Non Co-operation movement was the first mass movement on a giant All-India base. It brought Indian nationalism to the surface. Sind, an agricultural zone with feudal customs, was considered a province which could never initiate any movement but when someone gave lead, it was indifferent follower. Non Co-operation movement gave an opportunity to Sind to follow. Sind was inhabited by majority of Muslims who followed Non-cooperation under the leadership of Gandhi due to Khilafat. It was for the first time that all Sindhis, irrespective of their religions or castes, fought against a common enemy under one leadership.

The Non-cooperation movement was primarily a resultant of two forces: the first, the extra-ordinary personality of its authors; the second, the post-war restlessness which India shared with so many other countries. The Rowlatt Satyagraha, the Punjab atrocities and the Khilafat gave way to the movement.

The Rowlatt Act is considered as the parent of the Non-cooperation movement. On the recommendation of a committee headed by Sir Sidney Rowlatt of the kings bench, in England, the Government of India brought into force in March, 1919, an Act which prescribed summary trials, without jury, of seditious crimes. The Rowlatt bill before becoming an Act was opposed by

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Rushbrook Williams, L.P., *India in 1922-23, (Calcutta, 1923)* p.25
all sides. Even Secretary of State gave his sanction with obvious reluctance.\textsuperscript{2} It had to face opposition in the Imperial Legislature Council.\textsuperscript{3} Gandhi feeling the pulse of the nation took the leadership and declared satyagraha against the Act.

The Rowlatt Satyagraha attracted both the Hindus and Muslims of Sind. The Hindus followed Gandhi and the Congress leaders due to their urge for independence and the Muslims support considering their religion in danger as the Ciliphate, the religious head of the Muslims, who was also the Sultan of Turkey, was to be dethroned after the partition of Turkey as Turkey sided with Germany in the First World War against England. Dr. Choithram\textsuperscript{4} asked the people to fight against the black laws as brave men. He said, "you die of cholera, plague, influenza and other diseases but would it not be better to die nobly the death of a hero and lion than as a dog?"\textsuperscript{4} The Satyagraha Sabhas sprang up at Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Larkana. A number of people signed the satyagraha pledge. On the call of Gandhi Hartal was observed in almost all important towns in Sind, at Hyderabad (as at Delhi) on the 30th March and elsewhere on the 6th April, 1919.\textsuperscript{5}

The Jallianwala Bagh incident on the 13th April and the Martial Law Regime which followed it incited the agitators

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{2} Letter, October 10, 1918, E.S. Montagu to Chelmsford, Chelmsford Papers.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} Home Political, File No. 82
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Bomford, P.C., Histories of the Non-cooperation and Khilafat Movements, (Delhi, 1974), p. 9.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} Kunte, B.C. (ed.), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 4.
\end{itemize}
in Sind. Collections were made for the 'Punjab Relief Fund'. Meetings were held to bring the people in the fold of nationalism. A meeting was held at Jacobabad between the 15th and 17th April, known as the Sixth Sind Provincial (Congress) Conference. Mr. Jamshed N.R. Mehta presided. Efforts were made to bring the Baluchis in the main stream of nationalism who were backward in the field of nationalism due to their conservativeness and fanaticism. Dr. Choithram, Mukhi Jethanand and Narsinglal participated. Stress was laid on Hindu-Muslim unity, Swadeshi and Self-determination. Dr. Choithram made an impassionate appeal exhorting the audience, "To wake up and act".6

Feeling the gravity of the situation, the government used preventive measures in Sind. In April, the publisher Hariram Nayaram Moriwala and the printer Durgadas Bhojraj Advani of New Call which exhorted the people to prepare for satyagraha led by Gandhi were convicted and were awarded 2 years rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs.1,000. The Hyderabad Police registered cases against Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri,** Jethmal Parasram Guljrajani. Dr. Choithram Gidwani, Jawaharmal Totaram Mansukhani alias Swami Govindanand,***, Sheikh Abdul Majid and Mukhi Jethanand for illegal acts done on the Hartal day. In addition to the houses of above persons, the office of the Indian Home Rule League, All India Home Rule League, Brahmacharya Ashram, the house and office of Nur Mohammad, 6. Ibid., pp.5-6.

* B.1886; Social worker, nationalist and prominent leader of Sind; d.1952
** B.1878; Muslim leader from Sind; M.L.A. Bombay Presidency, 1910-19; helped in the Congress-League Pact of Lucknow in 1916; d.1924
*** A leaftist Congress leader of Sind.
**** A Muslim leader of Sind.
pleader and house of Ghanshamdas Jathanand Shivdasani were searched, but nothing incriminating was found. Mukhi Jethanand, Jethmal perasram, Dr. Choithram, Sheikh Abdul Majid were arrested and released on bail. Bhurgri who was away at that time could not be arrested. The arrests of prominent leaders were made to create fear among the public and to debar the leaders to fetch more public involvement in the movement. However, these searches and arrests caused a certain amount of excitement and also a greater amount of fear. 

Inspite of excitement, Sind was not yet fully prepared for satyagraha. The people were incited not by nationalistic but by religious feelings, Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri on April 5,1919 wired Gandhi, "Country waiting your decision on the passive resistance after the serious situation created in the country. Doubt if it is good in our case". He received a reply from Umer Sobhani as follows: "Mahatmaji at Ahmedabad, forwarding telegram. He has issued instructions regarding demonstrations. Advises temporary suspension. Sending copies of instruction".

Next Gandhi suspended the satyagraha on April 18, throughout India as it could not progress according to his instructions. The violence at some places perturbed Gandhi. He admitted publicaly to a 'Himalayan miscalculation' in offering civil disobedience to people insufficiently prepared by the discipline of satyagraha to practise it. He said, "I am sorry, when I embarked upon

7. Ibid., p.7.
8. Telegram,April 5,1919, Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri to Gandhi, Gandhi Papers.
mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation.\textsuperscript{11}

The Khilafat, which led the Non-Cooperation Movement, was the strongest factor in Sind to turn people against the Britishers. The Muslims who were in majority in Sind were conservative and were under the influence of Mulas and Pirs. Led by their religious leaders they supported the Khilafat movement whole heartedly. However the Hindus did not consider the Khilafat issue to be taken seriously. Kripalani\textsuperscript{\textdagger} supported Gandhi's Khilafat movement to the extent that the British had promised to retain the Caliphate. But he did not agree with Gandhi that if the Muslim anger was not channelized, it would have led to much violence. Jethmal Parasram\textsuperscript{\textdaggerdbl} observed, Khilafat aaheyafat (Khilafat is disaster), as it would communalize the politics. But still being loyal soldiers of Gandhi, the Sindhi Hindus participated in the Khilafat movement.

The Khilafat Movement aroused the religious sentiments which were enough to bring the Muslims out of their houses to fight for a common cause. Sind, like Punjab had a large Muslim peasant population but there the reaction to the Khilafat movement was welcoming and widespared because Sindhi Pirs and Mulas led the agitation. They formed a layer of sub-contractors necessary for the creation of a mass agitation, which was lacking in Punjab.

\textsuperscript{11} Letter, April 18, 1919, Gandhi to the Secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay, Gandhi Papers.

\textsuperscript{\textdagger} B.1888; educationist, nationalist and Gandhite Congress leader; General Secretary Congress, 1934-45; Congress President, 1946-47; d.1982

\textsuperscript{\textdaggerdbl} A Hindu leader of Sind
In the summer of 1920 they continued a rush of village Khilafat meetings addressed by local Mullas, right outside the control of the Central Khilafat committee or Sind Provincial Khilafat Committee. In the villages they preached that Islam was in danger. Some Pirs who did not support the Khilafat had to support as they found their influence slipping.

The people in the beginning of the year 1920 evinced keen interest in the Khilafat. Meetings were held and the prominent persons visited the province. A Khilafat meeting was held at Nawabshah on January 24, 1920. Jethmal Parasram along with some Hindus attended the meeting. Bande Matram was sung. A resolution was passed urging the Government to institute an impartial inquiry into the alleged oppressive conduct of Nabi Bux, a muslim official who had started an anti-Khilafat Movement in Sind by using his office. The meeting endorsed the resolutions passed at Amritsar and Delhi by the Khilafatists. The second special Sind Provincial Khilafat Conference was held at Larkana from 6th to 8th February. Mullas and Pirs from different parts of the province attended the Conference along with about 15000 people. All India Khilafat Conference which was held at Bombay from 15th to 17th February was presided over by a Sindhi leader, G.M. Bhurgri. Many delegates from Sind attended and opposed the moderate policies of the leaders.

To give further strength to the movement Abdul Bari, Shaukat

12. Home Political, file No. 94
15. Home Political, File No. 89.
16. Ibid.
Ali and Maulana Azad visited Sind preaching Hindu-Muslim Unity.\textsuperscript{17}

Gandhi supported the Khilafat to give strength to the Hindu-Muslim unity and justice for the Muslims. He wrote in \textit{Young India}, "I hope my alliance with the Mohammedans to achieve a threefold end to obtain justice in the face of odds with the method of satyagraha and to show its efficacy over all other methods, to secure Mohammedan friendship for the Hindus and thereby internal peace also, and last but not the least, to transform ill-will into affection for the British and their constitution which inspite of its imperfections has weathered many a storm".\textsuperscript{18}

Gandhi on March 7, 1920 declared, "The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an imperial question of the first magnitude", "Non-co-operation is therefore," he added, "the only remedy left open to us. It is the cleanest remedy as it is the most effective, when it is absolutely free from all violence. It becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury or one's cherished religious sentiments".\textsuperscript{19} He gave assurance to cooperate with the Muslims as long as they remain non-violent. He said, "I will co-operate whole-heartedly with the Muslim friends in the prosecution of their just demand as long as they act with sufficient restraint and as long as I feel sure that they do not wish to resort to or countenance violence".\textsuperscript{20} It was decided that 19th March would be

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{Young India}, April 28, 1920.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid}
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Letter, "March 7, 1920, Gandhi to the Press, Manifesto on the Khilafat question, released from Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, Gandhi Papers.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid}
\end{itemize}
observed as the Khilafat Day, as a day of national mourning, betokened by fasting and hartal. Gandhi's call was in response of failure of the Khilafat Conference on 15/16/17 February in Bombay where the more restrained from Bombay and the more extreme from Sind could not agree on a plan. On February 28, Abdul Bari of Bengal suggested to declare Jehad against the British. Gandhi seeing the restlessness among the Muslims produced his own plan to observe March 19 as Khilafat Day with a hartal.

In response of Gandhi's call the Khilafat Day was observed in the whole province. At Karachi whole the business was suspended and labourers joined it. A joint meeting of both the Hindus and the Muslims was held. At Hyderabad shops remained closed and the Hindus there also participated\(^1\). The Khilafat movement became very active in the province. The Khilafat and disloyalty to the British became fashion of the day.\(^2\) The success of Khilafat day observation pacified the more extreme of Sind and brought them in the main line of the Non-operation movement. It was the first successful effort in collective self-restraint. If hartal is only a bit of political drill then the drill on March 19 achieved its goal. Feeling the gravity of the situation, in the beginning of April, 1920, the Government of Bombay was invested with the emergency powers to deal with Sind in view of the Khilafat agitation.\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) Ibid.
\(^{2}\) The Tribune, March 21, 1920
\(^{3}\) Home Political, File Nos. 124-128.
The suppression of the movement under emergency powers could not discourage the people. In the first week of May, in the Sind Khilafat conference at Jacobabad many Muslims declared themselves ready to become ghazis, to make \textit{hijrat}, to renounce their titles and privileges and to refuse to pay land revenue.

On May 14, 1920, the Turkish Peace Terms were published which failed to satisfy the Muslims. Consequently, on May 23, the Central Khilafat Committee adopted the Non-Cooperation proposals which were endorsed by the Khilafat Meeting at Allahabad. Important Sindh leaders like T.L. Vaswani, Choithram, Abdul Majid, Jairandas* and Abdulla Haroon** attended the meeting. Here Gandhi said, "Non-cooperation must be and remain absolutely voluntary effort. The whole thing, then, depends upon Mohammedans themselves. If they will but help themselves Hindu help will come and the Government great and mighty though it is, will have to bend before this irresistible force. No Government can possibly withstand the bloodless opposition of a whole nation".25

Gandhi's visit to Sind in the last week of July helped the nationalist forces there. He was accompanied by Kitchlew, Shaukat Ali and Sarladevi. Both Muslims and Hindus of the province extended warm welcome to the national leaders. On the way of Karachi, at Rohri about 800 persons headed by Virumal Begraj*** and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{24} Kunte, B.G. (ed.), \textit{op.cit.}, p.21
  \begin{itemize}
    \item A.1879; educationist, social reformer, nationalist and a spiritual leader from Sind; d.1966
    \item B.1891; journalist and a great Gandhite nationalist Sindhi leader; d.1978.
    \item B.1874; journalist, educationist and nationalist of Sind; d.1955
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
Taj Mohammed, editor of Al-Haq waited for Gandhi's train. On the arrival of the train at the station, Vírumal after a considerable struggle, managed to reach Gandhi's compartment and garlanded him. The crowd at the platform welcomed Gandhi with shouts "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai," which Gandhi himself stopped, evidently being fed up with the din. At Hyderabad, Nur Mohammed, Jairamdas, Aminudin and few others were at the station to greet Gandhi in the train.26

Gandhi's train 'Lahore Mail' was late. It was to reach Karachi in the morning but it reached there at 8.30 p.m. About 5000 persons were still waiting at the station. The Station Superintendent had to face a tuff time to clear the crowd on the arrival of the train. Gandhi left the station along with Haji Abdullah Maroon and T.L. Vaswani to the Idgah where a meeting was held at about 12 O'Clock at Midnight.27

Besides Gandhi the meeting was addressed by Prof. Vaswani, Dr. Kitchlew, Shaukat Ali and Lokomal Chellaram. Gandhi said, "Our Mohammedan brothers are suffering for the Khilafat. The British Parliament and the Viceroy have forgotten their pledges. I ask all Hindus to help Mohammedans in this time of trouble. If this is not done then the Hindus must bear in mind that slavery will be at the door of not only seven crores of Mohammedans but at the door of twenty-five crores of Hindus also."28 He inspired the people to fight the evil like a brave soldier, he added.

26. Ibid., pp.287-92
"To obtain a decision on the Khilafat question you will have to give your own blood". He desisted the people from harming the Britishers physically but to face the situation spiritually. He further said, "We do not want to become Vaswanis or Professors, but soldiers with spiritual power; soldiers who stand their ground and do not run away". On Non-cooperation he said, "Non-Cooperation is a weapon above all others. The only way of meeting the unjust terms of such a Government is by Non-cooperation. Non-cooperation begins from the 1st of August, and it is the duty of every Indian, man, woman and child to make it successful. Shops should be closed, prayers offered in the mosques and temples and every man should fast. Huge meetings should be organised. No force should be used."

On 23rd July, in the morning Gandhi attended a meeting of Kutchi men and women in the Tikemji Temple Nankwara, Karachi. Gandhi spoke on Swedeshi and asked the women particularly to adopt swadeshi clothes. He with Shaukat Ali, Sarladevi and the prominent agitators of Karachi left for Hyderabad by the Quetta Mail.

On the 25th, in a speech at citizens meetings at Hyderabad, he recommended Swadeshism as a weapon for the protection of Ciliphats. He said, "As thereby the Lancashire mills sustain great losses and consequently these influential mill owners will enquire into the cause of the boycott of their manufactures. When they learn the true facts of the unrest, in the interest of their trade

29. Ibid
30. Ibid
31. Ibid
they will take steps in England towards the satisfactory settlement of the c iliphets and Jallianwala affairs". It was just like Napoleon's economic blockade.

Gandhi attended the Khilafat Conference at Hyderabad. He urged the people to show unity. In a speech at Sind National College he asked the students to use Sindhi then Hindi and afterwards any other language.

Gandhi's visit brought the mass awakening in Sind and people adopted non-cooperation. Shaukat Ali cabled to Mohammed Ali telling about the results of Gandhi's tour. He wrote, "Just returned with Mahatma ji, Kitchlew, Sarladevi from Punjab Sind, tour procession Hindu Mussalman, Sikh masses adopted non-cooperation. Sind Khilafat Conference; thirty thousand delegates adopted non-cooperation".

Gandhi's decision to launch non-cooperation on August 1, was without the approval of the Congress. Exaplaining his attitude he wrote in Young India thus: "The Congress is, after all, the mouthpiece of the nation. And when one has a policy or a programme which one would like to see adopted, but on which one wants to cultivate public opinion, one naturally asks the Congress to discuss it and form an opinion. But when one has an unshakable faith in a particular policy or action, it would be a folly to wait for the Congress pronouncements. On the contrary, one must act and demonstrate its efficency so as to command acceptance by the nation".


34. The Tribune, July 29, 1920.


36. Young India, August 4, 1920.
On August 1, 1920 Gandhi himself returned his Zulu and Boar War medals and his Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal to the Viceroy with the explanation that the Khilafat and Punjab 'wrongs' had strained him from the Raj and convinced him that a type of politics was necessary in India. "In my humble opinion", he wrote, "the ordinary method of agitating by way of petitions, deputations and the like is no remedy for moving to repentence a Government, so hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge as the Government of India has proved to be". He saw that India was too weak to offer violent resistance to the Raj and that many of his compatriots were unwilling to resort to terrorism, therefore, he was offering them a peaceful form of resistance, what amounted to non-violent terrorism, as a means of compelling the Raj 'to restrace its steps and undo the wrongs committed'.

Sind responded to Gandhi's call. The hartal was observed in all important towns of Sind. The districts of Hyderabad, Karachi and Larkana showed deep concern. Hyderabad joined the hartal partial to the call of Gandhi and partial to mourn the death of Tilak, while Karachi and Larkana, were notorious for its welcome to the Khilafat agitation.

Coming into action the Government arrested Pir Mehbub Shah a Khilafatist and Gandhite at Hyderabad for his anti-Government activities i.e. to incite his followers to adopt Gandhi's non-

37. Letter, August 1, 1920, Gandhi to Viceroy, Gandhi Papers. See also in Young India, August 4, 1920.
38. Ibid.
cooperation. Gandhi congratulated the Pir on being the first man to be arrested on the consequence of non-cooperation and applauded his decision not to make any defence. The arrest of the Pir was resented by his followers. They started gathering at Hyderabad in large numbers. The situation became grave. Abdul Jabbar, President, Khilafat Hyderabad, wired Gandhi and Shaukat Ali to intervene as both of them could pacify the situation due to their personal influence on Sindhis. Gandhi replied, "Your telegram beg Pir Saheb preach fortitude patience brave followers all cheerfully to jail scrupulously avoiding violence wire urgent if we still wanted can start tomorrow" In response to urgent appeals from Hyderabad Gandhi and Shaukat Ali left Bombay hurriedly for Sind on August 7th. On arrival at Ahmedabad, however, they received from Hyderabad a wire informing them that their presence was no longer necessary. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali returned to Bombay.

To make the non-cooperation popular, a special Sind Provincial Conference was held at Hyderabad on 28th and 29th August, presided over by Durgadas B. Advani. A resolution adopting non-cooperation proposed by T.L. Vaswani and seconded by Haji Abdulla Haroon was passed despite opposition from Besantines and politicians of the old school who declared it impracticable. At a critical juncture while the resolution was under discussion a telegram was received from Gandhi which read, "Hope conference

41. Telegram, August 5, 1920, Gandhi and Shaukat Ali to Abdul Jabbar, President, Khilafat, Hyderabad (Sind), Gandhi Papers.
42. Telegram, August 8, 1920, Gandhi and Shaukat Ali to Abdul Jabbar, *Ibid*
43. Kunte, B.G., *op. cit.*, p. 27
accepts non-cooperation unhesitatingly, Gujarat Conference has accepted all the stages. Wish success."  

The special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta from 4th to 9th September, 1920. In the midst of the most enthusiastic scenes, it was a test for Gandhi's non-cooperation. Gandhi wrote, "My plight was pitiable indeed. I was absolutely at sea as to who would support the resolution and who would oppose it".  

LaLa Lajpat Rai, the President of Special Calcutta Congress, refrained from expressing his own views on non-cooperation and acted as impartial ring master. Any how Gandhi's non-cooperation was carried by a majority of twelve in the subjects committee on 7th September, with 144 voted for it and 132 against. Later it was approved by the delegates from various provinces with overwhelming majority for 1855 against 873.  

From Sind majority of the delegates supported Gandhi's non-cooperation. Out of 52 delegates 36 supported the proposal while 16 opposed it. Gandhi was supported by Vaswani, Jairamdas and Choithram groups who believed that it was derogatory to national self respect to co-operate with the government by sitting in Legislative councils or taking part in council elections until the government dealt justly with the Khilafat and Punjab questions. The opposition came from Beasantines and from the leaders of the old school, who accused Gandhi of being unrealistic and dangerous.

44. Ibid  
47. Young India, September 15, 1920.
and condemned non-cooperation as revolutionary. They did not support Gandhi's idea of Council boycott. 48

The Calcutta session recommended surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation of nominated members of local bodies; refusal to attend Government functions; gradual withdrawal of pupils from Government aided or controlled schools and colleges and the establishment of national schools and colleges in their stead; gradual boycott of Government courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of arbitration courts to settle private disputes; refusal of military men, clerks and labourers to offer themselves for service in Mesopotamia; withdrawal of candidates from reformed councils, and abstention from voting for any candidate by all with votes; and boycott of foreign goods and the adoption of Swadeshi. Gandhi promised independence in one year provided complete non-cooperation was adopted. 49 The demand for swaraj was included and suggested by Vizaraghavacheriar and Motilal Nehru with C.R. Dass on the resolution later on as an amendment. The boycott of foreign goods was also considered unfit for a satyagrahi by Gandhi though he supported Swadeshi, he included it in his resolution, as he said later because he could not reject it as a matter of conscience. 50

A sub-committee was appointed to carry out the resolutions passed at Calcutta. The committee advised that an immediate start should be made in connection with all resolutions in general and

48. Ibid
49. AICC Papers, File No. 18, 1920
boycott of councils in particular. The report of the sub-committee was accepted by the All-India Congress Committee presided over by Motilal Nehru at Bombay on the 2nd October, 1920.

The first programme of non-cooperation to be followed was 'Boycott of Councils' as the elections for new councils were going to be held in November, 1920. A leaflet signed by Gandhi was distributed in English and the Vernacular in Sind entitled "Boycott of Councils: voters Duties," appealing all Sindhis not to vote or seek the elections. Alwahid began regularly to publish in the centre of its front page inflammatory notices. Such as, "Adopt Non-co-operation with the enemies of Islam, the tyrant rulers of India and enslavers of 'Bharat Mata', "Do not go to Government Durbars and councils", "Do not vote for your disloyal brother candidate" and "Do not enlist in the army to go to Baghdad to fight against your Arabs brothers".51

On the 20th October Mohammed Khan Ghazi Khan described the progress of boycott programme in the following words: "Sind is an enthusiastic as ever over non-cooperation. Elaborate propaganda to boycott councils is being vigorously conducted all round in face of tremendous difficulties in the bureaucracy-ridden province. Vaswani and party returned to Karachi on 17th October after successful tour (Dadu, Larkana, Shikarpur, Sukkur and Rohri) where people flocked in thousands to attend public meetings. The party organised the boycott of council movement on second footing. Abdul Majid and party held meetings in Nawabshah, Chehoptra, Neushahro, Phulan, Dadu and Underolal fair. Following propagandists are working

51: Kunte, B.C., op.cit., p.30
Abdul Khalik in Naujabshah district, Khuda Baksh and Mohammed Baksh in Hyderabad district, Abdul Majid, Mohammed Hasim and Mokhamdin in Thar Parkar district, Pandit Amer Sen, Swami Krishnanand and Maulvi Abdul Karim in Shikarpur and Jacobabad districts, Mohammed Yamim and Abdul Satter in Sukkur district, Virumal in Sukkur and Rohri. Thus various parts of Sind were brought under the influence of boycott of councils.

Processions were organised at Sukkur, Shikarpur and Karachi. During the first week of November, camels used as Sandwichmen paraded the streets of Karachi with large notices such as "Boycott the Councils" "Donot give your votes to the candidates". New Times published glaring accounts of the tours and agitation in connection with the Council boycott.

To guide the people of Bombay Presidency, Gandhi wrote in Young India, "The 16th of November is somewhat of a day of trial for the people, because on that day members of the legislative councils will be elected throughout the Bombay Presidency". He asked the people not to vote; not to use physical powers and desist those who wanted to vote. He added "surely we do not want to prevent anybody from voting by physical force. There can, therefore, be no persuasion on the 16th. Our campaign is one of educating public opinion. When we succeed in doing that, then, and only then is, swaraj within easy reach".

52. Letter, October 20, 1920, Mohammed Khan Ghazi Khan, Secretary Sind Provincial Congress Committee to the Press, Kunte, B.C. op.cit., pp.31-32.
53. Kunte, B.G, op.cit., p.32
54. Ibid
55. Young India., November 10, 1920
The boycott of councils was not totally successful in Sind as elsewhere in India. The elections passed off peacefully and successfully. Throughout India only 6 cases out of 637 were an election impossible because there was not candidate and 14 successful candidates were officially considered unsuitable. In Bombay Presidency the poll was higher, averaging nearly 31.5% in Hindu constituencies though it dropped to 8% in Bombay city and 4.4% among urban Muslims. The effect of boycott was high in Urban areas. The Muslims, who mostly were in rural areas in Sind, did not support the Council boycott whole heartedly. Moreover, their leader, G.M. Bhurgri, had condemned the council boycott saying that it was harmful and likely ultimately to prove fatal to the cause of the country. He supported the view that it was no good starting a mass movement without first building a mass organisation and after participating in the Council elections, obstructions should be raised from within. In Sukkur district, which was the stronghold of Muslims, more than 50% voters voted in spite of all pressures. The partial success to the boycott was due to the ignorance of the most of the voters who considered the right to vote as a political nuisance. Anyhow, the council boycott brought to some extent national awakening in Sind.

Non payment of income tax campaign was started in Sind. Swami Krishnanand, Amer Sen and Virumal took active part. Two meetings regarding income tax non-payment campaign were held at Shikarpur on 17th November, and 2nd December, 1920. An Association 'Prevention of cruelty by Income Tax Societies' made an appeal to the Government to afford relief to the heavily-taxed.

56. Kunte, B.G., op. cit., p. 34
57. Ibid., p. 33
58. Ibid., p. 29
59. Ibid., pp. 34-35
Social boycott of the Britishers and their supporters was also suggested by which they were to be denied all social services such as washing, hair cutting, sweeping, cooking and other kinds of human labour needed in day today activities in life. The Sind leaders did not accept it as it was impractical. It needed very highly devoted satyagrahis which Sind lacked. Moreover, violence was feared. Jawiramdas Daulatram sent a telegram to Gandhi, asking about the social boycott adoption, on November 23, 1920, from Nowbed in Hyderabad, thus: "Several Hindu non-cooperator including Durgadas, Govindanand, Choithram, Ghanshyam, Jairamdas and the editor of Hindu and others met today. Discussed suggestions of social boycott opinion unanimous against social boycott being advised because in expedient hindrance to our movement and giving in numberable opportunities for tyranny urge you kindly use your influence in this matter." Gandhi replied that distinction should be necessary in social and political boycott. He urged to stop the people from social boycott thus, "Will certainly dissuade people against social as distinguished from political boycott. Hold latter absolutely necessary."

The Nagpur session of the Congress in December, 1920 strengthened Gandhi and his non-cooperation. The number of delegates who attended the Congress was immense, in all 14582 members attended, of whom no less than 1050 were Muslims and 169 women. It was presided over by C. V. P. Chokraham from South. The opponents of Gandhi's non-cooperation came with full preparations to undo what had been done at Calcutta. C.R. Dass brought a contingent of about 250 delegates from east Bengal and Assam, bore their

60. Telegram, November 23, 1920, Jairamdas to Gandhi, Gandhi Papers.
61. Telegram, November 23, 1920, Gandhi to Jairamdas, Ibid.
expenses to and fro, and spent Rs.36000 from his pocket. Gandhi's supporters came from all provinces in large number. Many delegates came from Sind along with two Pirs, Ghulam Mujadid and Mehbub Shah. The latter was personally asked by Gandhi to participate in the Congress session at Nagpur.

Gandhi was successful in bringing all the opponents in line including C.R. Das and Lala Lajpatrai. The resolution of non-cooperation of Calcutta was reaffirmed with minor modifications. The session was personal triumph for Gandhi. He conquered all. "The moderates of Nagpur were not heard; the extremist opponents under Mr. Kherpade and Dr. Munje were brushed aside; Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya's efforts were negatory; Jinnah carried no influence; Lala Lajpat Rai wailed and then became silent."

The resolution after debate was put before the delegates for approval. Motilal Nehru, who had come to occupy the Chairman's place for a short time, decided that votes would be taken province by province. All provincial blocs approved of the non-cooperation resolution unanimously, the exception being Sind and U.P., each of which had one dissenting voice.

At Nagpur, the Sindhi delegates held a meeting to discuss inviting the Congress to Sind. A hot discussion ensued between the delegates from Hyderabad and Shikarpur and while this was in progress Gandhi came to the meeting and told them that Sind had been so backward in its support of non-cooperation, that...

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63. Ibid., p.347
65. Home Political., file No. 77
the Congress could not be held in that province. Gandhi thought this about Sind on the basis of lack of national consciousness and unity among the Sindhis. The Sindhi delegates then took an oath to work hard for the cause and make Sind worthy to stand on the national lines. Dr. Choithram, Jairamdas Daulatram, Durgadas, Govindanand, Mohammed Khan Gazi Khan, T.K. Jeswani and Bhanshamdas were made the members of the subjects committee of the Congress.

The Nagpur session kindled new hopes. The people realised the great strategy of contending without arms against the British Government. They now felt, convinced that God had sent them a great leader in Mahatma Gandhi to liberate them from the fetters of slavery.

The year 1921 saw the Non-cooperation movement reach the high water-mark in Sind. It was a year of meetings, hartals, conviction for sedition and general political activity which seemed to have arisen out of, or, at least, been greatly encouraged by, the success towards the end of 1920 of the council boycott agitation. The Nagpur session gave strength and guide-lines to the movement. The boycott and Swadeshi programmes of the movement were adopted vigorously.

The Sind Provincial Congress Committee appointed Amer Sen and Abdul Aziz as overseers for the whole province to look after the formation of village Congress committees and no persuade the students who had left the Government schools to join the

68. Kunte B.C., op.cit., p.46
movement actively. V.J. Patel's visit to Sind further strengthened the movement. He, besides presiding over the student's convention at Karachi, along with Jairamdas and Choithram addressed many public meetings preparing the people for non-cooperation. He visited Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Larkana and spoke on Swadeshi and Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Serious efforts were made for the first time to bring the youth into the fold of the movement. Gandhi's visit to the province had already brought the political consciousness among the youth. 'Tilak Ashram' was opened at Hyderabad to train the youth to be good volunteers. About 80 students of D.J. Sind College left their studies to join the Ashram. A programme was chalked out to make them 'soldiers of Swaraj' by lecturing them by eminent personalities on national and international problems. The scheme could not succeed fully due to lack of organisation and leadership.

Though failed yet the scheme showed the conviction of the students to leave everything for national cause. The youth of various parts of Sind organised themselves in different sabhas and associations. 'The Shikarpuri Young Men' a Swaraj Sabha by T.K. Jeswani and the 'Gandhi spinning and weaving workshop' were started at Karachi to infuse nationalism among the youth.

A complete hartal was observed in Karachi on March 21, 1921, on the visit of His Excellency, the Governor of Bombay. Protest meetings were organised which were addressed by Govindanand, Krishnanand, Saraswati Devi, Manilal, Mohammed Khan, Ghazi Khan and Amer Sem. Again hartsals were organised in April to celebrate the
National week from April 6 to April 13, Even Sikhs under Jagat Singh Akali observed hartal. The leaders of Sind toured different places to make the movement popular. Prof. Vaswani toured Larkana, Govindanand Nawabshah and Watanmel Gulabsingh and Gurdinomal Tahil Singh toured Tharparker. The public meetings were announced by the best of drum with the words, "The country is Tilak's and Government Gandhi's".

Whenever any danger was felt in Sind to the National forces or to the Congress party Gandhi was asked to visit Sind. When tension arose between the Hindus and the Muslims on the question of cow-slaughter at Uderalal, a religious place of Hindus and it became serious, a threat to Hindu Muslim Unity, Jairamdas wrote to Gandhi to visit Sind. Showing his unavailability Gandhi replied from Ahmedabad, "Your wire. Am here till 19th, then Bombay. Try not draw me here for present". in February when the National College Committee at Hyderabad resolved that the institution being an educational one should not be used as a channel for political action. Jairamdas sent two telegrams to Gandhi asking him to intervene in the national colleges committee's affair. Gandhi again replied in the negative, "seems impossibel visit Sind for two months, So long college remains national we need not interfere". Gandhi visited Sind in the last week of April, 1921. He visited Hyderabad on the 24th and 25th, Karachi 26th, Larkana 27th, Shikarpur

75. Ibid p.48
76. Ibid., p.49
77. Telegram,January 10,1921,Jairamdas to Gandhi,Gandhi Papers.
78. Telegram,January 12,1921,Gandhi to Jairamdas, Ibid.
79. Telegram,February 5,1921,Gandhi to Jairamdas, Ibid.
and Jacobabad 28th, Sukkur and Rohri 29th, Hyderabad, Kotri and Mirpurkhas on 30th April.

Gandhi arrived at Hyderabad from Ahmedabad on 24th April, accompanied by his wife, his son and Maulana Muazzim Ali of Moradabad. Dr. Choithram in command of ten Congress volunteers and some three or four thousand other people were at the railway station to meet him. Gandhi was immediately taken to the Tilak Swaraj School, which he opened after delivering a short speech. In a public meeting at Queen's Garden Gandhi was welcomed by the citizens, Choithram presented a welcome address. Gandhi in his speech stressed on Hindu-Muslim unity for the attainment of Swaraj.

Jairamdas Daulatram accompanied Gandhi's party from Hyderabad to Karachi. They were received at the cantonment railway station by Sunderdas Valabhdas, Lokomal Chellaram, Jamshed N.R. Mehta, J.K. Jaswani, Nsraindas A. Bachar, Hazi Abdulla Haroon, Dr. Popet Lal, Dr. K.B. Patel and about 100 other men. On arrival at the city railway station they were received by Lal Chand, Kazi Khuda Baksh, Dr. A. Karimji, Chainrai, Virbhandas Jumani, Lunidaram T. Balkani, Nar Singh Lal, Vishram Narsi, Rewa Chand and other local agitators and a crowd of more than 15000 persons. A procession headed by a boy on camel working on a spinning wheel was taken round the bazar along with Gandhi. On the way feeling tired Gandhi set in the motor car of Satramdas Chellaram who drove him off to the Jain Temple where he resided.

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81. Ibid., p.380
At Karachi Gandhi visited various places related with the freedom movement, teaching the gospals of nationalism and swadeshism. He visited Gandhi Karyalaya (Ranchore lines), the Dayanand National Vidyalaya (Ranchore lines), the Tilakalaya Branch near the Mohammed Mow-Loo Mussfir Khana and Hardevi Bai School. He also visited Mahavidyalaya, the Home Rule Shop (Bunder Road), the Shikarpur Swaraja Mandli, another branch of Tilakalaya near the tower and Mahajanuri (Nanikuwa). He went to Bhagnari Temple and addressed a meeting of 1000 men and 200 women of the depressed classes in Bhimpura, inspiring them to join the main national stream shunning their sense of inferiority. He refused to perform the opening ceremony of the Ashok Swadeshi stores because the stores contained almost all Pardesi wares.\(^{82}\)

In the public meeting of 20000 persons at Idgah Gandhi congratulated the people of Karachi on the number of their national schools. He pleaded to adopt Charkha for attainment of Swaraj. He asked to contribute liberally for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He expressed his displeasure on the frequent observance of hartal, in Karachi. He further expressed his displeasure that the cloth merchants had decorated their shops with foreign cloth. He said, "consider foreign cloth to be dirty and haram".\(^{83}\) Lastly, he appealed to enroll all as the members of the Congress Committees. Muzzimali appealed to the Muslims to enroll themselves as the members of the Congress. A purse containing Rs.25000 was presented to Gandhi.\(^{84}\)

\(^{82}\) Ibid, pp.380-81.

\(^{83}\) Ibid., pp. 381-82.

\(^{84}\) Ibid., pp. 382-83.
Gandhi with his party left for Larkana by the night train at 11.15 P.M. accompanied by Jairamdas, Amer Sen, Abdulla Haroon, Naraindas A. Bechar, Jamshed N.R. Mehta, Vishram Narsi, Syeed Ali Answarshah of Larkana and Syed Nurdinshah. At Dadu railway station he delivered a short lecture concerning Hindu-Muslim unity. From Larkana Gandhi went to Shikarpur and then to Jacobabad. He stayed with Seth Tikamdas at Shikarpur. He visited Tilak National school reluctantly because Lilaram Pherwani, the manager had refused to allow the Congress Committee to manage it. The public meeting organised was mismanaged. Gandhi could not address it due to unnecessary noise. He was presented with a purse of Rs.25,000 at Shikarpur.

At Sukkur Gandhi stayed with Mulchand Pessumal, a pleader. He felt it bad to stay with a man who was not non-cooperator. Knowing Gandhi's expression the pleader gave up his practice and joined the movement. Gandhi visited Tilak High School and the Kenya Pathshala. In a meeting the question of national schools was raised. The municipalities expressed that it was difficult to run the school without Government grants. His suggestion to do away with English and to teach only Sindhi and Hindi was opposed by Waswani, who argued that English literature was necessary for spread of nationalism. Nothing solid could be brought out from the discussion. Sindhi was the common language and used by more than 75% persons in Sind. Sindhis had strong feelings in regard of their language.

85. Ibid., p.386
86. Ibid., p.387
87. Ibid., p.388
In a public meeting at Sukkur of 8000, Gandhi preached Hindu-Muslim Unity, the use of Swadeshi and temperance. He asked the people to shun all vices to obtain Ram Raj. Virumal repeated the speech in Sindhi. Muzzimali spoke on the alleged harsh treatment of Turkey. Public contribution of Rs.2195 and Rs.2000 were collected from admission fee fixed for the entry of Gandhi's meeting. Gandhi met the Mahant of Sadh Bela who gave him Rs.5,000. He met Kanwar Bhagat also, a well known singer. He went to Rohri after it.

Gandhi in a conversation stated that he had a very low estimate of Sindhis accusing them of only dabbling in non-cooperation. He said that they were afraid of going to jail. With regard to the Hyderabadi Amils he thought it was very hard to get them working smoothly with the non-Amil Hindus; but he had hopes of bringing general unity between Hindus and Muslims in Sind. Gandhi came back to Hyderabad on 30th and left Sind by a special train at 1.30 p.m. for which the people of Mirpur Khas had paid for.

Gandhi expressed unhappiness on the affairs of the Congress Party in Sind. He wrote, "Sind is divided into district parties without or central guiding organisation. But Karachi has not one party but many groups. It was at Karachi that I heard complaints regarding suspicious finance". He praised Sindhi enthusiasm, generosity and liberalism. He felt happy to find...

88. Ibid., pp.388-89
89. Ibid., p.389
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., p.385
many students working for non-cooperation. Gandhi's judgement about Sind seemed to be hasty and not according to the prevailing circumstances in the province. To compare Sind with the other advanced provinces was not fair. Disunity among various groups of the Congress party and the feelings of regionalism among its leaders, were due to lack of healthy background. The province with illiterate Muslim majority, being led by ignorant pirs, mullahs and landlords, could not rise easily from the narrow outlook. Many leaders of the Congress party were ambitious. They were not ready to accept common leadership loosing their personal interests. Inspite of its immaturity and reservations, the province showed good results in the various programmes of non-cooperation.

The boycott of Law courts was an important programme of Non-cooperation. In Young India of 13th October Motilal Nehru asked the people to boycott the law courts. He supported the popular saying, Adalat me jo jita, so hara; jo hara, so mara (success in courts is defeat, defeat is death). In his article "the hellucination of Law courts", Gandhi alleged that the British Law Courts were anti-nation's liberty and to crush the nation's spirit. Ali brothers and Maulana Azad also supported the boycott. On the call of national leaders many persons in Sind left judicial service and law practice. At Karachi, Mir Mohammed Baloch left honorary Mangistrateship and Shri Krishan, Lunidram and Mirza Ghulam left their law practice. In Hyderabad district, at Talake

93. Ibid
94. Young India, October 13, 1920
95. Young India, October 6, 1920
Badin, Zain-ul-Abedin Shah Wd. Miran Mohammed Shah and Ali Asghar Shah Wd. Abdullah Shah gave up collector's Chair; Maji Ghulam Mohammed Murad Ali Khan Nizmani of Matli left honorary Magistrateship, the same was done by Wali Mohammed Not Khan of Dara Mohbad; abdur Jabbar Mohammed Yakub, Pahlajrai Sakhowatrai Gidwani and Ratan Sing Gidumal Malikani of Hyderabad left legal practice. In Sukkur district; Mulchand, Harjandas both of Hyderabad and Lakshasing of Rohri left legal practice. Rais Jan Mohammed Junejo of Larkana district also left the practice.  

National Courts were started at Keamari (Karachi), Dadu (Larkana), Hyderabad and Sukkur. The Keamari Panchayat in an assault case fined two accused Rs.4 of which Rs.2-12 went to the complainant and Rs.1-4 to the Panchayat. The Bhiris Panchayat in Nawabshah district resolved that anybody approaching the Government court would be fined Rs.101, if he failed to give fine he would be excommunicated. At Sukkur, the national arbitration court convicted a man of the theft and sentenced him to one months' imprisonment. He was confined in the Tilak Hall where he was made to work at the spinning wheel, pull the Pankha and keep the place clear.

With the exception of Sukkur the various National Courts did little. The one already established at Keamari (Karachi) and a new one started at Dadu (Larkana) in January 1922 did not

96. Kunte, B.G. op.cit., pp.134-146
97. Ibid
98. Ibid., p.40
99. Ibid., p.56
attract particular attention. While the one at Hyderabad started in June 1922 was not a success, the people preferring the Government Courts to their own panchayats. Sukkur, however, could lay some claims of having functioned well during the year 1922. At the commencement, there were 339 cases registered and 209 disposed of while at the close of year the respective numbers were 445 and 371\textsuperscript{100}. In 1923, the numbers increased to 466 and 386\textsuperscript{101}.

The courts which sprang up collapsed quickly because the decision made by such courts had not legal force behind. The implementation of decisions could be by social boycott or by violence. Both methods were impracticable as reaction was imminent. Moreover, the judges of National Courts were common men, knew little about law, dispensed a queer kind of justice.

The boycott of the Government educational institutions was another important programme of the Movement. Gandhi wrote that any education under the contemporary Government would be something like to take the richest milk when it was "tainted with poison".\textsuperscript{102} He toured the various centres of education all over the country and asked the students to leave their schools and colleges for the national cause.\textsuperscript{103}

Gandhi's visit to Sind in July, 1920 attracted many students for the boycott of educational institutions. 'Students Non-cooperation league' was formed at Karachi during November. During

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{100} Ibid., p.104
\item \textsuperscript{101} Ibid., p.122
\item \textsuperscript{102} Young India, September 29, 1920.
\item \textsuperscript{103} Gandhi, M.K., op.cit., p.442
\end{itemize}
the same month at Shikarpur on the 4th and at Sukkur on the 6th and 7th, the anniversary of the students convention was celebrated. At both these places speeches were made adversely criticising the existing educational system and condemning the wearing of European dress. T.L. Vaswani, a well-known literateur, was prominent on this occasion.\textsuperscript{104} V.J. Patel's visit in February, 1921, further strengthened the boycott of Government institutions.

On February 10, 1921, the medals were to be distributed to school children aging between 6 to 16 years throughout Sind, commemorating the opening by the Duke of Connaught of the new legislature at Delhi. At Hyderabad, all Muslim students refused to get the medals. In Larkana no attempt was made to distribute the medals while at Rohri the students returned the medals after getting the same.\textsuperscript{105}

The Sind Leaders like Jairamdas, Choithram, Munilal, Lal Chand,Govindanand, Choithram Valecha, Virumal, Vaswani and Khuda Baksh took active part in the movement of boycott of Government scholastic establishments. The tours of Ali brothers, Abdul Kalam Azad and Dr. Kitchlew helped in furthering the movement.\textsuperscript{106}

'Sind students National Service' with a central council of ten, was formed to push the movement ahead. Its members bore a sort of uniform consisting of a white khadi coat on which was displayed a metal badge bearing a representation of a spinning

\textsuperscript{104} Kunte, B.G., \textit{op.cit.}, p.87
\textsuperscript{105} \textit{Ibid.}, p.88
\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.86-87.
wheel and the words, "Soldiers of Swaraj". It was the business of these "soldiers" to go round the country to persuade the students to leave Government institutions and to collect funds. 107 National Schools were opened to accommodate the students who left the Government ones.

There were three secondary schools each at Karachi, Nawabshah and Larkana in Sind before the Movement, 300 students were on rolls but after the movement only 100 students remained on rolls. 19 new secondary National Schools were opened, at the height of the movement 1000 students were admitted but latter 220 remained on the rolls. The number of primary schools was 54; 900 students left the schools who later rejoined. 9 old primary schools declared themselves National Schools having 694 students at the time of their highest popularity which later decreased to 275. 21 new primary schools were opened with the admission of 550 students at the time of highest popularity which later came down to 85. 108 The number of teachers who left the Government service was 25 out of whom only 4 rejoined. In all 684 students left the Government Schools out of whom 443 rejoined. 109

Efforts were made to raise the funds for national schools. A merchant of Hyderabad gave Rs.1 lakh to start a women college. Virumal on his release gave Rs.2,000 out of purse worth Rs.5,000 presented to him, for the development of national education. 111

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107. Ibid., p.80
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid., Statement B., pp.84-85
110. Ibid., p.88
111. Ibid
building of National School. Incentives were given to the students in the shape of scholarships who left Government institutions and joined the national ones.\textsuperscript{112}

Despite the above-mentioned endeavours, the whole national education scheme could not make much headway in Sind due to lack of funds, discipline and whole-time and devoted teachers.

The temperance campaign which was one of the features of the Movement activity all over India, had ostensibly the excellent motive of reducing the consumption of intoxicating liquor and to reduce the Government revenues.\textsuperscript{113} It was an instrument of social reforms as both orthodox Hindus and Muslims considered alcoholic drink a social evil, and a political weapon as it would decrease excise revenue of the British government. The general Sindhi view of temperance was more a social reforms than the political weapon. The orthodox society of Sind which comprised mostly the Muslims look wine as anti Islam. Unlike Sind, in the provinces politically advanced, the temperance was more a political weapon than a social reforms.

Sind began to take interest in the temperance propaganda early in 1920. A Temperance Conference was held on 4th and 5th April with T.L. Vaswani as President.\textsuperscript{114} During March, 1921 the agitators tried to obstruct the auction of liquor shops. They got success in Thar Parkar district as no bid was received for either the liquor or drug licences. On March 14, at Karachi the agitators appeared in the office of the Deputy Collector while

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., p.89
\textsuperscript{113} Bamford, op.cit., p.108
\textsuperscript{114} Kunte, B.G., op.cit., p.16
the liquor contracts were being auctioned, overturned the Chairs and created a pandemonium. At Sukkur the agitators tried to obstruct the auctions by raising slogans as 'Gandhi Ki Jai'. At Rohri the youths wearing belts inscribed "Swaraj sipahi" picketed the liquor shops. The Marwaris, dhobis and sweepers, were persuaded that they would soon give up liquor.\textsuperscript{115} In February, 1922 some of the country liquor licenses decided not to bid at the auctions.\textsuperscript{116} At Sukkur, the Mahant of Sadbela tried to persuade shopkeepers not to bid. The municipality of Sukkur recommended to the Government the prohibition of liquor sales within the municipal limits. Before it the municipalities of Hyderabad, Larkana and Jacobabad also had passed the resolution regarding prohibition. Picketing of liquor shops remained a part of the Movement throughout which had some results like creating public enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{117}

Swadeshi played an important role in the national movement from the very beginning. During non-cooperation it was an important programme. Gandhi, during his visit in July, 1920, preached Swadeshi in Sind. In 1921 when Gandhi visited Sind again, noticed that Sindhis were not using Khaddar on a large scale. He urged the people to adopt Khaddar. In June, 1921, Serladevi who visited Sind also emphasised the importance of using Khaddar.\textsuperscript{118} In October Sirojini Naidu and Jamna Lal Bajaj alongwith Bi Amman, the mother of Alis preached Swadeshism in Sind.\textsuperscript{119} Besides these leaders like Patel, Abdul Kalam, and Kitchlew also preached Khadi during their respective visits to Sind.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid, p.45
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid, p:104
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., p.105
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., p.57
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., pp.69-70.
Picketing of foreign-cloth shops and bonfire of foreign cloth became part of the movement. The Hyderabad district committee passed a resolution that all the District Congress Committees in Sind should arrange bonfire to be made of foreign cloth on 1st September, 1921. Bonfire was arranged at Larkana and Hyderabad. In Karachi the cloth dealers were threatened that unless they gave up dealing in such cloth, the markets would be burnt. To add force to the threat the market chowkidars were enlisted as volunteers. The leaflets urging the people to boycott the foreign cloth were distributed with these words, "Your brothers are starving, your sisters are naked. It is a sin to buy foreign cloth".120

In response, some pleaders in Karachi sent their old English forms of headgear to the Tilakalaya to be burnt with other foreign clothes in the Idgah Maidan on Gandhi's birthday. A number of Hindus resolved only to use Khaddar in funeral ceremonies. At Nawabshah and Jacobabad bonfires were arranged.121

With the decision in agitation the interest in Khaddar decreased. Though the Sind Provincial Congress Committee Swadeshi Board made efforts to popularise it by opening a school for spinning carding and weaving at Tando Alam (Nawabshah) which was designed to be the provincial centre of supply, the interest did not revive. The Khadi factories at Larkana Noushahro Feroz (Nawabshah) closed down early in the year 1923 and some weavers in the Larkana not finding Khadi weaving profitable severed their connection with the Congress Committee.122

120. Ibid., pp. 64-65
121. Ibid., pp. 64-65
122. Ibid., p. 124
Rajgopalcharya who with Gandhi's son Devdas opened a Khadi exhibition in Hyderabad during April, 1923 had to admit that Sind was behind some of the other provinces in the production of this cloth. He complained of the lack of interest taken in the ventures by merchants and was pained to find that the women of Shikarpur and Hyderabad had not taken kindly to it and that spinning wheel was not extensively used in Sind.¹²³

Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund was raised for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and the non-cooperation movement in general.¹²⁴ All leaders visiting Sind pleaded to raise this Fund. Sind's contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, in 1921 was Rs.1,95,542.00, in 1922 nothing was contributed, in 1923 it was Rs.40,653 Anna 7 and pie 4½. Thus, Sind contributed Rs.2,36,195, Anna 7, pie 4½ in the whole Tilak Swaraj Fund of Rs.70,88,498, Anna 11 and Pie 5½, collected from all of India.¹²⁵ In this way, Sind's contribution towards this national fund was not discouraging.

The total persons who renounced honours, privileges or resigned services as a result of the non-cooperation or Khilafat movement in Sind were 157. Most of these persons were Muslims who were very active due to Khilafat. About 30 Hindus resigned from the honours of services. The number of persons who resigned from different districts were; from Karachi 10, from Hyderabad 48, from Sukkur 64, from Larkana 14, from Thar Parkar 11, from

¹²³. Ibid
¹²⁴. The Indian National Congress (1920-23), op.cit., p.30.
The persons who were convicted of political offences in connection with the Khilafat or non-cooperation movement were 130; Hindus 56 and the Muslims 74. The details were from Karachi 29, from Hyderabad 20, from Sukkur 20, from Larkana 20, Thar Parkar 28 and upper Sind Frontier 78.

The Government of India adopted the policy of caution and restrain. It did not want to make Gandhi, a martyr, by arresting him. Seeing many moderates to cooperate with the Government by sitting in the reformed councils. The government realised that the movement would not succeed in long. Anyhow, the Government issued orders to all the provincial governments to deal with the petty leaders preaching violence through their speeches.

Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, J. Crerar, the Home secretary, G. Wiles, Deputy Home Secretary and F.C. Griffith, the Police Commissioner had to work very cautiously as Gandhi's centre of activities was mostly the Bombay Presidency. Lloyd, however, burnt the policy of restrain said, "The proper place of saint (Gandhi) is heaven, not the Bombay Presidency and he is paradoxically trying to make it hell." Still he had to work on the All India policy of caution. He took help from zamindars who believed in status quo to torpedo the movement. He instigated the moderates to stand against the Congress wishes. Ali brothers, the leaders of the Muslims were arrested while the top congress including Gandhi were not arrested to whom the Muslims charged to have secret tie with the Britisher. The Government tried its

127. Ibid., Appendix II, pp.147-156.
best to suppress the national press while encouraged the communal press. The communal parties were also encouraged. All this was enough to divide communal groups.

After Nagpur session (December, 1920) when the movement got momentum Kazi Abdul Rehman, editor of Alwahid, Virumal and T.L. Vaswani were arrested. The jails could not make any impact on the courage of the leaders. Vaswani wrote from jail, "A mighty unconquerable movement will come if in thousands and tens of thousands, we will, with love in our hearts, practice passive resistance and fill the jails with truth and honour and we shall stand in the presence of liberty".128

Gandhi's visit in April, 1921 brought a stir in the movement. Again, Government adopted the repressive policy. The Sukkur district conference which was being held on May 21, and 22nd at Ubauvuro was obstructed by the Government officials. The Deputy Collector of the division told the garriwallas not to carry the Congress volunteers from Sukkur to Ubauvuro which was at the distance of 10 miles. A bullock cart driver was beaten when he disobeyed. The volunteers alongwith the President of District Congress Committee, Virumal Rejraj and Mulchand, a non-cooperator pleader had to go to a nearby village on foot. The village Panchayat arranged for their further journey. The Conference was disturbed by some hoodlums on the instance of officials. Every effort was made to keep the villagers far from the conference. Maulvi Taj Mohammed was openly insulted at Mirpur Mathalo when he was coming back from the conference. The Mukhtiarkars incited

128. Upaon, D.C. (Forward Day), The Pilgrim's March, (Madras, 1921) p.65
the Muslims against the Hindus. All this was done to discourage the nationalists and to create disunity among the Hindus and Muslims.

About repressive methods a friend from Sind wrote to Gandhi thus, "the Commissioner in Sind issued a confidential circular making the Mukhtiaraks to start a counter agitation against non-cooperate with the non-cooperators". As a result, at Khipro in Tharparkar district, a lecturer was assaulted by a masked man. His swaraj banner and shawl were taken away. At Ghotki, Choithram Valecha, the young secretary of the Sakkur Congress Committee was made to leave the village without speaking to the people. The friend further wrote to Gandhi: "No step has been taken by the higher officials, so far as we know, against any one of those who have adopted the methods of threatening, coercion, actual violence and threats of violence to prevent the message of the Congress being carried to the villages. Are these the methods, with which Lord Reading or Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay and Sind wish to fight the movement?" Gandhi replied, "I tender my congratulations to them for their courage and patience under very trying circumstances. If they continue to suffer patiently and bravely the end will be brought nearer by this unbridled and unscrupulous suppression".

He added, "We must try, by patient endurance to win over to us our misguided countrymen become easy tools in the hands of unprincipled officials. Gradually, as in other parts of India, so in Sind,

129. Collected Works, op.cit., Vol.XX, pp.221-23.
130. Ibid
131. Ibid
132. Ibid., p.224
133. Ibid
the villagers will shed the fear of the officials and welcome Congress and Khilafat men as their real friends and deliverers. If we have faith, presently it will become impossible to play the Mohammedans against the Hindus and vice versa".\textsuperscript{134}

In July 1921, Sind became important in the National struggle as the All-India Khilafat Conference from July 8 to 11 at Karachi under the presidency of Mohammed Ali passed 'Army' and 'Independence' resolutions. It passed that it was 'unlawful for any faithful to serve from today in the army' and in the next session of Congress "India's Independence' would be declared".\textsuperscript{135} A case was registered under which Ali brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and four others were arrested and prosecuted in connection with the Karachi conference on various charges of sedition, conspiracy and tampering with the loyalty of troops.\textsuperscript{136} On September 19, within days of Ali brothers arrest Gandhi proclaimed in Public, "I am sorry that I was not present at the historic conference at Karachi and had I been present there and had the conference permitted me, I should also have been one of those who would have supported that resolution".\textsuperscript{137}

The proposed visit of the Prince of Wales on 17th November, 1921, and working committee of AICC's decision to boycott the visit, created a sense of nationalism in Sind. Meetings were held everywhere preaching anti-British propaganda. At Sukkur, Bhojraj Motumal declaimed, "What has the Prince to do with us?"

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid
\textsuperscript{135} Kunte,B.G., \textit{op.cit.}, p.60, See also Annual Register, 1922, Vol II, pp.238-39, also Minault Gail, \textit{op.cit.}, p.140.
\textsuperscript{136} Bamford, \textit{op.cit.}, p.176
\textsuperscript{137} Speech at Trichinopoly by Gandhi, September 19, 1921, Collected Works, \textit{op.cit.}, Vol XXI, p.148.
What has king George to do with us? Our king is Mahatma Gandhi.

If the Prince were to go to Ireland he would be killed. The Hartal was observed in every town of Sind on 17th November. The Prince’s visit and its boycott become a hot question of the day.

The Government started imprisonments to bring down the tide of nationalism. Important leaders like Jairamdas Daulatram Virunal, Maulvi Fateh Mohammed and Maulvi Syed Abbas were arrested.

About his arrest Jairamdas wrote to Gandhi thus:

"Police has just arrested me under 124A. Thanks to Almighty for the privilege for humble service to motherland. I go without rancour or any other feelings but that of duty done truthfully and firmly for India’s liberation. I feel I shall be serving the country not less usefully and joyfully inside the prison walls than I have endeavoured to do outside them."

In reply Gandhi wrote:

"I consider Jairamdas’s a spotless sacrifice. I know that he had never harboured ill-will even in thought. A claim that cannot be advanced for many. He had been ever punctilliously truthful and self-effacing. The Government must know that Jairamdas would never encourage or contemplate violence. He has been ever mindful to yield voluntary obedience to the laws of the State. He knows, therefore, the meaning of civil disobedience. But the only use of the state can make of Jairamdas is to imprison him. It is such imprisonments that hasten the advent of Swaraj in the religious sense of term."

Thus, the repressive policy in Sind could not bring down the morale of the leaders and also of the people. Rather it encouraged the people to participate in larger number.

The press played an important role in the beginning to further the movement in Sind. The daily Gazzett, Alwahid,

138. Kunte, B.G., op.cit., p.73
139. Gandhi’s Notes, December 20, 1921, Collected Works, op.cit., Vol.XXII, p.75.
140. Ibid., p.37
New Time, Hindu and Sindhi spoke against the atrocities of the Britishers particularly the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. The Alwahid and the New Time published glowing accounts of the tours and agitation in connection with the council boycott. The Hindu and Bharatvasi showed great interest in Sinn Fein and Ireland.

The press became biased with the start of distrust among the Hindus and the Muslims. Both the Hindu Press and the Muslim Press started war against each other. It was basically due to the fundamental differences, distrust and jealousies between the two communities. Shudhi and anti-shudhi movements made the condition worse. Judging the danger ahead prominent leaders of both the communities met at Karachi. Choithram raised the objection on an article of Alwahid while Sheikh Abdul Majid raised the same objection on the Mirpuckhas Gazette. It was decided not to publish anything objectionable to any community. A press association was formed to look after the decisions of the meeting.

The attitude of the Press could not become national. A booklet entitled Khuni Khanjar (Blood strained dagger) appeared from Shikarpur. It was titrated against the English and the Muslim. The Alwahid criticised Madan Mohan Malaviya and Aman Sabhas, Hindu organisation of co-operators. With narrow communal outlook of the leading extremist papers, they contributed nothing to the promotion of agitation in general or Hindu-Muslim Unity in particular.

142. Ibid., p.37
143. Ibid., pp.30-32
144. Ibid., pp.122-124
The session of AICC at Ahmedabad in December, 1921 was called in a very tense atmosphere. The Government under its repressive policy had imprisoned all important leaders throughout India except Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress reaction to this "virulent repression unworthy of a civilized government" was, its decision to start civil disobedience. Hasrat Mohani's resolution in favour of declaring a republic and restoring to violence if non-violent methods did not succeed, brought difference in the provincial Congress party of Sind. The Muslim along with some Hindus supported the resolution while Chotiram with his party opposed it. It strained the relations of Hindus and Muslims in Sind.

When Gandhi was thinking to launch civil disobedience the tragedy of Chauri Chaura occurred which "Changed the course of Indian History". A mob of 3000 persons killed 21 policemen and one Inspector, some of whom were burnt alive in the police station. This was too much for Mahatma Gandhi who stood for complete non-violence. He ordered for the suspension of the Non-cooperation Movement at once. Gandhi was criticized by all sides, finding him in disgrace the Government arrested him and sentenced him to six years imprisonment.

The suspension of the Movement by Gandhi was criticized by the leaders from different jails. Long letters were written from the bars by Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai. They took Gandhi to task for punishing the whole country for the sins of a place. Bose wrote, "To sound the boiling point was nothing  

145. Ibid., pp.94-95
146. The Bombay Chronicle, February 8, 1922
147. Sitaramayya, B. Pattabhi, op.cit., p.399.
short of a national calamity”. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, "we in prison learnt to our emazement and consternation that Gandhi had stopped the aggressive aspect of our struggle, that he had suspended civil disobedience". According to C.R.Das, "The Mahatma opens a campaign in a brilliant fashion, he works it up with skill, he moves from success to success till he reaches the zenith of his campaign but after that he loses his nerve and begins to falter". The reaction in Sind was mixed. The Khilafatists under Sheikh Abdul Majid considered it betrayal and leftist under Govindanand considered it anti-national. The group led by Choithram and Jairamdas remained passive.

It would be appropriate to say here that the non-cooperation movement was affected by many inherent weaknesses in Sind. There was lack of nationalistic spirit. Basically, the Hindus supported it as they felt after getting swaraj they would get greater powers—the Muslims supported it due to Khilafat and the commoners due to the hatred against the Britshers. The masses were stirred up and drawn in without exactly knowing what the agitation meant and where it was likely to lead. All they were told was that under Swaraj everything would be for the best and they would benefit in some vague but mainly material way.

Disunity among communities and regions was the next weak point. The signs of disunity came to surface in May, 1921 in the

150. Bose Subhash Chandra, op.cit., p.103
Sukkur district Congress conference at Ubauvro. Anti-movement organisations began to spring up in the Tando division of Hyderabad district and Mirpur Mehelo in Sukkur district. In meetings non-cooperation was condemned openly. The Hindus of Sind who had no real interest in the Khilafat agitation and joined only on Gandhi's instance, later started seeing in it nothing more than a Pan-Islamic movement which ultimately must be against their own interests as a community. As a consequence, the Aman Sabhas or loyalist movement made steady progress throughout Sind. Many Muslims who charged Gandhi a pro-Hindu opposed the movement and organised Aman Anjumans to show their loyalty to the Britishers. Such tendencies of both Hindus and Muslims marred the movement. The Shudhi (Arya Samaj and Hindus) and anti Shudhi (Muslims) movements started in Sind were a fruitful source of dissensions between the two communities. In various places in the province Hindus organised Subhas and Sengathans, held meetings, issued leaflets and wrote to the press. Money was collected for a fund to defray expenses in connection with the reconversion of Sanjogi Sheikhs in Sind. To counteract the Shudhi organisation, Tebligh committees were formed by the Ulemas of Sind. Fanatically minded persons were thus ranged on either side and a marked coolness sprang up between the Congress workers of both communities. It was not difficult to see where this was to lead.

The Congress party in Sind was not a united house. It was victim of personal jealousies and blamed each other for embezzlement and favouritism. Everywhere rival parties arose.

152. Ibid., p.55
153. Ibid., p.57
154. Ibid., p.118
Hyderabadis versus non-Hyderabads, Hindus versus Muslims and Sindhi versus Gujaratis. 155

To sum up, we can say that Sind, a backward province, could not rise enough to the national aspirations during the Non-co-operation Movement. Boycott of councils, schools and courts; collection of funds and Swadeshi had all been tried in succession; each aspect of non-cooperation had attracted some support, but none had given the movement more than a temporary momentum. The Khilafat gave strength in the beginning but later it brought the old differences of Hindus and Muslims to surface. Instead of creating the spirit of nationalism it communalised the politics. Despite Gandhi's two visits in 1920 and 1921, Sind remained weak in the field of nationalism. But still it could not be concluded that the non-cooperation movement was totally failure in Sind. Though not prominently yet it tried to bring Sind in the main national stream and aroused to some extent general awakening and political consciousness.

155. Ibid., pp.74-75