CHAPTER 4

SATYAGRAHA AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT IN BIHAR
The year 1919 was very important in the history of Freedom movement. It witnessed many major political movements in India - the Satyagraha, the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements. These movements played a very important role and unprecedented sense of Hindu-Muslim unity and it enabled them to identify the issues and the circumstances in which the two communities cooperated with each other, under the able leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. These movements spread throughout the country and remained alive for many years. Till then Bihar had established her reputation by playing a significant role in these movements. In this sense, Bihar deserves for a very prominent place in the history of National Movement in India.

In the year 1919 there had been a great impact upon the polity, economy and society of India. Particularly the concept of Indian nationalism had become formidable during the war but after the global war the national movement got a new spirit and gathered a sharp momentum. The post-world war era found a great resentments against the British betrayal on the part of Indians. India had supported the British Government both in men and money to prosecute her war policies against her enemy. During the war the British Government displayed diplomatic acumen to

1. R.R. Divakar, Bihar Throughout the Ages, pp. 1-5.
2. Bipin Chandra, Freedom Struggle p.120.
enlist support of Indians at this critical juncture when it was faced with the challenges to its world superimacy. The government had promised to give new concession to the Indians as rewards for their service rendered during the war. Lord Haldane, the then Lord Chancellor of England declared in September 1914, "The Indian soldiers were fighting for the liberties of humanity, as much as we ourselves. India had freely given her lives and treasure in humanity's great cause, hence things could not be left as they were". Lord Birkenhead appreciated the Indians support as her great services towards British Empire in the hours of peril and declared thus: "Without India, the war would have been immensely prolonged, it indeed without her help could have been brought to a victorious conclusion ... India is an incalculable asset to the mother country [Britain]. Lloyd George spoke in the House of Commons on the war issue and said, "And then there is India. How bravely, how loyally, she has supported the British Armies! The memory of the powerful aid which she willingly accorded in the hours of the trouble will not be forgotten after the war is over, and when the affairs of India come up for examination and action". The Indian leader were very much hopeful and expecting a return for their enormous

3. Ambika Charan Majumdar, India's National Evolution, p.416.
5. Ibid.
services and sacrifice that their legitimate aspiration for self rule would be fulfilled. As it was declared by E.S. Montage on August 20, 1917, in the House of Commons: "... Increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institution, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integrative part of the British Empire". But the things moved otherwise. Even the Indian National Congress in Calcutta session in 1917 had expressed its loyalty in the following words: "their deep loyalty and profound attachment to the Throne, their unswerving allegiance to the British connection and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards and at all costs".

The Viceroy convened a war conference at Delhi on 27, 28 and 29 April, 1918, to obtain financial assistance from Indian resources. The conference was also attended by as Indians would like to have self-government in return to their support at an early date. Soon after the war conference, Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy regarding the self-rule. After the conference was


over a meeting was held in Bihar on May 4, 1918 at which Maharaja of Gidhaur moved a resolution that "...their humble duty and unswerving loyalty and their determination to place their resources of the province unreservedly at His Majesty's disposal". Mazharul Haq supported the resolution and said "the lead must come from Government. They must know what was required from them what they were wanted to do ... they were loyal to the very core and loyalty was unquestionable and unqualified. Whatever differences they had, they did not concern any one outside India and today they were ready to sink those differences and help the empire. They were ready to avail themselves of the present opportunities and they were sure the future of India was assured". Mahatma Gandhi. But the matter was not secret for British

The Montage Mission arrived in India on November 10, 1917 and a joint scheme of reform known as "Montage Chelmsford report" was published on July 8, 1918 by the Secretary of state for India, Montage and the viceroy Lord Chelmsford conceded responsible Government only partially at the provincial level by letting the three departments of education, health and local government be transferred to the elected ministers. This system


10. Ibid.
of the government known as "Dyarchy". The Montage-Chelmsford
report was enacted in 1919, which later on came to be known as
the Government of India Act, 1919, which provided a new
constitution for British India. But this Act was not
appropriate to satisfy the Indians' legitimate demand became "an
apple of discord". The Indian felt extremely disappointed with
this Act as they got nothing in the name of Reforms. During the
war Indians had supported the British Government in men and
material and they had become economically ruined. The rise of
price of essential commodities disturbed the people and
aggravated their hardship. Furthermore, national calamities like
famine, drought and epidemic were the result of this global war.

In a special session of the Congress, held at Bombay on
August 29, 1918 under the Presidentship of Hasan Imam, it was
resolved that "nothing less than self-government within the
Empire can satisfy the Indian people". The Congress declared the
proposal of the government as "disappointing and unsatisfactory"
and proposed some modification in it as it was absolutely
necessary to constitute a substantive step towards responsible
government and it was also decided to "send a Congress Deputation

11. Mesbahuddin Ahmad, 'Indian political Development' in the
12. Ibid.
to England to put up the the congress views Before British Democracy"\(^\text{15}\). The Act of 1919 met with violent opposition all over India. Moderates declared it "ill conceived and inadequate". The Congress under B.G. Talk demanded to include Dyarchy at the Center, and complete autonomy and responsible government in the provinces and a fully responsible government at the center with in a period of 15 years\(^\text{16}\). The Government, instead of giving political concessions to the Indians, passed a notorious Bill, Rowlatt Act\(^\text{17}\) which provided extra ordinary powers to the Government to suppress the political activities in the country. It deprived the suspected persons even from the ordinary right and privileges of trial and defense provided by the law\(^\text{18}\). This Act was a big challenge to the Indians as it uprooted the fundamental principles of justice and violated the constitutional rights of the people at a time when there was no danger to state. Mazharul Haq opposed the Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council on February 7, 1919 on the following grounds. i.e, Firstly no case has been made out

\(^{15}\) Ibid.


\(^{17}\) The Rowlatt Act Bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative council by Justice S.A.T. Rowlatt on the recommendation of Indian Seditious Committee on February 6, 1919.
for the introduction of this measure. Secondly that is the negation of all laws. Thirdly it is dangerously inexpedient and frothily, it is entirely inopportune and finally no urgency has been shown for the measure.\textsuperscript{19} Gandhiji, by that time emerged as a guiding star of the people of India, was so upset by the Government's successive repressive measures that in protest against the Bill he called a special meeting of 22 persons at his Ashram near Ahmadabad where they took pledge if the Bills were passed into law they would refuse civilly to obey the laws. Volunteers were enlisted to offer Satyagraha under a committee constituted for this purpose\textsuperscript{20} In spite of all opposition made by elected Indians the Bill was passed in the Imperial legislative Council on March 18, 1919 as "the Criminal law Act XI of 1919" popularly known as the "Revolutionary and Anarchical Crimes Act."\textsuperscript{21}

Mahatma Gandhi criticized the Bill and called it a "Symptoms" of "a deep-seated disease in the governing body" and asked the Indians to disobey such "unjust subversive" law and launched a nation wide hartal in the first week of April 6, 1919

\textsuperscript{18} Datta, \textit{Freedom Movement in Bihar}, vol.1, p.289.


\textsuperscript{20} Mesbahuddin Ahmad, 'Indian Political Development'

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{The Indian Annual Register}, 1920, p.35
and called it Satyagraha in protest against the Bill Mazharul Haq, M.A. Jinnah, Madan Mohan Malaviya tendered their resignation from the Assembly on March 28, 1919. In connection of the Bill Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to Madras to mobilize public opinion against the Bill where he was supported by C. Rajagopalacharia in mobilizing the public opinion. Gandhi advised the people there to observe March 30, 1919 as the day of prayer and hartal. But soon the date was changed to April 6, 1919. The hartal spread out and court arrests were made in Delhi. The police fired on the people to suppress the situation in which eight persons were killed and many wounded. In spite of this incident and prohibitory order of the government a public meeting was held in the evening of March 30, 1919 where it was decided to protest against the Bill. Even after March 30, protest meeting continued in Delhi. Swami Sardhanand addressed a public gathering from the pulpit of Jama Mosque (Delhi) on April 4, 1919 and advised to follow the direction of Gandhi and observe hartal on April 6, 1919. The Barta was observed on 6th April at many places in India. At Patna April 6, 1919, was observed peacefully and orderly. The hartal was observed almost all over Bihar i.e. Gaya, Chotanagpur, Ranchi, Tirhut, Puri and other

23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 90.
At the same time Punjab was declared disturbed from April 1, 1919 and to control the situation the two prominent leaders Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew were interrogated and on April 10, they were taken into custody\textsuperscript{26}. In Bihar some Home Rule Leaguers met with Hasan Imam to decide April 6, as "Satyagraha Day" in the city. This meeting was organized in protest against the Rowlatt Act Bill as it was reported by the Special Branch Officer, Patna\textsuperscript{27}. For this purpose a meeting was organized at the Qila (Patna) to decide the programme for Sunday, the 6th April, 1919 "the day of national humiliation and prayer". It was suggested by Mahatma Gandhi. This meeting was attended by the prominent leaders\textsuperscript{28} of Patna. It was presided over by Mazharul Haq\textsuperscript{29}, in which he declared "in spite of their strenuous efforts, the Rowlatt Act had been passed in the Imperial Council by the Viceroy" and he further stated about the purpose of this gathering as to fix the plan for Sunday the 6th April. He also defined the meaning of Satyagraha as one should

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p.93.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p.90
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Report of Special Branch Officer, dated 3rd April, 1919, Record on Freedom Movement, S.No.57(1919), BSA.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} The prominent leaders who attended the meeting at Qila were Mazharul Haq, Hasan Imam, C.B. Sahai, Harnandan Lal, Nand Keoliar, Sami, Sarfraz Hussain Khan, Rajendra Prasad, Shambhu Saran Verma, Harakh Lal, Banwari Lal, Guru Charan Singh, Jyotish. Chandra, Ambika Prasad, Sona Lal Chandsi, Pandit Bal Govinda Malavia, Brij Raj Krishna etc.
  \item \textsuperscript{29} Record on Freedom Movement, S.No.57(1919), BSA.
\end{itemize}
stick to the truth even at the cost of life. He fixed the plan for Sunday that the Hindus should take bath in the Ganga and offer prayers in temples while Muslims in the Mosques. They should also observe fast for 24 hours and all kinds of work should be suspended on that day except prayer. He also furnished the detailed information regarding the Delhi incident and said "the machine guns had been used and rifles fired on the satyagrahis." He further announced that an Enquiry Commission had been set up to investigate into the matter if the commission would be satisfied that the public would not be blamed for this incident. He would submit his resignation immediately and declared that he has already drafted the resignation and only waiting for commissions report. He said also that his family members were going to have fast for twenty four hours and appealed them to do so. He finally appealed to the gathering to be peaceful and orderly in the procession because Hasan Imam has taken the responsibility regarding the maintenance of


32. Ibid.

33. The Enquiry Committee was consisting of the following members Hazik-ul-Mulk, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Rai Bahadur Singh, Rai Bahadur Suhan Lal, Abdul Rahman, etc.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.
law and order, if anything untoward happens he would be unable to face the authority and it would be a slur on the whole city, and announced about a meeting which was to be held on April 5, 1919 to discuss about the programmes of satyagraha.

A printed pamphlet in three languages, Hindi Urdu and English in connection with the satyagraha movement, were circulated in different district of Bihar to make the "satyagraha day" a complete success. For this purpose a meeting was organized at Bankipur (Patna) on April 5, 1919 at 6.30 p.m. Mazharul Haq ground. A printed pamphlet was also received in Saran district which was signed by Mazharul Haq, Hasan Imam, P.K. Sen and others of Patna. It was against the Rowlatt Act Bill. In Chapra and Siwan the Home rulers were very active to make the hartal a complete success. It was reported by the intelligence department.

On April 5, 1919 Purnendu Narayan Singh proposed the name of Mazharul Haq to preside over the meeting but he refused to do so as he had presided over the meeting at Qila Maidan on April 4.


37. The chief organizers of the meeting were: Mazharul Haq, Nurul Husain, Sachchidanand Sinha, Sarashi, Chandra Mitra, Sarfraz Husain Khan, Hasan Imam, P.N. Sinha, Ganesh Singh, Chandra Bansi Sahai, and Rajendra Prasad.


1919, and conversely suggested the name of Purnendu Narayan Sinha to preside over the meeting which was seconded by Balgovinda Malaviya. The proceedings of the meeting was started with the national song by Tulsi Singh, at which many prominent persons were present. According to the officers on duty the summary of the song was to awaken the Indians from their slumber. As the Indians were the son of heroes and it was not proper for them to sleep when the foreigners were enjoying all the benefits of their country... Foreigners were sucking their blood while they were sleepings. Purnendu Narayan Sinha (1861-1923) stressed upon the unity of Indians and said "Indians


41. Tulsi Singh was a political suspect by the Government of Bihar and Orissa for his seditious speech at a village Khusropur, Nawada, futwah Police Station Patna. He was associated with Ajvan police Station Patna.


were one and that their voice was one" and defined the Rowlatt Act Bill and advised to the people to adopt "passive resistance" a measure adopted by Gandhi in south Africa. It had been proposed to observe the 6th April, 1919, as a day of "General Mourning" through out India. Sarfraz Husain Khan (1860 - 1931) called Rowlatt Act as "the Black Cobra Bill" and said "Jinhon ne mere hakook ko paemal kiya hai ham unko paemal kardenge, (they should trample down those who had trample on their rights)". He pleaded for Hindu-Muslim unity and asked the "Hindus and Muhammadans to sink thier differences and to unite together not by mere words but by deeds". Syed Hassan of Phulwari strongly emphasised the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and expressed the audience "to take a vow with with sacred books in their hands that Hindus and Mahammadans would always remain united together". Pandit Balgovinda Malaviya while concluding

45. Record on Freedom Movement, S.No. 57(1919), BSA.
46. Sarfraz Husain Khan, one of the pioneer Congressmen of Bihar, was born at Patna in 1860. He got his education at Patna and Calcutta. He presided over a conference at Sonepur in 1908 where Bihar provincial Congress Committee was formed. He became its vice-President in 1909, and a member of the Bengal legislative council from 1909 to 1912. Till last he was associated with the National Movement and died in 1931.
47. Report of Ganga Prasad, April 6, 1919, See Record on Freedom Movement, S.No. 57(1919), BSA.
48. Ibid.
49. RFM.
his speech recited a couplet which is as follows:— "Tulsi ab garib Ki har se saha na jai, Hue cham ke bhap se loha bhasa ho jai’ (God cannot bear the cry which comes from the heart of an aggrieved person; such a hard thing as iron is reduced to ashes by the bellows made of dead skin)" ¹⁰. The other speakers in the meetings were Chandra Bansi Sahai, Mazharul Haq and Babu Rajendra Prasad who expressed their views on the issue ¹¹ and the following resolutions were passed unanimously.

1. "That they should approach the Right Hon’ble Mr. Montague, the secretary of state for India to request his Majesty to withhold his assent to the passing of the Rowlatt Act I and Bill no II Indian penal code amendment act which will be discussed at the next session of the Imperial council;

2. "That they should express their deep sorrow and indignation at the Delhi outrage and request the Government of India to appoint a commission consisting of officials and non-officials to inquire into the matter" ²².

The Searchlight was playing a very important role in mobilizing the public opinion in Bihar against the highhandedness of police everywhere. It had damaged the image of police and it was generally believed the appearance of police at any function

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¹⁰. Ibid.

¹¹. Report of Special Branch Officer, Memo No. 1515, S.B. Patna, April 6, 1919, RFM.

means trouble in Bihar as reported by the officials on duty that a long procession consisting of all classes of people but the majority were of Baniyas, Shop-keepers and labourers. The procession in fact "passed off very quietly" and assembled at Qila Maidan, Patna City. The meeting was presided over by Hasan Imam while the other speakers were Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul Haq, Chandra Bansai Shai, Mitter Lal, Maulvi Khurshed and Purnendu Narayan Sinha. Hasan Imam in his address declared the Rowlatt Act was an unjust Act which had threatened the liberty of people and he pleaded that this act must be withdrawn.

In the meantime Gandhiji was arrested at Palwal (Punjab) and the news of his arrest spread all over India. In Bihar it was received on 19th April. It created much annoyance and anger among the people of Bihar. An emergent meeting of the prominent persons were called upon at the house of Hasan Imam to discuss the present situation arising. On April 6, 1919 the hartal was completely successful on the arrest of Gandhi. In the meeting the further line of action was decided to hold a public meeting on April 11, 1919. On 11th the meeting was held at the Qila


54. The procession was estimated about 10,000 as per government report according to accommodation available in the Qila maidan see B & O, PAI, vol. VIII, April 1919, para 604, Bihar, S.B. 12.4.1919. see also RFM.

55. RFM.

56. Datta, Freedom Movement in Bihar vol.1., p 294 it seems that the news of his arrest was received in Bihar much earlier than April 19, 1919.
Maidan under the presidency of Hasan Imam. He explained the Message of Gandhi about the Satyagraha vow and he took the vow publicly. He requested the audience "to take the Satyagraha vow and to seal it in their hearts if not on paper", and advised them that the "moderation and resistance only on the line indicated by Mr. Gandhiji", he explained, "if all the people collected there that evening were sent to jail, it would no longer be a jail but home". It was Hasan Imam who took the Satyagraha vow publicly while other leaders like Mazharul Haq, Balgovinda Malviya and other had taken it earlier at the house of Rajendra Prasad. Rajendra Prasad had opened a registration centre for this purpose.

In the secret files of the government the following names were registered for Satyagraha vow in Patna division:

Patna Division:

Gaya District

57. RFM.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., see also V.N. Datta and Mittal, Sources of National Movement. vol. 1, pp. 92-93.
In addition to that some other persons who had joined the satyagraha vow but they have not been registered so far.

They were:

1. Pandit Balgovinda Malaviya
2. Muhammad Khurshed Hussain and

It was reported that Mazharul Haq, Rajendra Prasad, Parmeshwar Lal and Khurshed Hussain would appear before the court for their court arrest. It was also reported that they had left Patna to bring proscribed literature which would be sold openly to violate the law of the land. Mazharul Haq on his way to Siwan on 11th April he addressed a huge gathering at Chapra where he declared that he was going to follow Gandhiji by appearing for court arrest. It was reported by the D.S.P. traveling in the same compartment. The other speakers in the meeting of 11th April were Rajendra Prasad, Sarfraz Hussain Khan, Parmeshwar Lal, Uma Shankar Verma, Balgovind Malaviya and C.B. Sahai. All the speakers impressed upon the question of Hindu-Muslim unity and passive resistance.

Confidential Report from Dixon to H. Mcpherson vide D.O. No. 969-c dated April 15, 1919, in RFM Data, Freedom movement in Bihar, vol. I, 296 has

61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
64. RFM.
mentioned pandit Jivanandan Sharma from Chapra which is not available in the above mentioned document.

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi was severely criticised by the Vernacular Newspapers all over India. In Bihar Mazharual Haq, in protest against the arrest of Gandhi resigned his membership from supreme council and wrote a letter to the Viceroy which was published in *Amrita Bazar patrika* on April 12, 1919: "Innocent persons were shot down [in Delhi] because they were holding a peaceful demonstration against unpopular measures of the Government of India. your Excelleney's Executive Government has thought fit to endorse the version given by the local authorities. Such action amount to a negation for all good and orderly government". On the country he threatened the Government by criticising her policies and wrote thus: "... the more your oppress the more you develop its latent powers".

Though this harsh step the authorities got some immediate advantage by firing upon and innocent and unarmed gathering, killing and wounding some innocent people. They missed to calculate that they were not thereby strengthening themselves. He further suggested that the "brutal violence never pays in the long run. It makes the whole nation united against a common enemy".

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi was created a general unrest among the people for that many protest meetings were organized all over India such as Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore, Bihar and other places. This thoughtless action of the government was mainly responsible for the creation of popular demonstrations and protest meetings all over India. General people who were unaware till now came to know that "Rowlatt Act" was a most dangerous measure of the government which had been introduced to rob the elementary rights of human beings. The Hindus and the Muslims had buried their old differences and had attained a unique unity as a body with a view to offer a stiff opposition to the Bill. At the same time Punjab and Lahore were passing through a tense situation as the public meetings were banned from April 1, 1919. On the otherhand the two great leaders of Punjab Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satpal were taken into custody on the pretext to make the situation under control. But it turned the situation otherwise and the entire region turned into an outburst of indignation in spite of cure in the situation. The commissioner of Amritsar handed over the charge of Punjab to Brigadier-General Dyre on April 11, 1919 to control the tense situation in Punjab.67 On April 13, General Dyer and Deputy Commissioner, Miles Irving jointly issued a proclamation and banned all kinds of public enacting which was announced by beating the drum at various

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In defiance of the order a public meeting was organized at the Jalianwala Bagh on April 13, 1919. General Dyer thought his proclamation a sufficient warning and without any further information he ordered to fire on the no public gathering in which many persons were killed while a large number of people were wounded.

The Jalianwala Bagh massacre was widely condemned all over India. In Bihar this brutal action of the Government and its ugly treatment on the innocent people was severely condemned. An Enquiry Commission was set up to investigation into the matter and General Dyer was asked to say something in his defence. He very clearly replied that his intention was not to disperse the illegal assembly but to punish them in such a manner that it would be an example to the whole province [Punjab] and he stated thus: "I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed and I consider this is the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and wide spread effect... if more troops had been at hand the casualties would have been greater in proportion. It was no Longer a question of merely dispersing the

68. Ibid.

69. The firing Continued for 10 minutes and nearly 1650 rounds were fired in which about 379 to 400 people lost their lives and nearly 1200 persons were wounded. See Mesbahuddin Ahmad, 'Indian Political Development' p.165.

70. V.C. Bhutani, 'The Anti-Rowlatt Act Agitation, 1919'.

71. Imam, Role of Muslims, p. 122.
crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect from a military point of view not only those who were present, but more especially throughout Punjab.\textsuperscript{72}

The \textit{Searchlight} was taking its keen interest on Indian problems and published many articles on the contemporary burning topics. It vehemently criticised the police action in Delhi incident and blamed them for the same. On Amritsar and Lahore incidents the \textit{Searchlight} published an article entitled "Reign of Terror" in which Indians were appreciated as they had very barely put-up with the naked aggression of the British rule. It condemned the British Government and said that since the Government unleashed its terror on an unarmed population, who had gathered in a peaceful manner, it can no longer be considered a civil state. The \textit{Searchlight} also reported that "the Satyagrahis have always stood out against violence and the spirit of the Satyagrahis demonstrators in Bengal, in Bombay, in U.P. and in Bihar, have been absolutely peaceful and orderly."\textsuperscript{73}

Now the British Government started thinking in terms of correcting the wrong public impression which were being propagated against the Act, by releasing a Press Communiqué declared that the Act gave no power of arbitrary arrest or search to the police officers and that the Act had not yet being brought

\textsuperscript{72} Thompson, E and Garratt, \textit{Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India}, p. 610.

\textsuperscript{73} See Report on Satyagraha Movement by E.C. Ryland, D.I.G. Police, Crime & Rly's, Bihar and Orissa, Memo No. 1646/9-S.B., 13.4.1919, RFM.
into operation in any area. To justify the Rowlatt Act Bill the Government of India declared the Nationalist Statement as "False rumors" and further pleaded that the aim of the Indian leaders are "to discredit the British Raj" and wrote thus: "The new law will give the police no power of arrest or search which they have not got already under the ordinary law, except when the Viceroy and his Government are satisfied that revolutionary [Inq. 7] and anarchical [nufṣifana Jurm] are being promoted in any district or province, then in that district or province the local government ... by written order authorize the arrest of any person suspected of having committed or abetted". They further pleaded the importance of such laws as very essential for the protection of lives and property of the people and for the maintenance of peace in the society and said thus; "the new Act will give effect to the advice of that committee such a law ... is absolutely necessary if the Sarkar is to protect the lives and property of its faithful officer and peaceful subjects".

On April 21, 1919, a meeting was organized on Satyagraha Movement at Siwan where Mazharul Haq delivered a long speech and explained the message of Gandhi and requested them to be peaceful and orderly in the meeting. During this course of

74. The Press Communique, April 5, 1919, vide letter No. 614 from the Government of India, dated 19th April 1919, RFM.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
speech he laid inordinate emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity and requested to use the Swadeshi clothes and save the country from economic drain.\textsuperscript{77}

The Patna Bar Association, and the Patna Provincial Association on May 23 and 25, 1919, respectively, passed the resolutions denouncing the inhuman atrocities of the Punjab Government and protested against the action of the military authorities on the innocent people.\textsuperscript{78}

The Satyagraha movement thus sustained strengthened the National movement and gave a new sense of direction towards wider mass contact and appeal. It saved the nation from inertia and despondency and it provided a fresh energy and determination to the scrirec and sacrifice. It stand to the credit of Rajendra Prasad Mazharul Haq, Balgovinda Malaviya, C.B. Sahai and other that the movement took the expression of a constructive and peaceful endeavor in Bihar.

\textsuperscript{77} B & O PAI, vol. VIII, April 1919, Para 792, Saran 26.4.1919

\textsuperscript{78} Ojha (ed.), \textit{Indian National Congress in Bihar}, pp.193-4.
The Non Cooperation Movement

The Non-cooperation movement in India was launched by Mahatma Gandhi primarily to sympathise and coordinate with the khilafat issue as a political weapon in the beginning of 1920. There were many factors which Compelled Gandhiji to start non-cooperation movement. They were (i) The Reforms Act of 1919 which was intended to meet the legitimate aspirations of Indian people but it was rejected as being inadequate, (ii) the general rise in prices (iii) the Rowlatt Act, an example of racial feeling engendered by the Jalianwala Bagh catastrophe of 1919 (iv) The bitter resentment of the Muslims over the delay in announcing the Turkish Peace Terms and their apprehensions that those terms would not be favorable to Turkey.

During this time when the Muslim intelligentsia were confused about the Turkish Peace Terms. Gandhi established close relationship with khilafatist and declared publicly that he had deep sympathy with this movement, and that he would lead the movement of non-cooperation if the sentiments of his Muslim fellow-subjects would not be satisfied by the Turkish Peace Terms. He declared in his manifesto that the only

1. The non-cooperation has been defined by Mahatma Gandhi as refusal to assist a Government which does not listen to the people's just grievances and has in his view become corrupt (See M.K. Gandhi, The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. XIX, Ahmedabad, 1966, P. 466). C.F. Andrews has defined non-cooperation as if the government persistently refuses to cooperate with the people, the people in turn should refuse to cooperate with the people, the people in turn should refuse to cooperate with the people. (See C.F. Andrews, The Meaning of Non-Cooperation, Madras, 1923. P. 24.)
remedy left open to him was non-cooperation based on non-violence. He took a great interest in the Khilafat issue and declared "if the Khilafat question had a just and legitimate basis, as I believe it had, and if the government had really committed a gross injustice, the Hindus were bound to stand by the Musalmans in their demand for the redress of the Khilafat wrong. Majumdar has rightly observed that Gandhi was a practical man who was convinced that such an opportunity of winning over the Muslims and forging the unity of the Indian people to fight with the British would not come in a hundred years. Under the able guidance of Mahatma Gandhi the Congress lent its full support to the Khilafat issue, and the two great communities, Hindus and Muslims united under one banner which they had not known since the revolt of 1857.

On May 15, 1920 the government of India published the Turkish Peace Terms. The terms offered to Turkey were extremely harsh and unjust. The Sultan was allowed to retain Constantinople but there was a complete disintegration of Turkey. Lloyd George, the British premier deviated from what he promised earlier and treated Turkey on the same principle which he applied to the Christian countries. He further stressed

2. Secret note from the viceroy (Home Department) to Secretary of State for India, February 9, 1922.


5. Indian Annual Register, 1921, PP.185-192.
that Turkey would be allowed to exercise her temporal sway only over Turkish lands but she would not be permitted to retain the lands which do not belong to her. In fact the terms proposed were a crusades against the Turks to oust them out of Europe bag and baggage. These malicious and humiliating Peace Terms disappointed the Muslims of India. On this issue Mahatma Gandhi at once came forward and offered Satyagraha renamed non-cooperation as the only remedy. On May 17, 1920 while discussing the Peace Terms Gandhi remarked "the terms offered were a staggering blow to the Indian Muslims" and urged them "not to lose heart since the terms were, capable of being revised."

The Central Khilafat Committee at Bombay under Mian Mohd. Chottani, on May 28, 1920, adopted non-coperation as the only practical line of action by which they could make the Government ineffective and handicapped. The Non-Cooperation was suggested in four stages (i) the resignation of honorary posts and titles, (ii) the resignation of posts in the Civil service of government (excluding police). (iii), resignation of service in the Police and Army and (iv), refusal to pay taxes.

In pursuance of the doctrine of non-cooperation Hakim Ajmal khan (Delhi), M.M. Chottani (Bambay) S. Yaqub Hassan

7. Indian Annual Register, 1921, p.193.
8. Wasti, Political Triangle, p.228.
10. See Secret Letter from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, February 9, 1922.
(Madras), Maulana Fakir (Allahabad), and many other notable Muslims renounced and returned their titles and refused all cooperation with the government. Numerous public meetings were held throughout India in protest to the Peace Terms, urging upon the government to use its influence on Home Government so as to revise the Peace Terms, to satisfy the feelings of Indian Muslims. The Central khilafat Committee at Bombay on May 20, 1920, adopted non-cooperation as the only means left to the Muslims. The All India Congress Committee in May 1920, raised the voices against the Peace Terms imposed on Turkey. The National leaders had started thinking in terms of that the adoption of non-cooperation as the only possible remedy to redress the Khilafat and Punjab Wrongs. This was followed by the other province. The Central Khilafat Committee at Bombay on May 28, 1920, adopted non-cooperation as its goal. The All India Congress Committee at Benaras on May 30/31, 1920, resolved that: "a special session of the Congress be convened at Calcutta as early as possible and not latter than 15th September, 1920, to Consider the adoption of a policy of non-cooperation or any other

suitable course of action". 15 The Bihari Muslims also reacted sharply against the British attitude towards Turkey. A Conference of the leading Muslims of Bihar held at Phulwari (Patna) on 15/16 May, 1920 which was attended by Maulana Qadir, Azad Subhani (Kanpur) and Abdul Majid (Mathura). Some Speakers at the Conference urged upon the Muslims to declare *Jehad* but the majority was in favor of non-Cooperation 16. Earlier Shaukat Ali visited Patna on the request of Muslims of Bihar on 24/25 April, 1920 where he declared that the Muslims should be prepared to sacrifice themselves to solve the Khilafat question and suggested boycott and non-cooperation from the Government Services 17.

In July 1920 the non-cooperation Committee issued the following manifesto signed by M.K Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali, Ahmad Haji Siddiqui Khatre, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Faizul Hasan, Hasrat Mohani, Mohamed Ali, the member of non-cooperation Committee Bombay 18. The Committee in her manifesto requested to seek the cooperation of Hindus and other Non-Muslim communities in making the non-cooperation a complete success 19, and passed the following resolution:

18. *Indian Annual Register*, 1921, pp.115-17.
(i) "The Committee advise full hartal on first of August Millhands, however, are requested not to abstain from work, unless they received permission from their employers, nor should all those abstain who are required for absolutely necessary day-to-day work, viz hospital men, sanitary men and dock labourers. (ii) The day should be devoted to prayers. All those who can, should fast for the day. (iii) Meeting should be held all over the country not excluding the smallest village at which the following resolution should be adopted with or without speeches. The resolution put forwarded in the meeting was: "This meeting of the inhabitants records its full sympathy with the movement of the central Khilafat Committee in order to secure revision of the Turkish Peace Terms. Consistent with muslim sentiment and Islamic Law and approved of Non-Cooperation adopted by the central Khilafat Committee to be continued till Peace Terms are revised..."

Under the able guidance of Mahatma Gandhi the Central Khilafat Committee declared the 1st August as the third Khilafat day and announced, a general all India hartal. The Non-cooperation Committee further issued the following direction as to how the day was to be observed: "The first of August is on us with its grave responsibility and important consequences. We

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.
believe that success for our just cause is certain if we exercise greatest self restraint and show ample measure of self sacrifice if we cease to help Government and cease to take help from it we must be capable of preserving order in the country. We hope there will be complete Hartal on Sunday. No pressure should be used against anyone refusing to close shop special effort should be made and continued to secure surrender titles and honorary posts and parents are requested to withdraw their children from school recognised or under Government control. Lawyers are requested to suspend their practices.

The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee adopted non-cooperation as its ideal under the leadership of Mazharul Haq. at a meeting held on July 31st 1920. A committee consisting of Hasan Imam, Mazharul Haq, Rajendra Prasad, and other was constituted to report on the programme of non-cooperation in the province. On the advise of Mahatma Gandhi the non-cooperation movement was launched from August 1, 1920, the Bihari Muslims gave the fullest support to his appeal. On August 1, 1920 a meeting was held at Patna in which Shah Sulaiman of Phulwari resigned from honorary Magistracy, Nurul Hasan from Provincial legislature and Muhammad Zubair gave up his practice at the bar.

23. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
The Bihar Provincial Conference at its meeting held in August 1920 adopted resolution in favor of non-cooperation. The resolution on Non-cooperation was moved by Dharnidhar and was strongly supported by Shah Muhammad Zubair and Ghulam Imam. The Bihar Provincial Conference was the "first to add the attainment of Swaraj to the redress of as the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs as one of the objects for which Non-cooperation was going to be adopted as the method.

The Indian National Congress held its special session at Calcutta on September 4-9, 1920 under the presidency of Lala lajpat Rai. Mahatma Gandhi moved the resolution on Non-cooperation and stated that there is no cause left open for the people of India but to approve and adopt policy of the progressive non-cooperation non-violent until the said [Punjab] Khilafat wrongs are righted and swaraj is established. The resolution was supported by Mazharul Haq, Shaukat Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr.M.A Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Yaqub Hasan and Zafar Ali Khan. At this time a great nationalist leader B.G Tilak had died. On this tragic event the entire nation sunk into 

30. Ibid.
deep sorrow. In Bihar Tilak Memorial Committee was formed. It was consisted of Mazhrul Haq, Hasan Imam, Sarfraz Hussain Khan, Ganesh Datta, Rajendra Prasad and other to collect funds in Bihar. The Bihar Provincial Conference was held at Bhagalpur on August 28, 1920 where Mazharul Haq declared his withdrawal from council election for the success of non-cooperation in Bihar. The letter of his resignation was published in the Searchlight on September 19, 1920 which is as follows: "I as a Mussalman can never cooperate with the Government, which was bent upon destroying Islam. As an Indian, I can not work with the Government, whose hands were strained with the blood of my countrymen of the Punjab. As long as their grievances remained unremedied cooperation is simply out of question...." 32 A letter of Braj Kishore Prasad was published in the Searchlight on 29th September, 1920 which shows that the following candidates had withdrawn their candidatures from council election for the success of non-cooperation. They were Rajendra Prasad, Gorakh Prasad, Chandradeva Narayan, Bankey Bihari Lal, Braj Kishore Prasad. 33 The Council election were boycotted throughout Bihar but the leaders were still very active in the political activities. On this occasion a meeting of Nau Yawak Samaj was held at Aphaar in Saran district on October 23, 1920 which was

31. Imam, Role of Muslims, p.132.

See also Nagendra Kumar, Indian National Movement, pp.26-27.

33. The Searchlight, September 29, 1920.
presided over by Gorakh Prasad who spoke on the following problem "Desh Ki Adhunik Dasa Aur Ham Logo Ke Kartobbya" i.e., the present condition of the country and our duties). He explained the meaning of non-cooperation and requested the people to use Swadeshi goods and he further asked the voters not to cast their votes to anybody who is a candidate for council election. 

The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee met on October 5, 1920 to constitute a sub-Committee consisting of Mazaharul Haq, Rajendra Prasad, Braj Kishore Prasad and Mahammad Shafi to make the Congress instruction on non-cooperation a completely successful. Mazaharul Haq participated whole heartedly in this movement and devoted his energies to organising boycott, propagating the use of Swadeshi goods and maintaining communal harmony. He appealed to the younger generation to cooperate in the national services by making volunteer corps. On the request of Mazaharul Haq 400 volunteers were enlisted at Patna. Mazharul Haq, Rajendra Prasad, Ghulam Imam, Hasan Arzu, Abdul Bari, Khursheed Husanain, and other prominent leaders of Bihar made an extensive tour all over Bihar and Orissa to propagate the highly inspiring issues of Non-cooperation and Khilafat agitation. Mazaharul Haq

34. The Searchlight, November 17, 1920.


36. Ibid.

37. Imam, Role of Muslims, p.134.
was very popular among the masses but his influence on students was profound. He attended the Bihar Students Conference held at Daltanganj on 10/11 October, 1920 under the presidency of C.F. Andrews at which he dwelt upon the students participation in the politics. In the conference it was decided that the students should pledge thus: "I solemnly declare that I shall not use any cloth and clothes unless I was satisfied that it is Swadeshi".

They organised many public meetings to educate the people of Bihar about the Khilafat and Non-cooperation and they visited Gaya on October 8, 1920 and spoke on non-cooperation. A public meeting was held at Arwal (Gaya) on October 27, 1920 which was attended by about 2,500 people. This meeting was addressed by Shah Muhammad Omar, Mazharul Haq, Rajendra Prasad, Chandra Bans Bansi Sahai, Abdul Bari and others were present in the meeting. Mazharul Haq enumerated the instances of tyranny exercised by the British Government over the Muslims and their Sacred places, and charged the Government with the term Be-Iman and Zalil and advised the audience not to cooperate with such a government. Rajendra Prasad advised the people to maintain unity among themselves, and asked them if the non-cooperation were a complete success and all Indians gave up the works entrusted to

38. Ahmad & Jha, Mazharul Haque, p.54.
41. Ibid.
them the government would not Vanish very soon. He also requested
the voters not to vote to any one. Chandra Bansi Sahai advised
the boys (Students) to boycott government schools and College. Abdul Bari declared "non-cooperation" as a minor form of Hijrat
and requested not to use foreign articles. In the meeting it
was declared that Shah Omar had resigned from the post of vice-
President of the local Hospital, Assessor of the civil Court and
supervisors of the Census.

A Kisan Meeting was organised at Hilsa (Patna) by
Jagannath Pathak on October 27, 1920 under the Chairmanship of
Shah Abdul Gafoor of Karai. The prominent Leaders of Bihar, such
as Gulam Imam, Mazharul Haq, Chandra Bansi Sahai and Pandit
Jivanand addressed the Kisan Meeting. Shah Abdul Gafoor in his
presidential address compared Mazharul Haq with Lord Krishna and
said thus: "Lord Krishna was born at a time similar to this to
advocate truth as Mazzharul Haq like Krishna had been born to
help them in their trouble." Gulam Imam explained the
advantages enjoyed by the Kisan during Mughal era and urged the

42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Report of the Bihar special Branch, Patna October 30, 1920,
   341(1920).
47. Ibid.
Kisan to demand their rights. He also requested them not to allow money to go out of their country. The Kisans were asked to use Swadeshi goods, and endeavor to obtain Swaraj by giving a clarion call, "Swaraj Lene ke liye teyar ho jao." He explained to the kisans that they could not get Swaraj by begging but for that they would have to sacrifice their lives for the mother country. He explained non-cooperation as a boycott of Government Courts, unity, Swadeshi, abstention from voting at the elections and withdrawal of children from Government aided educational institutions. Mazharul Haq addressed the audience to give up the Customs and habits of the 'Foes' (the Europeans) and explained the exploitation of Indian economy. He made emphasis on Hindu-Muslims unity and said if they would not be united "The Hindu religion would receive similar treatment tomorrow." He further requested non-cooperation could be successful only with the country and defined two ways left for them were "revolution" (Marpit) and the other Non-Cooperation (Tark Mawalat). He turned towards the schools and asked the parents to withdraw their children from the government aided schools. Similar speech were also made by Haq at Islampur (Patna) on October 30, 1920 which was presided over by Maulvi Abdul Qadir of Phulwari who

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.
inordinately emphasized that the non-cooperation was their only weapon. Hasan Arzu of Phulwari referred to Jallianwala bagh incident and asked the people not to cooperate with a government whose hands were stained with the blood of innocent people at Jallianwala bagh. He further stated that women were turned as "Prostitutes" and during the 150 to 175 years of the British rule famine had been declared 65 times and nearly 60 lakhs of people had died due to starvation. Mazharul Haq during his speech explained eight methods by which the principle of non-cooperation could be observed and Swaraj be obtained. During his speech Haq was becoming so extreme in his views saying: Oh, God he said, may I see their kingdom destroyed. Mazharul Haq He addressed another non-cooperation meeting at Bihar (Biharsharif) on November 1, 1920 in which Hasan Arzu, Chandra Bansi Sahai, Dr. Gulam, Maulvi Etmad Husain addressed the meeting and made a great emphasis on non-cooperation and boycott. They cited the holocaust of the Jallianwala bagh incident and burning of the Ghilaf Kaba [covering of the tomb]. In the meantime Abdul


53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.


57. Ibid.
Bari announced that the son of Mazharul Haq had withdrawn from school and advised the student of Bihar to forsake western education and do likewise. Mazharul Haq in his speech defined India as a country with high religious values and conviction and expressed his views sharing them with Hindu brethren as: "if the Mohammadans' holy place were not respected today theirs would not be tomorrow" and he asked to boycott the council election and those who would be elected would not be people's representative. He finished his speech by these emotional words; Har Hindustani Ka Yeh Kheal hona chahiya ke angrazon ko yahan se nekal den aur hamari har waqt doar hei ke khuda inko tabah kare keonke inke zulum had se barh gea hai auriakin jame ke jo chiz had se barhi voh zarur giregi. [It should be the aim of every Indian to turn out the British and I always pray for their destruction as their oppression exceeds the limit. Be sure that everything which exceeds the limit must fall]

Mazharul Haq's activities had annoyed the local officials. The Superintendent of Police, Patna reported that the speeches delivered by him and his associates aimed at "causing discontent and dissatisfaction with the Government present". The same

58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
Police officials were of the view that possible these meetings were to stimulate the public interest for Mahatma Gandhi's entry into Bihar and Orissa which was expected on November 19, 1920.62

The non-cooperation movement in Bihar was further more boosted up by the visit of Mahatma Gandhi. He was accompanied by Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad. During his visit of Bihar Gandhi delivered highly inspiring speeches on non-cooperation at several places like Patna, Gaya, Arrah, Chapra, Muzaffarpur, Motihari, Bettiah, Darbhanga, Munger, and Bhagalpur63. Mazharul Haq and Shaukat Ali took part in the meetings on all the occasions64, reminded the Indians all the times about the wrong done by the British Government and criticised the british policy towards Turkey the holy places of Islam65. Gandhi during his visit in this province explained the necessity to boycott the foreign goods, boycott of law courts and government aided schools and colleges. For that he met with the students66. On the visit of Mahatma Gandhi subscriptions were raised, the women gave away their ornaments including pearl and diamond bangles and rings67. Mrs. Haq gave up her four pieces of gold bracelets inland with

62. Ibid.
64. Chaubey, Muslims and Freedom Movement, p.139.
65. Ibid.
66. Rajendra Prasad, Mahatma Ghandhi and Bihar, p.42.
Another session of the Congress convened at Nagpur in December 1920 under the presidency of C. Raghavacharia, at which the non-corporation resolution, passed at Calcutta session, was confirmed. In fact, at Nagpur the "new constitution of the Congress was adopted thus converting it into a working, dynamic organisation for carrying on the struggle for independence". The Congress resolution was strongly supported by a fatwa issued by the Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind calling upon the Muslims to boycott Government schools, colleges, law courts, and to renounce titles and ranks conferred by the government in the past. This decree was signed by nearly nine hundreds Ulema. But the Nagpur resolution on non-cooperation created a fletter in the Congress camp. Jinnah and many other leaders resigned from the Congress. In Bihar leaders like Sachchidanand Sinha, Hasan Imam, Sarfraz Hussain Khan and other withdrew from non-cooperation movement. In pursuance of the Nagpur resolution the Bihar Provincial

68. Imam, Role of Muslims, p.134.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Chaubey, Muslims and Freedom Movement, p.140.
Congress Committee set up a Committee of nine members to activate non-cooperation movement in the province. The volunteers were recruited for the work of non-cooperation. According to the government report, 6000 volunteers were recruited for the same task. The rules and regulations were framed for the workers but the emphasis was made on the organisation of Sabha and Panchayats, education, sanitation, and other public works. The Committee appointed Muhammad Sahfi to organise non-cooperation activities in Muzaffarpur, Moulvi Zakaria Hashmi in Saran, Moulvi Mohammad Zubair in Munger, Braj Kishore Prasad in Darbhanga, and Gorakh Prasad in Champaran district.

One of the essential aspects of the non-cooperation and Khilafat movement was the boycott of the government-aided institution. The students of Bihar played a very important role in the non-cooperation movement and they boycotted the government-aided educational institution. But there was no alternative for studies. Gandhiji was in favour of the establishment of a National college in Bihar but due to lack of funds, he was unable to lay

73. The members of the Committee were Mazharul Haq, Dip Narayan Singh, Braj Kishor Prasad, Rajendra Prasad, M. Shafi, Dharmidhar, Krishna Prakash Sen, Abdul Bari, and Ram Vinod Singh.
75. Ibid., p. 321.
76. Ibid., p. 328.
77. Ibid., pp. 326-7.
the foundation of the National college. In the meantime Mazharul Haq realised the necessity for the establishment of educational institution and got a building for this purpose from his own resources. The Bihar National college popularly known as Bihar Vidyapeeth was started at Patna on 5th January, 1921. The formal inauguration of this Vidyapeeth was made by Mahatma Gandhi on his visit to Patna on February 6, 1921. The control of education in the National Institution in Bihar was vested in a body of "National Council of Education" consisting of Mazharul Haq, Deep Narayan Singh, M. Shafi, Braj Kishore Prasad, Rama Shankar Misra, Saryut, Nazir Ahmad, Dharnidhar, Gorakh Prasad, Abdul Wadud, Ahmad Hussain, Muhammad Zubair, Krishna Prakash Sen, and Warasat Rasul.

On February 6, 1921 a meeting was held in the National College compound which was attended by about 1000 men, both Hindus and Muslims, but the majority of them were students. The speakers in the meeting were Mohiuddin (Taman) of Phulwari, Jagarrath Prasad, Professor National college, Mazharul Haq,

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79. ibid.
81. The Prominent persons were present in the meeting were M.K. Ghandhi, Muhammad Ali, Mazharul Haq, Rajendra Prasad, Chandra Banshi Sahai, S.N. Bose, Mrs & Mr. C.C. Das, Deoki, Nandan Prasad, Muhammad Shafi, Saleh Hussain, Muhammad Zakaria Hashmi, Muhammad mahfraz Alam, and Brijnandan Prasad.
Mahatma Gandhi and volunteers\textsuperscript{83}. Mohiuddin Tamana welcomed the leader of Bihar by quoting the message of the Quran\textsuperscript{84}. Mazharul Haq requested Mahatma Gandhi for the inaugural ceremony of the National college and said that it was "the day when Mr. Gandhi would lay the foundation stone of Swaraj in Bihar and Orissa"\textsuperscript{85}. He thanked Gandhi for the miracle performed by him in uniting the Hindus, Muslims and other sects of India. He also promised to follow Gandhi as long as he was alive concluding his speech Mazharul Haq requested Mahatma Gandhi to open the National college and thanked him for his support towards Khilafat question\textsuperscript{86}. Mahatma Gandhi expressed his pleasure in performing the opening ceremony of the National college and stated that it was firstly laid down when the Sadaqat Ashram was organized, and declared the national college and Vidyapeeth as "National University of Bihar and Orissa" and appointed its office bearer: Mazharul Haq-Chancellor, Braj Kishore Prasad-Vice Chancellor, Rajendra Prasad-Registrar and Principal, Congressman of Bihar and Orissa were the members of the National university\textsuperscript{87}.

\textsuperscript{83. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{84. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{85. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{86. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{87. Ibid.}
By the end of 1920 several students left their schools and colleges as to protest in favour of non-cooperation movement. But there were no substitutes for the students to continue their studies for that they approached Mazharul Haq requested him for a proper guidance. Mazharul Haq as an inspirator and guide of the new generation shunned his palatial house and marched with the students to a mango-grove near Digha (Patna) where the school building was constructed with the help of the students or a donated land of khariu mia. Subsequently Mazharul Haq named this building the Sadaqat Ashram [Abode of truth]. Later on it became the center of political activities and a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. Mazharul Haq believed that this Ashram would produce patriots cherishing with high ideals, service and sacrifice and would give up everything for the sake of motherland and expressed his desirability that the student should participate in the political activities.

Mahatma Gandhi made a formal speech after the appointment of the office bearers of the National university of Bihar and Orissa and said that he was committing a sin “when he was trying to free India by co-operation” and declared thus: "Ke iai saltanat Jhuthi hai, dagha khorhai aur papi hai, Jabtak iah aisi

88. Ahmad and Jha, Mazharul Haque, p.66.
89. Ayde, The Message of Ashiana, p.27.
90. Ibid.
rahiga ham iske pas najaenge, ham is sultanat ko mitana chahtte hain"91 that this government is a liar, cheat and sinner, and as long as it continues as such he would not go near it, but wanted to end it. Mahatma Gandhi had no grievances with the European but with the British government and declared that "European are his brethren". He further proposed in the meeting that university would give special instruction on non-cooperation Movement and no-violence Finally Gandhi concluded his speech by saying that "by charkha alone they could obtain swaraj"92.

Another meeting was held at Madrasa mosque, Patna city, at 4 P.M on 6th February 1921, which was attended by many prominent persons93 and nearly six thousands Hindus and Muslims were present94. In this meeting the speakers were Manoranjan Prasad, Muhammad Ali, Gulam Imam and Mahatma Gandhi. Muhammad Ali addressed the meeting and said that in Nagpur Congress it was decided that there should be one course for Indians i.e, "that the time had gone when hands were folded, prayers were made, and petition placed before the government, now the only must be to attain swaraj". He further expressed that the Nagpur Congress


92. Ibid.

93. The prominent persons present, in the meeting were: Serajul Huda, Balgovind Malaviya, Muhammad Kabiruddin, Baijnath Marwari, Himat Khan, Saleh Husain, mahfooz Alam, C.B. Sahai, Namishwar Pramath Tripathi and Ram Binod Singh.

had laid down the different stages of non-cooperation. If the non-cooperation were followed accordingly Swaraj could be and that must be obtained in one year, while according to Gandhi eight months. He read some poem and expressed his feeling in these words: "Rishtae dost dada ast dar gardanan mi harad har ja ke khatir khah ust". Thread of friendship was wrapped round my neck and takes me thereby wherever he likes. He then advised the students to boycott government schools and college and asked the guardians to remember Punjab affairs when: "Chhote bache tiktiki me bandh die gae aur khub bet mara ehan tak ke behosh hogae, to tiktiki se khol dia aur pher jab hostaya to bandhkar saza dia"95 (Young boys were tied to gallows and caned till they were senseless, until and when they recovered tied again and the same thing repeated.) He communicated the decision of the Nagpur Congress and said: "the Government should be given an opportunity, and if the Government could prove that there would not be recurrence of the evil deeds and oppressions that had been practised on the Sikh men, women and children in the Punjab and that Government had no evil thought for the future then they could keep a connection with the British. They could not live with the Government like master and slave, long live equals. He further narrated the decision in the following words: Otherwise they would have no correction whatever they this government".

"yeh faisla kia hai ke hamare same ke Manzil hona chahiye. Paon

95. Ibid.
In Bihar the non-cooperation movement started with vigour in 1921 which was inspired by the Congress. The government adopted serious repressive measures to check the movement and banned the entry of Mazharul Haq, Rajendra Prasad into Arrah, C.R. Das in Mymensing, Yaqub Hasan in Calcutta and Lala Lajpat Rai in Peshawar.  

The All India Congress Committee met at Bezwada on March 31, 1921, strongly condemned the repressive measures of the government and stressed a constructive programme by raising the Tilak Swaraj Fund, a collection of Rs one crore by enlisting one crore Congress members and introduction of twenty lacs Charkhas.


The organization of Punchayats and discouragement of drinking was also stressed. In this connection merely 35 objectionable leaflets were circulated related to non-cooperation and poor economic condition of the people of Bihar, Bengal and United Province. It was reported by L. Colson that the next step might be the disobedience by the Provincial and All India leaders of non-cooperation, followed by Hartal and nationwide strike.

In young India, Mahatma Gandhi had declared that the final stage of the non-cooperation would be the withdrawal of the police and military from the government services. This was followed by Mahammad Ali who addressed meetings at Benaras November 15, 1920, at Patna on January 6, 1921, and February 15, at Jharia February 5, 1921, at which he communicated the message of Gandhi. Other leaders who were propagating the message of Gandhi regarding the withdrawal of police and military from the government service were Chandra Bansbi Sahai, Dip Narayan Singh, Aswini Kumar Dutt and J.L. Banarji. It was reported that the seva samiti and non-cooperators were taking advantages of

98 Bamford P.C. Histories of the Non-co-operation and Khilafat Movement, (Delhi, 1974), p.27. See also Sitarammaya History of Indian National Congress, p.212.


100. Pol. Dept. Spl Section File No. 102 (1921).
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
constables' meeting held at Diara (Patna) and creating unrest among the police and military. Some Muslim constables of Patna met with Mazharul Haq and other national leaders for their advice to decide further line of action.

The Express, February 19, 1921 quoted the Bihar Advocate and wrote that many non-cooperator had joined Damodar Prasad, a dismissed head constable and other constables were ready to resign from their posts and were busy carrying out their programme, during the night.

The Patna Congress Committee, on the instruction of Gandhi had decided to observe a general hartal on April 6, and 13, 1921. Even the district Congress Committee was informed to do likewise. Gandhi had also suggested the people to adopt the following measures i.e., to stop all business activities, abstain from intoxication, and introduction of charkha. He further requested the Hindu to keep Brata [fast] and roze for the Muslims and would pray in the temple and in the Mosque respectively. On April 6, a meeting was held at the compound of Mazharul Haq

103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
where Rajendra Prasad, Chandra Bansl Sahai and Fazal-ur Rahman were present. During this period Mazharul Haq was very active in political activities against the government at Bahpura, Raghopur, Chakardharpur, and Chaibase where he was pleading for total non-cooperation and boycott of British goods.

Many lawyers suspended their practice in many district and many teacher and professors resigned from their posts as a part of non-cooperation and joined the main stream. According to the confidential records the following lawyers had suspended their practices:

**Patna**

1. Mr. Mazharul Haqq, Bar-at-law Patna High court
2. B Rajendra Prasad, M.A, B.L
4. B Baranas Prasad Jhun Jhunwala, M.A, B.L
5. Mr. R.K.L Nandkeolyr
6. Mr. Chandra Bansl Sahay Bar-at-law Patna.
8. B. Bajrang Sahaj, Bar-at-law.

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108. Ibid.


Among the Mukhtars who had suspended their practice and joined the national works were the following:

1. B. Kanlakant Sahay, Mukhtare, Chapra
2. B. Sukhdev Prasad, Mukhtar, Chapra
3. Maulvi Md. Osman, Mukhtar, Chapra
4. B. Ramlal, Mukhtar, Chapra
5. M. Zafirudding, Mukhtar, Chapra

111. Ibid.
The following teachers and professors had resigned from their posts and had joined the national educational institution or national work:

1. B. Badrinath Varma M.A. Professor B.N. college.
5. Mr. N.R. Malkani M.A. professor.
7. B. Jugdish Sharma, I.sc. teacher Behar Shariff.
10. B. Dwarka Prasad B.A sub inspector of schools.
11. B. Jainandan the teacher H.E. school, Hajipur.
15. Babu Phuldeo Sahay Varma M.Sc. professor of Chemistry, Benaras Hindu University has promised to join the national university at Patna and has resigned his post there but has not yet been relieved." 112

The Panchayats had been established in large number in which students were very actively participated in its organization. 113

112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
The national college had been established at Patna at which 71 students were enrolled. National schools were open at many places in Bihar for those who had left the government schools and colleges. The national schools were opened at the following places:

- Patna: Bankipore, Patna city, Khagaul, Dinapur, Bihar Sharif, Barh, Poonpoon, Lai Amhar.
- Gaya: Nawada Arwal
- Muzaffarpur: Sitamarhi, Hajipur.
- Chapra: Siwan, Gopalganj.
- Darbhanga: Madhubani.
- Motihari: Bettiah, Mehsi.
- Bhagalpur.
- Hazaribagh: Chatra, Giridih.
- Singhbjum: Chakradhapur.
- Manbhum: Jharia.
- Ranchi: Ranchi Lohardga.
- Purnea: Katihar
- Monghyr: Nasarganj

The Panchayats were established in large number and were increasing day by day so that the Indian could decide their cases through this Panchayats. On March 18/19/1921, a meeting was held at Jharia which was addressed by Khalil Das, Mazharul Haq.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.
Biswanand Swami and Nathu Bhai *Agar Angrez rahenge to bataur naukar ka rahenge, ham tankwa denge jis kadre munasib jangge denge, agar angrez viceroy hoga to hamhi mokarrar karenge.*

Another meeting which was addressed by Rajendra Prasad, Biswanand Swami and Ram Narayan Singh and was presided over by M. Wasiuddin. In the meeting Ram Naryan Singh declared the British "Sirpunch". Rajendra Prasad explained the meaning of swaraj and said swaraj was the mission of the congress and for its attainment Congress had chalkout the programme. He also described the situation in Fiji and other places where the Indians were treated live "cattle" by the European. He strongly emphasized on hindu muslim unity and said "government are ruling over them simply on the plea of decision between these two communities." He also asked the students to withdraw themselves from the schools and colleges, use Swedish introduce charkha, and give up drinking. He pleaded the students to follow the example of the students of Janvai EL-Azhar university of Egypt and of the England as the students gave up their studies to the cell of nation. Swami Biswanand also made emphasis on non-cooperation, arbitration courts, drinking and boycott of schools etc.

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Raghopur and said "this is a time of strictness. There is no fear from anybody about it". He suggested three things, what Gandhi wants, for getting swaraj. (i) One crore rupees (ii) one crore sepoys and (iii) 20 lakhs charkhas. He also asked to decide your case by panchayat and criticised the government court as a place of "harassment" and highly expensive.

In June 1921 Mazharul Haq along with other leaders made an extensive tour of different places in Bihar and Orissa to propagate the message of non-cooperation. On June 14, 1921 Mazharul Haq along with Khurshed Hosain visited at a Kathjuri River, Cuttak where they were received by local non-cooperators. Mazharul Haq spoke on the different aspects British government and said that the violation of the two things could not be tolerated i.e., "religion and ijjat". He finally stressed on these things which would help the Indian in getting swaraj i.e., (1) Introduce charkha and by that save 67 crores of rupees (2) Do not go to litigation, but have your disputes settled by arbitration. (3) Abstain from drinking or taking

121. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
intoxication drugs. The government is so unfortunate (kambakta) that it is encouraging intoxication.\textsuperscript{124} Khurshed Hasnain stressed on the question of Hindu Muslim unity and appealed for the subscription towards Smyrna relief fund.\textsuperscript{125}

On 5th June, 1921 Mazharul Haq and Khurshed Hasnain addressed a meeting at Puri at which Haq made an emphasis on four points in getting swaraj i.e., unity, boycott of foreign goods and use of Swedishi, boycott of court and settlement of cases through panchayat and temperance.\textsuperscript{126}

On June 19, 1921, Mazharul Haq, Khurshed Hasnain and Gopabandhu Das visited Chakardharpur where Mazharul Haq defined the swaraj as "Hindusthan ke upar Hindusthan ka hukumat ho" and stressed Hindu-Muslim the only means to achieve their objective. Khurshed Hasanin supported the views and requested the audience to act accordingly.\textsuperscript{127}

On August 1, 1921, at the death anniversary of B.G. Tilak the foreign cloths boycott movement was formally inaugurated at Bankipur (Patna) at which every speakers requested the audience

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{126} Mazharul Haq defined temperance as the government is breaking the laws created by them in accusing the people for breaking them and prosecuting men under section 144 CPC without any legal justification.

to discard all foreign cloths. A similar meeting was held at Supaul on August 6, 1921 at which Haq addressed the audience in these words. "The time had come when it was the duty of every Musalman to take the sword in his hand and prepare himself for jehad" but this was not permitted by Gandhi at the Muslim had no weapons.

It was originally proposed that his royal Highness, the prince of wales would formally inaugurate the new legislature the reform scheme of 1919 in India both in centre and province. It was announced that the Prince would visit India in November 1921. His visit in India was considered as a threat to non-cooperation movement. To meet the situation the all India Congress Committee meet at Bombay on July 28, 1921 and decided to boycott the visit of the prince of Wales. The all India Congress Committee resolved that "it is the duty of everyone to refrain from participating in or assisting in any functions organized officially or otherwise in connection with his visit".

At the end of August 1921, the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee met at Patna and decided certain steps to be taken to


boycott foreign cloths from September 30, 1921. This meeting also passed the following resolution related to the visit of prince of wales: "the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee supported the resolutions adopted by the all India congress Committee in Pursuance of the policy of non-cooperation and it further request the people of the province not to take part in any party or procession or festivities on the occasion of visit of his Royal Highness, the prince of Wales."  

Mazharul Haq, started the Motherland, a newspaper on September 30, 1921, from Sadaqat Ashram to propagate a sense of Hindu-Muslim unity. His powerful pen and the editorial comments of this paper became an eyesore to the government for its anti-government campaign. It fully adopted the idea of Congress and of Gandhi and supported the national cause. The Motherland always took the stormy, stimulating and sensational issues like Khilafat, Non-cooperation and many other editorials.

Meanwhile, on November 1, 1921, the Ali Brothers were arrested and were sentenced for two year rigorous imprisonment. This arrest of Ali Brothers caused great resentment amongst the people all over the country in which the arrest of Ali Brothers

133. Imam, Role of Muslims, p. 139.
134. Ahmad and jha, Mazharul Haque, p. 61.
was condemned. The All India Congress Committee met at Delhi on November 4/5, 1921 and decided that "every province, on its own responsibility, to undertake civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes ..." According to this decision of the meeting the 17th November, 1921, the day on which the prince of Wales landed in Bombay, was totally discarded and observed as a day of hartal all over the country. While the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee had decided the same during the month of August 1921, and resolutions were passed in this connection.

In Bihar khaddar procession was started on November 8, 1921 from Gulab Bagh with Swaraj flags and two ekkas followed with Charakhas on them. The Procession proceeded to the Gandhi maidan and returned to Anjuman Islamia Hall. The meeting was started at 5.25 p.m. at which Ram kishun Lal Nandkelyor, Muhammad Waris, Abdul Bari Mallick, Muhammad Yasin and Jagat Narayan were present. The meeting was addressed by the following speakers: Abdul Mallik, Fazlur Rahman Muhammad Waris, Nagshwar Prasad alias Lal Babu, Sharma, Editor 'Motherland', Abdul Bari Mullick, Jagat Narayan, Madan Gopal Joshi, Gobdin Sharma of Ghazipur and R.K.L Nandkelyor. The meeting was started with the

137. Ibid. p. 383.
poem read by Abdul Mallick, which is as follows: "Dahur men Muslim hai haq ki azmaesh ke lie". (Muslim is in the world for the test of virtue). "Hai hur i Kismat hamari namuncipt ke pale par gae. Kea Karun is gham se mere dil mer chhate per".139 (My luck is bad that I fell in the hands of the unjust, I do not know what to do, this anxiety has caused biols in my heart). Then the speakers addressed the meeting and discussed many aspects i.e., Non-Cooperation, khaddar movement and Civil disobedience etc., Lastly the following resolutions were passed in the meeting:

1. "Boycott foreign cloth Complete ly.

2. "This meeting completely reiterates the resolution of Civil Disobedience passed by the All India Congress Committee and resolves that it is bounden duty of every Indian to follow it firmly and enjoins upon the people of Bihar that he she must be ready to act upto it henceforth.

3. "Boycott the Prince of wales' visit and observe complete Hartal on 17.11.21. when the Prince lands in Bombay"140.

The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting held at Patna on November 27, 1921, decided the places from where they would launch the Civil Disobedience and also discussed the scheme related to the boycott of the Prince of wales' visit to Patna or December 22/23/1921. Accordingly the hartal was observed in a

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid.
purely and peaceful manner at all places on the arrival of Prince of Wales.  

The working Committee of the Indian National Congress in its meeting at Bombay on 23rd November, 1921, resolved to form a "National Volunteer corps" all over the Country. According to the instruction of the Working Committee the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee on November 27, appointed a Central Board consisting of a president and member in charge of the "National Volunteer Corps" (Gaumi sevak Dal), out of the members of the province. According to the figure available the number of volunteers were recruited in the National Volunteer Corps were as follows.  


142. From seized papers it appears that there were either various classes of Volunteers in the province or the same by different names. Those who are enrolled after the November 27, 1921, were designated "the Gaumi Sewak Dal" (National Volunteer Corps) the others were "Volunteers" or "Seva Samiti Volunteers" or "Swayang Sewaks" which means "volunteers" Pol. Dept. Spl. Section. File No. 291(1921).  


144. According to the report available the district wise volunteers were enlisted are as follows:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Volunteers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffarpur</td>
<td>6461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saran</td>
<td>883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patna</td>
<td>2850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaya</td>
<td>2541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monghyr</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagalpur</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manbhum</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnea</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puri</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuttack</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A central board of control consisting of Md. Shafi, Deep Narayan Singh, Mazharul Haq, Arunjay Sahai Varma, and Narayan Prasad, was formed at Muzaffarpur as its headquarter. The government realized the gravity of the situation and decided to combat with the growing situation. On December 22, 1921, the Government of Bihar and Orissa declared the associations such as "Congress Volunteers", the "khilafat Volunteers", the "Sevak Dal Volunteers" to the "Non-cooperation Volunteers" and "the National Volunteers" to be the unlawful. In this connection, many leaders were arrested from Bihar. The Congress and Khilafat offices at various centres were raided and searched in connection with the Government order No. 4609-C, December 10, 1921, under Criminal Law Amendment Act. The records related to the Non-cooperation and khilafat movements were seized and destroyed. According to the Government order, the following Congress and khilafat offices were searched on December 10, 1921, and the related documents were seized:

**Patna:**
- Provincial Congress Committee.
- District Congress Committee.
- Provincial Khilafat Committee.
- Sadakat Ashram.
- Al-Adal Press.
- Dr. Ghulam Imam's Residence.
- Ram Kishun Pathak's Residence.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaya:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krishna Prakash Sen Sinha's Residence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Nandkeoliyar's Residence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qazi Ahmad Husain's Residence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahabad:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saran:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siwan Subdivisional Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffarpur:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khilafat Office, and 51 Places in Sadar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sitamarhi and Hajipur Sub-division.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champaran:</td>
<td>National School Motihari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Library of Ramdayal Sahu of Motihari,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Babu Gorakh Prasad's Residence in Motihari,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Premises of Kamla Press in Motihari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National School Bettiah Town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-divisional Congress Office, Bettiah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pirmahammad Gunj's residence, Bettiah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prajapati Missir's residence, Bettiah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maniram Teli's residence, Bettiah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khilafat Office, Bettiah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>District Khilafat Committee Office, Bettiah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagalpur:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sadar Subdivisional Office, Bhagalpur, (Gandhi Ashram).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supaul Swaraj Office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thana Congress Committee, Sultanganj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partabganj Thana Congress Committee, (Raghopur).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-divisional Congress Office, Madhepura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khilafat Office, Colgong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thana Congress Committee, Pirpanti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khilafat Office, Bhagalpur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monghyr:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puranea:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhal Parganas:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchi:</td>
<td>District Congress Committee.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The thirty sixth session of the Indian National Congress was held at Ahmedabad on December 27/28, 1921, under the presidency of Hakim Ajmal Khan. In this session, Five hundred fifty eight delegates from Bihar were present, in which twenty two were the members of the Subject Committee which held its meeting on December 24-28, 1921. This session of the Congress reiterated its "fixed determination of the Congress to continue the campaign of non-violent Non-cooperation with greater vigour till Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of people". The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee was convened at Patna on the January 5, 1922, to discuss the future plan of action keeping in view the Ahmedabad resolution. It was decided not to introduce Civil Disobedience immediately but to concentrate effort for the time

147. Pol. Dept. Spl. Section File No.291(1922), BSA.

148. Actually C.R. Das was the president of the 36th Session of the Indian National Congress. As he was in Jail, Ajmal Khan acted as the president of this session.


being on the recruitment volunteers. According to this decision a large number of volunteers were recruited.151

On January 29, 1922, the people of Bardoli, Gujrat decided under the presidentship of Vittalbhai J. Patel, to start mass Civil Disobedience.152 The Working Committee, convened at Surat and gave a green signal to the people of Bardoli on January 31, 1922 to start it. But before the people started it, Gandhi request his Excellency, the Viceroy, on February 1, 1922 urging to revise his repressive measures and to set free the non-violent non-cooperating Prisoners, and to rescue the country "from Paralysis of freedom of association and freedom of press". but his request was rejected on February 6, 1922. He sent a rejoinder on 7th cataloguing "fcts beyond challenge", as "infallible proofs of official lawlessness and barbarism",153.

While the whole country was in the grip of non-cooperation movement, an untoward incident gave a big jolt to the movement when an infuriated mob set fire to the Thana (Police Station) at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur district, on February 5, 1922. At which one sub-inspector and twenty one constables were burnt. Gandhi, an apostle of non-violence, was very shocked to this incident and decided to stop the programme of mass Civil

Disobedience. The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee met at Bardoli on February 11/12, 1922 and passed the resolution suspending the mass civil. Disobedience till the Peaceful atmosphere was restored. In this connection Rajendra Prasad from Bardoli sent the following message to the people of Bihar:—

"In view of the Gorakhpur tragedy [Chauri Chaura] the Working Committee suspends all Civil Disobedience including activities for counting arrest and picketing except by approved persons for bonafide reform purpose. It directs concentration on detailed constructive programme of enrolling one crore members, organising Swadeshi, National Schools, Panchayats and Social service, preaching temperance, collecting funds, levying one percent on income and uplifting depressed classes".  

As a penance for "the Crime of Chauri Chaura", Mahatma Gandhi took fast for five days and expressed his conviction about the incident which appeared in the Young India. By becoming truthful and non-violent, both in Spirit and deed, and by making the Swadeshi, that is, the Khaddar programme complete. We can establish full Swaraj and redress the Khilafat and the Punjab Wrongs without a Single person having to offer Civil


Disobedience. The Bardoli decision caused restiveness among the Congress leaders and other workers, and Mahatma Gandhi became a target of attack from all sides, even from Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and others. When the All India Congress Committee met at Delhi on February 24, 1922 at which Bihar stood by Mahatma Gandhi and the Bardoli resolutions were passed. The indefinite suspension of the non-cooperation programme seemed to be a political failure of Gandhi's faith was tested by the "humiliation of outward failure". But Gandhi explained it in clear-cut terms, "Let the opponent glory in on humiliation or so-called defeat... I must undergo personal cleansing I must become a fitter instrument, able to register the slightest variation in the moral atmosphere around me. My prayers must have deeper truth and humility about them they evidence."

The All India Congress Committee appointed Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee in June 1922 for the revival of non-cooperation Movement which was suspended by Gandhi on the account of a tragic incident at Chauri Chaura. The Committee toured various parts of India for collecting evidence of


159. The prominent members of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee were Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan and V.J. Patel.
Satyagrahis on the feasibility of undertaking mass Civil Disobedience. The Committee did not favour the resumption of the movement and a controversy developed regarding the boycott of council which took a serious turn in the existing political set-up of the Congress. The members of the Enquiry Committee were in favour the entry into the legislative council and stated thus: "The Congress and the Khilafat at their Gaya Session should declare that in view of the fact that the working of the Legislative council during their first terms, has, besides providing a great obstacle to the redress of the khilafat and Punjab wrongs and the speedy attainment of Swrajya ...". They decided to take steps in accordance with the principle of non-violent non-cooperation to avoid such incident [chauri chawra].

The All India Congress Committee met at Calcutta on November 20, 1922, under the presidentship of C.R. Das at which various recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, and the issue of council entry and led to a serious debate. Motilal Nehru present his resolution and stated this: "... with reference to the report of the civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, that this Committee should recommend to the Indian National Congress that the Non-cooperators should contest the elections on the issue of redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and immediate

161. Ibid.
attainment of Swaraj and make endeavour to be returned in a majority".\textsuperscript{162} It was seconded by T.A.K. Sherwani and J.M. Sen Gupta, M.R. jayakar, Maulana Syed Sulaiman supported it while the leaders like Ansari, Mrs Sarojini Naidu, C.S. Ranga Kyer, Dip Narayan Singh, Harydyal Nag and naraindas opposed the resolution\textsuperscript{163}.

The All India Congress Committee meeting continued for six day and a debate on the question of council entry took about forty hours. Finally the following resolution was adopted. "Resolved that further consideration of the question whether Congressmen should contest next council elections be adjourned and the same be taken up at the Gaya Congress"\textsuperscript{164}.

At Ahmedabad Session of the Congresss five hundred fifty eight delegates from Bihar attended it and these members invited the next Congress at Gaya. C.R. Das was elected to preside over this session. The chairman of the reception Committee was babu Braj Kishore Prasads and the General Secretaries were Pandit Motilal Nehru, M.A. Ansari and C. Rajagopala Chari. As many as 3248 delegates from different parts of India attended its session.\textsuperscript{165} The important question at the Gaya Congress was that of "council entry".

\textsuperscript{162} The Leader, November 22/23, 1922 cited in Bakshi, Swaraj Party, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{165} Bakshi, Swaraj Party, p. 19.
The thirty seventh session of the Congress was held at Gaya on December 26, 1922, under the presidetnship of C.R. Das. The most important question of discussion in this session was "Council Entry". The President in his address strongly advocated and suggested a plan of obstruction from within the council.\footnote{Datta, \textit{Freedom Movement in Bihar}, Vol. I, p. 433.}

He also dealt with the propagation of \textit{Khaddar} amongst the Indian and said "We must regard \textit{Khaddar} as the symbol of Swaraj... It is hoped that the inspiration of \textit{Khaddar} will make the whole of our national life self contents and independent".\footnote{Bakshi, \textit{Swaraj Party} p. 30.}

Another section of the Congress, headed by Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalacharya, opposed the council entry. When the issue was finally put to vote, it was found that the new proposal was defeated by 1748 to 890 votes.\footnote{Chandra, Bipin, \textit{India's Struggle for Independence} (New Delhi, 1989), p. 235.}

The Congress thus decided the boycott of council by a large majority, but the differences in the Congress did not come to an end with this decision. C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru resigned from their respective offices in the Congress as the Congress opposed their views.\footnote{Rajendra Prasad \textit{At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi} (Bombay, 1961), p. 125.} On January 1, 1923, Das together with Motilal Nehru set-up "the Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party popularly known\footnote{Rajendra Prasad \textit{At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi} (Bombay, 1961), p. 125.}"
as the Swaraj Party. The adherents of the council entry came to be known as 'pro-changers' and those who were advocating boycott of council as no-changers.\textsuperscript{170}

In January 1923, the office bearers of the Swaraj Party was formed with C.R. Das its president and Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, V.J. Patel, B.N. Samal and Khaliquzzaman as its secretaries.\textsuperscript{171} Those who were in favour of council entry met at Patna on February 26, 1923, and formed a nucleus of the party, 'the Swaraj Party of Bihar' and the following members were elected office bearers:-

- Narayan Prasad - President
- Prof. Abdul Bari - Secretary
- K.B. Sahay and Harnandan Sahay - Asstt. Secretaries.\textsuperscript{172}

The Bihar branch of Swaraj party, met at Gaya on May 9, 1923, authorised the Executive Committee to carry on constructive work regarding spread of education, Khaddar, election to the Municipalities, District Boards and Council.\textsuperscript{173} But on the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{170} Bipin Chandra, \textit{India's Struggle for Independence} pp. 235-36.
  \item \textsuperscript{171} B.M. Taunk, \textit{NonCo-operation Movement in Indian Politics (1919-1924)}, p. 129.
  \item \textsuperscript{173} Datta, \textit{Freedom Movement in Bihar}, Vol. 1, p. 449. See also Chaubey, \textit{Muslim and Freedom Movement}, p. 163.
\end{itemize}
question of council entry mazharul Haq had different opinion did not share the views of *Motherland*, which appeared on November 24, 1922; "... I can not understand how can destroying the council [from within] to advance our cause ... Oh, all this division in our ranks is a sorry business, and I am afraid I must dissociate myself from all this ... I want to be absolutely quite and see the *tamasha* which is sure to end in rack and ruin".\(^{174}\)

Gandhi and others were trying to unite both the groups of the Congress the "pro-changers" and "No-changers". The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee met at Patna on May 19, 1923 at which it was resolved that "no active propaganda against council Entry should be carried on in Bihar".\(^{175}\) Another meeting of the Bihar branch of Swaraj party was convened at Patna on June 2, 1923, Rajendra Prasad simply attended the meeting as he being "No-changer" did not address the meeting. It was decided that this party would consist of all members of the Congress Committee, who accepted the party creed, and also of the elected members, and Local Propaganda Committees\(^{176}\) were formed.


\(^{176}\) The Local Propaganda Committees consisting of the following members: Abdul Bari, Arunjay Sahay Varma, Chandra Banshi Sahay for Patna Division; Narayan Prasad, Faleshwar Prasad, Gorakh Prasad and Baidyanath Sahay -- Tirhut Division; Deoki Prasad Sinha and Krishna ballabh and Pandit Binoda Nand Jha Bhagal pur Division; see Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I, p. 450.
Meanwhile, Gandhiji was released from jail on February 5, 1924 on health ground. He was totally against the council-entry and to the obstruction of work in the council which he believed was "inconsistent with non-violent non-cooperation"\textsuperscript{177}. The news of his release gave a new hope of enthusiasm among the people of Bihar. Both Hindus and Muslims celebrated his release and a meeting was held at Patna on February 5, 1923, in this connection. "The incarceration of Gandhi ji, wrote Searchlight, "was an outrage against humanity".\textsuperscript{178}

The differences between 'pro-changers' and 'no-changers' were so deep that it was impossible to make a compromise without a special session of the Congress. To settle the differences a special session of the Congress was convened at Delhi in September 15 to 19, 1923 under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.\textsuperscript{179} He was recently been released from jail, and was in favour of council entry. Mohammad Ali was also released and who was not in favour of the council entry, came to attend this session. In this session a compromise was arrived at which it was decided that "the Congress as an organisation would not contest the elections, but if any Congressman wanted to enter the Legislature, he should be permitted to do so."\textsuperscript{180}

\textsuperscript{177} Bipin Chandra, \textit{India's Struggle for Independence}, p. 238.


\textsuperscript{179} Rajendra Prasad, \textit{At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi}, p.126.

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid.
The thirty-eighth session of the Congress was held at Cacanada on 28 to 31 December, 1923, under the Presidentship of Muhammad Ali. At this Congress Swarajists agreed to a "so-called compromise resolution" which was made between the "pro-changers" and "No-changers". This Congress re-affirmed the Non-cooperation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.\(^\text{181}\). The Swarajists were permitted to enter councils through "the principle and policy of that [triple] boycott remained unaltered". The Congress further declared that the "said principle and policy" formed the foundation of constructive work\(^{182}\), and appealed to the nation to carry on the programme of "constructive work" adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience.\(^{182}\)

The Khilafat Conference held its meeting at Cacanada at the same time in 1923, under the presidency of Shaukat Ali. The Conference made an emphasis on the religious duty of every Muslim as "to work for the freedom of India and to sacrifice everything for the attainment of Swaraj" and for that they congratulated Hasrat Mohani\(^{183}\). A resolution was also passed urging that Jazirat-ul-Arab should be freed from foreign control and Thrace be returned to Turkey\(^{184}\).

\(^{181}\) Indian Year Book, 1924, p.702.  
\(^{182}\) Ibid.  
\(^{183}\) Indian Year Book, 1924, p. 707.  
\(^{184}\) Ibid.
Gandhiji soon after the release from jail invited C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, to discuss the political situation in India. India was in a "fever-heart" and the situation was quite abnormal on the question of council entry. After a long discussion in May, 1924, Gandhiji in a press release declared himself dissociated from the council programme and the Swarajist obstructive policy. The differences culminated in June at Ahmedabad when Gandhi succeeded in his mission and the All India Congress Committee endorsed the spinning resolution. Which made it incumbent on the Swargists and No-changers" alive to send 2,000 yards of handspun yarn every month. 185

After the Ahmedabad Congress meeting Gandhiji realised the growing tension between Hindus and Muslims which resulted in the outbreak of communal riots at several places of India. The most terrible of these riots took place at kohat in September 1924. These events "proved unbearable" to Gandhi and as a "Penance and prayer" he kept on fast for twenty-one days. A unity conferences was convened under Pandit Motilal Nehru which was attended by different school of thought. The Conference requested Gandhiji to break his fast immediatly. 186

Bihar did not escape from the infection of communal riots. Hindu-Muslim riots occured at several places in the province but the most serious was at Bhagalpur. Rajendra Prasad and other

185. Ibid. p.814.
leaders played an important role to ease the situation and stayed there for a few days.\textsuperscript{187}

In the meantime, the Bengal Government passed an ordinance to suppress the growing Swarajist movement. Under this Ordinance "Indiscriminate arrests, house searches, raids and all the other concomitants of police terrorism threw Calcutta and the rest of Bengal into a wild tumult".\textsuperscript{188} Gandhi called this ordinance "Ordinance of Violence" which appeared in \textit{Young India} on 31st October 1924. Gandhi went to Calcutta at this critical juncture and after a series of meetings with the Swarajist leaders, Gandhi - Swarajist pact which is also known as Calcutta pact was arrived and published on November 6, 1924, with the signature of Mahatma Gandhi, C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru.\textsuperscript{189}

According to this pact Gandhi "agreed to suspend the non-co-operation movement and to recognise the Swarajist as the accredited representatives of the Congress on legislative Bodies", which in return the Swarajists "agreed to his spinning franchise" which laid down 2,000 yards of hand-spun yarn every month as the subscription to Congress membership.\textsuperscript{190} As a result

\textsuperscript{187} Ibid, p. 459.

\textsuperscript{188} The \textit{Indian Quarterly Register}, Vol. II, 1924, pp. 160-96.


\textsuperscript{190} Ibid.
of compromise, the All India Spinners' Association was formed which was accepted as a part of the Congress.\textsuperscript{191}

The compromise resolution [Bengal Pact] was ratified at the Belgaum Session of the Congress held on December 26, 1924, with Mahatma Gandhi as its president. The Congress changed the spinners' Franchise to 2,000 yards of Chackha yarn every month.\textsuperscript{192}

The Satyagraha, the Khilafat and the Non co-operation movements constitutes an important phase of Indian History. For about six years these movements revolutionised the thoughts of Indian and of their duties towards the motherland. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi Hindus and Muslims united together for a common goal. The Independence, they moved hand in hand for the attainment of Swaraj. In all these activities the people of Bihar contributed noteworthy shares and they fully cooperated with the national leaders. These movement played an important role in the furtherance of other movements.

\textsuperscript{191} Rejendra Prasad, \textit{At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi}, p.132.

\textsuperscript{192} Indian Year Book, 1924, p. 814.