech he assured the untouchables that "the time is not too far away when the doors of even the Vishwanath temple of Benaras will be opened for them". He also promised them that the temple he would be making in the BHU campus would be open to everybody.164

Other themes which were taken for day long celebrations in this period were 'All India Prisoners' Day' and 'Anti Ordinance Day'. The former was celebrated on the fourth day of both the months of July and August. As mentioned above, earlier this day used to be celebrated as 'Gandhi Day' but on the advise of the AICC, this was changed to pay a tribute to all the persons who had been imprisoned for taking part in the movement.165 The 'Anti Ordinance Day' was celebrated in most of the towns of UP on 24 July to protest against the promulgation of a new ordinance in place of the earlier one which had lapsed on 4 July. Processions and meetings were organised on this day and the Government's repressive policy and the new Ordinance was criticised. The main celebration took place in Benaras where Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya addressed a meeting.166


165. Circular No.16 to all PCCs dated June 17, 1932, FN.P-22/1932, AICC, NMML.

A new feature which we come across in this period is the use of railway trains by the Congress volunteers for distributing Congress bulletins and propagating nationalist ideas. A few months earlier, Congressmen were propagating the boycott of railway and had sometimes picketed the railway passengers. Now they realised that the trains carried a large population which could be turned into an ideal audience for them. Many important trains like the Lahore Mail, Dehradun Express, GIP Mail, etc., were stopped by pulling the emergency chains and no sooner the train came to a halt, some *khadi* clad volunteers would move into the compartment with national flags and start shouting nationalist slogans and distributing Congress leaflets and bulletins. More often than not these volunteers used to be arrested right on the scene but since the arrests and convictions had never bothered them, the stopping of trains continued throughout the period.167

The government on its part continued with its repressive policy. The 4 January Ordinances which had lapsed on 4 July 1932, were replaced by one all embracing 'Special Powers Ordinance' on the same day. Preventive notices continued to be served on Congress workers even in this period. For example, in Allahabad, Congress leaders such as Manzar Ali Shokhta, Radhey Shyam Pathak, Baijnath Kapoor, Sita Ram Gunthi, Vasant Lal Sharma and others were served notices.

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to remain in the city and refrain from any political activities for one month.\textsuperscript{168} While in Kanpur the District authorities served notices to Ram Nath Tandon, Ram Gopal and Dhulli Bajaj to leave the city as soon as possible as their presence would have disturbed the peace of the city.\textsuperscript{169} In Benaras, Babu Shiv Prasad Gupta, Damodar Das Shah and his brother were served similar notices to leave the city within 24 hours on 17 August. But they disobeyed the notices and participated in a procession and a meeting organised in protest against these notices and were arrested.\textsuperscript{170}

Apart from this policy of repression, the Government was also countering the Congress through its publicity department. Official publicity and propaganda were being carried on vigorously throughout the province with the support of loyalist landlords, etc. Till the end of June, around 1000 meetings were organised by the officials while the non-officials had addressed over 28,000 meetings. The Raja of Jaunpur presented a van for publicity work which was later fitted with wireless apparatus, loud speakers and epidiascope and placed in charge of an officer of the Public Health Department. This van had

\textsuperscript{168} The Leader and Ai, July 6, 1932.

\textsuperscript{169} Ai, Aug. 10, 1932.

\textsuperscript{170} Ai and The Leader, Aug. 18 & 19, 1932.
been touring the provinces since June. 171 At some places, Congress workers tried to demonstrate and disturb these meetings, but they were always removed by the police. 172

During the month of July and August, 607 persons including 22 women and 640 persons including 17 women were convicted, respectively, taking the total number of convictions till the end of August to 11,429 in the whole province. 173 Till 30 August, 1241 persons had been convicted out of 2086 arrested in Allahabad. In Benaras, only 757 persons had been convicted out of 1193 arrested while in Kanpur 1591 persons were convicted out of a total of 1603 persons arrested. 174

This gradual decline in the number of persons convicted, in the preceding months, suggests that the movement was on a definite declining course. The number of convicted persons in July and August was far less than the ones of the initial months. In January and February 1932, in the whole province around 3627 and 3008 persons were convicted, respectively. Now even the number of persons convicted all over the country could not match this figure. In August only 3047 people were convicted in the whole country. In UP, this number

171. FRs, June to August, 1932; FNs. 18/8/1932 to 18/10/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.
173. FN. 5/73/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.
further came down to 333 in October, 1932. Since the government was not giving any chance to the agitators and was following its repressive policy as ruthlessly as it was doing in the initial months, this decline in convictions emphasises the point that the enthusiasm of the people towards the movement was on the wane. The occasions of defiance of government laws had increasingly become rare and the participation of people on these occasions never reached to a considerable number.

Even the release of political prisoners could not rejuvenate the movement as these released prisoners showed reluctance in indulging in active Congress work and getting re-arrested. For example, in Allahabad, Mr. Manzar Ali Shokhta and some other leaders were served preventive notices for the second consecutive month after their release from jail on 4 July and they silently obeyed the orders. They did not participate even in the raids on 'Swaraj Bhavan' which was planned to revive the enthusiasm of the masses. So, this avoidance of local leaders from open defiance of the government orders along with the tiredness of the masses brought the movement to a declining path.

The movement received a further jolt in August 1932, when the Prime Minister of Britain announced the Communal Award. The Award allotted to each minority community a number

175. FN-5/73/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.
176. AI and The Leader, July 6, 1932.
of seats in the legislatures and these seats were to be contested on the basis of separate electorates. Apart from Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians, who already had the status of minorities, the Award declared Depressed Classes also to be a minority and thus entitled them to a separate electorate. This was a clear attempt under the 'Divide and Rule' policy to separate the Depressed Classes from the rest of the Hindus. Although Congress had accepted separate electorate for Muslims as far back as 1916 as a part of a compromise with Muslim League, it was opposed to it as it encouraged the communal belief that separate groups or communities had interests different from the general body of Indians. This new effort of the Government to now divide the Hindus was bitterly opposed by all the nationalists. Gandhiji, who was in Yeravada jail at that time, saw it as an attack on Indian unity and nationalism. He believed that separate electorates would in no way improve the socially degraded position of the Depressed Classes and also that this would put a permanent brake on the efforts to abolish untouchability.

In UP, the declaration of Communal Award was bitterly opposed by the Hindu masses. A sense of dejection prevailed among them and meetings were organised to criticise the Award. The Kanpur Hindu Sabha, in its meeting on 26 August, passed a resolution of protest against the Communal Award, criticising it as "partial to Muslims and most unjust and prejudicial to the interest of the Hindu community". It further said that the Award "instead of tending to promote the growth of a sense of nationality, not only serves to
accentuate communal bitterness between Hindus and Muslims, but by creating separate electorates for the Depressed Classes also aims at dismemberment of Hindu Community". At the end, it declared the Award as "unacceptable to Hindu Community". Muslim community, on the other hand, were well content by this Award, though for 'very obvious tactical reasons' they did not express their satisfaction openly. They were of the view that their contentment would benefit Hindus in those disputes with which the Award had not dealt. So, they were holding meetings at different places to condemn the Award. The Depressed Classes of the province, according to the official reports, were quite satisfied by the Award, though at some places they complained of inadequate number of seats allotted to them.

Gandhiji, in the meantime, demanded that representatives of Depressed Classes should be elected by a general electorate. He even accepted their demand of larger representation in the legislatures. On 20 September, he went on a fast-unto-death to enforce his demands. The announcement of Mahatama Gandhi's fast led to a feverish anxiety among the Congress leaders, all over the country, and they sought to win over the Depressed Classes.

177. The Leader, August 29, 1932.


In UP, meetings were organised in larger centres to condemn the Government's stand on separate electorates for Depressed Classes and to hail Gandhiji for his vow. In Benaras, a meeting was organised on 16 September in which the speakers Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, Bhagwan Das, Rajendra Prasad, Sampurnanand, etc., criticised the Government's undue interference in the internal affairs of the Hindu community. One of the resolutions passed at the meeting requested the Dalit leaders to reject the Government's proposal and to chalk out a formula to give themselves proper representation in Hindu society without breaking it. The meeting also requested the audience to work for removing the disabilities of the Dalits. In the same meeting a representative of the Dalits, Mahadev, moved a resolution which expressed their gratitude to Mahatama Gandhi who was fighting for their cause.180 On the same day, the Depressed Class students of B.H.U. expressed their complete confidence in Mahatama Gandhi and resolved to support joint electorates which, according to them, were vital for the betterment of their community.181 In Allahabad, the Prayag Hindu Sabha, in a meeting on 18 September, decided to open twelve of the city's temples for Depressed Classes.182 In Kanpur, Naval Kishor Bharatiya, Iqbal Krishna Kapoor, Dr Jawaharlal and Murarilal

181. The Leader, Sept. 21, 1932.
were active in mobilising the untouchables. Students of DAV and Sanatan Dharm Colleges were advised to move among the Depressed Classes to induce them to accept Gandhiji's ideas. 183

In their endeavour to open temples and wells for the untouchables, these leaders were bitterly opposed at some places by the Sanatan Dharmis. In several places, the temples opened for the untouchables were later closed by the Sanatanis. At other places, as the fortnightly report for September noted, the Brahmans had to work hard at night to cleanse and purify the temples after the departure of the last worshipper of the Depressed Classes. 184

20 September, the day when Gandhiji commenced his fast, was observed all over the province as a day of fasting and prayer. Complete strike was observed in most of the larger towns and meetings of Depressed Classes were organised to pass resolutions in favour of joint electorates. 185 Meanwhile, at Poona, the leaders of different persuasions including Madan Mohan Malviya, M.C. Razah and B.R. Ambedkar, succeeded in hammering out an agreement known as the Poona Pact, which abandoned the idea of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. But in lieu of this,

183. WRPA, Sept. 24, 1932, UPID.


the number of seats reserved for them in the provincial legislatures were increased from 71 in the Award to 147 and in the Central Legislature to 18% of the total. In the UP Legislature, it was increased from 12 seats to 20 seats.186

The news of the Poona Pact and the breaking of Gandhiji's fast was received with great relief by the people of the province. Meetings were organised at many places and resolutions were passed to continue the efforts to remove untouchability. In Benaras, the students of BHU organised a sahboi in support of the Poona Pact.187 As in other political activities, the students of BHU took great interest in the anti-untouchability campaign. Around 451 of them including 69 women had enrolled themselves as volunteers for campaigning against untouchability.188 Again, in December, 1932, around 2500 students of BHU signed a petition to the Zamorin of the Guruvayur Temple, requesting him to open the temple for the untouchables as "every Hindu should have the right to worship God." 189

Efforts to remove the disabilities of the Depressed classes continued throughout this period. Processions and meetings were regularly organised and speeches were made by the prominent persons of the place (mostly Congressmen and Liberals). They used to emphasise the point that the

186. FN-41/5/1932, Hom. Poll., NAI.
188. Ai, Sept. 27, 1932.
Depressed Classes were an integral part of the Hindu community and their disabilities should be removed under any circumstance.

In October, 1932, Harijan Sevak Sangh was established with Madan Mohan Malviya as President. In UP, its branches were established in Allahabad and Benaras, at the behest of Malviyaji and H.N. Kunzru, who was made the chief of the UP branch of the Sangh. With the establishment of the Sangh, the Harijan upliftment work received an organised form. Its activities covered a fairly broad social and economic field. It worked for their educational development and for providing them the civic rights enjoyed by other Hindus.190

On 18 December, an Anti-Untouchability Day was celebrated in most places in pursuance of the suggestion of Mahatama Gandhi. The Leader reported on 21 December that in Allahabad, 'great enthusiasm marked the celebrations'. Funds were collected for The Servants of The Untouchables Society and signatures were obtained from hundreds of citizens, men and women, to a statement urging that the Guruvayur Temple should be thrown open to the untouchables. Many upper caste Hindus cleaned the untouchables' quarters and "some eminent citizens cleaned their own commode pots". Later in the day, bands of untouchables were organised and taken to various temples in the city.

190. Annual Report of Harijan Sevak Sangh, 1933-34, FN.G-14/1934, AICC, NMML.
In Kanpur, celebrations were successfully organised under the leadership of Dr. Jawaharlal. Sports events were organised for the untouchables and prizes were given to them in the shape of clothes and sweets. House to house propaganda amongst untouchables for making them lead a cleaner life was also carried on by some workers.\textsuperscript{191} In other places like Benaras, Lucknow, Aligarh, etc., the celebrations were marked with gaiety. Processions and meetings were organised everywhere, funds were collected for \textit{Harijan Sevak Sangh}, and, as elsewhere, house to house, propaganda was made to persuade the untouchables to observe greater cleanliness.\textsuperscript{192}

Another large celebration was held on 30 April 1933, when 'Harijan Day' was observed in more than 20 districts of the province. In Allahabad, eminent citizens like Munshi Ishwar Sharan and H.N. Kunzuru swept the roads of the city. Funds were collected for the Harijan uplift work and sports were organised for untouchables. In Benaras, similar celebrations were organised by \textit{Nagrik Mandal} and \textit{Harijan Sevak Sangh}.\textsuperscript{193}

On 8 May, 1933, Mahatma Gandhi went on a 21 days fast to convince his supporters of the seriousness and importance of the Harijan Uplift Movement. This was accompanied by a six

\textsuperscript{191} \textit{The Leader} Dec. 21, 1932.

\textsuperscript{192} \textit{Ibid.} and \textit{WRPA}, Jan 7, 1932, UPID.

\textsuperscript{193} \textit{FR}, May 1, 1933, FN-18/6/1933, Hom Poll., NAI; \textit{WRPA}, May 6, 1933, UPID and \textit{Ai}, May 2, 1933.
weeks suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement so that Congressmen could fully concentrate on the anti-untouchability campaign. In this period, around 248 meetings were organised all over the province and constructive work started in all the 48 districts. Sports for untouchables as well as upper caste Hindus were organised and many temples and wells were opened to untouchables in different places. 194

In their endeavour, these workers, who were mainly from upper castes, faced strong protest from the orthodox section of the Hindu community, known as the Sanatanis. In Hardwar and Benaras, feelings had been raised to such a pitch that authorities had to intervene. In Benaras, where Sanatanis used to disturb every meeting of the reformers, the DM forbade all processions by either party. In Mathura and Agra also, there had been considerable tension between both the parties and especially in Agra, Congress programmes were strongly opposed by Sanatani Hindus. For example, the chaube brahmins of this area had gone so far as to outcaste any chaube who remained an adherent of the Congress party. The Sanatanis of Agra, along with those of Kanpur, had formed an organisation known as Varan Ashram Swaraj Sangh to agitate against the removal of untouchability. 195 Nevertheless, the

194. Ai June 30, 1932; WRPA, May 20 & 27 and June 3, 1933, UPID and FR, May I & II and June I, 1933, FNs-18/6/1933, 18/7/1933, Hom. Poll., NAI.

propaganda and work against untouchability continued and particularly after the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement, this work received major attention from the Congress workers.

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Right from the announcement of the Communal Award and Gandhiji's fast from 20 August, the Civil Disobedience Movement was put on the back corner and the anti-untouchability campaign occupied the centre stage. The situation remained the same even after the Poona Pact and the Civil Disobedience Movement remained only in name. After August we do not come across any sustained political activity. There were, however, occasional demonstrations at Government offices and courts, stopping of trains for distributing Congress pamphlets, cutting of telegraph wires, etc. Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth and goods, and swadeshi propaganda, too, had become rare in this period. In rural areas also, the movement had 'practically died down', though in October 1932, we find references in official reports of a possible revival of a no-rent movement, particularly in Allahabad district.

The Government, on its part, did not provide any let up and continued with its policy of arrest in
any case of breach of law. For example, on 20 October, five Congress volunteers were arrested in Allahabad for demonstrating, waving of Congress flags and distributing Congress literature in Allahabad High Court. Again on 17 November, Babu P.D. Tandon was arrested for addressing a meeting on the occasion of Lala Lajpat Rai's birthday. In Benaras, two volunteers were arrested for hoisting a national flag over a notified Congress building on 20 November.

On 11 November, the UPPCC issued a circular to all Congress Committees, instructing them 'to fill the jails before the next Independence Day' (26 January 1933). The main emphasis in the programme mentioned in the circular was on boycott and no-rent campaign. This was to be done through house to house propaganda and distribution of Congress literature. Even after this there occurred no spurt in the activities of the Congress. The Gandhi Day celebrated on 4 December 1932 was just a tame show. In Allahabad, which was the center of the movement in the province, only 40 people attended a meeting, that too for five minutes only.


198. WRPA, Dec. 3 and 10, 1932, UPID.

199. WRPA, Dec. 17, 1932, UPID.
In the second half of December, the agitation picked up a little but remained confined to the distribution of Congress literature. There were very few cases of open defiance of Government orders except at Benaras where some Congressmen succeeded in organising a small black flag demonstration in protest against the Viceroy's visit to the city.

When Independence Day was celebrated on 26 January, 1933, nowhere in the province was it a complete success. In Allahabad, Pt. Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari, the acting dictator of the province, was arrested along with other volunteers when he tried to hoist a flag near the Clock Tower. In Benaras and Lucknow, two unsuccessful attempts were made to hoist the national flag on public places. Overall, 200 persons were arrested from 37 districts of the province on 26 January. On 29 January, dictators of 28 districts were arrested whilst holding a meeting in Allahabad. They included 15 women.

Even before that, 39 members of the newly constituted PCC, under Dr. Murari Lal, were arrested in Lucknow on 15 January 1933, when they gathered there to hold


These arrests were continued by the Government and seven more local dictators were arrested in Kanpur in February. On 4 February, 30 representatives of the different Congress Committees of Benaras district were arrested, while in Lucknow 13 members of the District Congress Committee were arrested. In all these cases, these representatives and dictators of different Congress Committees were holding secret meetings to decide the future course of action.

Again, on 22 February, 48 members of the 21 DCCs who had assembled at Agra to hold a meeting of the PCC under the Presidentship of Mrs. Paliwal, were arrested.

Apart from these arrests, regular raids were also made by the police on Congress offices to seize pamphlets and other Congress bulletins. For example, the District Congress Offices of Allahabad and Benaras were raided in the first week of March and a large quantity of bulletins including the records of the Provincial Congress Committee were seized.

On 13 February, the Allahabad DCC tried to organise a District Political Conference in the city. For this, around 400 cultivators from Handia and Soraon Tehsils assembled near

203. Ibid., Jan 1, 1933.
205. Ibid.
Khaddar, Bhandar with bundles of frost-bitten crops. But before the President elect, Mr Gopi Nath Singh could address them, the conference was dispersed by the police and the President was arrested. The cultivators, in turn, were "led out of the city by the police. However, on 27 February, despite all precautions, the authorities could not prevent a strike in the city as a part of Chandra Shekhar Azad Day, though they succeeded in foiling an attempt by the members of the Youth League to organise a meeting in Alfred Park.

With all these activities, and around 854 arrests, February 1933 was the most active month for the Congress in UP since August 1932. In the following months, i.e., March and April, before the movement was suspended for six weeks on 9 May, no activity of any importance took place. In the latter half of March, when the Calcutta Congress was to be held, the UPPCC nominated 40 members to attend that session but most of them were arrested before they could leave for Calcutta. Even the National Week celebrated every year from 6 to 13 April, could not rekindle the enthusiasm of the masses and we find reports of only partial hartals and picketing from some larger towns. In the whole

208. WRPA, Feb. 25, 1932, UPID.
210. FN-3/7/1933, Hom. Poll., NAI
month only 123 persons were convicted while in the same month in 1932, 1129 persons had been convicted. This makes it amply clear that the movement had waned considerably by this time.

Given this background, the suspension of the movement two consecutive periods of six weeks each (from 9 May to 31 July) by the acting President of the AICC, Mr. M.S. Aney, on the advice of Gandhiji, can be called a wise step. In the prevailing conditions, particularly given the severely repressive attitude adopted by the Government, had the movement been continued, it would have died a natural death in a couple of months. So Gandhiji took a wise decision by shifting attention from Civil Disobedience to Harijan upliftment work. His main intention, it seems, was to direct the energy of the activists and the masses towards the anti-untouchability programme. This enabled people to keep the national spirit alive by engaging in constructive, nation-building activities at a time when anti-Government protest was not feasible both because of government repression and mass exhaustion.

In this situation, a conference of Congress leaders from all over India was held at Poona, from 12 to 14 July, 1933, to decide whether civil disobedience should be withdrawn or continued. At the conference, the representatives of the UP Congress opposed the withdrawal of the movement. In the end it was decided at the conference that mass civil disobedience

212. FNs. 3/10/1933 and 5/73/1933, Hom. Poll., NAI.
including no-rent movement should be stopped and only individual satyagraha should be continued.213

Though the representatives of the UP Congress supported the continuation of the movement in UP, if we believe the intelligence reports, the leaders were finding it difficult to even stage a large demonstration, leave alone revive the movement. The intelligence report for the week ending 15 July, 1933, quotes some 'prominent Congressmen' as saying that only 'a miracle can revive the movement'.214 On 9 July, some important Congressmen of Allahabad like Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari, Krishna Kant Malviya, Kesho Deo Malviya, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Sheo Murty Singh, etc., held a meeting and reached the conclusion that the Civil Disobedience Movement should be withdrawn. Instead, they suggested that constructive programmes like the propagation of swadeshi and Harijan upliftment should be adopted. Some senior leaders like Rafi Ahmed Kidwai (who was the General Secretary of the UPPCC at that time) and Sampurnanand were against the individual civil disobedience programme. Kidwai was of the view that the movement should either be withdrawn completely or continued as it is.215 Sampurnanand, on the other hand, believed that the movement should be continued and criticised Gandhiji for giving undue importance to Harijan work which

213. Ai, July 15, 16 and 27, 1933.
214. WRPA, July 15, 1933, UPID.
could be undertaken by non-Congressmen. 216 Even Jawaharlal Nehru, after his release from jail in September 1933, criticised the withdrawal of mass civil disobedience.

Nevertheless, the UP Congress leaders, in a meeting held at Allahabad on 30 July 1933, resolved to obey the instructions regarding individual satyagraha but not without registering a protest against this new policy. 217 However, the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi on the night of 31 July at Ahmedabad, when he was to leave for village Ras along with his 32 ashramites to offer individual satyagraha, was followed by strikes in most of the towns of UP. Protest meetings were also organised at several places but there was a marked contrast between these protests and the violent agitation that had resulted after his arrest in January 1932. 218

Individual Satyagraha started after this but remained confined to the larger towns. The method adopted by Congressmen was to inform the officials about their intention well before their setting out to offer satyagraha. Another important aspect of this satyagraha was that none of these satyagrahis were of any importance in the Congress hierarchy. 219 So, the apathy of senior congressmen towards this programme reflected in its application also and as a result of this apathy, satyagraha died a natural death. It

216. Ibid.


218. Ibid.

219. Ibid.
did attract some attention of the people for the first couple of months but after that it was rarely heard of. 220

In the first week of September 1933, Jawaharlal Nehru, after the completion of his term was released from jail. Immediately after his release, he held a number of meetings with the other leaders of the province. His main intention was to start a mass agitation amongst the peasantry and this programme was discussed and approved to 'some extent' at a meeting in Lucknow on 20 September. In the same meeting, a Select Committee was formed and entrusted with the responsibility of drawing up a plan for this campaign, which was to be known as the plan for the "economic upliftment of peasants and labourers". It was also proposed in the meeting to hold a series of lectures on current economic and political problems and on international affairs in order to prepare the ground for this programme. 221 This programme was in tune with Jawaharlal Nehru's ideas of socialism, which had in the recent months become very popular among the 'extremist' group of the party. The so-called 'extremist' group consisted of those who had vehemently opposed the withdrawal of the mass Civil Disobedience Movement and the starting of individual satyagraha. The intelligence reports

220. This is clear by the number of persons convicted in August and September 1933 which was 153 and 132 respectively. While in October, November and December, only 23, 15 and 11 persons were convicted respectively throughout the province. FNs-3/18/1933 and 3/24/1933, Hom.Poll., NAI.

221. FR, Sept. II, 1933; FN-18/10/1933, Hom.Poll., NAI.
suggest, that even at the above mentioned meeting, the general opinion was against individual Civil Disobedience Movement, though this was not made explicit. 222

This meeting was followed by another meeting at Allahabad from 10 to 15 October, 1933. This was attended by 80 Congress leaders and workers, the most important among them were Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sri Prakash, P.D. Tandon, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari, Professor Narendra Deo, Harihar Nath Shastri, Mohanlal Gautam, Professor Kriplani and Murari Lal. Almost all of them belonged to the so-called 'extremist' group. Among the topics discussed at the meeting were the general political situation, Harijan activity, Swadeshi League and the future programme of the Congress. One of the resolutions passed at the meeting reiterated the immediate political goal of the Congress as complete independence and called upon the people of the province "to carry on the programme of individual civil disobedience so that the struggle might again gather momentum and develop into mass civil disobedience". Another resolution stated that political freedom must be accompanied by the social and economic freedom of the exploited classes. 223

Although this meeting did not criticise Gandhiji's policies nor did it say anything against the termination of

222. WRPA, Sept. 30, 1933, UPID.

the mass civil disobedience movement, (in fact the acquiesced to the programme suggested by Gandhiji) it served to emphasise the strong division of opinion which existed in the ranks of the Congress in that period. There was the group, led by Sri Krishan Dutt Paliwal of Agra, which was firm in its allegiance to Gandhiji and was prepared to accept his leadership in every respect. While the other group approved of the doctrines and policies of Jawaharlal Nehru and advocated an attempt to prepare the Indian masses on the socialist or rather the 'communist' model.\(^\text{224}\)

The influence of the second group increased tremendously in this period and despite the fact that it had passed a resolution in favour of individual civil disobedience, it did not do anything to implement it. Rather, the members of this group engaged themselves in organising rural and industrial workers. For example, in Jhansi, a union of city transportation workers was formed and in Mathura and Kanpur, a society called UP Labour Party was started, to work especially amongst the tenants. In Gorakhpur division, an Ikh Sangh had been formed with a view to helping the sugarcane growers against being exploited by the factories. While in other districts, kisan sabhas were formed, which started working among the peasants.

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In Allahabad district, four tehsils, viz., Handia, Soraon, Meja and Phulpur were selected for propaganda work and Mohanlal Gautam, Lal Bahadur, Sheo Murti Singh, Rup Narayan Tripathi and Feroz Gandhi were detailed for this duty. These five leaders formed their own separate batches and started moving around in rural areas, assuring the kisans that under Swaraj, all their troubles would be removed once they become owners of the land that they cultivated. For fear of arrest, the leaders generally refrained from openly advocating non-payment of rent but suggested to the tenants that they should meet their household expenditure first, then repay any loans and, finally, if they had any surplus, to use it for paying their rent. Nevertheless, the batches led by Feroz Gandhi, Shiv Murti Singh and Rup Narayan Tripathi were arrested for indirectly propagating non-payment of rent. Despite this, these batches succeeded in visiting 259 villages of the district and addressed around 133 meetings till 4 January, 1934.

Congress activities had by now practically stopped in the urban centers. The only incident of any importance that occurred in this period was the celebration of Independence Day on 26 January 1934. But despite long preparations, the


227. AI, Jan 9, 1934.

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celebrations brooked no comparison with those organized in the earlier years. Although efforts were made in most of the towns to hoist national flags and organise meetings, they were not very successful as the alert authorities had made their task very difficult. In Allahabad, Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a meeting of 500 persons but was cautious not to say anything which could invite immediate action. He did not even read the exact 'Independence Pledge' but just mentioned parts of it. Throughout the province, the police arrested 63 persons in connection with this celebration. After this, we do not come across any important activity till April, 1934, when the movement was formally withdrawn. In this period, Congressmen from the three major cities, Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur were busy in collecting funds and clothes for the earthquake victims of Bihar.

The final withdrawal of the movement created some sort of strain among the ranks of the UP Congress Committee. The left wing of the party, it seems, was not very happy with the withdrawal or rather they had made it a point to criticise every decision of Gandhiji or the 'centrist' leaders. In a meeting of the PCC, held in Lucknow on 15 & 16 April, they tried to push through a resolution of no-confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and his proposal to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement, but were out-voted. They, however,


229. Ai, Feb. 6, 1934.
succeeded in making the meeting recommend the replacement of individual civil disobedience movement with an economic programme on socialist lines.230

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Thus, with the announcement of Gandhiji in early April 1934, the second round of the Civil Disobedience Movement came to an end. Although this second round continued for 27 months, in UP its most aggressive phase lasted till August 1932. The intensity of the movement can be judged very easily by the fact that in the first 8 months of the movement, 11,429 persons had been convicted by the Government while in the rest of the 19 months, only 3,800 persons were convicted.231 The second round was started in the urban areas of the province on 4 January, 1932, after the arrest of Gandhiji at Bombay. While in the rural areas, it had begun as early as 6 December, 1931, when five districts of the province were granted permission to begin a no-rent movement. In both the cases, the Provincial Government struck hard right in the very beginning. It had promulgated its own Emergency Powers Ordinance on 14 December, 1931 to suppress the no-rent agitation and it was strengthened by the four ordinances of the Central Government to do the same in the


231. FNs.5/73/1932 and 3/7/1934, Hom. Poll., NAI.
urban areas. These ordinances enabled the Government to crush the movement in its very infancy. Even before the movement took off in the urban areas, most of the important Congress leaders of the province, including Jawaharlal Nehru and T.A.K. Sherwani (the UPPCC President) had already been arrested and convicted for long terms and the movement had to be carried on by the second rung leaders. If, even in these circumstances, the movement was continued with full vigour for full eight months, it can be called an incredible achievement for the Congress and the people of the province. The very fact that more than 15000 people went to jail and an infinitely larger number participated in its agitations only highlights the success of the Congress in its mobilisation process.

It was a successful movement, even though it did not achieve its immediate objective of complete independence. The Congress had made complete independence, the objective of its struggle and the termination of Civil Disobedience Movement did not mean the cessation of that struggle or the giving up of that objective. The struggle for independence continued even after that and Civil Disobedience was just a phase of that struggle which started in 1930 and terminated in April 1934.

Apart from this, it was also a struggle to win over the minds of the masses. In this the Congress achieved considerable success. Except for a section of the Muslims, there was no other group or section which had not participated in or at least sympathised with the movement.
Their response becomes amply clear when we look at the results of the elections for the Central Legislative Council held in November 1934. Out of the 15 seats for which elections had been held, the Congress won 12 seats with many of them returning unopposed.232

There are two other things that happened in this period which are worthy of note. The first is the work done by some Congressmen, the Liberals and their sympathisers for the upliftment of untouchables and the second is the emergence of socialist ideas among the younger generation of the Congressmen and their supporters. The anti-untouchability programme started in the wake of the announcement of the Communal Award by the British Prime Minister in August, 1932. This was an attempt of the British Government under its 'divide and rule policy' to wean away one of the important constituencies of the Congress. So far, they had been successful in keeping a larger section of the Muslims away from the Congress, and now, with the communal Award, they planned to divide the Hindus and take away a sizeable section of the supporters of the Congress from among them. This was an attempt which no nationalist could have accepted, least of all Gandhiji, the leader of the national movement. So, Gandhiji went on a fast un-to-death to get this offer revoked. In the end, an accord was signed at Poona,

where the leaders of the Depressed Classes agreed to renounce the Government offer and accepted the Congress proposal of more seats within the general category.

At the same time, the Congress started work at a feverish pitch for the upliftment of the untouchables. This work continued even after the 'Poona Pact'. Many temples and wells were opened to the untouchables and efforts were made to provide them a respectable social position both within Hindu society and in society in general. The anti-untouchability work gave the movement a different focus at a time when pursuing Civil Disobedience had become impracticable.

This period also witnessed the remarkable spread of socialist ideas among Congressmen, especially among the younger generation. Although this idea had started penetrating the minds of the youth and the younger leaders of the Congress party right from the late 1920s, it was in this period that their strength increased tremendously and they started asserting themselves. In UP, most of the important leaders of the Congress such as P.D. Tandon, Sampurnanand, Sri Prakash, R.A. Kidwai, Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari, etc., had socialist inclinations or sympathies. They formed a separate group and, with the backing of Jawaharlal Nehru, they started influencing the decisions of the PCC in a considerable manner. It is because of their influence that the PCC took many major decisions regarding the organisation of the peasants and of rural and urban workers. Their idea was to mould Indian society on a communist pattern and for
the propagation of these ideas, they organised several series of lectures in important towns like Lucknow and Benaras. The main speakers on these occasions used to be Jawaharlal Nehru, Sampurnanand, Sri Prakash, etc. Their inspiring ideas and their work amongst the peasants and workers won many young hearts and their strength kept on increasing and in the internal organisational elections held in August and September, 1934, they succeeded in capturing many district and town Congress Committees. The three most important committees of the Allahabad, Benaras and Kanpur cities fell into their hands. Even in the newly elected PCC, they were in complete command, with the President, 4 Vice-Presidents, 4 out of 6 Secretaries and 7 out of 11 members of executive council belonging to the left group.

A comparison of the two phases of the Civil Disobedience Movement brings out many interesting features of the relationship between the forms and methods of struggle and the nature of government policy. In 1930, for example, the Government initially adopted a policy of wait-and-see and started large scale arrests only after the movement was well under way and that too when laws were broken. In 1932, it clamped down hard before the mass movement could build up and made sweeping preventive arrests. This change in the policy of the government necessitated a change in tactics on the part of the movement as well, which, to its credit, it was quick to make. We saw how the emphasis shifted from active civil disobedience or defiance of laws to boycott railways and postal services which were acts of non-cooperation and
not of civil disobedience and did not invite repression. You could not punish anybody for refusing to travel by train or post letters, and yet the boycott gave an opportunity to express nationalist sentiment. Similarly, the shift of emphasis to the *swadeshi* and the anti-untouchability campaigns also enabled a non-cooperationist expression of support to the movement. Celebration of 'days' and 'weeks' also performed the role of keeping alive the spirit of resistance.

The shift to less overtly confrontationist forms of political expression was also in keeping with the inevitably reduced capacity of the people to pay heavy costs for participation. For example, to expect that all those who went to jail in 1930 would be willing to do so again within a few months would be unreasonable. Many of them would have to go back to earning their livelihood, looking after their families or have to resume their education. But they could, and did, support the movement in myriad other ways that did not lead to going to jail. In this context, then, it was the capacity of the movement to creatively evolve other, more suitable forms that enabled it to continue to tap the energies of its supporters.