



Government of Maharashtra

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY  
OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

**HISTORY OF THE  
NON-CO-OPERATION  
MOVEMENT IN  
SIND**

**1919-1924**

**VOLUME V**

Collected from Maharashtra State Records





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( Collected from the Maharashtra State Records )

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Gazetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay

1977

**FIRST EDITION 1977**

**Published by the Executive Editor and Secretary, Gazetteers  
Department, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay**

**Printed in India by the Manager, Government Press,  
Kolhapur**

**Price Rs. 4.60 P.**



## PREFACE

In January 1953 the Government of India appointed a Board of Editors for the compilation of History of the Freedom Movement in India. In order to assist and collect material the Central Board of Editors requested all the State Governments to set up State Committees in every State. Accordingly, the then Bombay State formed the Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India in November 1953. This Committee worked for a few years and was dissolved in September 1956. It however recommended to the State Government to continue the office and publish the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. The Committee with late Prof. M. R. Palande as Executive Secretary brought out two volumes on Source Material, one dealing with the period from 1818 to 1885 and the other from 1885-1920. Prof. N. R. Phatak took charge of the Committee as Executive Secretary in 1959. Under his guidance three volumes were published pertaining to Source Material on Mahatma Gandhi. In 1973 the office of the committee was discontinued and the staff was merged with the Gazetteers Department which was entrusted with the task of completing the rest of the work. The department has so far completed the series in the Source Material pertaining to Mahatma Gandhi by bringing out four additional volumes. The department now proposes to bring out the Source Material for the most crucial period in the Freedom Struggle *viz.*, 1920-1947. It is envisaged to publish this vast Source Material contained in the records of Home Department, Inspector General of Police, Commissioner of Police, Archives etc., of the Government of Maharashtra in 15 to 20 volumes covering subjects such as Civil Dis-obedience Movement, Khilafat, Quit India Movement, Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra, Revolutionary activities in Vidarbha, Revolutionary activities in Marathwada, Gandhiji in Maharashtra, and Political Parties and Personalities during freedom struggle etc. These volumes will also contain material from the Archives of the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on the Freedom Struggle in Goa *vis-a-vis* Maharashtra and from the Archives of the Governments of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh pertaining to the districts of Marathwada and Vidarbha regions of the present State of Maharashtra but which formerly formed part of these respective States. The material from these numerous sources

( ii )

would be collected subjectwise and individualwise and would be published as and when the compilation and collection as stated above is completed. As such it would be very difficult to maintain in the publication a chronological sequence in the narration of events in the History of the Freedom Struggle. This means that source material pertaining to non-co-operation movement in Bombay City during 1919-25 may not be followed by that of in 1930, 1931 or 1932 or for that matter by the Source Material on Khilafat Movement.

The present volume, the material for which has been compiled from the records of the office of the Commissioner of Police, Greater Bombay, is the second in the series of volumes proposed to be published for the period 1920-47 of the freedom struggle and covers the period 1919-1924. It is entitled "History of the Non-co-operation Movement in Sind, 1919-1924". It deals with the glorious period of the non-co-operation movement in Sind which was launched after the formation of the All India Home Rule League in 1916 mainly by Mrs. Besant and Lokamanya Tilak, as also the progress of the non-co-operation movement, the gradual decline of the influence of the responsivists and the growth of that of Mahatma Gandhi, the efforts made by the leaders of both the Hindus and Muslims, such as Mrs. Annie Besant, M. K. Gandhi, Ali Brothers, A. T. Gidwani, Dr. C. P. Gidwani, Shaikh Abdulla A. Majid, G. J. Shivdasani, Ghulam Mahomed Bhurgri, J. P. Gulrajani, J. P. Mansukhani *alias* Swami Govindanand, Mukhi Jethanand, Nur Mahomed, Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan, H. A. Haroon, Jamshed N. R. Mehta, Jairamdas Daulatram, Jeswani T. K., Dr. Kitchlew, Haji Abdul Rehman, Jamanalal Bajaj, Begraj Virumal, Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Karim, Rajagopalcharya, Dr. Ansari, Aziz Shaikh Abdul, Abdul Gaffar Khan, D. B. Adwani, etc. and others, small as well as big in the then province of Sind, to bring about amity among both the communities which had developed differences, the robust and at times the defiant attitude adopted by the masses at large when provoked by the fiery speeches delivered by the non-co-operation leaders etc. The account coming as it did from the pen of a Government emissary is often times garbled and fictitious and presents a distortious picture of the struggle, blaming the Congress and giving a pat on the back of the Government. This makes it necessary for the reader to read the account in between the lines for eliciting the truth. One, however, wonders

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( iii )

what would have happened in the province of Sind in the crucial years after the First Great World War and the death of Tilak, if the cementing influence of Mahatma Gandhi had been totally absent. The account, however, is emphatic on the point that Hindu-Muslim unity was a myth and there was no common bond that could wield the two communities together.

In the compilation and collation of this volume, I was assisted by Dr. V. N. Gurav, M.A., Ph.D., Deputy Editor, Shri M. H. Ranade, B.A., Research Officer, Shri S. K. Khilare, B. Com., LL.B., Research Officer, Shri B. N. Phatak, M.A., Superintendent, Sarvashri K. Z. Raut, M.A., and D. J. Nawadkar M.A., Research Assistants, Shri Tendulkar, Assistant and Shri S. G. Shetye and Smt. V. S. Bhagwat, typists to all of whom my thanks are due. I am also thankful to the Commissioner of Police, the Deputy Commissioner of Police and the other Staff in the records section of the Office of the Commissioner of Police. My thanks are also due to Shri S. A. Sapre, Director of Printing and Stationery, Government of Maharashtra and Shri Marne, Manager, Government Press, Kolhapur and other staff of the Government Press, Kolhapur for the expeditious manner in which the present volume was brought out. I am also thankful to my parent department viz., General Administration Department for the kind consideration it has always shown to me in the execution of this important work.

Bombay :        }  
August, 1977.    }

**B. G. Kunte,**  
Executive Editor and Secretary.

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**Confidential**

## **HISTORY OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT, SIND 1919-1924**

### **Introduction**

The year 1919 opened with two main political bodies in the field, viz., the All India Home Rule League established in 1916 mainly by Mrs. Besant and Tilak's Indian Home Rule League started in 1917. Of these two, Tilak's League with its stronghold in the Deccan had a large following in Sind. Mrs. Besant on the other hand had for some time been losing ground everywhere. During the first half of February 1919 she had toured through Sind on behalf of the All India Home Rule League but on the 16th of that month, having been virtually thrown over by that body in a meeting at Bombay called to ratify her proposals passed at Delhi in December 1918 for a deputation to England to ask for the already promised and overdue reforms, she seceded from that body and eventually in April 1919 at Benares started her own National Home Rule League leaving Gandhi master of the All India Home Rule League.

Gandhi at this period of his career gave numerous indications of being a thoroughgoing opportunist, advancing cautiously, differing on almost every subject and occasion from his rivals, especially Tilak, but yet not entirely breaking from them until quite sure of his following. His ideas on "*Satyagraha*" had the air of novelty about them and held a certain appeal for the people generally, apart from his own particular following in Gujarat. Tilak, as was well-known towards the end of his life did not see eye to eye with Gandhi, and in December 1919 the former was in favour of giving the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms a trial though he characterised them as both unsatisfactory and disappointing. Gandhi, on the other hand, professed to seeing something inconsistent in this attitude, but as he did not think the country was prepared for throwing out these reforms he decided that the best course would be to associate himself with Tilak and Das. When, however, Tilak died in August 1920, Gandhi at once came

to the fore. He still retained his hold on the All India Home Rule League which in October 1920 was renamed the "Swaraj Sabha" with the avowed object of securing complete *Swaraj* for India in accordance with the wishes of the people of India." As far as Sind was concerned this Sabha continued to function until the beginning of 1921, when its activities were carried on by the Indian National Congress which had been captured by Gandhi.

### **The General Trend of Agitation in Sind during 1919**

As already mentioned, Mrs. Besant visited Sind in February 1919. Throughout her tour she emphasised the part Indians had played in the war and particularly the assistance given to the English and French by the Indian troops in saving Paris, adding that, since the war England had become so intoxicated with her success that she no longer gave any heed to India's needs and interests; consequently it behoved Indians to agitate especially against such a rank injustice as the Rowlatt legislation which was opposed to the principles of *Magna Charta* since it curtailed the liberties of individuals.

Tilak's influence, however, soon ousted Mrs. Besant's in Sind and his Indian Home Rule League thrived in consequence. At the same time Gandhi's "*Satyagraha*" ideas were beginning to attract the extremist element. After this her influence in Sind was never considerable and her league with Jamshed N. R. Metha of Karachi as Vice-President never attracted many adherents. After Tilak's death the Sind members of his league for the most part went over to Gandhi's side joining his league which was later known (October 1920) as the Swaraj Sabha.

Sind has never been a province to initiate any movement on a large scale. An agricultural country still almost feudal in its customs and outlook, it has always looked elsewhere for a lead in such matters and in the main has never been but an indifferent follower and supporter. While it is never safe to generalise, the estimate may be risked that at no time between 1919 and 1924 were there in the province more than a few hundred earnest conscientious Non-co-operators ready to do or suffer anything for their beliefs.

A certain number of so-called leaders, however came forward and travelled round Sind in batches during 1919 condemning British rule, the proposed Reforms in general and the Rowlatt Act in particular. They urged the people to be ready for '*Satyagraha*' when called upon. Mussalmans were attracted by being told that their religion was in danger and that the Ali Brothers, who had been interned, according to the agitators, for their religious beliefs, would not be released if the Rowlatt Bills became law. Agitation in connection with these bills was stimulated by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Shuaib Quershi and Swami Satyadev who visited Sind during 1919.

During the year '*Satyagraha Sabha*' began to spring up in various places and in consequence of the efforts of the agitators a number of people in Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikapur and Larkana signed the '*Satyagraha*' pledge which was as follows :—

“ Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law ( Amendment ) Bill No. I of 1919, and, the Criminal Law ( Emergency Powers ) Bill No. II of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these bills becoming law until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.”

That some of these signatories had been carried away by their emotions may be gauged from the fact that as soon as the news reached Sind of the troubles in the Punjab and other places in April 1919 many of those who had signed retracted.

The Imperial Legislative Council, as the Central Legislature was then called, in the third week of March 1919 passed the Rowlatt

Act. Mr. M. K. Gandhi then in Madras issued on the 24th of the month the following general message :—

“ I beg to advise as follows :—

- (i) A twenty-four hours' fast, counting from the last meal on the preceding night, should be observed by all adults unless prevented from so doing by considerations of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded, in any shape or form, in the nature of the hunger-strike, or as designed to put any pressure upon the Government. It is to be regarded for the Satyagrahis as a necessary discipline to fit them for civil disobedience contemplated in their pledge, and for all others, as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings.
- (ii) All work, except such as may be necessary in the public interest, should be suspended for the day. Markets and other business places should be closed. Employees, who are required to work even on Sundays, may only suspend work after obtaining previous leave.

I do not hesitate to recommend these two suggestions for adoption by public servants. For, though it is unquestionably the right thing for them not to take part in political discussion and gatherings, in my opinion they have an undoubted right to express, upon vital matters, their feelings in the very limited manner herein suggested.

- (iii) Public meetings should be held in all parts of India, not excluding villages, at which resolutions praying for the withdrawal of the two measures should be passed.

If my advice is deemed worthy of acceptance, the responsibility will lie, in the first instance, on the various Satyagraha Associations for undertaking the necessary work of organisation, but all other Associations will, I hope, join hands in making this demonstration a success.”

In response to the above message *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. At some places meetings were also held.

The latter date had been set for the whole of India but according to Gandhi's statement before the Hunter Committee some parts of the country observed it on the 30th March on hearing that the Rowlatt Act had received the Viceregal assent.

Despite Gandhiji's statement from which it might be inferred that the country spontaneously observed the '*Hartal*' in Sind at all events it was not entirely a voluntary action. In some places the rowdy element employed threats and landlords and leaders of the various communities were induced to place their influence on the side of the agitators. But as far as could be ascertained the fast, which had also been suggested, did not appeal to the organisers of this hollow agitation and was not observed generally.

The effect of this '*Hartal*' was enhanced by events transpiring elsewhere about this time such as the disturbances in the Punjab, Government's interception of Gandhi on the 8th April while on his way to the Punjab and his forced return to Bombay, the 'Jallianwala Bagh' incident on the 13th April 1919 and the Martial Law regime which followed it. All these had their effect in creating excitement in Sind as elsewhere.

#### **Agitation in Connection with the Punjab Troubles**

From this time onwards for the rest of the year, the agitators had ample materials to exaggerate, misrepresent and generally work up into agitation and propaganda. Among others were the so-called 'atrocities' committed in the Punjab during the Martial Law regime, the Indemnity Act and the proceedings of the Hunter Committee and the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress. In meetings held in most of the important towns of Sind, agitators took full advantage of the situation to protest indignantly and to disseminate sedition.

#### **Sixth Sind Provincial (Congress) Conference at Jacobabad**

The All India Congress Committee's resolution regarding Martial Law in the Punjab was generally accepted and the idea of an unarmed India "rebelling" against the nation which had conquered Germany was ridiculed. Collections were made for the 'Punjab Relief Fund.' Perhaps the

most important of these meetings was the series held at Jacobabad between the 15th-17th April known as the 6th Sind Provincial (Congress) Conference at Jacobabad presided over by Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, an ardent Besantine.

Jacobabad was apparently chosen with some idea of arousing enthusiasm in the uneducated Baluchis, a very conservative and distinctly feudal people.

Of the resolutions passed, the first expressing regret at the disturbances in the Punjab aroused but little interest. It was followed by one on passive resistance which gave Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, who moved it, the opportunity of making an objectionable speech in which he expressed himself on the following lines :—

“The tyrants intend to give us nothing. We have been under them for 150 years and now we must free ourselves. The question is whether this should be done by resolution or by murdering the “*Naukar Sahabs*” or by peaceful methods. Gandhi recommends peaceful methods. Well, Gandhi is our leader and we must obey him. But I cannot say I agree with him”.

A resolution on Hindu-Muslim unity was introduced by Mukhi Jethanand who, in his enthusiasm, declared that he was in heart, if not in fact a Mussalman. The representative character of the resolution was greatly lessened by the noticeably small number of Mussalmans who were present.

On a resolution on *Swadeshi*, Dr. Choithram and Narsinglal made objectionable remarks. The latter drawing his inspiration from history, attempted to prove that the English were “*Pucca banias*” and bent on the financial ruin of the country.

Supporting a resolution on the principle of ‘self determination’, Dr. Choithram made an impassioned appeal exhorting the audience ‘to wake up and act.’

Naturally the cumulative effect of the violent expressions used by such speakers as Choithram and Narsinglal had its effect on the audience and a certain amount of anti-British feeling appeared in some of the remarks made by those present such as its contrary to the religion of the English to keep their promises.

G. M. Bhurgri who had attended the Conference was greatly disappointed at the indifference of the Baluch *zamindars* of this Frontier district who regarded the conference as one of *banias* and pleaders, both classes that are held in contempt by these old fashioned landowners. Bhurgri and the other agitators, however, very naturally attributed the aloofness of the Baluchis to official pressure.

### Preventive Measures in Sind

The authorities feeling that some check was needed were not slow to act once they realised the nature and trend of the agitation. In April when Hariram Dayaram Mariwala published and Durgdas Bhojraj Advani printed an English pamphlet entitled the "*New Call*" exhorting the people to prepare for "*Satyagraha*" led by Gandhi, proceedings were instituted against both under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, and each was convicted and sentenced to 2 years rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 1,000 fine.

About this time a complaint under sections 117, 141, 147 Indian Penal Code, was registered by the Hyderabad police against Ghulam Mahomed Bhurgri, Jethmal Parsram Gulrajani, Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, Jawharmal Totiram Mansukhani *alias* Swami Govindanand, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Mukhi Jethanand for illegal acts done on the '*Hartal*' day (6th April), acts which were the direct result of a meeting held at Bhurgri's office to organise the '*Hartal*'.

In connection with this case, in addition to the houses of the above persons, the offices of the Indian Home Rule League, All India Home Rule League and Brahmacharya Ashram, the house and office of Nur Mahomed, pleader, and the house of Ghanshamdas Jethanand Shivdasani were searched but nothing incriminating was found. Mukhi Jethanand, Jethmal Parsram Gulrajani, Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani and Shaikh Abdul Majid, were arrested and released on bail. Bhurgri who was away at the time could not be arrested. These searches and arrests, it is reported, caused a certain amount of excitement but a greater amount of fear at the time. Eventually, however for administrative reasons further action was dropped.

### **Suspension of Satyagraha**

An indication that Sind was not ready for *Satyagraha* and that the action of the authorities had given pause to the leaders may be found in the following two facts :—

In the first place on April 15th, 1919, Ghulam Mahomed Bhurgri (since deceased) sent the following wire to Gandhi :—

“Country awaiting your decision to keep on the passive resistance after the serious situation created in the country. Doubt if it is good for our case”.

He received a reply from Umer Sobhani as follows :—

“Mahatmaji Ahmedabad forwarding telegram. He has issued instructions regarding demonstration. Advises temporary suspension. Sending copies instructions.”

The second indication is the fact that certain politicians, presumably because they did not agree with the revolutionary trend of Mr. Gandhi's efforts to rouse India resigned their membership of the All India Home Rule League, then under Gandhi's domination.

### **Khilafat Question**

The first All India Khilafat Conference which was held at Delhi on November 23rd, 1919, thanked Gandhi and other Hindus for their interest in the Khilafat question. The Conference also enjoined upon Indian Mussalmans to refrain from participating in the victory celebrations and in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not being effected, progressively to withhold all co-operation from the British Government and to boycott British goods. The agitation received a fillip by the release of the Ali Brothers in December 1919. Rumours about the severe nature of the terms proposed to Turkey were prevalent and Muslim opinion was greatly disturbed. M. K. Gandhi was not slow to see in this an excellent opportunity of making common cause with the Mussalmans and on the 10th March 1920 issued the following manifesto :—

“The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an imperial question of the first magnitude.

The great Prelates of England and the Mahomedan leaders combined have brought the question to the fore. The Prelates threw down the challenge. The Muslim leaders have taken it up.

I trust that the Hindus will realise that the Khilafat question overshadows the reforms and everything else.

If the Muslim claim was unjust, apart from the Muslim scriptures, one might hesitate to support it merely on scriptural authority. But when a just claim is supported by scriptures, it becomes irresistible.

Briefly put, the claim is that the Turks should retain European Turkey subject to full guarantees for the protection of non-Muslim races under the Turkish Empire and that the *Sultan* should control the Holy places of Islam and should have suzerainty over Jaziratul-Arab, *i. e.*, Arabia as defined by the Muslim Savants, subject to self-governing rights being given to the Arabs if they so desire. This was what was promised by Mr. Lloyd George and this was what Lord Hardinge had contemplated. The Mahomedan soldiers would not have fought to deprive Turkey of her possessions. To deprive the Khalifa of the suzerainty of Arabia is to reduce the Khilafat to a nullity.

To restore to Turkey, subject to necessary guarantees, what was hers before war is a Christian solution. To wrest any of her possessions from her for the sake of punishing her is a gunpowder solution. The Allies or England in the hour of triumph must be scrupulously just. To reduce the Turks to impotence would be not only unjust. It would be a breach of solemn declarations and promises. It is to be wished that the Viceroy will take his courage in both his hands and place himself at the head of the Khilafat agitation as Lord Hardinge did at the time of the South African "passive-resistance" struggle and thus, like his predecessor, give a clear and emphatic direction to an agitation which under impulsive or faulty leadership, may lead to disastrous consequences.

But the situation rests more with us Hindus and Mahomedans than with the Viceroy and still more with the Muslim leaders than with the Hindus or the Viceroy.

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There are signs already of impatience on the part of Muslim friends, and impatience may any day be reduced to madness and the latter must inevitably lead to violence. And I wish I could persuade every one to see that violence is suicide.

Supposing the Muslim demands are not granted by the Allies or say England ! I see nothing but hope in Mr. Montagu's brave defence of the Muslim position and Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of his own declaration. True the latter is halting but he can secure full justice under it. But we must suppose the worst and expect and strive for the best. How to strive is the question.

What we may not do is clear enough :

- (1) There should be no violence in thought, speech or deed.
- (2) Therefore there should be no boycott of British goods, by way of revenge or punishment. Boycott in my opinion, is a form of violence. Moreover, even if it were desirable, it is totally impracticable.
- (3) There should be no rest till the minimum is achieved.
- (4) There should be no mixing up of other questions with the Khilafat *e. g.*, the Egyptian question.

Let us see what must be done :—

The cessation of business on the 19th instant and expression of the minimum demands by means of one single resolution is a necessary first step provided that the '*hartal*' is absolutely voluntary and the employees are not asked to leave their work unless they received permission from their employers. I would strongly urge that the mill-hands should be left untouched. The further provision is that there should be no violence accompanying the *hartal*. I have been often told that the C. I. D. sometimes promote violence. I do not believe in it as a general charge. But even if it be true, our discipline should make it impossible. Our success depends solely on our ability to control, guide and discipline the masses.

Now a word as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The barbarous method is warfare, open or secret. This must be ruled

out if only because it is impracticable. If I could but persuade every one that it is always bad, we should gain all lawful ends much quicker. The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence generates is a power that is irresistible. But my argument to-day against violence is based upon pure expediency, *i. e.*, its utter futility.

Non-co-operation is, therefore, 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 to one's cherished religious sentiment. England cannot accept a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Mussalmans mean a matter of life and death. We may, therefore, begin at the top as also at the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial services under Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to services under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of Non-co-operation. It is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal alone is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiers to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier leave us. Moreover, every step in withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self-control under the fiercest heat.

Many look upon the Calcutta resolutions with the deepest alarm. They scent in them a preparation for violence. I do not look upon them in that light, though I do not approve of the tone of some of them. I have already mentioned those whose subject-matter I wholly dislike.

"Can Hindus accept all the resolutions " is the question addressed by some. I can only speak for myself. I will co-operate whole-heartedly with the Muslim friends in the prosecution of their just demands so long as they act with sufficient restraint and so long as I feel sure that they do not wish to resort to or countenance violence. I should cease to co-operate and advise every Hindu and for that matter every one else to cease to co-operate, the moment there was violence actually done, advised or countenanced. I would, therefore, urge upon all

speakers the exercise of the greatest restraint under the greatest provocation. There is certainty of victory if firmness is combined with gentleness. The cause is doomed if anger, hatred, ill-will, recklessness and finally violence are to reign supreme. I shall resist them with my life even if I should stand alone. My goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the great (greatest ?) opposition to wrong."

### **Anti-peace Celebrations Campaign**

Following the lead of the first All India Khilafat Conference held at Delhi in November 1919 under the presidency of M. K. Gandhi there was started in Sind the samemonth an anti-Peace Celebrations Campaign by means of meetings, distributing leaflets, posting notices and articles in the Press, reminding the people of their duties towards their religion and country. The celebrations, however, passed off peacefully in Sind. But there was a very general absence of enthusiasm. In some places in the province there were anti-celebrations processions and in Karachi the Khalikadina Hall was draped in black by agitators. Many of the speeches and much of the printed matter was of a very objectionable nature, though the greatest care was taken to represent the whole agitation as purely religious in origin—the Musalmans broken by sorrow at the fate of their Khilafat and wholly incapable of rejoicing and the Hindus compelled by brotherly love and sympathy also to remain aloof.

### **Punjab Congress Sub-committee, 1919-1920**

Agitation on the platform and in the Press all over India finally resulted in the appointment in October 1919 of the Hunter Committee to enquire into the Punjab disturbances. About the same time the All India Congress Committee appointed a Sub-Committee including Gandhi to lead evidence before the Government Committee but when the President of the latter refused to accede to the demand that the release of those arrested in connection with the disturbances should be a preliminary to the enquiry, the Congress Sub-Committee decided to have nothing further to do with the Hunter Committee but to make independent enquiries. The Congress Sub-Committee's report was published on the 26th March 1920.



As might be expected the findings of the Congress and the Hunter Committees did not agree. Agitators naturally preferred the former and this difference of opinion served but as an excuse for further anti-Government propaganda. This took the form of supporting the Congress Committee's view, condemning the majority report of the Hunter Committee, demanding the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and others and advocating a refusal to welcome H. R. H. the Prince of Wales whose visit to India was being mooted.

### **Rise of Sind Muslim Interest in Agitation, November-December 1919**

In November 1919 the first All India Khilafat Conference at Delhi attracted a number of Mussalmans from Sind mainly Firs and other religiously inclined persons. It had the effect of putting them against Government which was held to be responsible for all the alleged Khilafat wrongs. At the same time it interested Sind Mussalmans in agitation in general and was the direct cause of the large attendance from Sind at the Indian National Congress at Amritsar during X' mas week in 1919. The Ali Brothers who had been released in December 1919 were an additional attraction. A special train carried the Sind visitors who came back particularly roused, especially the Muslim element, by the speeches, many of them violent, made by leading agitators especially the Ali Brothers.

During the same period, in addition to the Congress, there was a session of the Muslim League and a Khilafat Conference. Motilal Nehru presided over the Congress, Hakim Ajmal Khan over the All India Muslim League and Shaukatali over the All India Khilafat Conference.

Two Sindhis, quite a departure for this time, *viz.*, Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan and Shaikh Abdul Majid took a small part in the Congress.

### **Tilak in Sind**

Bal Gangadhar Tilak's visit to Sind during the last week of March 1920 did much to encourage agitation. He visited Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Karachi, and at most places processions and meetings were arranged in his honour. About ten thousand rupees were presented to him in Sind, out of which rupees five hundred were given by him to the branches of the Indian Home Rule League in Sind, one hundred to the National College at Hyderabad, while the remainder was earmarked by him for propaganda in England. During his tour he spoke on Hindu-Muslim unity and criticised Government generally.

### **Seventh Sind Provincial (Congress) Conference at Sukkur, April 1920**

Up to the present the Congress organisation in Sind had been predominantly Hindu but this was an obvious anomaly in a province in which Mussalmans were in a large majority, especially in Upper Sind, and the agitators, fully aware of this, made efforts to attract Muslims. In 1919 with some such idea the previous Conference had been held in Upper-Sind (Jacobabad) and this year again the same idea seems to have led to Sukkur being chosen. This time, however, the organisers went further and elected as president a Mussalman, Haji Abdullah Haroon, a prominent Khilafatist sugar merchant of Karachi.

The conference, held from the 2nd to the 5th of April, produced but poor results and scarcely advanced the cause of the agitators any more than the one held the previous year.

Resolutions among others were passed recommending the sanction of Horniman's return to India, the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the release of all political prisoners. In addition sympathy with the Khilafat agitation was expressed and a vote of thanks to the Punjab Disturbances Congress Enquiry Sub-Committee passed.

The main historical interest of this conference lies in the dissensions which were manifested between the different parties who had come together to hold it.

In the subjects committee a proposal to welcome the Prince of Wales was lost by the casting vote of Haji Abdullah Haroon but the Besantine party headed by Jamshed N. R. Mehta and supported by most of the members from Hyderabad insisted on bringing the subject up again with a threat that they would otherwise leave the conference in a body. The resolution was eventually passed. Lokram Nainaram Sharma, Editor of the *Hindu* of Hyderabad, a man of somewhat violent temperament objected openly and demanded that his dissent should be recorded.

Another resolution which resulted in some discussion asked Government to open an Arts and Agricultural College in Upper Sind. The Hyderabad delegates were strongly in favour of their own town being selected as the most suitable location for it but were eventually overruled, with the result that several of those from Hyderabad, headed by Gopaldas Jhamatmal left the conference in disgust.

The last resolution, thanking Mr. Montagu for the reforms but condemning them as inadequate and disappointing did not come before the meeting till 9 p. m. on the last day leaving no time for adequate discussion. The Tilakites would naturally be in favour and the Besantines gave indications of support but the President declared that so many amendments (there were four in effect) had been suggested that it would be impossible to deal with the matter properly. This led to an uproar during which Lokram N. Sharma climbed on to the platform to fight with the President while Harchandrai Vishindas, J. T. Mansukhani (*alias* Govindanand) and Lalchand A. Jagtiani who followed him also added to the confusion. Volunteers attempted to clear the Hall but the audience showed no desire to leave. The President, however, brought the real conference to a precipitated end by disappearing through a back door.

This sudden dissolution and the tumult that followed led to much discussion in Sind at meetings and in the press. It was alleged that the President had allowed himself to become the tool of an influential majority. As a matter of fact the resolution had been rejected by a majority in the subjects committee but the minority being more than one-third of those present had claimed their privilege of sending a requisition to the President that the resolution should be put up for discussion in the open conference. The President delayed his ruling on this until 7-30 p. m. on the last day. This, added to his declaration when the resolution came up that there was not sufficient time for an adequate discussion of it and the four amendments, was adversely criticised and he was alleged to have adopted these tactics at the instigation of Jairamdas and Harchandrai. It was argued that his proper course in the circumstances would have been to prolong the conference another day for the discussion of so important a matter.

#### **What the Conference showed**

The President replied to these arguments by saying he was not an experienced politician and not being well-versed in the Congress constitution and rules had had, after considerable delay to obtain a copy of them. This alone delayed his ruling. He excused his hurried departure on the plea that under the circumstances it was the only course left open to him. The conference disclosed the existence of three parties among the Sind politicians.

In the first place there was the Khilafatist group which included all the Mussalmans. This was perhaps the most disaffected and at times came nearest to open disloyalty. Its members were against welcoming the Prince of Wales. The resolution on this subject, as already mentioned, failed to secure a majority in the subjects committee and it was only passed eventually in the conference when the bulk of the Mussalmans were absent attending a Muslim League meeting.

The second party comprised the Tilakites who condemned the reforms as inadequate and were strongly opposed to the bureaucracy. Most of the Shikarpur delegates belonged to this, in addition to the Karachi and Hyderabad leaders of the Indian (Tilak's) Home Rule League, such as Swami Govindanand, Durgdas Bhojraj Advani, Hariram Dayaram Mariwala, Lokram Nainaram Sharma, Lalchand Amardinomal Jagtiani and others.

Finally there was the Besantine party which at this time represented the most moderate opinion. Among its well-known adherents were Jamshed Nussarwanji R. Mehta, Santdas Mangharam, Jairamdas Daulatram and Karamchand Gurumukhdas.

Bhurgri was frankly disgusted with the whole conference declaring that it showed their complete unfitness for self-government. During April Bhurgri identified himself with Gandhi's All India Home Rule League of which he became Vice-President.

### **Temperance Propaganda**

Temperance formed part of the subsequent Non-co-operation movement and Sind began to take an interest in it about this time.

Along with the political conference (Congress) a Temperance Conference was held, also at Sukkur, on the 4th and 5th April 1920, with Professor T. L. Vaswani as president.

### **National Week, 6th-13th April 1920**

In accordance with Gandhi's instructions a national week, from the 6th to 13th April, was observed in all the principal towns of Sind in remembrance of the Jallianwala Bagh incident. This took the form mainly of meetings in many of which rousing and often objectionable

speeches were made, stereotyped resolutions passed and photos of those killed at the Bagh exhibited. Advantage was taken of the enthusiasm thus engendered to collect for the Punjab Relief Fund and for a Jallian-wala Bagh Memorial. For the latter Hyderabad alone is reported to have subscribed Rs. 10,000.

Although Gandhi had stipulated that no bitter or violent language should be used at the meetings many irresponsible persons, some of them paid propagandists whose living depended on the excitement they aroused to bring in money for the various funds from which they were paid, ignored this stipulation.

The following extracts indicate the nature of such speeches :—

“Indians have been troubled by these people ever since they came to India. Their policy seems to be to keep Indians under bondage and to rule over the country. The Royal Proclamation of 1858 did India no good. It only promised justice and said nothing about *Swaraj*. The Royal Proclamation of 1917 was better because it gave freedom and reforms. The King has been brought to see that *Swaraj* is India's right. The King told his bureaucracy to help India to get *Swaraj*. Therefore, to ask for *Swaraj* is to be loyal to the King. Those who do not ask for *Swaraj* are liable to be prosecuted for sedition. You must know that we have taken *Swaraj* forcibly from the King. If you take a currency note and get a shopkeeper to change it for you, you may thank him, but really he did you no favour; he was bound to change the note. In the same way Englishmen were bound to give us *Swaraj*. Remember that the credit for this Proclamation should not be given to the bureaucracy or to Mr. Montagu. It is our agitation that has brought it about. Remember also that if there had been no oppression in India there would have been no trouble in Europe to-day. On account of the oppression in India God ordered a great war and Germany by waging war gave us an opportunity for *Swaraj*. The bureaucracy, however, would like to cheat God. During the war they promised us *Swaraj*; they have broken their promise and cheated God. If Dyer had done in England what he had done in the Punjab, I am certain that Englishmen would have bombed him. I warn Englishmen that if they do not give us *Swaraj* now, there will again be big war in Europe. God is restless and will not put up with more oppression. We request them to give us *Swaraj* and so avoid another war.”

“ You must know that there are two parties now. One consists of flatterers and the other of fighters. We terrified the Englishmen by means of *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* is a useful weapon. Remember that the bureaucracy will tempt you in many ways in carrying out the reforms, but you must bear in mind that nothing has been given to you. You cannot cancel the Press Act; until you can, everything is wrong.”

“In the Sukkur Conference the most important question of all, namely, the reforms was not taken up at all. Self-seeking people wasted time over resolutions about Hurs and the like. Be careful to whom you give your vote. Send good quarrelsome men to the Legislative Council so that they can fight for the good of India. Send up fighting cocks and you are sure to get *Swaraj*.”

“What we want is that England should have a President like other countries. The peace terms for Germany and all other countries were decided in France. Why they go to England to decide the peace terms for Turkey ? The English have been putting off and putting off the decision and finally on the 31st March they decided that the Turks should be driven out of Constantinople. The English are our enemies and we should treat them as we treat enemies. When the English entered India they promised not to touch our holy places. In the times of Queen Victoria and Edward VII they kept this promise, but now in the reign of George V they have broken it. ”

#### **Seth Naraindas of Shikarpur**

The Police, Military and Civil officials ought to resign to bring the English to the point. If that fails then let zamindars refuse to pay land assessment. Everyone should have his own rule.

#### **M. A. Akhtar (Probably Amanullah Khan of the “ *Daily Gazette* ”**

The English say the Turks are cruel assassins, but I say that they are not half as cruel as General Dyer but if they kill us we shall become martyrs.

The following handbill in English, Urdu and Guajrati was distributed in Karachi on the 9th April 1920 :—

**‘ INDIA’S NATIONAL MEMORIAL ’**

*Wanted Rs. 10 lakhs for Jallianwala*

**SIND TO SUBSCRIBE Rs. 50,000**

*Fellow Countrymen,*

We are collecting during the National Week (6th to 13th April) half a lakh of rupees for the National Memorial at Jallianwala (Amritsar) rich in its sacred association of Hindu-Muslim unity and sacrifice. Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders have appealed to us to contribute our share. Shall we not respond to the appeal ? The memorial will pass down to future generations as the symbol of a tragedy in which the blood of peaceful and law abiding Indians Hindu and Muslim, men, women and children flowed together in one holy stream of sacrifice. To such a memorial, which should in no case be associated with any thought of hate or ill-will, it is our earnest desire that every citizen, every man, woman, and child of whatever class or community, should contribute something—no matter how little. Our purpose is not to depend solely on those who can contribute large amounts but to meet every person in the street we can; the least gifts will be most gratefully received. When you meet our volunteers pray do not pass them by. Give them something in his name and in the name of India—in the last instance a pie. If your friend or neighbour or companion or anyone who may happen to be with you has nothing with him, give something for him. Remember you can always give something for the unity and welfare of India. Do give something which helps in the raising of a shrine meant to be a national temple for the whole of India. We ask the very poorest to participate in the building of the temple, and therefore so feel himself to be a part of the nation. Remember your duty to your country and the innocent ones who died.

*N. B.*—Only those volunteers who have cards signed by the Secretary should be recognised as bonafide volunteers authorised to collect money.

Your Comrades in the one service.

Karachi Collection Committee, Jallianwala Memorial.

The following translation of a leaflet circulated by the Chairman of the Congress Committee, Sukkur, is also of interest :—

**“Ten lacs as charity for Jallianwala Bagh, Shahid Ganj**

**OUR MAHATMA GANDHI**

Under the orders of General Dyer thousands of Hindus and Mussalmans have been killed and wounded in Amristar Jallianwala Bagh, whose blood has been mixed with the dust and has made the strong knot of union. This incident in Amritsar took place on the 13th April, on the day of *Vaishakhi*. Now our men who have love for their country want to build a ‘Shahid Ganj’ in Jallianwala Bagh. Mahatma Gandhi, Tilak, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Swami Shraddhanand and others have been collecting subscriptions and by May 10 lacs are to be collected. Mahatma Gandhi has ordered specially to collect this subscription in this National Week and this National Week is to be observed from the 6th to the 13th April 1920 so that there may not be again bloodshed in India. On the 13th April on Tuesday there will be a big meeting at 8 p. m. near Nim Maidan under the management of Congress leaders. All the Hindus and the Muslims should unite together, collect subscriptions from every street, from every house, from every shop and bring the money to the public meeting or on Tuesday. For Hindus to-morrow is *Vaishakhi* day and therefore they should take a bath and give in charity. The volunteers and the Committee appointed on the 9th should go round old Sukkur and Rohri and collect subscriptions from women, men and children. More or less whatever each can spare should be begged. Come Hindus and Muslims help us because in the conference Sukkur has given a very small amount. Those who have promised to give, should send the amount and others should help us. Bring money by means of begging for Jallianwala Bagh so that it may be a memorial for India. Sind has to pay half a lac and Sukkur has to pay five thousand.

11th April, 1920.

(Sd.) VIRUMAL BEGRAJ,  
Chairman, Congress Committee, Sukkur.’



### **The Formal Adoption of Gandhi's Non-Co-Operation Proposals**

Gandhi had steadily been making progress with the Muslim community. He apparently realised that without a union of the two great communities and a united front against Government little could be accomplished. Non-co-operation with Government, but without any particular emphasis on non-violence, had its attractions probably because it foreshadowed a tangible form of resistance to the much abused Government the people had been taught to hate as being responsible for all their ills.

The Muslims discussed it at a Central Khilafat Committee meeting between the 11th and 14th April but did not definitely adopt it, but in accordance with Gandhi's suggestion, decided to go in for propaganda to popularise the idea in case it should be needed. Subsequently on the 14th May the Turkish Peace Terms were published and failed to satisfy the Mahomedans with the result that the Central Khilafat Committee on the 28th May hurriedly adopted the Non-co-operation proposals. This was confirmed by the All India Khilafat Conference at Allahabad during the first week of June 1920.

The proposals adopted were as follows :-

- (a) Resignation of honours, titles and honorary offices.
- (b) Resignation of all services with Europeans excluding army and police.
- (c) Resignation of service in army and police.
- (d) Refusal to pay taxes.

A Sub-Committee, consisting of Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukatali, Maulvi Mahomed Ali ( not the Maulana ), Dr. Kitchlew, Hasrat Mohani and Ahmed Haji Siddik Khatri, was appointed to give effect to the resolution.

Sind was represented at the Conference by Thanwardas Lilaram Vaswani, Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani and Haji Abdullah Haroon.

A number of leading Hindus specially invited were present but while some approved of the idea in theory they foresaw difficulties in its application and especially did they mistrust the Muslim attitude as revealed at the Conference. After it was over Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani in a letter to Shaukatali indicated this when he accused a leading Mussalman of having supplied the press with a carefully censored and misleading account of the Conference in that he had suppressed all mention of the discussion in which the Muslims had even gone so far as to welcome an Afghan invasion, had ignored Gandhi's claim to dictatorship and had declared that in the event of Muslim response to the second stage being unsatisfactory he would abandon the Non-co-operation scheme.

The Hindus possibly on account of Tilak's influence since he was opposed to the idea, were more cautious, but in a meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Benares on the 30th May 1920 it was decided that a special session of the Congress should be convened to consider Gandhi's programme.

During the first week in July the above Khilafat Sub-Committee published in Bombay the following manifesto :-

“ Many questions have been asked of the Non-co-operation Committee as to its expectations and the methods to be adopted for a beginning. The Non-co-operation Committee wish it to be understood that while they expect everyone to respond to their recommendations to the full, they are desirous of carrying the weakest members also with them. The Committee want to enlist passive sympathy, if not the active co-operation, of the whole of the country in methods of Non-co-operation. Those therefore who cannot undergo physical sacrifice will help by contributing funds or labour to the movement. Should Non-co-operation become necessary, the Committee has decided upon the following as part of the first stage :-

- (1) Non-participation in Government loans.
- (2) Surrender of all titles of honour and honorary offices.

- (3) Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.
- (4) Boycott of Government schools by parents.
- (5) Boycott of Reformed Councils.
- (6) Non-participation in Government parties and such other functions.
- (7) Refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia or to offer as units for the army especially for service in Turkish territories now being administered in violation of pledges.
- (8) Vigorous prosecution of *Swadeshi* inducing people at the time of this national awakening to appreciate their national duties to their country by being satisfied with its own productions and manufactures. *Swadeshi* must be pushed without waiting for the 1st of August, for it is an eternal rule of conduct not to be interrupted even when settlement arrives. In order not to commit themselves people will refrain now from taking service either civil or military. They will also suspend taking Government loans, new or old. For the rest it should be remembered that Non-co-operation does not commence before the 1st August 1920. Every effort is being and will still be made to avoid resort to any serious breach with Government by urging His Majesty's Ministers to secure revision of Treaty which has been so universally condemned. Those who realise their responsibility and the gravity of course will not act independently but in consort with the committee. Success depends entirely upon discipline and concerted Non-co-operation and the latter is dependent upon strict obedience to instructions, calmness and absolute freedom from violence. "

#### **Gujarat Sabha in Karachi, July 1920**

The Gujaratis living in Karachi started in July 1920 a Gujarat Sabha to spread Gandhi's ideas and to open branches of his Vidya Pith for juvenile education.

### **Gandhi's visit to Sind, July 1920**

Having launched, largely with the aid of Mussalmans his Non-co-operation movement, Gandhi took an early opportunity of visiting Sind, a predominantly Muslim province. He came in July 1920, but prior to this both Muslims and Hindus had since May, when the Treaty of Sevres was published, been working up agitation condemning its terms, and so prepared the way for his visit.

Accompanied by Shaukatali, Dr. Kitchlew, Saraladevi Chaudhrani and Jawaharlal Nehru he arrived in Karachi on the 22nd July from the direction of Lahore. The train ( Punjab Mail ) happened to be running 12 hours late which interfered somewhat with the reception arrangements at Karachi where the train due in the morning actually arrived late at night. Nevertheless some 5,000 were actually present to meet them and to such an extent did they let their enthusiasm run away with them that eventually they had to be practically dispersed by railway servants and police before the visitors could leave the station. Outside a procession was formed and taken through the principal streets, decorated in places, to the Idgah Maidan where at midnight a meeting was held.

Gandhi made a stay at only two places in Sind, namely, Karachi and Hyderabad, but was received enthusiastically at both. A little incident at Karachi serves to show the effect his presence caused on the students of the D. J. Sind College who, annoyed at their Principal's refusal to allow them to invite Gandhi to address them held a protest meeting in the Burns Garden adjoining the College. Instead of describing in detail the visit it will suffice for our purpose to indicate the nature of his speeches. Throughout he stressed the beauty of spiritual as opposed to physical power, freedom for the motherland, justice for the Punjab oppression and a revision of the Khilafat (Sevres Treaty) decision.

The following extract from his speech in Karachi on the 23rd July 1920 is of interest :—

“ In the first place, I want to inform all my brethren that the doctrine of Non-co-operation will be put into force from the 1st

of August 1920. What course we shall have to follow from 1st August, I am not going to narrate before you now. Pamphlets and notices have already been issued. I will only tell my Mahomedan brethren at this moment that if they are desirous to solve this Khilafat question by the doctrine of Non-co-operation, then they will have to work peacefully, silently, putting their sword in the sheath and refraining from giving any assistance whatsoever to Government. Moreover they will have to stock the greatest possible power of sacrifice. Even if every man is being imprisoned and sent to jail, patience of mind must not be lost. The Secretary of State for India has announced in the House of Commons that Gandhi has gone mad and that the freedom which was given to Gandhi last year, should be withheld at this moment. To-day our hands and feet are chained. So long as there is a religious misfortune upon my Mahomedan brethren, and so long as the *zulum* practised in the Punjab is not removed, I consider myself to be in jail without having even a single moment of freedom. ( Cries of *Allah-o-Akbar*.) Jail will become for me a royal place, if Government desire to send me to jail or if Government hang me, then I desire to express my congratulations on their action. I also request you to congratulate me, as I am ready to die for the Khilafat question along with my Mahomedan brethren ( *Allah-o-Akbar* ). I want to be congratulated by you at that time when God gives me an opportunity of proving myself as I have said above. When you congratulate me, you must not get annoyed, but on the contrary you must say it to yourselves and reflect what great power you possess when you see that a Hindu is prepared to go to jail for your religion. ( *Allah-o-Akbar* ) I therefore want to request you brethren in this manner and pray to God to fill your hearts with such a great power that you will at once be ready to go to jail, to resign all your posts, to desist from helping the Government, and to consider it your duty to suppress all anger, if you find you are excited, and not to let anger come out of your hearts, and to pray to God to give you peace of mind, to give you a Gandhi-like power, so that you may be able to do what Gandhi is doing. May God give you such peace of mind that even if you see that your brother is being sent to jail, you will not get excited and neither draw sword on any

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Englishman nor abuse him : but on the contrary you will tell the Englishmen that from that date you will not be prepared to give any assistance to Government. Then and then alone, you will at once understand and you will possess, such a great power, that the Khilafat question will at once be settled in your favour. If you become mad and begin to shed blood, then aeroplanes will surround you from all sides and machine guns will be used. I am not sure that you possess such a great power that even in the face of death you will not leave the Khilafat question unsettled but only so long as there are no aeroplanes and machine guns. They will only send you to jails and you should try to fill their jails and you should hate their service and hate their everything. You should fill your stomachs through the money of your brothers and not through the money of Government. I do not desire to express my views on the question of Hijrat just at present. Our brother, Shaukatali, is discussing the question of Hijrat with me and I only want to say now that Hijrat can be worked out along with the doctrine of Non-co-operation and that you should remain silent until you hear from us in this connection. If you have fully understood the doctrine of Non-co-operation, then you can easily reach and solve this question by following this doctrine. If you are unable to bear the hardships of Non-co-operation, if you cannot withdraw your monetary assistance while sitting in this country, if you cannot stop your anger and if you are ready to commit bloodshed, then it will be advisable for you to make Hijrat. I cannot speak any more to-day and I pray to God to give you advice, power and strength and the power of sacrificing that you may make use of this doctrine of Non-co-operation with such enthusiasm from 1st of August 1920 and to such an extent that we may attain success in the Khilafat question. ( God may compensate you, *Allah-o-Akber* from the audience ). ”

At Hyderabad on the 24th he laid special stress on *Swadeshi*.

As his visit was mainly in connection with Khilafat propaganda it will be dealt with more fully in the Khilafat portion of this report.

The party broke up in Hyderabad, Shaukatali and Kitchlew leaving for Multan on the 24th and Gandhi for Ahmedabad on the 25th.

### **Tilak's Death, 31st July 1920**

Tilak died at Bombay on the 31st July 1920 and as a sign of mourning a '*hartal*' was observed in Hyderabad on the 2nd August 1920. Meetings were held for the same purpose in the principal towns in Sind at which people were advised in accordance with the Congress suggestion not to celebrate *Divali* as the country was in mourning. Hindus and Mussalmans joined in threatening to ostracise all who did not adopt the advice.

In Shikarpur on the 9th November a locally printed hand-bill showed that this agitation had developed further since the reason therein given for not observing *Divali* was that if they ate sweets on this occasion it would be as reprehensible as if they had taken beef. Other leaflets for the same purpose but giving as reasons the death of Tilak and the Punjab 'Murders' also came to notice.

### **Protest against Turkish peace terms**

In the first week of July the Central Khilafat Committee ordered a '*Hartal*' to be observed on August 1st 1920, as a protest against the Turkish Peace Terms and this was partially observed in the principal towns in Sind.

### **Sind Special (Congress) Conference, August 1920**

A Special Sind Provincial Conference presided over by Durgdas B. Advani was held at Hyderabad on the 28th and 29th August to consider the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, Non-co-operation and the Punjab 'atrocities'. A resolution adopting Non-co-operation proposed by Professor Thanwardas Lilaram Vaswani and seconded by Haji Abdullah Haroon was passed despite opposition from the 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 accepts Non-co-operation unhesitatingly. Gujarat Conference has accepted all the stages. Wish success."

### **Calcutta Special Congress, September 1920**

The special session of the Congress suggested by the All India Congress Committee in its meeting at Benares on the 30th May

met at Calcutta early in September 1920. It decided on the adoption of Gandhi's progressive non-violent Non-co-operation until the so-called wrongs had been righted and 'Swaraj' obtained. Its recommendations were as follows :—

- (1) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation of nominated members on local bodies.
- (2) Refusal to attend Government levees and similar functions.
- (3) Gradual withdrawal of pupils from Government aided or controlled schools and colleges and the establishment of national schools and colleges in their stead.
- (4) Gradual boycott of Government Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of arbitration courts to settle private disputes.
- (5) Refusal of military men, clerks and labourers to offer themselves for service in Mesopotamia.
- (6) Withdrawal of candidates for the Reformed Councils and abstention from voting for any candidate by all with votes.
- (7) Boycott of foreign goods and the adoption of *Swadeshi*.

To carry out its resolutions it appointed a Sub-Committee in Calcutta to draft instructions and this Committee advised that an immediate start should be made in connection with all the above items in general and the boycott of Councils in particular.

The report of the Sub-Committee was accepted by the All-India Congress Committee in a meeting presided over by Motilal Nehru at Bombay on the 2nd October 1920.

### **Gandhi Birthday**

Gandhi's birthday, 2nd October 1920, was made the occasion in Sind of holding meetings to sing his praises and to exhort people to follow his lead.



### **Mr. C. F. Andrews in Sind, October 1920**

Among the outside agitators who visited Sind during the year was Mr. C. F. Andrews who arrived in Hyderabad on the 19th October 1920. At a meeting that evening he described the conditions under which indentured labourers and other Indians lived in the British Colonies to show that these Colonies wished to exclude Indians or at all events to prevent them from becoming settlers. From this he argued that India should aim at complete Independence and Home Rule.

At another meeting he condemned the education imparted in Government schools. Coming on to Karachi the same week he addressed the Sind Students Convention and a public meeting stressing *Swaraj* and non-violence.

### **Boycott of Councils**

As a result of the acceptance by Congress of the Non-co-operation resolutions the leading agitators in Sind made serious attempts to boycott the Council elections. The "*Alwahid*" a Khilafat daily regularly preached the Non-co-operation programme and appealed to the religious prejudices of Mussalmans many of whom in Sind are very backward and narrow minded.

At the same time it must be admitted that the task of these agitators was simplified by the very fact that a majority of those who had votes had never wanted them and even regarded them as a potential nuisance. Hence while their inclination undoubtedly coincided with the wishes of the agitators, it is safe to assume that even without this additional incentive a large number of the voters through ignorance or apathy would not have gone to the polls.

Throughout this agitation in connection with the elections, the speakers at meetings almost invariably introduced *quasi* religious sentiments likely to engender hatred of the Government and the British. Hindus for instance called Europeans "Cowslaughters" and Mussalmans harped on the woes of Khilafat attributing them to the anti-Muslim policy of the British.

The following leaflet by Gandhi was distributed in English and the vernacular :—

### **“ BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS—VOTER’S DUTIES**

The special Congress has decided with an overwhelming majority to completely boycott the new Councils. It is, therefore, your duty not to give votes to any of the candidates for the new Councils. Further, you are required to inform candidates standing as your representatives that you do not wish to send them or anyone else as your representatives. You must, therefore, sign the forms prepared for your signatures and you are bound to inform your brothervoters as to what they are required to do in the matter.

You know why it is sinful to go to the Councils: Government have refused to give justice in connection with the Punjab, British ministers have broken their pledges to the Mussalmans brothers in connection with the Khilafat and have otherwise disregarded their deepest religious feelings. We must get these injusticesre moved; and in order that such injustices and breach of pledges may not recur, we must get complete *Swarajya* and avoid the state of bondage.

We cannot do this by going to the Councils; similarly we cannot get *Swarajya* by going there. On the other hand even if our representatives would vote against actions of the Government, they would be considered as participants of those actions and thus, against their will, they will be the tools of the injustice of the Government. Therefore, in order to protect our self-respect and to establish *Swarajya* first and to get injustice remedied, the best and only way is not to send representatives to the Councils.”

In October 1920 the “*Alwahid*” began regularly to publish in the centre of its front page inflammatory notices of which the following translation of the one for the 16th October is typical :—

### **“ HINDU BROTHERS ( MUSSALMANS )**

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.

Do not enlist in the army to go to Baghdad to fight against your Arab brothers. ”

During the same month Gandhi issued orders to all the branches of the All India Home Rule League to make special efforts during the ensuing two months for the boycott of the Councils.

A party consisting of Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan, Swami Krishnanand, son of Bhumanand, Pandit Amersen, R. K. Sidhwa, Professor Thanwardas Lilaram Vaswani and T. K. Jeswani left Karachi on the 8th and returned on the 16th October. During their tour they visited Dadu, Larkana, Shikarpur, Sukkur and Rohri, delivering speeches to Hindu-Muslim audiences. The first two speakers were violent in tone and tendered to rouse the passions of their hearers to anything but a non-violent state. At Sukkur, stones were thrown at the C. I. D. reporters and other police present.

On the 20th *idem* Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan as Secretary of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee sent the following telegram to various papers :—

“ Sind is as enthusiastic as ever over Non-co-operation. Elaborate propaganda to boycott councils is being vigorously conducted all round in face of tremendous difficulties in this bureaucracy ridden province. Professor Vaswani and party returned to Karachi on 17th October after successful tour in ( Dadu, Larkana, Shikarpur, Sukkur and Rohri ) where people flocked in thousands to attend public meetings. The party organised the boycott of council movement (is) on sound footing. Abdul Majid and party held meetings in Nawabshah, Chehopta Naushahro, Phulan, Dadu and Uderolal fair. Following propagandists are working :— Abdul Khalik in Nawabshah district, Khuda Baksh and Mahomed Baksh in Hyderabad district Abdul Majid, Mahomed Hasim and Mokhamdin in Thar Parkar district, Pandit Amersen, Swami Krishnanand, son of Bhumanand and Moulvi Abdul Karim in Shikarpur and Jacobabad districts,

Dr. Mahomed Yemin and Abdul Satar in Sukkur district, Virumal (Begraj) in Sukkur and Rohri.”

On the 21st October, the Sukkur Branch of the All India Home Rule League organised a procession which stopped at various centres in the town while Council boycott was preached. This was a prelude to a series of such processions and street corner boycott speeches which at times caused serious obstruction to traffic. Virumal Begraj organised a similar procession in Shikarpur on the 21st October during the course of which violent speeches were made.

From the 22nd to 26th October a party headed by Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani and Ghanshamdas Jethanand Shivdasani of Hyderabad went on a tour in the Thar Parkar district visiting Mirpurkhas, Gadro and Umarmkot. In their speeches they dwelt on Non-co-operation with allusions to the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab ‘atrocities’, the faithlessness of the British Government, the down-trodden and impoverished condition of the country and the boycott of Councils.

During the first week of November, camels used as sandwichmen, paraded the streets of Karachi with large notices such as “Boycott the Councils”. “Do not give your votes to the candidates”. On the 6th of the same month the “*New Times*” published glowing accounts of the tours and agitation in connection with the Council boycott. Between the 4th and 7th November, two Mussalman agitators visited various places in Thar Parkar district delivering speeches and distributing posters on the same subject while several agitators from Karachi visited Tatta on the 12th *idem* for the same purpose. During the same month Pandit Amersen with local leaders such as Pir Turavbali Shah, Pir Ali Anwar Shah toured in Larkana.

Another and more objectionable party was that consisting of Dwarka Prasad (of Dadu), Swami Krishnanand, son of Bhumanand, Gobind Prasad (of Delhi), Kazi Khuda Baksh and Mir Allah Baksh Talpur (of Mirpurkhas) which was joined by local agitators at Rohri, Sukkur and Shikarpur.

The Swami declared that though the people might tolerate the export of India's wheat they could not stand the attacks of the British on the sacred cow and the sacred places of the Mussalmans.

Dwarka Prasad threatened that if the Council boycott did not bring Government to its senses, the agitators would cause the sweepers, dhobis and other servants of Europeans to leave their services and would prevent landlords from renting buildings to Europeans.

Gobind Prasad from Delhi was particularly offensive in his speeches frequently introducing mis-statements about cow's blood, and cow's and pig's fat being used in the manufacture of various articles such as sugar and candles. On one occasion he declared that British medicines contained forbidden ingredients. While at a meeting on the 9th November he introduced beastly lies about British soldiers and the natives in Fiji and roused his audience to the pitch of uttering imprecations on the English.

The *Kazi* solemnly declared that the *Koran* laid down that war should be waged on all who interfered with their religion.

In addition other small parties visited Jacobabad on the 15th November 1920 and toured in the Desert portion of Thar Parkar district during the month.

### **After the Elections**

A meeting of the Council Boycott Committee took place at Sukkur on the 19th November after the elections to congratulate themselves on their success in preventing people from voting. Glowing pictures were painted of the time when the Non-co-operation propaganda would be crowned with success and those who had been so misguided as to get themselves elected would be approached and asked to resign. If they refused then the Government would be shown that these members were in no sense the elected representatives of the people since they had secured their seats by the votes of an insignificant proportion of the electorate.

In actual fact, however, as far as the election of Mussalman members in the Sukkar district was concerned over 50 per cent of those entitled had voted and the successful candidates were really representatives of the people.

At a District Congress Committee meeting at Shikarpur the result of this boycott campaign at that place embodied in a pamphlet was distributed. The expenses of the campaign were given out as Rs. 8 spent on paying speakers, supplying them with food, fares, etc.

### **A Warning**

It is interesting to note at this point that Ghulam Mahomed Bhuvi who was not easily carried away by any party had issued a warning against the Council boycott agitation, condemning it as harmful and likely ultimately to prove fatal to the cause of the country. The "*Bhavanasi*" of Hyderabad gave prominence to it in its issue of the 10th October 1920.

### **Income-Tax Non-Payment Campaign**

Another direction in which the agitators about this time sought to embarrass Government was to induce people not to pay income-tax. At a meeting in Shikarpur on the 17th November 1920, Swami Krishnananda son of Bhumanand and Pandit Amersen, both paid propagandists suggested that those among the audience who considered they were heavily taxed should refuse to pay income-tax.

An association with the burlesque title of the "Prevention of cruelty income-tax Societies" was formed in this month to afford relief to heavily taxed. The idea was that if Government refused to consider cases brought to its notice, the persons concerned would be encouraged to refuse payment and steps would be taken to prevent others from bidding at the auctions of the distrained effects seized for non-payment under the Act.

The "*Alwahid*" which had all along shown itself quite irresponsible published the following notice on the 23rd November 1920 :—

"Has your income-tax been unfairly assessed ? If so take a vow not to pay even if Government seizes your property and sends you to jail. Understand that on account of such seizures and tyranny the chains which will issue from the hearts of the poor will give us freedom and destroy the chains that bind us."

A second and largely attended meeting was held at Shikarpur by National co-operators on the 2nd December and the heavy incidence of taxation on merchants deplored.

During December the Home Rule League in Shikarpur and Sukkur aided by Virumal Begraj endeavoured to secure the co-operation of merchants by harping on this subject and organising a committee to go into the grievances of the people in connection with this tax. They attempted to create disaffection by declaring that the taxes were too heavy and to gain adherents by making a show of helping the supposed victims.

#### **1st Provincial Congress Committee Meeting at Hyderabad, November 1920**

At a meeting of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee at Hyderabad on the 21st November 1920, the following were elected office bearers for the coming year :—

- |                                       |    |    |                 |
|---------------------------------------|----|----|-----------------|
| (1) Durgdas B. Advani                 | .. | .. | President.      |
| (2) Virumal Begraj                    | .. | .. | Vice-President. |
| (3) Hassamal Kalachand                | .. | .. | Vice-President. |
| (4) Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani. |    |    | Secretary.      |
| (5) R. K. Sidhwa                      | .. | .. | Secretary.      |

#### **Social Boycott**

Several Hindu Non-co-operators including Durgdas B. Advani, Swami Govindanand, Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani and Jairamdas Daulatram met at Hyderabad on the 23rd November 1920 and after some deliberation sent the following telegram to Gandhi addressed to Benares :—

“Several Hindu Non-co-operators, including Durgdas, Govindanand, Choithram, Ghansham, Jairamdas and the Editor, “Hindu,” and others met to-day and discussed question of social boycott. Opinion unanimous against social boycott being advised because inexpedient hindrance to our movement and giving innumerable opportunities for tyranny. Urge you kindly use your influence in this matter.”

### Miscellaneous Propaganda

At a public meeting in Karachi on the 26th October 1920 the following resolutions were passed.

- (1) Protesting against the exclusion from India under Government orders of the "*Daily Herald*" and "*Muslim Outlook*" and sympathising with Lansbury and the British Labour Party.
- (2) Protesting against the nomination of Sir Ali Imam, the *Maharajah* of Navanagar and Sir William Meyer to the Council of the League of Nations as they did not truly represent India.
- (3) Sympathising with the family of the late Mayor of Cork (Sweeny) who had died as the result of hunger striking in jail.

A resolution of sympathy with Zafar Ali (Editor "*Zimindar*," Lahore) was passed in a public meeting at Larkana on the 1st November.

Similarly at Hyderabad on the 2nd November Zafar Ali was congratulated on his conviction and firm attitude and the Non-co-operators exhorted others to follow in his footsteps. Another meeting at Hyderabad on the 5th *idem* also condoled with the relatives of the late Mayor of Cork and the audience was asked to follow his noble example.

Throughout the month of December numerous meetings for general propaganda purposes were held throughout Sind. Among the subjects touched on being the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh incident, the salaries of European officials in India, the Europeans' general treatment of Indians and the proposed visit of the Duke of Connaught. The people were advised that their numerous wrongs could only be redressed by uniting and adopting *Swadeshi*.

### Press Comments in 1920

The Press naturally during this period was not idle. It took its tone from the speeches and in turn fomented agitation leading others to further flights of oratory in a vicious circle. One subject of which the papers never seemed to tire was the Jallianwala Bagh incident and when the Army Council's decision regarding General Dyer was published the extremist papers saw in it nothing but an attempt to draw a veil over the whole



affair and regarding it as their duty to tear it aside. The following from the "*Hindu*" of Hyderabad dated the 10th July 1920, is typical :—

"The murder of 'Bharat' has been concealed by a curtain. From every drop of blood of this murder such a force will arise in the country that the curtain will be torn to pieces and the English forced to admit that by their concealment of the murder they have committed 'an error of judgement and will be forced to repent' and so on in the same strain.

From about this time such papers as the "*Hindu*" and the "*Bharatwasi*" both of Hyderabad began to evince a great interest in Sinn Fein and Ireland that "Distressful" country being hailed as a sister in affliction.

### **Introduction 1921**

The year 1921 saw the Non-co-operation movement reach the high water mark in Sind. It is a year of meetings, *hartals*, convictions for sedition and general political activity which seems to have arisen out of, or, at least, been greatly encouraged by, the success towards the end of 1920 of the Council boycott agitation.

During January various events took place which showed the trend of the movement. The Editor of the "*Alwahid*" (Kazi Abdul Rehman) was convicted under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, with the result that, when the conviction became known an almost general "*hartal*" was organised in Karachi and protest meetings were held at various other places in Sind. At the latter, the suggestion was put forward that the time had come to refuse payment of taxes. Should Government attach the property of those who thus refused, then by general agreement that property would be regarded as stolen and no one would bid for it when auctioned.

In Sukkur a quarrel arose between the co-operators led by Mr. Bhojsing Gurdinomal, M. L. C. and the Non-co-operators headed by Mr. Virumal Begraj. When finally a case under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, was lodged against the latter, a '*hartal*' was arranged in Sukkur. Eventually the case against Mr. Virumal was dropped.

The "*Hindu*" (Hyderabad) came out with an unsigned appeal on its front page against enlistment in the army which, it declared a sin since it only led to enslaving free nations and increasing the blood-lust of the rulers. This appeal is reported to have created a certain amount of stir in Sukkur.

During the month just to show their independence, Jairamdas Daulatram and Lokram Nainaram Sharma both of Hyderabad, refused to serve as assessors in the Sessions Court on the ground that they were Non-co-operators.

The careful observer would, however, have noticed that despite these signs of unanimity and boldness there was a fatal weakness in the movement in Sind, namely, jealousy with its resulting distrust.

The Nagpur Congress in February drew up what it termed a constitution and divided the country into provinces each to be administered by its own provincial conference. Accordingly the Sind Provincial Congress Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to work out the details, but this latter failed to come to an agreement as to the place which should be regarded as the Headquarters of the province. This was due to disagreements between the Hindus of the different parts of Sind but especially Lower and Upper Sind and was the rock on which the movement started to split. Later intercommunal jealousy shattered what remained of the already weakened structure.

### **The Sind Provincial Congress Committee and Non-Co-operation Propaganda**

During this same month the Sind Provincial Congress Committee decided on sending out parties to preach Non-co-operation propaganda in the district and appointed Pandit Amersen and Shaikh Abdul Aziz as overseers for the whole province, the object aimed at being the formation of village Congress Committees everywhere. Students who in pursuance of the movement had left Government schools were attached to experienced agitators to learn how to spread the propaganda.

### **V. J. Patel's Visit to Sind**

The event of importance during February 1921 was the visit to Sind of V. J. Patel from Gujarat who arrived in Karachi on the 9th to preside over a student's convention, which though prohibited by rules to have anything to do with politics, had been won over by Non-co-operators.

There was much enthusiasm and a certain amount of rowdyism at the Karachi City Railway station on his arrival. The local agitators, however, soon became alarmed at the attitude of the crowd which they could not control and hurried Mr. Patel off in a motor. The crowds then dispersed.

Mr. Patel, accompanied by Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani and Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani, attended meetings in Karachi called by various bodies and spoke on "*Swadeshi*" and Non-co-operation in general. He also spoke in favour of the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

On the 13th evening he left for Sukkur and thereafter visited Shikarpur, Larkana and Hyderabad making similar speeches at all these places.

### **Sind Provincial Congress Committee Organisation**

The Sind Provincial Congress Committee met in Karachi on the 12th and 13th February and among other things decided that delegates from the various districts including Khairpur State and Cutch should be elected to the Provincial Congress body strictly on a population basis thus: Karachi (including Cutch) 2, Hyderabad 12, Larkana 13, Sukkur 8, Nawabshah 9, Thar Parkar 9, Jacobabad 5, Shikarpur 4, Total 71.

### **General Propaganda, February 1921**

The "*Hindu*" of the 10th February enthused over what it described as the "defeat of the English arising from the boycott of English goods in India." In this way it argued that India could create trouble for England more quickly than the Bolshevists. Non-co-operation, it declared was becoming stronger day by day and though for the moment they laughed soon all the ministers and proud bureaucrats would tremble and weep.

Ghanshamdas Jethanand Shivdasani at Hyderabad on the 7th February spoke thus :—

"Our *Dharm* teaches us not to have anything to do with bad people, so, as the British Government has robbed us of our honour and our lives, we should have nothing to do with it. Every man, woman and child should realize that '*Swaraj*' must be obtained and the power of this Government destroyed.

Wherever they go though they may be the first settlers there, Indians are turned out. This is due to our being regarded as beasts. In Fiji, a small island, a law for Indians has been passed allowing one woman for every three men. Should we shake hands with a Government that degrades us thus ? You have to choose between the honour of your women and yourselves and Government, between selfish gains or your country's honour. We have to destroy this Government. Brethren remember your '*Dharm*'."

Hyderabad reported that during the 3rd week of February, some *ex-students* of the D. J. Sind College (Karachi) who had come to Hyderabad for training at the Tilak Ashram delivered speeches on the lines of those by Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani and Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani, on the tyranny of the British, the Punjab 'atrocities' the Jallianwala massacres and the 'immoral' treatment of Indian women in the Fiji Islands. As co-operation with such a Government was out of the question children should be taken from the Government schools and sent to the National ones, foreign goods, especially liquor, should be boycotted and Government servants should quit the service.

At the close of the week some of the cleverer students were sent to places in the neighbourhood to speak and gain confidence before being sent on a regular tour of the district. Some of the agitators even went to the extent of exciting interest by putting up tutored boys, often of tender years, to stand up at meetings and speak disparagingly of Government.

The boycott of Government Courts was another item of the programme; though upto February 1921 but little had been done in this connection. In a assault case of Keamari, in which a complaint had been lodged in Court, the Keamari Panchayat intervened on the 22nd February, fined both the accused Rs. 4 of which Rs. 2-12 went to the complainant and Rs. 1-4 to the Panchayat Fund. On the 23rd both parties applied to Court to compromise.

On the 27th February the Bhiria (Nawabshah) Panchayat passed a resolution that should any criminal or civil case be filed in any Court, the Panchayat would intervene in this way and anyone not abiding by the Panchayat's decision would be fined Rs. 101 and excommunicated if he refused to pay the fine.

In addition to the trial boycott, references were made in a meeting at Hyderabad to the '*Fatwa*' of Abul Kalam Azad which was to the effect that any Mussalman who joined or remained in Government service or schools was not a true Mussalman.

### A Propaganda School

In the matter of education the agitators while ready enough to advise students to leave Government institutions for the so-called National School did not take sufficient interest in the latter to make them a success. A striking example of this is furnished by the case of some 80 students mostly of the D. J. Sind College, who, having left Government Schools and Colleges were instructed in the middle of February to join an Ashram at Hyderabad where they were to undergo training and eventually form the nucleus of an Indian National Service. Out of these only about 50 actually went and in a few days the number fell to half. By the first week in March, only 5 college students and about a dozen others remained.

The original idea was that these students calling themselves 'soldiers of *swaraj* should be given intensive training for 6 weeks or 2 months by such persons as Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani, Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani, Abdul Jabbar Mahomed Yacub, Sheikh Abdul Majid in such subjects as (a) India in Parliament and abroad, (b) The *Swadeshi* Movement, (c) Non-co-operation and *Satyagraha*, (d) The United States of America (by Lala Lajpatrai), (e) The Rowlatt Act and its reception by Indians, (f) Lives of the great political leaders. In addition there was to be hand-spinning, recreation, including music, and practical work. The last apparently only consisted of collecting in the streets for various funds, and the preparing and distributing of posters and notices.

Two things militated against the success of the scheme. In the first place the instructors found travelling round the country and making speeches more interesting and in the second the boys themselves were impatient of anything that delayed them from taking an active part in the agitation going on around them. Finally most of the students were sent out to stump the country with experienced agitators. Those who remained at the *Ashram* were mainly employed in writing pamphlets, leaflets, and posters and in doing other miscellaneous clerical work. They also assisted local agitators in the campaign in Hyderabad against Government schools and the sale of liquor licences.

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### Other Institutions

During 1921 various institutions and associations of mushroom growth sprang up for various purposes. Of this type were the Shikarpuri Young Mens' Swaraj Sabha started in Karachi during March by T. K. Jeswani and the Gandhi Spinning and Weaving Workshop also in Karachi. The aims and objects of the former were vague and general *e. g.*, to follow the principles of Non-co-operation, to boycott all foreign goods and to take steps to get cloth manufactured from country made yarn. The members were, however, mainly employed going about Karachi singing national songs.

At the opening ceremony of the workshop T. L. Vaswani, who performed it, declared that there were but two mighty men of action in the world at that time, namely, Lenin and Gandhi. He described both as misrepresented and misunderstood ascetics, working for the good first of their respective motherlands and then of the world at large. One fantastic fight of fancy represented Pilgrims at Macca reverently murmuring Gandhi's name.

### National Week, April 1921

Jairamdas Daulatram among his numerous activities was Editor of the '*Vandemataram*' which was charged with the task, not too herculean at that time, of keeping up the interest in the various phases of the movement. In the issue of the paper for the 28th March prominence was given to the "National Week" (April 6th-13th) and how it should be successfully observed. Considerable stress was laid on the necessity of a good collection at Hyderabad for the Tilak Swaraj Fund which had then reached Rs. 12,000. The Editor considered that the Sind quota of five lakhs of rupees was trifling for the province, pointing out that Karachi might easily produce two, Hyderabad and Shikarpur a lakh each and Sukkur half a lakh making four and a half in all, leaving merely the odd half to be spread over the rest of Sind. The writer, however, was careful to point out that care and discrimination were called for lest the generous impulses of the people should be overtaxed. He also indicated that steady monthly subscriptions were preferable to lump sum donations, and finally sounded a note of warning against entrusting young boys with collecting boxes before they had reached years of discretion and strength of character to resist the temptations thus placed in their way.

### **Governor's Proposed Visit**

The proposed visit to Karachi towards the end of March of H. E. the Governor of Bombay furnished the agitators with a useful opportunity of which they made the most. At meetings in Karachi, the leading agitators after the usual subjects of Non-co-operation and boycott advised the people to observe a '*hartal*' on the 21st March, the day of His Excellency's arrival. In doing so some of these fervid orators were led into speaking rather scurrilously of the Governor, *satan* being one of the titles given him. Of these Swami Krishnanand was, perhaps, the most irresponsible. He used to delight in misrepresenting matters and lauding any one who was against the Government such as the Irish. The Afghan, he said, had caused the English heavier losses than was realized and had not signed a permanent treaty with them obviously because it was not worth his while to do so.

Indians had been mainly responsible for defeating the Germans in the last war and if Indians were now to withdraw their support several powers would immediately attack the English.

### **The Effects of Agitation**

Such were some of the misrepresentations much favoured at this period. The natural effect of such speeches was to undermine the people's regard for lawful authority so necessary in the preservation of law and order, but fortunately the leaders though quite ready to inflame the minds of their hearers shrank from the next logical step of leading them into open disobedience of the law and the officials charged with enforcing it. An example of this actually occurred in Karachi on the 18th March when a large crowd collected to listen to street orators in the Jhoona Market. As traffic was being obstructed, the City Police Inspector asked them to disperse. Some of the leaders such as Krishnanand thereupon asked the crowd to move to the bed of the Lyari river. The crowd, however, at first refused to obey and hooted the police. An awkward situation was averted by the arrival of another leader Kazi Khuda Baksh who on being appealed to by the Inspector to advise the crowd to go quietly did so by hitting on the idea that they might as well do so as the military and police after all were their own people and would soon join them against their rulers, so why antagonize them needlessly. This caught the errant fancy of the mob which fell in with the suggestion and adjourned to the dry river bed, where the meeting was continued.

After it was over a band of youths went round the town singing a song the burden of which was, “ Gandhi is the King of India and we are his subjects. We shall extirpate the tyrants” and more in the same strain.

At one such meeting on the 19th March, the members of Co-operative Housing Societies were requested not to approach the Governor for grants of land and a deputation including Manilal J. Vyas, Mahomed Khan and Swami Govindanand was asked to approach members of these societies accordingly. Even Non-co-operators such as Drs. Patel and Popatlal were pilloried for forming a Gujarat Housing Co-operative Society. Manilal argued that “it was useless to ask Government for pieces of land for once ‘*swaraj*’ had been obtained all the land would be theirs”.

Mahomed Khan took advantage of the occasion to cast aspersions on Lord Reading, at that time Viceroy designate, declaring he was coming to India not to redress the people’s grievances but to squeeze out as much money as possible for England.

#### **H. E. The Governor’s Visit, March 1921**

His Excellency, the Governor of Bombay arrived at Karachi on 21st March 1921 and left on the 23rd *idem*. On the first day there was a complete ‘*hartal*’ in the town and a few instances of rowdyism such as putting obstructions on the tramway lines and pulling passengers out of the cars thus brought to a standstill, throwing stones and intimidating shopkeepers to close their shops and workmen to stop work. Four men were dealt with for rioting and wrongful restraint.

That evening what was for Karachi a large meeting assembled on the Idgah Maidan. It was split up into three separate groups of about 5,000 each in charge of Kazi Khuda Baksh, Tarachand K. Shahani and Dr. Haji Ghulam Hussain Kassim. A number of persons addressed these three meetings, prominent among whom were Swamis Govindanand and Krishnand, Mai Saraswati Devi, Manilal J. Vyas, Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan and Pandit Amersen.

The speakers were careful to condemn violence while at the same time blaming Government for the confusion which they said existed. Some



sentences taken from Swami Govindanand's speech on this occasion are typical : " I am not angry with the Government. There is no justice in India. The Government itself says, that it cannot administer justice. The Government that cannot do this is like a dead person. The Government had admitted that it cannot rule over India, that it is unfit and that we should take up the rule. There is only confusion in the ways of the present Government which should be replaced by another..... Government is neither fit nor able to do justice. Why should it then remain in India."

### **Temperance Agitation**

During March, the liquor auctions furnished the agitators with an excellent opportunity for fresh agitation and they made the most of it. In the Thar Parkar district they claimed complete success as therein no bid was received for either the liquor or drug licences. This was no doubt due partly to the high reserve prices put on the shops and partly to the fact that it was not generally known that the order requiring the full amount of the accepted bid to be paid in advance had been cancelled in favour of an instalment system.

While the liquor contracts were being auctioned in the office of the Huzur Deputy Collector, Karachi, on the 14th March a crowd appeared and at the instigation of certain so-called leaders broke into the place, overturned chairs and created confusion. The following day at a public meeting at which a number of the leading agitators was present this behaviour of the crowd was condemned.

On the 22nd March, the date of the liquor auction at Sukkur a number of loafers and youths appeared with flags and banners before the Collector's bungalow, adjoining his office where the auctions were being held and shouted "*Gandhi ki Jai*" and other phrases at intervals until they were removed. At Rohri in the Sukkur district youths wearing belts, inscribed "*Swaraj Sipahi*" picketed the liquor shops. In Hyderabad though the first half of the month had been devoted to bringing about a boycott of the auctions the agitators were not successful.

Some efforts were made with apparent success in Karachi and Hyderabad to persuade certain communities, such as the Marwaris, dhobis and sweepers, to vow they would give up liquor.

### Increase in Agitation during March

Although in December 1920, at the Nagpur Congress, Choithram Partabrai Gidwani, Jairamdas Daulatram, Durgdas Bhojraj Advani, Jawaharmal Totiram Mansukhani (Swami Govindanand), Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan, T. K. Jeswani, Ghanshamdas Jethanand Shivdasani all from Sind had been on the subjects committee of the Congress, no member from Sind attended the Bezwada Conference. The distance from Karachi may have had something to do with this but it is more than probable that the increased agitation in Sind during this month kept the agitators fully occupied and proved a superior attraction to the Congress. Certain it is that agitation spread to an enormous extent throughout Sind even to out of the way villages during March, though, as subsequent events proved, this phase was but transitory.

Karachi, as might be expected, provided a better field than elsewhere and some of the orators allowed themselves to be carried away by visions of speedy success and a resultant state in which they hoped to become the only persons of authority. Speeches became less restrained and some of the speakers even toyed with revolutionary ideas. Of these Swami Krishnanand, always an unbalanced extremist, found encouragement to voice his thoughts in this direction. The burden of his speeches on more than one occasion was that the British Government not being fit to rule should be replaced by the rule of Mahatma Gandhi, that when every efforts to obtain '*swaraj*' by non-violent methods had failed, as he seemed to expect they would, Indians would be justified in resorting to violence.

The effect of such advice on the audiences may be gauged by an incident which occurred on the 11th March. The Superintendent of Police, Sind C. I. D. and some of his officers appeared at an open air meeting for a few minutes and as they left, were followed for some distance by a hooting crowd. This sort of thing continued intermittently throughout 1921 and the first half of 1922 with C. I. D. officers of various grades attending meetings coming in for abuse and other annoyances.

In songs made popular by bands of youths led round the town by agitators such as Fazal Karim, Gandhi was referred to as the King of India with the Ali Brothers as his ministers.

Both in Karachi and outside efforts were made to set up arbitration courts to replace the regular civil and criminal courts and petty cases, many civil in nature, were decided by them. In Karachi for instance pressure was brought to bear on a shopkeeper who had kept open during the '*hartal*' of the 21st March so that finally he was forced to go to the agitators for pardon which was given on payment of a fine of Rs. 15. A dispute between husband and wife was settled by the Keamari Panchayat which charged Re. 1 for its services. Petty civil and criminal cases were also decided by an arbitration court in Bhiria (Nawabshah).

Other directions in which activity was shown were exhortations to the people to vote only for Non-co-operator candidates for the municipalities and to resist taxation. As regards the latter, little actually resulted but at Naushahro (Nawabshah) when the Mukhtiarkar attempted to collect the sanitation tax some shopkeepers closed their shops. In Sukkur a national association (*Shewa Mandi*) was formed and non-payment of taxes advocated at meetings. Parties of Non-co-operators went round in even small villages speaking on the failure of the crops, forced labour (*cher*), and income-tax grievances.

From Rohri and Khairpur Daharki agitation against the house-tax was reported. At the latter places when the Mukhtiarkar had to issue distress warrants a '*hartal*' took place.

A disturbance took place in Sukkur on the 24th March when about 50 agitators picketed the market to prevent the sale of fish and meat. Purchasers were in some cases assaulted and the articles bought snatched from them.

Although matters looked serious during March it was soon obvious that the so-called leaders, men of little character, had no real authority and no following except among irresponsible people who, having nothing to lose, were attracted by the novelty and excitement, and the shopkeepers, mainly Hindus, who, as a matter of policy, obeyed when called upon to close their shops on occasion.

The large landowning class in Sind, mostly Mussalman *zamindars*, and other people of influence such as the Pir's for the most part kept aloof and in many cases openly declared against the agitation. There were a few exceptions such as Pir Mahbub Shah, whose fanatical hatred of

the English and whose influence in the south of Hyderabad gave the movement there fictitious strength for a time till eventually he was imprisoned and by his subsequent conduct showed himself to be a man of straw. Other minor Rashidi Pirs also took part in the agitation notably Pir Ghulam Mujadid of Matiari (Hyderabad). But apart from these and about a couple of dozen sincere, though misguided men there was no one of any personality or real influence.

Increased activity was noticed during April in connection with enrolling members of Congress. Hyderabad claimed to have obtained about 1,100 new members and Karachi 300.

Agitators in Sukkur attempted during the month to usurp the functions of the police by detaining for several hours for enquiries some half a dozen persons for having been concerned in a large house breaking and theft case.

#### **Hartals, April 1921**

But the greatest achievements of the month, were the '*hartals*' in connection with the National week and in memory of the Jallianwala Bagh incident. That on the 6th April was almost complete in Karachi, Hyderabad, Dadu, Sukkur and Shikarpur, though a failure in places like Shewan and Tatta despite the efforts of agitators specially deputed from Karachi.

Another *hartal* on the 13th *idem* in Karachi was even more complete than that of the week before. This was mainly due to the visits and efforts of leading agitators. On this occasion a special effort was made at Tatta which was previously visited by Swami Govindanand, while in Hyderabad district Pir Mahbub Shah, Pir Ghulam Mujadid and Abdul Jabbar were the leading spirits.

In Karachi town a third '*hartal*' was organised on the 14th April by the Sikhs under Jagatsingh Akali and other local agitators. No good was done to the movement by the bands of Sikhs, some of whom displayed outsize *Kirpans*, who went round the town persuading shop keepers, often with threats, to close their shops. The arrest of Fazal Karim and another agitator, together with the rumoured arrests of several Sikhs, drew a crowd round the City Police Station where stones were thrown.

Hyderabad observed both the '*hartals*' on the 6th and 13th quietly. Nawabshah showed less enthusiasm over the second than it had done over the first and other places also appear to have found the repetition lacking in interest. Tando Adam, though it did not go in for the second '*hartal*' whole-heartedly nevertheless was the scene of some excitement when Swami Govindanand was arrested there.

Tatta which as mentioned above had disappointed the agitators on the 6th showed more enthusiasm on the 13th. A mob even collected round an open shop and assaulted the shop-keeper and his servant. The police made some arrests but the agitators retorted by getting the shop-keeper ex-communicated.

Altogether the '*hartal*' on the 6th was both more general and better carried out than that on the 13th.

In addition to organising these '*hartals*' the agitators toured in almost every district and held frequent meetings. T. L. Vaswani was prominent in Larkana, Swami Govindanand of Hyderabad with Ganga Shankar of Ajmer toured in Nawabshah, Dr. Watammal Gulab-singh and Gurdinomal Tahilsing were active in Thar Parkar. Violent speeches were made by Shaikh Abdul Majid, Dr. Choithram, Dwarkaprasad and Swami Krishnanand. Except in Karachi collections for the 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' were zealously made. In Karachi, however, there had been misappropriations by the collectors in-charge of money boxes so there was not the same keenness shown. The aim was, of course, the Rs. 5 lakhs expected from Sind but, although no reliable information could be had, it probably fell short of that amount. Places like Hyderabad, which had to subscribe Rs. 25,000 were said to have paid their quota mainly owing to the generosity of rich Sind work merchants who had made their money abroad mainly in British Colonies.

Sukkur seems to have contended itself with words and outward display as several meetings were held and banners displayed in the bazaar. These banners advocated among other things increased Congress membership, abstention from liquor and the desirability of destroying the satanic Government. The meetings were announced

by beat of drum, the crier usually prefacing his announcements with the words : " The country is Tilak's and the Government Gandhi's."

Apart from being tedious it would serve no useful purpose to detail all the numerous meetings that were held all over Sind. Every where with more or less enthusiasm the same subjects such as the Jallianwala Bagh incident, the boycott of liquor and foreign cloth, and ' *swadeshi* ' were dwelt upon. Anything connected with Government was denounced, as for instance, courts and schools which were termed gambling dens and slaughter houses, respectively, and policemen at whose devoted heads were hurled the opprobrious epithets of ' *Yazid* ' ( name of a tyrant king who usurped the Khilafat and made war on Hussain in which the latter was eventually killed in the cause of Islam ), ' *Kaffirs* ' ( unbelievers ), *badmashas* ( bad characters ) and ' *nirnak harams* ' ( disloyal to their country ). As might be expected in out of the way places where supervision was difficult and the speakers more irresponsible, the speeches were stronger and the statements more rash, Government and all connected with or loyal to it were vilified. In certain Mussalman strongholds like Jacobabad the religious feelings of the majority were appealed to as when one speaker professed to read from a vernacular paper that ' *Kaffirs* had converted Muslim to Christianity by force'. In others like Dadu ( Larkana ) some local hot head like Dwarkaprasad would make violent speeches and be followed by a number of irresponsible local imitators.

### **False Rumours and Fabrications**

At this time that wonderful story of the bombardment of the holy places by the British was started and later embellished by such additions as that the ammunition was bought from the profits made out of the sale in India of foreign cloth which should in consequence be boycotted.

Another story which had a great vogue was to the effect that foreign sugar was refined by a process which involved the use of the blood and bones of cows and pigs. This of course touched

the susceptibilities of both Hindus and Mussalmans. Who started the story is not known, though he must have been rather proud of his inventive genius, but Swami Krishnanand gave it wide publicity in Karachi. At one of these meetings stones were thrown at the police and some of them slightly injured.

### Gandhi Visits Sind-April 1921

Gandhi visited Sind between the 24th and 30th April stopping at the following places :-

Hyderabad, Karachi, Larkana, Shikarpur, Jacobabad, Sukkur. Rohir and Mirpurkhas. He both came into and left Sind *via* the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway on this occasion. During the visit he quickly became aware of the jealousies and consequent lack of unity, among the so-called leaders in Sind. He blamed them for being unable to sink their differences and combine under a common leader, also for being afraid to go to jail and for being "Westernized."

It is rather significant that when he came to Hyderabad for the second time during this tour but little interest was shown in him. Only 600 to 700 people thought it worth paying the small entrance fee to attend the District Conference there over which he presided, and when at Gandhi's suggestion that the meeting should be thrown open to the general public only about 300 more came in.

In Karachi his reception was good, some 15,000 persons taking part in the procession headed by a boy on a camel working a spinning wheel. His speeches centred mainly on the use of the '*charkha*' and, more particularly when addressing the depressed classes, the avoidance of liquor. He expressed himself displeased with the number of *hartals*.

Moazamali who accompanied Gandhi spoke at several public meetings on Khilafat matters.

During his tour Gandhi was presented with purses as follows :-

Karachi	..	Rs. 25,000	
Hyderabad	..	Rs. 6,000	(exclusive of the Rs. 25,000 Tilak Swaraj Fund already collected)
Shikarpur	..	Rs. 25,000	
Sukkur	..	Rs. 10,000	(the <i>Mahant</i> of Sadh Bela contributed half of this).

Moazamali received Rs. 600 from Aminuddin N. Munshi for the Smyrna Fund.

As the total collected in Sind amounted to about one lakh, the amount expected from Shikarpur alone, the tour may be said not to have been very successful.

While going round Sind, Gandhi was accompanied by a party of Sindhis consisting of Haji Abdullah Haroon, T. L. Vaswani, Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan, Pandit Amersen and others.

Gandhi during this visit met two critics and discussed matters with them at Hyderabad. These were Jethmal Parsram, Editor of the *Bharatwasi*, a staunch supporter of Mrs. Annie Besant, who had been attacking Gandhi and the Non-co-operation movement in his paper, and Santdas Mangharam, pleader of Hyderabad, a confirmed moderate. They criticised a speech made by Mahomed Ali at Madras in April 1921 in which he had spoken of Afghanistan as follows :—" If Afghanistan came to fight against those who hold the holy places of Islam and want to destroy the Muslim faith and the Khilafat, it was their duty to gird up their loins and fight against the British Government. This speech had undoubtedly caused some of the thinking Sind Hindus a certain amount of uneasiness. Both his interviewers were not satisfied by Gandhi's replies and declared that he was profoundly wrong especially in ignoring the fundamentals of human character, its passions, prejudices and lack of self-control, and was endeavouring to create a state of perfect human beings wherein every man would be so perfectly self-controlled that no other Government would be required. In short they accused Gandhi of being an impractical visionary.

### **Anti-Non-Co-operation Feeling**

During May the growth of an anti Non-co-operation feeling was noticeable at least among the better class people and especially the Hindus. With the exception of three papers of any importance, viz., "*The New Times*" (Karachi), "*The Hindu*" (Hyderabad) and "*The Sindhi*" (Sukkur), the press was, if anything, against the movement.



### General Degeneration

At the same time perhaps never before had been so many meetings held and so many speeches made, but few of the former were really important and those responsible for the latter were, for the most part, irresponsible persons such as literate or, at most, semi-literate villagers such as carpenters, bidi-sellers, and miscellaneous loafers some of whom were paid by local political organisations.

As might be expected any loftiness of ideal or tone quickly departed and agitation seemed like passing into the hands of the mob. Under these circumstances it was not strange that men like Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan should consider the advisability of replacing non-violent Non-co-operation by something stronger and more likely to be productive of immediate results.

The volume of irresponsible and inflammatory speeches increased particularly in Karachi, Thar Parkar and the Upper Sind Frontier. Karachi has a very large mixed population which includes a large proportion of labourers who cannot reason or think for themselves. To such Mahomed Khan became an oracle. The Parkar and the Upper Sind Frontier districts are backward and largely Mussalman in character.

It might be of interest here to give specimens of the type of speeches current at this time. It is quite unimportant to name the actual speakers as similar sentiments couched in similar language could have been heard at this period almost anywhere in Sind :—

“The English have looted India for the last 150 years. Indians are not respected anywhere in the world and are regarded as coolies by other nations. The English with their dogs sit in 1st class carriages while Indians are herded into the 3rd class.”

“A Marwari had been to a ‘Gora’ (whiteman) to demand his dues. The ‘Gora’ kicked him so mercilessly that he died but the Court decided that he died of an enlarged spleen.”

“Officers do not regard the C. I. D. men favourably. Like us they regard them as fools because they are tale bearers. This

should make the C. I. D. men think and withdraw themselves from their evil work, otherwise they will live to regret it."

"This is a satanic *sircar* which has sucked our blood and is now eating our bones. Rise, stand up and liberate mother Bharat imprisoned for the last 150 years."

"If Government does not perform its duties properly do not be afraid of it. You have to die some day and it is better to die for the Bharat Mata or go to jail. Do not be afraid of jails. When you are being taken there you will be garlanded and honoured. Now you are degraded and are nothing more than coolies of no value. If an Indian is killed by a European it is said to be mistake. He was mistaken for a deer and shot."

"Some of you '*haris*' and your children are starving. Why? because the Government takes away your corn. Then a lot of money has to be paid to Government servants."

"The English were originally savages and naked but we civilized (improved) them. They lived on potatoes until we taught them to eat corn. You know that sugar in foreign countries (Vilayat) is prepared with bones. Those of cows and pigs are ground and mixed with it. Do not touch sugar. Foreign ghee mixed with pig's fat is sent to India and pure ghee exported instead."

"The British Government is very cruel. It cares only for the whites who get the best medical attendance while Indians are allowed to die of plague and cholera. Such people should be driven out of the country. Had there been a Hindu or Mahomedan king we should have been properly looked after. All the English know is how to loot India."

"The loss of life in the Punjab in 1919 was estimated at 3,500. The faces of our mothers and sisters were uncovered and spat at." (Other indignities to women not fit for publication were also mentioned.)

The above are sufficient to show what passed for oratory at this time in the villages where strict supervision was not possible.

It is a wonder that the effect on the people was not more marked than it was in actual fact. Perhaps the credit is due to the shrewdness of the average villager who suspected the truth of much that was told him especially having regard to the previous history and character of the speakers and his own personal knowledge of the European from contact with various officers.

### **Sukkur District Congress Conference, May 1921**

The event which should have been of outstanding importance during the month of May was the Sukkur District Congress Conference which met at Ubauro on the 21st and 22nd, but this proved a failure. A number of the leading agitators could not turn up owing to the inaccessible venue and on the first day the attendance was poor and the proceedings uneventful. The second day dissensions broke out and the meeting broke up in confusion.

Disappointed, some of the agitators went the same day (22nd) to Mirpur Mathelo but received rather a shock there when in the meeting they were subjected to considerable heckling and the most prominent of them (Moulvi Taj Mahomed of Amrote) was called a liar and a cheat.

During May 1921, various anti-Non-co-operation bodies had begun to spring up in various parts, notably in the Tando Division of Hyderabad district and at Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro in Sukkur district, and successful meetings were held by influential people at which Non-co-operation was condemned. Gradually these meetings gained in influence and undoubtedly had some effect in stemming the tide of agitation.

On the other hand the Non-co-operators were not idle and increased efforts to enroll Congress members were made during May and June and with some success judged by the number who paid annas four which was then the entrance fee. At the same time some of these so called Congress members did not regard this new step seriously. In fact many of them seem to have given their money much as they would give alms to rid themselves of an importunate beggar.

### **Sukkur National Arbitration Court**

During May, a National Arbitration Court was established in Sukkur.

A fee of Re. 1 was charged for each complaint taken cognizance of, with later an anna extra per summons as a process fee, and for a time this had something of a vogue but gradually arrears mounted up and disputants became dissatisfied with the results. Usually only petty criminal and civil cases came before the Court and rough and ready was the justice dispensed. A man convicted by the court of the theft and sentenced to one month's imprisonment was confined in the Tilak Hall where he was made to work at the spinning wheel, pull the *punkha* and keep the place clean. A court such as this could only continue so long as both parties were willing to agree by its decisions. In the case of one Hindu *versus* another the influence of the Panchayat might be used to make the loser submit to the court's decree under a threat of ex-communication but it must have been obvious that without the authority to enforce its decisions the court was not likely to exist for long.

A new anti-Government paper, the "*Swaraj*" edited by Choithram Teckchand Valecha, a sonar by caste and prominent local agitator, made its appearance in Sukkur in May.

### **Agitation during June 1921**

During June there was a marked decrease both in the number of meetings and in the objectionable tone of the speeches. The *Ramzan* fast might account for this to some extent as far as the Mussalmans were concerned and the meetings between the Viceroy and Gandhi may also have had a quietening effect. At the same time the bogey of an Afghan invasion had gradually spread among the Hindus generally and put them against the Mussalmans. There was no longer complete unity between the two communities and distrust was increasing.

At the end of June it was announced that Sind's contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund amounted to Rs. 2,35,000 and this amount apparently included the money which had been given to Gandhi in person during his visit in April. Out of this fund regular salaries

according to the importance of the individual were being paid to a number of agitators. It was necessary therefore, that collections should be regularly made but, unfortunately for the success of this scheme, allegations of misappropriation became common with the natural result that people became less inclined to give.

During these two months the campaign against liquor was revived in places and especially in Karachi where paid volunteers were employed to picket the shops. It is said, that as a result, the sales in these shops decreased. No outbreak of violence, was reported from anywhere, so it may be safely assumed that the people were not subjected to too great annoyance by the measure.

Mai Sarla Devi, wife of Rambhuj Dutt Choudhari visited Karachi and Hyderabad between the 10th and 15th June in connection with the anniversary of the Swaraj Kanya Mahavidyalaya (Home Rule Girls High School). She addressed several meetings emphasising the importance of using *khaddar*. In Karachi she collected Rs. 6,000 for various national funds.

### Signs of Decline

As previously indicated a tendency on the part of the Hindus to suspect the Mussalmans of ulterior motives had sprung up and this suspicion undoubtedly had the effect of causing the former to pause and think of the logical consequences of the Non-co-operation movement which, according to their preconceived ideas, necessitated the combined action of the two communities against Government.

During July, this hesitation on the part of the Hindus became more marked resulting in a partial eclipse of the Non-co-operation movement by the Khilafat agitation in which the Hindus had no real interest and of which they were profoundly suspicious, 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 Sabha or loyalist movement made steady progress throughout Sind and the alarm sounded by such papers as the '*Bharatvasi*', which lost no opportunity of voicing its suspicion of Muslim intentions, together with the articles which

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appeared in other newspapers of the province ridiculing the Non-co-operation movement as it had now degenerated, helped in this direction. That there had always been a strong pro-Government element among the *zamindar* class was undoubted, but these landowners of both communities lacked a lead. They knew their position depended on a strong Government and a settled country. They realised that the leaders of the agitation were men of no particular standing, many of whom thrived on the funds collected and did not care very much what happened so long as they could make a living out of it. The unsettling effects of agitation had already affected the '*zamindars*' *haris* and it was not difficult for them to see that if this sort of thing continued unchecked the result would be a state of chaos. Even the hollowness of the Khilafat agitation was apparent to many of the Mahomedan *zamindars*. It is not surprising, therefore, that this class as a whole welcomed the 'Aman Sabha' when they found that it was backed, albeit unofficially, by Government servants generally.

The seeds of distrust had been scattered, not only among the Hindus, but also among the Mussalmans. An example of this came to notice at this time in the Nawabshah district where Mussalmans began to suspect Gandhi of ulterior motives in his conversations with the Viceroy. It was said that his object was to secure privileges for the Hindus that would be detrimental to Mahomedans.

The agitators, however, affected to ignore the existence of this mutual suspicion and exerted themselves more than ever to carry out the Bezwada Congress programme by enrolling Congress members, collecting money, advocating the boycott of liquor and foreign cloth and the use of the '*Charkha*'. Shops and offices were visited and people button-holed in the streets, restaurants and even in their own houses. People such as shoe-makers, coolies and sweepers who took no intelligent interest in the agitation or in politics were roped in to swell the members and give an air of successful agitation which impressed no thinking person since such additions, while lowering the status of the Congress in the eyes of many, merely gave promise of rowdyism which might lead to anything from simple rioting to revolution.

### All India Khilafat Conference, July 1921

Between the 7th and 9th July the All India Khilafat Conference was held in Karachi at which Moulana Mahomed and Shaukat Ali with Dr. Kitchlew were the distinguished visitors. After the Conference, these three separated to attend district conferences which had been arranged on the 11th. Mahomed Ali went to Shahdadpur (Nawabshah), his brother to Naushahrao (Nawabshah) and the Doctor to Jacobabad. At Naushahrao and Jacobabad the audiences were disappointingly poor and mainly from those towns themselves. The Shahdadpur conference was better attended and drew people from the whole of the taluka. The subjects discussed were spinning, temperance, Non-co-operation generally and unity while some of the speakers were reckless in what they said and abuse was hurled at officials and "*Aman Sabhas*".

The following are a few typical extracts from the speeches reported from various parts of Sind during the month :—

"King Edward and King George when ascending the throne had promised to serve their subjects but had failed to keep their promises. Since, therefore, the king, who is our servant, has failed to serve us, why should we serve the king?"

"Under '*Swaraj*' income-tax will be abolished."

"The British Government has been ruling India for 150 but the Mahomedans ruled it for thousands and did it better. There was less trouble under their rule."

"Indians are very brave. Hindu-Muslim unity is the only remedy for our grievances. Government will try to cause friction between the two communities. Beef will be thrown into temples and pork into mosques and the blame will be thrown on Mussal-mans and Hindus respectively."

"The present Government can best be represented by *Ravan* (a demon in Hindu Mythology) and it is '*Ram's*' duty to crush it."

"During the war Hindus and Mahomedans sacrificed their lives and property and the latter their religion also for the English."

Under the present rule all the menial work is done by Indians. An Inspector in India gets Rs. 180 a month when even a constable in England starts on Rs. 250 a month. If in England people feel they are too poorly paid they strike."

"At Nagpur when a Governor went to open a hospital a bee stung the '*Lat Sahib*'. If bees can disturb the sleep of a *Lat Sahib*, surely 33 crores of Indians can disturb 1.5 lakhs of Europeans. Union is the only thing to bring *Swaraj*, so let us unite and get our birth right."

"Indians are chained like slaves. Those who are not free in this life will get no salvation after death, so all must strike for freedom. There is no liberty of writing, speech, trade or religion. How can any one call a Government that massacres women and boys a *Ma-bap sarkar*? Those who oppress others will themselves drown in a river of blood."

"Those of us who join the army and fight abroad are regarded by the people of those countries as slaves, so we should refuse to join the army. When we get '*Sawraj*' we shall rub the Englishmen's noses on the ground. *Zamindars* should give up honours and serve God. For this their reward will be ten times greater but if they refuse they will go to hell."

"If Government does not obey our orders we shall in December declare an Indian republic and sever all connection with the King of England. Every one must be prepared to shed his blood for his country and anyone working against your religion is your enemy."

Undoubtedly much of this wild talk and abuse was occasioned by the steady set-back in the Non-co-operation movement due to the spread of '*Aman Sabhas*' which the more respectable and influential people were joining. This resulted in a conflict between the *Aman Sabhais* and the Khilafatists at Matiar in the Hyderabad District on July 21st, 1921, when the local police were compelled to resort to firing with the result that one man died and a few were wounded.



Apparently influenced by this incident the following resolution moved by Mansingh Chuhamal and seconded by Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani was carried in the meeting of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee held at Sukkur on July 25th, 1921 :-

“ In view of the ceaseless repression by Government and police firing at several places to crush the peaceful movement of Non-co-operation and unscrupulous use of certain sections of the Indian Penal Code and in view of the hostilities between Greece and Angora apparently countenanced by the British Government, be it resolved that the country be prepared for Civil Disobedience; that the All India Congress Committee be requested to appoint a Board with whose sanction Civil-Disobedience be inaugurated in select areas where the local leaders can guide the movement peacefully; that the Board be authorised to decide from time to time what laws are to be disobeyed. ”

During the month the following sums in round numbers were reported to have been collected for the Tilak Fund in the various Congress districts named:-

*Funds :—*

Karachi	..	..	..	Rs. 80,000
Hyderabad	..	..	..	Rs. 80,000
Sukkur	..	..	..	Rs. 26,000
Larkana	..	..	..	Rs. 12,000
Shikarpur	..	..	..	Rs. 25,000
Jacobabad	..	..	..	Rs. 1,850
Sahiti Nawabshah	..	..	..	Rs. 5,600
Nawabshah	..	..	..	Rs. 4,600

**National Courts**

The arbitration courts at Sukkur and Keamari (Karachi) continue to function during the month. In the Sukkur court 66 fresh cases were filed during the month bringing the total to 182. The cases dealt with by these courts were mostly of a petty civil nature.

### **Boycott**

The foreign cloth boycott campaign was carried out through the agency of village panchayat and by house to house visits, mainly by paid propagandists. Leaflets and posters were printed urging the people to adopt home spun cloth, both for economic and religious reasons. The religious element was introduced by these agents who declared that the fat of cows and pigs, abhorrent to Hindus and Mussalmans, respectively, was used in the manufacture of foreign sugar. Attempts without much success, were made to persuade shopkeepers and merchants not to deal in foreign cloth.

### **Picketing Liquor Shops**

Picketing of liquor shops continued and even spread to one or two places where it had not appeared before. In Karachi it was carried on with considerable enthusiasm. On the whole the picketers confined themselves to peaceful persuasion, appealing to the religious feelings of those they were attempting to dissuade, casting their Gandhi caps at their feet and begging them to desist from liquor. Undoubtedly the picketing resulted in an appreciable decrease in the sales. In a few cases violence was resorted to and in one case action was taken against 5 persons for being members of an unlawful assembly and for rioting, while in another the leader of the movement in Karachi, Swami Krishnanand, son of Bhumanand, was prosecuted for assaulting a policeman on duty to see that no violence was resorted to by the so-called volunteers, some of whom, were mere loafers, engaged in picketing.

### **Sind Provincial Congress Committee Meeting, August 1921**

Evidently the Congress authorities in Sind began about this time to realise that people were becoming chary of subscribing money much of which remained unaccounted for. At any rate at Hyderabad on the 13th August, a meeting of the executive Council of the Sind Provincial Committee with Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani in the chair decided among other things to appoint a travelling Inspector of accounts and that each District Congress Committee should prepare a monthly balance sheet and send a copy of it to the council before the 15th of the month following.

In the event of a balance sheet not being sent in accordance to this rule the representatives on the provincial Committee of that particular district would be deprived of their votes until the statement of accounts should be received. Several district Committees budgets were discussed and returned to be cut down. Sahiti (Nawabshah) and Jacobabad District Congress Committees being short of funds were given Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 500 to prevent the work there being stopped.

### **Boycott of Foreign Cloth**

On the 17th August the Hyderabad District Congress Committee passed among other resolutions one to the effect that the Congress Committees in the district should arrange for bonfires to be made of foreign clothes on the 1st September. In Larkana there was a half-hearted burning of such cloth, while in Karachi, cloth dealers were threatened that unless they gave up dealing in such cloth, the markets would be burned. To add force to the threat the market *chowkidars* were enlisted as volunteers.

Leaflets and pamphlets in the name of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi were issued by the President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee urging in the following words the boycott of foreign cloth :—

“Your brothers are starving. Your sisters are naked. It is a sin to buy foreign cloth”.

At Hyderabad a crowd seized the clothing of a man and burnt it, while at Nawabshah some merchants were persuaded to sign an agreement not to deal in foreign cloth in future.

A message was received from Gandhi to the effect that he hoped by the 1st October there would be a complete boycott of this cloth in Sind and 5,000 men ready to go to jail.

Other activities such as the picketing of liquor shops and the deciding of a few cases in the arbitration courts at Sukkur and Keamari continued but were not particularly noteworthy.

In response to the *Swadeshi* cloth agitation a few Indian pleaders in Karachi during September sent their old English forms of headgear to the Tilakalaya to be burnt with other foreign cloth on the Idgah Maidan on Gandhi's birthday, and a number of Hindus resolved only to use *khaddar* in funeral ceremonies. Outside agitators, chief among whom was Abul Kalam Azad visited Sind during September and preached, in Karachi mainly, the boycott of foreign cloth. A few attempts to force people in Karachi to part with articles of foreign clothing were made.

Nawabshah also reported a certain amount of foreign cloth agitation including a bonfire. Some of the merchants also ceased from ordering this cloth during this month.

#### **Funds, September 1921**

Since the collections which were made for Gandhi's one crore due from Sind, there had been trouble in the Karachi District Congress Committee over the allotment of funds for various purposes, and in September 1921 Dr. Haji Ghulam Hussain Kassim as a protest against the "irresponsible expenditure of funds" resigned from the Swadeshi Mandal. It was plain that the accounts were not being properly kept though for a time matters were hushed up and a scandal averted.

#### **Picketing, September 1921**

In other districts, agitation continued and in several the authorities found it necessary to take action under the law as for instance in Larkana where Congress office bearers were prosecuted for taking out a procession without a police pass; while at Sukkur where prosecutions under the Bombay Police Act were instituted against liquor shop pickets. In the last named place the convicted persons were given an ovation by the crowd that saw them off at the station. At meetings there collections for continuing the liquor boycott were made and Leaflets published. At Shikarpur in the same district however, picketing practically ceased during the month.

Jacobabad attempted picketing but this fell through as the paid 'volunteers' on hearing of the prosecutions elsewhere refused to go on duty. On the 29th September, however, a procession with *charkhas*, *swadeshi* cloth, etc. went round the town and ended up with the bonfire of old English clothes made up into the figure of a man supposed to represent General Dyer. A similar effigy was burnt at Mirpurkhas.

By the close of the month, the Sukkur arbitration court reported the disposal of 280 cases.

### **Speeches, September 1921**

Hyderabad district came somewhat to notice during September by reason of some of the speeches made at meetings for the most part in out of the way places. At Talhar for instance on the 9th September, Allahbachayo, son of Mahomed Khati, is reported to have spoken as follows :—

“Englishmen committed tyrannies at Mecca by making men and women naked and spitting in their months. Englishmen are ‘*kaffirs*’ and to live under them is to become a ‘*kaffir*’. We will drive them from India, where they wander about like monkeys and cats. I tell you King George is a blind disobedient donkey and a great pig” and much in the same strain.

Similarly in other parts of the district speeches showering abuse, often filthy, on Government and Europeans alike were made.

### **A Temporary Revival**

Agitation in Sind received a fillip during October and November from several causes. In the first place must be mentioned the trial at Karachi of the Ali Brothers and others. Although some of those charged were Hindus, the main accused were Mussalmans and these gave the trial a decidedly Khilafat bias. Although it will be more convenient to deal with this fully in the Khilafat Report, mention must be made of it in passing as it caused considerable excitement both in Karachi and elsewhere in Sind and led to an outburst of agitation of rather a virulent type throughout the

Province. The Hindus attempted to make capital out of it on the ground that though the accused were suffering in a religious cause, yet on account of Hindu-Muslim unity the sympathy of Hindus could not but be evoked by the sorrows and trials of their Muslim brothers.

Following this came the Seventh Sind Provincial (Congress) Conference at Mirpurkhas from the 24th to 26th October at which a number of popular outside agitators such as Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who presided, Jamnalal Bajaj, the *Khaddar* enthusiast and organiser, Pandit Amrutlal and the mother and wife of Mahomed Ali, were present. This Conference was followed by a tour of Sind by Mrs. Naidu, the other ladies and Jamnalal Bajaj.

Another important cause undoubtedly was the sanction in October by the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee of a sum of Rs. 50,000 for Non-co-operation propaganda in Sind.

The last event of importance was the arrival in India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales whose visit gave the agitators an excellent opportunity of 'showing their independence' by arranging '*hartals*' and making numerous speeches which to put it mildly were in the worst of taste.

Enough has been said above in passing on the trial of the Ali Brothers. As previously mentioned Hindus tried to find in it a cement for Hindu-Muslim unity, and it was soon evident that something binding was urgently required.

### **Sind Provincial Congress Conference, October 1921**

At Mirpurkhas, on the 24th October the Subjects Committee of the Sind Provincial (Congress) Conference met and resolutions were quickly and unanimously passed regarding the arrest of the Ali Brothers, the boycott of the Prince's visit, the repressive policy of Government, the boycott of liquor, *swadeshi* and an incident at Matiari. It was when the resolution on the Moplah rising came up for discussion that the weak nature of the tie that bound the two communities at once became obvious.

Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani who had drafted the resolution condemned Government's high-handedness which was declared to be the direct cause of the rising but when continuing, he sought to blame the Moplahs for various excesses, he at once met with opposition. Kazi Khuda Baksh, son of Nabi Baksh, objected to the actions of Mussalmans being called in question in this way. Government had interfered with their religion and so driven the Moplahs into doing what they did. He was supported by five other Mussalmans. Feeling ran so high that the Kazi threatened to leave the meeting. Mrs. Naidu then attempted to intervene with a suggestion that the Mahomedans should be Congress members first and then Mussalmans. In other words that they should suppress their religious feelings for the sake of the Congress creed and unity. Such a suggestion was hardly likely to meet with the approval of bigoted Mussalmans such as those in the meeting and Pandit Amersen did not improve matters by declaring that their intention was not to cast aspersions on the Moplahs but to tell the truth about them. He proceeded to point out that forcible conversions of Hindus had taken place and asked whether the next step would be the open slaughter of cows on religious grounds. Several Hindus supported until Dr. Choithram and Jairamdas Daulatram attempted to stop the discussion.

Finally after further two hours' discussion Dr. Choithram, Jairamdas, Kazi Khuda Baksh and Abdul Jabbar were formed into a sub-committee to redraft the resolution by the following day.

Next day however, the Mussalmans again rejected the new draft and Mrs. Naidu trying to be helpful suggested the substitution of the word 'regret' for condemn but as neither side accepted it she withdrew her amendment with an apology. Eventually, however, on the 26th the resolution blaming Government and condemning forcible conversions was passed.

An interesting discussion took place in the subjects committee on a proposed resolution by Moulvi Monkamdin to the effect that in the event of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs not being redressed and *Swaraj* not obtained by the end of December a republic should be declared at the Ahmedabad Congress. Pandit Amersen quickly pulled it to pieces remarking that the declaration of a republic and non-violent Non-co-operation were in direct opposition. Who, he asked would protect the newly hoisted *Swaraj* flag ? Eventually Monkamdin withdrew.

At the actual conference on the 25th and 26th, copies of the prescribed 'Fatwa' of the Ulema-i-Hind were distributed, and among the resolutions passed were the following :—

On the 25th to boycott—

- (a) Government service (both civil and military);
- (b) Prince's visit; and
- (c) Liquor shops.

The following day the principal resolutions were—

- (a) against "*Aman Sabhas*";
- (b) recommendations and exhortations in connection with the popularising of *khaddar*;
- (c) deploring the Moplah outrage attributable mainly to Government's interference in religious matters and in preventing the Congress and Khilafat messages from reaching the Moplah masses. In this the Moplahs were condemned for forcibly converting Hindus mainly, it would seem, because such conduct might endanger Hindu-Muslim unity.
- (d) declaring the Indian Government not representative in any way of the Indian people and requesting foreign powers consequently not to enter into alliance with it.

To coat the pill, Allah Baksh Talpur speaking on the Moplah resolution remarked that no authentic information had been received as to whether or not the Moplahs had been the aggressors though there had undoubtedly been some disorder. He thought, however that Government had unnecessarily given offence by interfering in religious matters with the object of causing intercommunal strife.

The mother of the Ali Brothers (known as Bi-Amman) spoke in her usual style at the conference, as the following typical sentences indicate :—

"If we had been brave the traders (British) would not have been able to rule over us. If we fail to get *Swaraj*, Khilafat and the redress of the Punjab wrongs by December and if we cannot throw off our cowardice life will not be worth living for me, my sons, for Hindus or for Mussalmans."



The wife of Mahomed Ali made a set speech in favour of home spun cloth and added that her husband had been arrested for serving God and the Prophet.

#### **Mrs. Naidu and Other Visitors**

After the conference, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Jamnalal Bajaj on the 27th October met some 200 members of the Indian Merchants' Association in Karachi and discussed *Swadeshi*. Mrs. Naidu appealed to them in the name of Gandhi to abstain from dealing in foreign cloth out of regard for those Indian women and children who were starving and ill-clothed. Her companion, she said, was there to solve any practical difficulties there might be.

Jamnalal, himself a cloth trader, recounted how he had found it difficult to give up the foreign cloth trade till convinced after hearing Gandhi that the profits from that trade were ill-gotten gains obtained at the expense of the poor of this country. By following Gandhi, he claimed that they would retain in India the 60 crores of rupees annually spent on foreign cloth.

Eventually after considerable discussion, about 60 Marwari and Shikarpuri merchants pledged themselves to refrain from ordering further supplies of foreign cloth till December 1921, in order to see the result of the movement.

The following day (28th October) Mrs. Naidu and Jamnalal, met at Karachi, where provincial workers discussed Hindu-Muslim unity in Sind. The meeting, however, merely gave the organisers further proofs of the jealousies and absolute lack of real unity between the two communities.

In addition to these private meetings, Mrs. Naidu assisted by Bi-Amman and the wife of Mahomed Ali, attended public meetings in Karachi on these two days and urged the boycott of the Prince's visit, the use of *Swadeshi* and boycott of foreign cloth, and the vital importance of Hindu-Muslim unity. As regards the Malabar rising they urged that only inconclusive and prejudiced information had up till then been received.

Several ladies' meetings for the same purpose were held by the same speakers during October and November but do not call for comment, except possibly that in Karachi on the 5th November when as a farewell gift Bi-Amman was presented with a purse of Rs. 1,000, but refused to accept it for her own use and gave it to the Khilafat Fund.

After this Mrs. Naidu visited all the principal towns in Sind, while Bi-Amman stopped at Jacobabad, Larkana, Dadu and several other places exhorting the people to be ready to sacrifice themselves as her sons had done. The result of these tours was that women in Sind began to take more interest in agitation.

### **Proposed Hartal during Royal Visit**

As a result of the decision of the working committee of the All India National Congress, Sind agitators in their speeches advocated a '*hartal*' on the 17th November 1921, the day the Prince of Wales was due to land in Bombay. It was observed at various centres of disaffection and at places where agitators had been able to work up temporary enthusiasm. In some places Civil-Disobedience was mentioned but it was generally understood that this had been postponed until after the Ahmedabad Congress to be held in the last week of December 1921.

### **Increase in Speeches**

The trial in October and conviction on the 2nd November of the Ali Brothers and others in Karachi had the effect of creating a considerable amount of agitation and irresponsible speaking throughout Sind which must be largely attributed to the truculent attitude adopted by most of the accused during the trial. Hitherto unknown speakers came into the limelight at a host of small meetings all over the Province, breathing a spirit of defiance and making irresponsible and abusive speeches. A selection of these from various districts will suffice.

In Larkana Dr. Changomal, son of Santdas and his companion Udheban, son of Lekhraj held a series of meetings at villages notably on the 12th and 16th November. At the former, Changomal said that bribery was rife in all ranks from the *tapedar* to the Commissioner and from the Constable to the Superintendent, while ghee was dear because 20,000 cows were being slaughtered daily.

Udheban made a fatuous speech charging Government with being responsible for the decline of Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Hindi education with the result that Mussalmans could no longer understand their *Ulemas* and Hindus their *Pandits*. He also blamed Government because Hindus ate mutton and Mussalmans drank liquor and the people generally aped foreign manners and dress. He also stated that when the Prince of Wales arrived, Bench Magistrates and chair holders would be turned into sweepers. Finally, carried away apparently, he exhorted his audience to break the law and refuse to pay taxes.

At the latter, on the 16th, the Doctor, a Hindu, declared that according to the '*Koran*' it was '*haram*' to serve the Government and that the '*Fatwas*' of *Ulemas* to that effect had been distributed among soldiers. Continuing he said that on the 1st December, Gandhi would occupy the Bombay Police-station (apparently he thought there was only one there) and ask all to declare themselves his servants.

Udheban following made very rash statements such as that many Indians had died of hunger and that in Marwar instances had occurred where parents had killed and eaten their own children, whereas prior to the advent of the British there had been prosperity everywhere. He was careful, however, to suggest that his audience should not taunt or fight with the bureaucrats but gave as his reason that he did not want the earth polluted with the blood of these bureaucrats. Finally he declared that *Satyagraha* would be started in Dadu and they would then go to the police-station and ask the police to vacate peacefully.

Pir Ilahi Baksh, well-known locally, spoke in much the same strain.

On the 14th November also in the Larkana district a Hakim Ali Shah among other things said that Government had issued a press note declaring that the Shankaracharya was not the *Jagat Guru* and that the *Shariff* of Mecca and not the *Sultan* of Turkey was the Khalifa. He added that the Prime Minister had told the whites that until the '*Koran*' was burnt Mussalmans would not be destroyed the inference being that Europeans were bent on the destruction of both.

At another village in the same district, on the 28th November, a Ghulam Siddique, son of Mahomed Saleh said that the Government had

been trying to ruin Islam for the last 150 years and that the English now allied with the Greeks, were committing atrocities on the Turks.

In Nawabshah, similar speeches were made. The way in which America had gained its independence was held up as an example and Civil Disobedience was mooted. Considerable capital was made of the Prince's visit as for instance on the 17th November at Tando Adam, where the speaker declared that His Royal Highness had come to throw dust in the people's eyes. On this occasion also there was talk of asking the police to give up possession of the police stations.

A Hindu followed with a violent speech in which he said Europeans were tricksters and Government officials monkeys, Government's guns were useless and he for one did not care for Collector or Government. As a result of this speech a 'hartal' was observed.

Hyderabad produced a crop of a similar kind. On the 17th November at the Headquarters itself, Kazi Assadullah Shah, a well-known local firebrand, declared that the English had destroyed the political and religious rights of Indians. As a consequence, God and His Prophet had ordered a boycott of the English as tyrants. In the district, vulgar abuse and terms of reproach were used in connection with H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

In Sukkur district during November, much the same was taking place. Speakers alluding to the acquittal of Shankaracharya, a co-accused with the Ali Brothers, characterised it as a trick played by Government to destroy Hindu-Muslim unity. At Shikarpur on the 20th November Abdul Karim, son of Kadir Baksh, referring to the rioting that had occurred at Bombay, said that a few had been killed but the time was coming when thousands by dying would show their readiness to be sacrificed by this tyrannous Government. Gandhi had called upon them to do their duty and release the Ali Brothers. After the 21st December they would be under the 'swaraj' flag. Every day in Calcutta, 30 policemen were resigning. As soon as villagers were made acquainted with the commands of the 'Koran', they would non-co-operate.

At a meeting in Sukkur itself on the 19th November, policemen were abused, obstructed and stoned. The same evening Bhojraj Motur

declaimed "What has the Prince to do with us? 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."

Another speaker declared "If we had arms, the British would not rule over us. The Prince is our servant and deserves no respect". Yet another : "The Prince would not have dared to come if our lions had not been in prison." As the speaker was a Mahomedan presumably he referred to the recently convicted Ali Brothers.

Karachi district differed in no respect. Such expressions as 'When the English came to India they were naked' (poverty stricken), 'The English are mad', 'The advent of the English brought famine', 'The king and the whole of the Empire are drunkards', 'Gandhi's anti-liquor orders will cause Government a loss of 20 crores', 'The English have disrespected the holy places of Islam,' 'The British Empire will be ruined', 'The Prince of Wales used 24,000 bottles of liquor, 4,000 bottles of limejuice and the flesh of 50,000 cows in Bombay', Government has no shame and 'Mahatma Gandhi will be king of India' were used.

The Kohinoor Cinema showed a film in which the hero, a man with the appearance of Gandhi, was represented as obtaining '*Swaraj*' from a tyrannical Government. A spinning wheel also figured in the performance and the audience were reported to have been greatly affected.

At the Star Cinema on the 3rd December when at the conclusion of the performance a picture of His Majesty was thrown on the screen and the band played the National Anthem, the audience hooted.

Thar Parkar district also produced a few examples of wild speeches. Abuse was publicly poured on Government servants such as the Mukhti-arkar and Sub-Inspector at Sanghar where the Government was described as '*beiman*' (without honour) and '*zalim*'. At a meeting in Mirpurkhas itself on the 16th November, a resolution was passed asking the Delhi *Ulemas* to induce the Ali Brothers to accept the title of "*Ghazi*".

During the month three postal employees resigned as a protest against Government's action with regard to the Khilafat, the Jallianwala Bagh incident and their policy of blind repression.

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To all appearances a very unhealthy state of things was disclosed in the Province about this time and the Mahomedans on the whole seemed to be the more affected. It was obvious, however, that respectable and responsible people of both communities were holding themselves aloof from the riff-raff accountable for the wild speeches and abuse. In a number of cases when these apparently defiant orators on being proceeded against meekly apologised or paid their fines instead of going to jail, a spirit of depression spread among the agitators.

Another depressing factor must have been the obvious reluctance now being shown by the general public to subscribe to the various funds despite the promises of '*Swaraj*' by the end of the year. The people, however, had not lost all their shrewdness and they could not have helped noticing in the past that the more they paid the more affluent became the agitators, many of whom were paid propagandists.

### **Disintegration**

According to the promises and boasts of the leaders of the Non-co-operation movement, December 1921 was to see the establishment of '*Swaraj*'. Much extravagant speculation had been indulged in and the illiterate classes worked up to expect a species of millennium. December, however, showed that various disintegrating factors were at work, and jealousy was not the least of them.

During the month new office bearers for the various Congress Committees in Sind as well as representatives of Sind on the All India Congress Committee were elected resulting in much ill-feeling, especially between the Hyderabad people and the rest, since Hyderabad had secured a preponderating influence in the Sind Provincial Congress Committee. Virumal Begraj of Sukkur resigned the Vice-presidentship of that body as a protest. At the same time all over Sind there were signs of local jealousy and dissatisfaction.

From Larkana a telegram was sent to Gandhi that the delegates from that district represented no one but themselves. In Nawabshah here were complaints voiced in the *Bharatvasi* of Hyderabad that the elections had been irregular. Similar dissensions were apparent in Mirpurkhas while in Jacobabad no candidate was forthcoming.

for the Congress Committees. Karachi with unconscious humour after condemning the actions of Manilal J. Vyas and Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan referred to the local Committee as the 'Satanic' Congress Bureaucracy.

If, as it was reported at the time, it was true that only ten per cent of the Congress members at Hyderabad took part in the elections and even less at Sukkur and elsewhere, while at the elections for the Bombay Legislative Council from 50 per cent to 70 per cent of the electorate voted, the thinking section of agitators must have received a considerable shock.

### **The Movement Analysed**

The Non-co-operation movement may be said to have been compounded of three ingredients, *viz.*, a movement or desire on the part of the literate classes, mostly Hindus, in favour of a change in the existing system, a change which would give them greater powers; a purely Mussalman movement to restore and maintain the position of Islam, the fallen state of which was believed to have been largely brought about by the British; and finally an underlying current of hatred of the English which had developed in many communities and individuals from various causes. The masses were stirred up and drawn in without exactly knowing what the agitation meant and whether 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.

For the time inter-caste and inter-racial jealousy, distrust and antipathy were smothered or glossed over. In fact some speakers in India were quite frank about it, declaring that provided they stuck together long enough to oust the British, it mattered not if thereafter they flew at each other's throats.

But this suppressed force could not be kept under long and proved in the end to be older and stronger than any other. When it once more rose to the surface, wide-spread dissensions broke out and finally with other factors, such as the declared abolition of the *Khilafat* and the expulsion of the Khalifat by Turkey, acts

which may, in popular phrase, be said to have 'knocked the bottom out of the Khilafat movement' led to general disunion, and the virtual collapse of the agitation.

For sometime it had been obvious that the Non-co-operation movement had, while spreading also degenerated. The moderates and the better class educated people were drawing away from it. As regards the Khilafat part of it, however, there were still thoughtful people who believed that the British Government was responsible for the humiliation of Islam and had broken its promises with regard to the holy places.

#### **Agitation, December 1921**

During December agitation still continued in a virulent form, the Khilafat question and *Swadeshi* being the most popular items. The latter however, was reported to be losing ground in Karachi and Hyderabad though there was semblance of increased interest in it in Upper Sind.

The Prince's visit was a most useful adjunct to the usual and now somewhat stale subjects or excuses for agitation. Posters printed in Hyderabad and Shikarpur over the names of Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani and others appeared all over Sind urging the boycott of the visit. For the second time the audience at the Star Cinema on the 11th December hooted when pictures of Their Majesties were thrown on the screen.

The results of the agitation were not particularly marked or worthy of note. A few Government servants such as a clerk in the Educational Inspector's office, a Sub-Overseer on the Jamrao Canal staff, and a teacher of an aided Anglo-Vernacular School resigned their appointments because they felt they could no longer co-operate with Government. Congress Committees were formed in a few places mainly in the Thar Parkar district where they had not been before. Speeches continued to be objectionable in tone and the agitators about this time seem to have concentrated attention on the police, especially those whose duty it was to be present at, and to report on meetings. Undoubtedly the loyalty of the police



especially those in out of the way places, was severely tested. They were publicly abused and described as 'worse than *kaffirs*.' At almost every meeting they were held up to ridicule. When it is considered that the police were themselves discontented with their pay, which the high cost of living, especially in Karachi, had made quite inadequate, the loyalty of these men is all the more surprising and praiseworthy.

Doubtless the agitator had more than one object in thus attacking the police. The first and only open one was that it formed part of the policy of Non-co-operation laid down by the leaders. There was another, however, which none would openly admit but which none the less had its effect. As has been remarked before, the agitation had slowly been passing from the hands of the more literate and respectable classes to the unruly and unrestrained masses with the result that the audiences were mere mobs, albeit peaceful ones as yet, and the speeches mere vulgar abuse. The authorities could no longer regard the agitation with equanimity and action against the worst offenders, before matters grew worse and the rabble became hopelessly inflamed, became necessary. One form which such action took was to proceed against those whose speeches passed all bounds of expediency and decency. Prosecutions depended on reports of speeches and naturally those speakers who relied on violent and abusive expressions to rouse interest regarded the police attending meetings as their special enemies.

Possibly, owing to the withdrawal of the more moderate and sane elements and to the action of the authorities in proceeding against the worst offenders, the number of meetings showed signs of decreasing everywhere. Irresponsible speakers still stumped the country prophesying that soon police '*thanas*,' Government offices and treasuries would be taken over and policemen deprived of their arms. Abuse was still hurled against officials and Government generally.

At a meeting at Dadu (Larkana) one Jassanmal, son of Ramchand, referring to the Mukhtiarkar remarked that in the end a mad dog bites its own master. Mir Allah Baksh Talpur of Thar Parkar district spoke scathingly of the Mir of Khairpur for

being so completely under the thumb of the Political Agent, 'the two-pice Collector of Sukkur.' In a Karachi meeting Kazi Khuda Baksh Nabi Baksh, speaking on a resolution dealing with the arrests of Sikh leaders in the Punjab declared that no justice could be expected from the throne when those who sat on it decided matters after drinking. He added that Government was digging its own grave by attempting through repressive measures to destroy the Non-co-operation movement. At Mirpurkhas a meeting again urged the Delhi *Ulemas* to induce the Ali Brothers to accept the title of *Ghazi*. Other meetings at Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas congratulated Abul Kalam Azad, C. R. Das and Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani, *Ex-Editor* of "*The Hindu*" (Hyderabad) on their arrests. In the Nawabshah district, at Naushahra, on the 18th December, Kazi Abdul Rahman said the British Government had become blind and ready to ruin the people's religion. He added that in India the British numbered only 2½ lakhs and could be drowned in the spittle of Indians. At another meeting in the same place the following week a speaker described Government as a cheat, liar, tyrannical and satanic but added that it would soon be put to flight. Another speaker in Kandiaro of the same district said they must organize a national army and police force on the Government pattern to protect the lives and property of the people, while other speakers urged the formation of volunteer corps.

At Jamesabad (Thar Parkar district) on December 13th and 14th the following expressions were used : "We will shortly raise the flag of our (*Swaraj*) Government at Ahmedabad and compel the *Sirkar* to fall at our feet". It is '*haram*' to serve Government. "Don't heed the officers of this savage and satanic Government. Officials give up service since it is '*haram*' for you to serve".

### Funds

In November the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee had announced in Delhi that collections in Sind for the 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' had reached Rs. 1,95,542. The following month Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani wired that Sind's total was Rs. 2,07,539.

### **The Close of the Year**

At the close of 1921 there was a slight lull in the activities of agitators and the number of meetings fell considerably. This, however, was mainly due to the absence of the leaders at the Ahmedabad Congress from which great things were expected.

### **Schools and Colleges**

The boycott of Government educational institutions dates from September 1920 but its effects in Sind were not really noticeable till the beginning of 1921.

This should, perhaps, be regarded as the most important item in the Non-co-operation programme. It was argued that, through its educational system, Government dominated not only the present but the rising generation as well. At the same time it must be recognised that having to do mostly with the impressionable young and their largely unpractical teachers, poorly paid and disgruntled, it was the item most likely to lead to immediately visible results.

One section of the Non-co-operators, however, were opposed to the introduction of this boycott on a large scale unless and until 'National' schools and colleges had been prepared to receive these Non-co-operating students. This section was overruled, however, by the majority, led well by agitators whose main, if not sole, idea seem to have been to create an immediate effect. The future could look after itself presumably and they were prepared apparently to leave the formation of national schools and colleges largely to local initiative. This lack of constructive policy, probably more than anything else, was responsible for the eventual failure of this part of the programme.

These agitators proceeded to carry out their plans by starting vigorous propaganda and in Sind determined efforts were made to wreck existing schools and colleges. Boys were reminded of their patriotic and religious duties by stirring songs often sung tauntingly by women and girls, and the students of other countries who had willingly followed their national heroes on any occasion were held up as examples. The press was freely used to proclaim the success of the movement and to give flattering notice to those students in Sind who, in response to the propaganda, had left the Government educational establishments which were termed "Slave Institutions".

As part of the propaganda, a "Sind Students National Service" with a central council of ten, who happened all to be Hindus, was formed to push the agitation. Its members wore a sort of uniform consisting of a white khadi coat on which was displayed a metal badge bearing a representation of a spinning wheel and the words "Soldier of *Swaraj*" an expression often in the mouths of fervent orators of the movement. It was the business of these "soldiers" to go round the country, but mainly in the neighbourhood of their homes to collect subscriptions towards "National" education and, incidentally, persuade other students, who had not left their schools, to join them.

As Gandhi, the prime mover of the Non-co-operation movement in India, was a Gujarati and a Hindu, it was but natural that the boycott of Government education in Sind should have spread from the outset more rapidly among Gujaratis and Hindus generally. To attract Mussalmans something more was required and this was supplied by the skilful blending of Gandhi and the Ali Brothers of the Khilafat Non-co-operation movements. Mullas, who, in Sind, at all, events, are inclined to be ignorant, narrow-minded and bigoted, were not prepared to renounce at the word of a Hindu, however, influential and saintly he might be the Government grants which largely maintained themselves and their Mulla schools but, when the Ali Brothers' themselves Mussalmans, and Moulanas as well, began to preach what was, in effect, a "*jihad*" against everything belonging to Government on account of the alleged damage done by that Government to the *Khilafat-ul-Musalmin* through the unsatisfactory Peace Treaty with Turkey, they were roused to the point of refusing the grants.

Although, as mentioned above, the primary object of the scholastic boycott was to paralyse in a spectacular manner the Government educational institutions and draw to the leaders of the movement a large body of eager and easily led youths, it soon became evident even to the most impractical that something must be done to educate the boys who have thus left the Government institutions at their bidding. So called "National" schools were, therefore, opened but, even from the commencement, these were not well-founded and only a small proportion of the boys who had left their old schools joined the new ones. Money which after the first flush was always scarce and gradually these schools

had to close down, the pupils either seeking to be readmitted to the Government institutions or abandoning their unfinished education.

The following note by the Educational Inspector in Sind on "National schools" is interesting :—

### "NATIONAL SCHOOLS"

1. *Origin* : Side by side with the mandate of Mr. Gandhi to boycott Government schools and colleges was his suggestion to open national ones. Therefore in the first flush of enthusiasm, there sprung up a number of secondary and primary schools and *Madressahs*. The rise of the Non-co-operation and the Khilafat stunt coincided with the boom in the market and the coffers of the agitators were consequently replenished by generous contributions from merchants and speculators. Money poured in from all quarters. Monetary persuasions prevailed better than the political ones and the underpaid teachers especially in aided institutions and irresponsible boys whose parents in addition to being unable to control their children were probably similar victims of the economic disabilities of the days, disabilities whose causes they could not understand but which they could be easily persuaded to ascribe to Government, were easily brought under the banner of the movements. For a time it looked as if the Government schools will be swept off from existence in course of time.

2. *Funds* : The schools depended for monetary aid upon the Congress funds and the begging bowl which went round the place every day. Chief business of some students was simply to go to Railway stations or to roam in the village or town with a box bearing the inscription "Khilafat Fund" or "Tilak Congress Fund" to collect subscriptions.

3. *Ideals and methods adopted to achieve them--with an estimate of the—* The original intention to start national schools was a move against the present form of education which had failed to give satisfaction. It was preached by the agitators that schools did not impart liberal education. It was, therefore, considered essential to start a new system of education. They were, however, unable to define their aim or to devise a new system of education. In the frenzy of the moment no one seriously thought of the leap in the dark. Adventurous and enterprising spirits found an opportunity to advertise

themselves. Schools were started, but without any definite ideal. There was no curriculum, no new set of books and systematic plan for action. Buildings occupied were generally small, dark and dingy, violating all laws of sanitation. No benches were used in many schools; it was convenient to argue that the old way of squatting on the floor and learning was the best. The subjects taught were the same as those in Government schools with an admixture of *Charka* and Hindi. So-called national songs vilifying Government and the officials were sung in a loud strain. The Gandhi cap was the order of the day.

4. Estimate of the value and the results achieved. The Sindhi national schools generally failed woefully. The only schools which have been able to hold their own upto to-day are some of the Gujarati schools started in Karachi. The reason of this is that the Gujarati community owes a sort of allegiance to Mr. Gandhi and to his ideals which cannot appeal to a Sindhi. They have got a ready made set of the so-called national books which are studied in their schools. They follow the ideals set by the Gujarat Vidyapeeth.

The Sindhi national schools, on the other hand were gradually depleted and had to be closed. Most of them have either vanished for ever or have applied for Government grant. The causes of their failure are as under :—

- (a) As stated above these schools depended for monetary help upon the Congress funds mostly and upon the donations of the public collected in the streets. The Congress Khilafat funds were mismanaged and misappropriated by some of the custodians and were thus exhausted. The first enthusiasm of the people soon slackened and money was not freely given as before. There was not much dearth of workers because all of them were paid. All the schools struggled and appealed for funds and at last died out on account of sheer starvation.
- (b) In most schools there was no education worthy of the name. There was no discipline. The men who had in the fit of enthusiasm sacrificed the career of their sons saw in cooler moments that the boys were completely ruined. There was no continuity of the ideal placed before the boys as in Government schools. Thus the parents felt nervous and withdrew their boys.

(c) The teachers appointed were agitators and not educators. Of low qualifications and often times of poor morals with no ideas of education : they were absolutely unfit for educating the young. This was soon realised by them.

5. A list of national schools showing approximately the highest and lowest numbers on their rolls is shown below in Statements "A" to "D".

### STATEMENT A

List showing the number of secondary schools which Non-co-operated and declared themselves National Schools and New National Schools.

District	Old Schools which Non-co-operated			Newly opened Schools		
	No. of Secondary Schools	No. of pupils at the time of their highest popularity	No. now on rolls	No. of Secondary Schools	No. of pupils at the time of their highest popularity	No. now on rolls
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Karachi	1	200	100	6	520	220
2. Nawabshah	1	40	..	6	150	..
3. Larkana ..	1	60	..	2	67	..
4. Thar Parkar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Hyderabad ..	..	..	..	1	163	..
6. Sukkur ..	..	..	..	4	100	..
7. Upper Sind Frontier	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	3	300	100	19	1,000	220

## STATEMENT B

List showing the number of Boys and Teachers who left and rejoined the schools.

Name of School	Boys		Teachers	
	No. left	No. re-joined	No. left	No. re-joined
1. Government High school, Karachi	..	..	1	..
2. Government High School, Larkana	29	22	†2 †1	.. 1
3. Government High School, Shikarpur	29	13	2	..
4. Government High School, Sind, Madressah, Karachi	2	1	2	1
5. C. M. S. High School, Karachi	16	16	2	..
6. A. V. School, Kotri	11	10	..	..
7. Hindu Academy, Karachi	124	..	..	..
8. N. H. Academy, Hyderabad	30	13	..	..
9. N. V. High School, Hyderabad	61	37	1	1
10. Kundanmal Girls' High School, Hyderabad	2	1	..	..
11. Naushahro Madressah and High School	1	..	..	..
12. K. C. Academy, Bhiria	..	..	1	1
13. A. V. Schools, Nawabshah District	118	100	5	..
14. Municipal High School, Sukkur	30	20	..	..
15. Mules A. V. School, Old Sukkur	37	35	..	..



**STATEMENT B—Concl'd.**

Name of School	Boys		Teachers	
	No. left	No. re-joined	No. left	No. re-joined
16. G. L. A. V. School, Sukkur	47	45	1	..
17. Municipal A. V. School, Rohari	32	32	1	..
18. New Academy, Rohari	100	80	4	..
19. Shikarpur Academy	15	13	..	..
20. Municipal High School, Jacobabad	..	..	1	..
21. Vidyalaya, Banguldero	..	..	1	..
Total..	684	443	25	4

*N. B.*— One Clerk of the Department also resigned.

**STATEMENT C****Primary Schools**

District	No. of schools	No. of pupils who left	No. of pupils who re-joined
1. Karachi	10	81	
2. Hyderabad	10	79	
3. Nawabshah	9	200	Figures uncertain. It appears almost all have returned.
4. Thar Parkar	3	20	
5. Sukkur	6	90	
6. Upper Sind Frontier	3	30	
7. Larkana	13	400	
Total..	54	900	

## STATEMENT D

List showing the number of Primary Schools which Non-co-operated and declared themselves National Schools.

District	Old Schools			New schools		
	No. of primary schools	No. of pupils at the time of their highest popularity	No. now on rolls	No. of primary schools	No of pupils at the time of their highest popularity	No. now on rolls
1. Karachi	8	654	275	4	136	35
2. Hyderabad	..	..	..	5	82	..
3. Nawabshah	..	..	..	3	52	..
4. Thar Parkar	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Sukkur	1	40	..	1	25	..
6. Upper Sind Frontier	..	..	..	2	35	..
7. Larkana	..	..	..	6	220	50
Total	9	694	275	21	550	85

In Sind the following agitators took a prominent part in the Non-co-operation movement as a whole and the boycott of Government scholastic establishments in particular :—

- (1) Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani.
- (2) Choitharam Partabrai Gidvani.
- (3) Manilal Jadhawji Vyas.
- (4) Lalchand Amardinomal Jagtaiani.
- (5) Jawaharmal Totiram Mansukhani *alias* Swami Govindanand.
- (6) Choithram Tekchand Valecha.
- (7) Virumal Begraj.
- (8) Professor Thanwardas Lilaram Vaswani.
- (9) Kazi Khuda Baksh.

The movement and the above leaders were encouraged from time to time by the visits of all India celebrities such as Gandhi, the Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Kitchlew.

Some of the salient features of the movement as published from time to time are as follows :—

### **1920 July and November**

Gandhi who at first advocated the policy of Non-co-operation in a manifesto dated the 10th March 1920, came to Sind on July 23rd, 1920, and was met at Hyderabad station by the students of all the English Schools. Though no immediate results were visible, a "Students Non-co-operation League" came into being in Karachi as the result of a meeting in Burns Gardens on November 7th, 1920 of about 100 students and some local agitators. During the same month at Shikarpur on the 4th and at Sukkur on the 6th and 7th, the anniversary of the Sind Students' Convention was celebrated. In both places speeches were made adversely criticising the existing educational system and condemning the wearing of European dress. Thanwardas Lilaram Vaswani, a well-known litterateur, was prominent on this occasion.

### **1921 February**

On February 10th, 1921, Valabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel (of Ahmedabad) who on the 7th February had published in the "Bombay Chronicle" a scheme entitled "Students and Non-co-operation" presided over another convention of Sind students held in the Khalikdina Hall, Karachi, when speeches favouring the boycott of Government schools were made and it was decided to delete from the rules of the convention the following :

"The convention will be of a non-political character." This meeting also endorsed the Non-co-operation resolution which had been passed by the Nagpur Congress held from 26th December to 30th December 1920.

It was an unfortunate coincidence that the same date *viz.*, February 10th 1921, had been fixed for the distribution to school children throughout Sind of medals commemorating the opening by the Duke of Connaught of the new Legislature at Delhi. That morning the leading agitators distributed notices outside the large schools in Hyderabad calling upon the boys to refuse the medals. Almost all Mahomedans refused them and in one school out of 283 students less than 100 accepted them and of these some of the elder boys returned them later. In Larkana no attempt was made to distribute these medals as it was feared that the students on the advice of agitators would refuse them. At Rohari the medals were forced on the pupils by their masters but after leaving school the boys collected and burnt them.

During this month the Rohari School boycott fund amounted to Rs. 7,000 which bears out the Educational Inspector's note that merchants and speculators contributed generously at first. While in May a Hyderabad merchant who had previously not come to notice in connection with politics gave one lakh to start a women's college in Hyderabad. As a matter of fact no such college ever came into existence and it is not known what happened to the money.

In March the Matriculation and Intermediate Arts Examination of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth were championed by professor Ghanshyam J. Shivdasani at Hyderabad.

### **1922 October**

A National Educational Inspector in Sind was appointed but this appointment did not last long.

### **December**

In December 1922 Virumal Begraj on his release from prison was presented with a purse of about Rs. 5,000 of which he announced, he would pass on Rs. 2,000 to national schools.

The Education Board of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee resolved in January to start a matriculation examination of their own for national schools and appointed examiners, mainly residents of Karachi.

Two students were given scholarships by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee in June 1923 to assist them to go to the Vidyapeeth in Ahmedabad for higher education, and the following month the City Congress Committee, Hyderabad (Sind), sanctioned Rs. 11,000 to build a new school.

In August the Karachi Congress Committee gave a scholarship to a student who had left the Sind College and joined the National Medical College, Bombay. The same month the same Committee sanctioned monthly grants of Rs. 25 to six national schools in Karachi.

As far as Sind is concerned, 1924 is a record of national schools closing down for want of funds or again asking for the Government grant. The movement was rapidly dying and money was not readily forthcoming. In May 100 teachers of national schools in Karachi passed a resolution informing the Karachi Congress Committee that if their pay was not increased they would have to resign.

#### **B-Non-co-operation and Municipalities, 1921 March**

From the beginning of the movement the boycott of Municipalities was discouraged by the leaders who pointed out the advantages of capturing them. As an instance of this several Non-co-operators of Karachi wired on the 14th March 1921 to Gandhi and Shaukatali at Bombay to the effect that the Karachi Non-co-operators were wasting their energies trying to get elected to the Municipalities but Gandhi's reply from Nagpur a few days later indicated that he was in favour of Non-co-operators entering the Municipalities in order to nationalise schools.

There followed in April 1921 a campaign in favour of the Karachi Non-co-operator candidates for the Municipality but on this occasion the results from their point of view were not very satisfactory as they secured only 9 out of the 45 seats. In fact the only Municipality which early came under the influence of a Non-co-operators majority was Mirpurkhas.

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Gandhi during a visit to Sind in April 1921 visited Karachi, etc. and Sukkur. At the first named place here marked in an interview with Non-co-operator Municipal Councillors that the only justification for their presence in the Municipal Councils was to nationalise education. If they failed in this, they should resign.

At Sukkur he advised Non-co-operators to endeavour to flood the Municipality at the next election but should they find themselves in a minority they should resign.

In February 1922 it was evident that organised efforts were being made by Non-co-operators to gain control of the Municipalities. Some pro-Government members of the Hala (Hyderabad) Municipality complained of the bullying tactics of the Non-co-operators.

The Sukkur Municipal elections in March resulted in 15 out of the 20 Hindus elected being Congress members. The Hyderabad Municipality followed in June with the election of Non-co-operators as President and Chairman of the School Board as the result of the elections at Mirpurkhas also in June. Non-co-operators were strongly represented.

The influence of the Non-co-operators in these various bodies showed itself mainly in attempts, usually, successful, to decorate municipal halls and schools with photos of popular public heroes such as Gandhi and Tilak and in appointing the birthdays of such celebrities as holidays in these schools. This went on through 1923 and in most places where the Non-co-operators were not in a majority the passing of such resolutions indicated either carelessness in the matter of attendance by pro-Government members or a sop to keep quiet and irreconcilable and noisy minority, but when as happened, at several places such as Sukkur and Karachi, a more serious question, such as the presentation of an address to H. E. Governor arose, the pro-Government majority generally carried the day.

In December 1923 Selection Committee of the Karachi District Congress Committee attempted to put matters on a organised party

footing by inviting applications from intending candidates for the Municipal elections who were prepared to subscribe to the following programme :—

### **I.—BREAKING THE BUREAUCRACY**

- (1) No address to members or representatives of the bureaucracy and abstaining from participation in functions to officials.
- (2) Addresses to National leaders.

### **II.—HELPING THE DEPRESSED CLASSES**

- (1) Securing adequate representation for the “ depressed class ” in the Municipality ( the School Board and the Corporation ) and generally protecting and advancing their interests.
- (2) Providing every facility for their education.

### **III.—VINDICATING WOMEN’S RIGHTS**

- (1) Securing to women their right to sit as members of the Municipality ( School Board and the Corporation ).
- (2) To devise special measures for the advancement of female education.

### **IV.—SOCIAL SERVICE**

- (1) Provision of cheap and sanitary houses for the working people.
- (2) Protection of rights of tenants and extension of the Rent Act.
- (3) Removal of congestion in Lyari, Soldier Bazar, Old Town, Market and Ranchore Lines Quarters. Application of the Town Planning Act to the City and improvement of Lyari Quarters.

- (4) Special measures for reduction of high infantile mortality and provision of enough medical relief to the poor.
- (5) Prohibition of liquor, *charas* and opium (except for medical purposes) within Municipal limits.
- (6) Removal of brothels from the present quarters and extension of the Bombay Brothels Act to Karachi.
- (7) Preventing healthy dogs from being killed within Municipal limits.
- (8) Laying out lawns and gardens and building a sanatorium and public baths.
- (9) Providing Municipal gymnasiums for physical culture of citizens, particularly the young.
- (10) To minimise incidence of further taxation on the poor.
- (11) To seek solution of the beggar problem.

#### V.—NATIONAL EDUCATION

- (1) Immediate introduction of free and compulsory education on national lines.
- (2) Introduction of Hindi and Urdu in curriculum of Municipal Schools.
- (3) Securing living wage for the teacher.

#### VI.—NATIONALISATION OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

- (1) Indianisation of services.
- (2) Securing greater popular control; special efforts to be put forth to free the Corporation more and more from official control and interference.
- (3) Widening Municipal election on the basis of universal adult suffrage—women not excluded.



- (4) Economy in expenditure consistent with honesty, integrity and efficiency in administration.
- (5) Securing recognition for Hindustani as a medium of expression in Municipal debates and committees.
- (6) Introduction of national holidays, e. g., Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, Lok-Tilak's death anniversary etc.
- (7) Expunging the Empire Day from the list of holidays.
- (8) Use of *Swadeshi* articles in Municipal departments and boycott of British Empire goods.
- (9) Municipalisation of public utility services of the city like the Tramway Telephone, Electric Company, Suburban Railway, etc.
- (10) Appeal to popular referendum on important public issues.

A Campaign Committee consisting of Swami Krishnanand, son of Bhumanand and 8 others has been appointed to carry on propaganda for the election of nominees of the Congress Committee.

The City Khilafat Committee, Karachi, is also running Mussalman candidates on the same lines as the Congress.

The elections in March 1924 resulted in 20 out of 54 members of the Karachi Municipality being Non-co-operators and in the following month these formed themselves into a party known as the "Karachi National Municipal Party" for which an annual membership fee was charged and programme decided upon. Twenty-two out of the fifty-four joined it and the number rose slightly but when Haji Abdullah Haroon, the leader, resigned, no one was appointed in his place.

During April, the Hyderabad Municipality was moved by what it considered the unjustness to Indians of the Kenya decision and passed resolutions : (a) to boycott British Empire goods and (b) to confine purchases to Indian goods as far as possible and, if Non-Indian goods had to be bought, to get those of foreign in preference to British manufacture.

In August, Karachi and Hyderabad Municipalities decided to present an address to Gandhi on his proposed visit to these places. Rohari followed suit in September and in no case was any objection raised by the authorities concerned. Possibly as a *quid pro quo*, the Hyderabad Municipality in October voted an address to H. E. the Governor of Bombay; but in the beginning of November when a similar proposition came up before the Karachi Corporation, it happened quite unexpectedly that the Non-co-operators found themselves in a majority and promptly rejected the motion. Later the same month on a requisition of the requisite number of members a special meeting was called when the resolution against the address was rescinded and another in favour passed as originally proposed.

There are signs of disintegration in the Karachi National Municipal Party which is still without a leader.

#### **Non-Co-Operation and Local Boards**

The Local Boards in Sind remained on the whole singularly free from the influence of the Non-co-operation movement. A certain number of Mussalman members resigned from these Boards ostensibly for religious reasons.

#### **The Ahmedabad Congress and After**

Early in January 1922 a reliable report was received that all the Mussalman members from Sind and a few Hindus in the subjects committee of the All India National Congress at Ahmedabad during the previous month had supported Hasrat Mohani's resolution in favour of declaring a republic and resorting to violence if non-violent method did not succeed.

At the same time it was obvious that no definite policy had been laid down at that Congress by the leaders and that the general mass of agitators felt this lack of a definite aim. One natural result of being thus thrown back on their own resources was to bring to the surface long suppressed individual and sectional jealousy and mistrust and this became evident during the month. Strained relations between the Hindus headed by Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani and the Mussalmans by Abdul Jabbar Mahomed Yacub were reported from Hyderabad, apparently over the objection

raised by the latter to volunteers signing the creed drafted by the Congress Working Committee. The Hindus, however, were in reality not pleased with the Mahomedan support of Mohani's republic resolution. This was voiced by the '*Sindvasi*' a moderate vernacular daily of Hyderabad.

Another result of the lack of definite aim was an attempt on the part of the local leaders to supply the need to the best of their ability, resulting in the airing of various ideas and suggestions such as that the Congress movement should embrace only the richer middle classes and exclude those who lived a hand to mouth existence.

Certainly one thing was clear, namely, that at the close of the year 1921 which, according to the agitators' own announcements, was to have seen the inauguration of *Swaraj* the general mass of the people, certainly outside the larger towns, had been surprisingly little affected by the activities of the last two years or so and still knew practically nothing of the various political questions and ideals connected with the movement. Consequently when the leaders found themselves at a loss to know what to do next, the number of meetings dropped very markedly over the whole of Sind.

There was a temporary revival of interest here and there when something unusual occurred, as, for instance, when Virumal Begraj was convicted at Sukkur in a criminal case (sections 500, 504 and 143, I. P. C.). The sentence of two years was considered unduly severe and speakers endeavoured to show that he was innocent, but had been convicted for political reasons. Stones were thrown at a European Inspector escorting Virumal.

For some time this case furnished local agitators with a theme and the speeches made in this district as a whole were decidedly objectionable. That past prosecutions had had a salutary effect was evident from the fact that each speaker was careful to qualify his remarks by a reference to non-violence as, for instance, after voicing in strong terms the necessity of a determined resistance to Government, the speaker would in the same breath point out the futility of violence. It was obvious in fact that the professional

agitator was beginning to feel, doubtless with the best of motives, that he could do more for his country by keeping on the safe side of the law than by 'languishing' in jail for his principles. This, of course, did not debar him from allowing and even encouraging others so to offer themselves for arrest in various ways and about this time he hit on what must have been, to him a most gratifying scheme, since it helped to popularize agitation without hurting those who carried it out. This was organising processions of women and boys to carry flags and photographs and to proclaim that the country was labouring under a '*zalim*' Government.

### **Karachi Jail Incident**

Gradually, however, the local leaders were recovering from the daze into which the inconclusive Ahmedabad Congress had thrown them. Evidently they felt, at least in Karachi, that desperate measures were necessary to rouse the people to a proper interest in agitation for one of the things that was certainly engineered was the scare over the Ali Brothers then in Karachi Prison. A report was spread in Karachi that the brothers were being grossly ill-treated in jail. A town crier went round Karachi announcing that the '*Fatwa*' prisoners were hunger-striking and in consequence were being locked up naked in cells. The crier continued that it was '*haram*' for all to eat and drink while their leaders were being thus treated. At the same time the Secretary of the Sind Provincial Khilafat Committee, sent telegrams to the District Khilafat Committees at Hyderabad, Sukkur, Larkana, Mirpurkhas, Nawabshah, Shikarpur and Naushahro to hold meetings in which the alleged ill-treatment should be described and used as a means of rousing the people to a vigorous effort to carry on Non-co-operation agitation. Similar wires were also sent to the "*Bombay Chronicle*" and to "*Swarajya*", Madras.

At a public meeting in Karachi on the 2nd February, the rumoured ill-treatment was given definite shape and specific details were supplied such as that their clothes had been forcibly removed, that they had been made to sit on filthy ground when reading the '*Koran*' and finally that they had gone on a hunger-strike. The audience was asked to fast the next day and to pray for the destruction of the bureaucracy.

It was undoubtedly as a result of this agitation that on the 10th February a large crowd of some 3,000 which had arrived in small parties, collected at the jail and demanded to be shown these particular prisoners, as they had been informed, so had the rumours gained in circulation, that two had died of ill-treatment and been secretly buried by Europeans. As it happened the Inspector-General of Prisons happened to be at the prison and had the Ali Brothers brought on to a balcony and shown to the crowd which then began to disperse and move back towards the town. Some boys in the crowd carried away back by the excitement of the event threw stones at all who had to pass through the crowd on the road towards the jail.

### Reaction

Towards the end of February, however, there were signs of a break up in the Congress organisation though there was a slight increase in agitation in Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Larkana and Thar Parkar districts. But the only really active Congress Committees were the Provincial and District ones in Hyderabad. Feeling among Mahomedans in connection with the Khilafat remained strong and continued to cause some concern.

A Sindhi translation of Gandhi's '*Hindi Swaraj*' with an introduction by Assudomal Teckchand Gidwani appeared from the '*Bharatvasi*' Press, Hyderabad and a pamphlet '*Mahatma Gandhi's Flute*' appeared from Delhi.

During March the Congress Non-co-operation was to all appearances moribund except for a comparatively small number of professional agitators who were paid to keep it alive if possible. The effect of Gandhi's arrest in Ahmedabad had, outside the agitators' ranks, been to restore confidence in the stability of the Government. His sentence produced no noticeable excitement and the Congress organisation was left with no definite programme likely to attract popular attention. In addition most of the leading speakers were in jail. Similarly the Khilafatists were sharing in the widespread belief that the coming Paris Conference would lead to a solution that would to a great extent satisfy Mahomedan opinion. Such agitation as there was found vent mainly in the Larkana district and was confined for the most part to the popularising khaddar.

### Royal Visit to Karachi

But there was one subject which gave the Karachi agitators an excuse for their misguided zeal and that was the boycott of the visit to Karachi on the 17th March of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales prior to leaving India by sea. So-called 'volunteers' were requisitioned from other parts of Sind to assist in arranging for a '*hartal*' on that day. The Secretaries of both the Congress and Khilafat Committees issued handbills on the 10th March stating that the people must show the Prince unmistakably that he was not their guest but the guest merely of the bureaucracy. They could best do this by observing a '*hartal*' on the 17th by preventing their children from attending any of the entertainments that were being arranged for that day and by themselves not joining the sightseers on the routes taken by His Royal Highness.

However, despite their efforts, the brief visit of one day was a marked success, unmarred by any demonstration or untoward incident. Even the '*hartal*' was incomplete and inconclusive since the agitators could not be sure that the shopkeepers would not in any case have considered the occasion one of sufficient importance to close their shops in order to see the Prince at the various functions he attended.

### General Conference, Hyderabad

Gandhi's arrest and the fact that Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani and other leading Hindu agitators from Hyderabad who were largely the mainspring of the Congress movement in Sind were in prison caused a lull and gave moderates an opportunity. On the 2nd April a general conference was arranged at Hyderabad at which two points of view were put forward and discussed. The late Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, M. L. A. may be regarded as a representative of one which was to the effect that (1) no concerted action even with regard to the constructive items of the Congress programme was possible until the methods of the Non-co-operation party had been radically altered, (2) those who were not Non-co-operators found it difficult to protest against the imprisonment of the best men among the Non-co-operators since, they as a party, had openly declared that their intention was to preach

sedition and (3) though all parties were agreed that the time had come for a change in the existing system of Government, the way to bring it about was to fight with the British Cabinet rather than with the Government in India.

The opposing view championed by 'Acharya' Assudomal Teckchand Gidwani, originally of Hyderabad but long connected with Ahmedabad, was that all should join the Congress, his reason being that it would be a calamity if Government were to succeed in its crusade against that organisation.

Finally a resolution was passed to the effect that in view of the gravity of the situation the time had come when workers of all shades of opinions should jointly endeavour to find some common programme that could be jointly worked so as to produce concerted action against the reactionary forces both in England and in India. In order to facilitate such a union the convening of an All India Conference was proposed.

### **Reaction Continues**

That such agitators as were left in Karachi, were feeling the lack of a leader since Gandhi's imprisonment was evident from the manner in which they looked forward to the approaching release in May of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das and expected either or both of them to launch mass Civil Disobedience. It came as a blow to such, however, when Mrs. Das, evidently voicing her husband's opinions, on the 15th April at Chittagong advocated obstructionist tactics from within the councils. Opinions at once became divided among Non-co-operators over the question of council entry.

Apart from the celebration of the so-called National week (6th-13th April) and on the 18th in commemoration of Gandhi's arrest, there was little or no activity in Congress circles in Sind. The Karachi District Congress Committee failed to submit its report and statement of accounts for the previous year or to elect office-bearers for the next one and thereby caused a certain amount of dissatisfaction and later even scandal in Congress circles. The Sukkur District Congress Committee made desperate efforts to make

up the balance due to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The President and Secretary of the Sukkur District Congress Committee, some ten other members together with the Editor of "*The Sindhi*" and four Municipal councillors pledged themselves to fast till this was accomplished. There was a certain amount of activity in Larkana due to the formation of Jamiat-Ul-Ulema and numerous meetings in which the speeches were anti-Government and anti-Christian. Elsewhere things were quiet and even the National week produced no marked enthusiasm and Gandhi's incarceration day was observed in a few places in a very half-hearted way except in Hyderabad where the '*hartal*' was almost complete.

That agitation was on the wane was evident. The "*New Times*", a Non-co-operator paper, summed up the situation very accurately on the 10th June as follows :-

"The absence of Mahatma Gandhi is being felt more and more as lack of unity is being observed in the deliberations of the Congress organisation. There seems to be no one with sufficient authority and solid following to take the place of Mahatma Gandhi.

Another cause of lack of unity is the strong sentiment of the Maharashtra party who believe that the present programme ought to be modified along the lines which, they believe, Lokmanya Tilak would have approved (*i. e.*, council entry). \* \* \* \* They are, briefly, not for an entirely other wordly programme. There is now emerging a third question which, we hope, will not lead to division of the ranks to define violence and non-violence according to the '*Shariat*'".

During the same month the Sind Provincial Congress Committee obtained a loan of Rs. 50,000 from the All India Congress Committee and training schools for weavers were started by the Naushahro (Nawabshah) and Larkana Congress Committees.

#### **Sind Provincial Khilafat Conference, Sukkur, July 1922**

In July 1922 there should have been a revival of agitation in Sind had there been any life left in it at all, for a number of outside agitators attended the Sind Provincial Khilafat Conference held at Sukkur. Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall (then Editor of the



“*Bombay Chronicle*”) presided and the following other well-known people came from outside Sind:— Swami Satyadev, the mother and wife of Mahomed Ali, the son of Shaukat Ali, Mrs. M. K. Gandhi and Zahur Ahmed. During the Congress, there were many and sometimes fervid speeches but everything subsided after the departure of the outsiders.

### **Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee**

The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee appointed by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee toured the province during July, examined a number of agitators *in camera* and finally despite an article in the ‘*Al Wahid*’ favouring disobedience, reported against such action.

### **More Swadeshi**

More attention was now being given to the production and sale of *Khaddar* and from time to time various places reported their output and their sales, Karachi for instance, reporting that 600 spinning wheels and 37 looms were producing 160 yards per diem. The Karachi Municipality accepted a resolution that the uniform of its peons and other menial staff should be made of Indian cloth preferably *khadi*.

Once more an effort was made by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee to revive interest by making a success of the Gandhi fortnight from 18th September to the 2nd October. Despite much advertising there was little done till the last day, when processions were organised at a number of places in Sind including Karachi and most of the other district headquarters.

### **IXth Sind Provincial Congress Conference**

The next event worthy of note is the 9th Sind Provincial Congress Conference convened at Larkana from the 3rd–5th November 1922. Abdul Jabbar Mahomed Yacub presided. The only persons of note from beyond Sind were Mrs. Gandhi, Assudomal Teckchand Gidwani, Pandit Santanam of Lahore and a French philosopher, Paul Richard. The conference on the whole was a very tame affair, a feature being the large number of uneducated Mullas, Moulvis and followers of the

various local Pirs who had brought them, apparently, to enhance their own importance. These hangers-on could not have followed the proceedings intelligently but served to liven the periods when the conference was not sitting by holding small impromptu open-air meetings at which the old Khilafat grievances were repeated and much shouting of '*Allah-o-Akbar*' was indulged in. People who had known Larkana district for many years were reported to have been struck by the spirit of hatred against the British Government that seemed to have taken possession of this illiterate crowd of preachers. Subsequent developments during 1923 and 1924 showed, however, that there was no real depth in the feeling and that these followers were merely a time-serving 'claque'.

The year closed quietly, the lull continuing everywhere except in Sukkur district where the release of Virumal Begraj gave the people of Sukkur and Shikarpur an excuse for a few processions and meetings. Elsewhere Gandhi Day was formally observed and a little *khadi* sold. In Larkana and Sukkur, leaflets were distributed urging the people to boycott the forthcoming visit of H. E. the Governor of Bombay.

### **Hindu-Muslim Unity 1922**

The year 1922 saw a definite break in the so-called Hindu-Muslim Unity. Early in the year jealousy created internal dissensions in the Sind Provincial Congress Committee and various District Congress Committees with the result that several important Khilafatists severed their connection with the Sind Provincial Congress Committee in February. In April, agitation had decreased to such an extent that the paid propagandists of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee were discharged. The evident discouragement felt by the workers and their reluctance to 'sacrifice' themselves for the cause by going to jail led in September to the decision by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee that monetary assistance should be given to the families of imprisoned propagandists. A split in the Non-co-operation ranks in Larkana led to the elections of office-bearers being questioned and brought about the resignations of the principal workers. Much the same thing happened in Karachi over the local Congress Committee election of members on the Sind Provincial Congress Committee. That the latter body was fully alive to the effect such quarrels were likely to have on the people as a whole is shown by its institution in December of a censorship under which no member was

permitted to report to the press the proceedings of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee or its council until the Secretary had passed the report. Any press representative not agreeing with this rule was debarred from attending such meetings.

### Funds, 1922

During this year funds did not come in as freely as expected but the reason for this is not difficult to find. In January complaints regarding the administration of funds became common. That there were grounds for dissatisfaction was undoubted. The Sind Provincial Congress Committee for instance announced that a cash box containing over Rs. 300 had been stolen from the office and the amount had been written off. A Madrasi youth employed in the Karachi Congress office disappeared with over Rs. 1,800 which he had obtained after forging the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Congress Committee. The Secretaries of the Karachi District Congress Committee were asked to account for ornaments and money which had been collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund but did not give satisfactory replies with the result that it was generally believed that embezzlement had taken place. The Secretary of the Nawabshah District Congress Committee drew attention to the fact that the President had appointed a man on Rs. 50 a month nominally as a propagandist but really as a servant in his house. Similarly from Thar Parkar came complaints voiced in a local paper that the President of that District Congress Committee appointed his relations as propagandists and teachers in the local national school and as an example the case was quoted of a dismissed *Tapedar* appointed as propagandists on Rs. 50 a month.

By July it was evident that the finances of the Non-co-operation movement were in a bad way. The Sind Provincial Congress Committee owed the All India Congress Committee Rs. 18,000 while its assets were only Rs. 16,000. Of the District Congress Committees, only Hyderabad was in a comparatively flourishing state financially, as it started the year with over Rs. 47,000. Karachi had about Rs. 12,000 but owing to the complaints that its office bearers were misappropriating funds, the committee announced that until further notice no further collections for the Tilak Swaraj or any other Congress fund would be made and that the only

money its members were authorised to take from the public was the four-anna Congress membership fee. As a result of this, the balance in hand had dwindled to less than Rs. 30 by September when the sub-committee appointed by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee to go into the alleged misappropriation published a statement of accounts which satisfied nobody. Other District Congress Committees were in much the same position. Jacobabad for instance, started the year on Rs. 3,857 and by the end of August had about Rs. 50 left. Larkana opened the year with only Rs. 1,240 and Sahiti (Nawabshah district) borrowed Rs. 500 from the Provincial Congress Committee in March.

Towards the end of the year a desperate effort was made to retrieve the financial situation and as a result of a resolution at the Sind Provincial Congress Conference at Larkana on 4th November 1922 vigorous attempts were made to complete before the 18th March 1923, the lakh of rupees due from Sind towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

### **National Courts**

With the exception of Sukkur the various National Courts did little. The one already established at Kiamari (Karachi) and a new one started at Dadu (Larkana) in January 1922 did not attract particular attention. While the one at Hyderabad started in June 1922 was not a success, the people preferring the Government Courts or their own panchayats. Sukkur, however, can lay some claims to having functioned well during the year. 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.

### **Temperance**

In February 1922 the country liquor licensees met and decided not to bid at the auctions of country liquor shops. When the time came, however, they secured their previous licenses by even paying more for them. Although the Non-co-operators gave this matter great attention and picketed the shops they were not as successful as they had hoped.

At Sukkur when the *Mahant* of Sadhbela interested himself in the agitation, similar steps were taken and the shopkeepers were summoned before a meeting on the 5th February when a resolution was passed calling upon the Municipality to remove the shops out of the Municipal area. The shopkeepers, though urged by *Mahant* and even threatened with penalties, refused to give up their shops. Following the above meeting the Sukkur Municipality met on the 25th May and recommended to Government the prohibition of liquor sales within the Municipal limits.

The Hyderabad Municipality had already in December 1921 adopted a resolution proposed by Gopaldas Jhamatmal, pleader, for the removal of the shops from the town but similar attempts by Non-co-operators at Larkana and Jacobabad failed.

Picketing of the shops was started at the former place about the time of the *Holi* holidays but the District Magistrate's notices against it had a salutary effect. The Larkana Congress Committee promptly applied to the Sind Provincial Congress Committee for permission to disobey the District Magistrate's order but, as Gandhi had announced the abandonment of Civil Disobedience for the time being, this permission was not granted. At Jacobabad also volunteers were put on the shops but when Gandhi's announcement was received picketing suddenly stopped. It was also resorted to in Shikarpur but stopped after the conviction of 11 volunteers deputed for this duty. Similarly it was tried spasmodically elsewhere at less important places but owing to lack of success was quickly dropped.

The Sind Provincial Congress Committee had printed 1,200 forms of the volunteers' pledge as passed by the Working Committee of the Congress but only the following enlistments were reported during the year :—

Karachi town	..	..	200	men
			200	women
Karachi District	..	..	19	men
Hyderabad town	..	..	28	men
Hyderabad District	..	..	141	men
Mirpurkhas	..	..	15	men
Sukkur	..	..	41	men
Shikarpur	..	..	24	men
Nawabshah	..	..	50	men
Larkana	..	..	15	men

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In Karachi itself the Congress Committee enlisted Makranis and other undesirables likely to get out of control at the slightest provocation and obviously neither impressed nor bound by the non-violent conditions of the volunteers' pledge.

The women volunteers in Karachi were enlisted by Saraswati Devi. Elsewhere no women appear to have been enrolled.

Jhamatmal Lakhasing of Hyderabad persuaded the Pir of Jhandewalla and some of his followers to enlist but the Pir stated later that he had no connection whatever with the Congress and had merely had his men enrolled in order to collect money for the Angora Fund.

The volunteers were mainly employed as hawkers of '*khadi*' and in a few places, mentioned in the section dealing with the temperance movement, as liquor shop pickets.

Altogether in Sind it was a very half-hearted movement.

#### **Paid Propagandists**

Akin to many of the so-called 'volunteers' were the paid propagandists, in fact in Hyderabad two classes, one for each section, were started. By March 1922 there were on the pay roll of the Hyderabad Congress, 15 propagandists drawing from Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 *per mensem* and 30 applications pending.

These persons were for all parts of Sind, for instance Parsram Vishinsing Tahilramani, a propagandist who had been trained and sent up from Gandhi's *Ashram*, with his wife Saraswati Devi were for Larkana on Rs. 100. Moulvi Allaudin Sammu for Sukkur on Rs. 90, Moulvi Mokhamdin Allah Baksh for Thar Parkar on Rs. 55. Each also had an assistant or two drawing smaller sums. It was these paid propagandists who set the tone and provided the material for other speakers in the villages of the various districts. That some of these speeches overstepped the mark may be judged from some of the extracts given below :—

#### **TYPICAL EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES DURING 1922**

*January* : "We may cut her (Government's) throat with the sword of '*Ahimsa*' and with the shoes of '*Ahimsa*' beat in her head." (Daulatpur, Nawabshah).

“Railways and telegraphs were introduced by Europeans solely for carrying troops and receiving information to enable them to keep the country in subjection. A lie that has been spread by the British Government is that British rule is necessary to prevent Hindus and Muslims from flying at each other’s throats, another that the British alone can keep India safe from foreign invasion whereas the truth is that England is herself in danger of being invaded by Germany, Russia and Japan. When kings ruled India, education and justice were free, only under British rule are these sold. We should, therefore, make ourselves free. To do this we must follow the directions given by Congress”. (Hyderabad).

“It is the desire of the British that other religions should be destroyed and people converted to Christianity by force. Hindus and Mussalmans should therefore not co-operate with the enemy. Government taxes should not be paid and Government offices and police-stations should be seized. If the English are not driven out now, religion will never be free”. (Kotri, Karachi District).

*February* : “This ‘satanic’ Government is robbing us and it is the duty of Hindus and Mussalmans to combine and drive it out. Mustapha Kamal Pasha will soon ruin this Government which approached him begging a pardon which he refused. We should cease to co-operate with such a ‘satanic’ Government that takes our corn and gives us poverty instead. It is ‘*haram*’ to use cloth made by such a Government”. (Tarai, Hyderabad District).

“This shameless Government wishes to be known as the *mai-bap* of the people, yet if a woman asks for a permit to be a prostitute it is granted. It follows, therefore, that Government is prepared to let its ‘daughters be prostituted.’ How then can anyone call this Government *mai-bap*? On the contrary people should cease to co-operate with it or to assist it with money and thus have the ‘Holy Places’ disgraced. This filthy Government will soon be forced to leave the country and Indians will be happy”. (Tarai, Hyderabad District).

*March* : “Oppressed brethren waste no time. The present ‘*sirkar*’ is no ‘*sirkar*’ but ‘*kharkar*’ (asinine). *Swaraj* means to take care of

the poor, to protect the lowly. Have you any written guarantee that Government will not oppress the people ? The time will come when Government will declare the '*charkha*' unlawful." (Jacobabad).

"The English cause friction between Hindus and Mussalmans. Brothels are introduced by the English. 'Roza' was bombed from aeroplanes by English soldiers. The Sheriff of Mecca introduced Europeans dressed like Egyptians into the 'Harman-Sherif.' Government reduces its grant to the Moulvis (Mulla Schools) who teach *Qoran Sharif* and he who reads the '*Kalma*' gets two years imprisonment. Foreign cloth is glazed with fat and is therefore '*haram*'. The *Qoran* has been disrespected and the *Gita* and *Ramayana* burnt. Hindu temples have been defiled. The British were a small nation of fishermen naked like animals till the Turks conquered their country and civilized them." (Larkana).

*July* : Swami Satyadev addressing an audience estimated at 7,000 in Karachi said that educated Indians were selling their brains to the Government much as a prostitute sells her charms in the streets for a living. At another meeting in Karachi during the month, though he declared that the country was not ripe for Civil-Disobedience which should not be thought of until more than half the people were ready for it, he justified violence in defence of the people's rights and advised them to enter the Councils and then refuse the oath of allegiance. Gradually, however, he hedged Civil-Disobedience round with so many conditions that the people were put against the whole Non-co-operation programme and later Gandhites were annoyed when he condemned the whole programme.

The mother of the Ali Brothers speaking at Hyderabad said, "You are entangled in the net of Europeans. Your country is being destroyed. You are 33 crores but you have become eunuches. Don't be impotent" Then she added rather tamely "wear khadi".

Speaking again at Karachi she said : "You have wasted your time? (opportunity) and handed yourselves over to them (Government) letting your rope (noose) round Government's neck



loose. The second chance you lost was in 1857 when you handed over the Government to them (English). Had you not let the chances slip this collar of slavery would not have been put round your neck”.

A speaker at Tando Mahomed Khan (Hyderabad District) declared :—

“This satanic Government gave Dyer, a butcher, who slaughtered 1,200 innocents, a pension. This Government is satan and so is Dyer. Such a Government should not be allowed to remain in India”.

“Just as Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan waged wars with the English so we should also wage war against them. Look how bravely Tippu fought and how he defeated the English”.

“Do you know why collars are worn ? It is a sign that Christ was hanged by the neck. This means that those who wear collars sever themselves from our religion as they have followed Christ”.

“We should put obstacles in the way of Government to non-plus them and make them leave the country. In that way we may hope to win *Swaraj*. If the 33 crores of Indians were only to spit at them they would be destroyed”. (Shahdapur, Nawabshah District).

“When this Government is destroyed we shall get our rights. We don’t want this Government. It is unjust and tyrannical and all connections with it should be severed. This satanic Government makes its officials dance like puppets. Police officers serve it for a living. We call on them to leave the service and sever all connection with this unjust Government. Sever all connection with the faithless, unjust and tyrannical Government and don’t fear officials. We shall not rest till we have destroyed this ‘*shaitan*’ Government”. (Sinhoro, Nawabshah District).

*August* : “ Under this Government falsehood prevails from the highest to the lowest. There is so much oppression yet we do nothing. Even though the Government were ever so good why should we remain under it ? ”(Sukkur).

“ A liar and cheat like Lloyd George was given respect though England was sick of him. If an animal is subjected to persecution it defends itself. If so much tyranny had been exercised over any other

nation it would not have meekly associated with the tyrants. Your children will be subjected to greater calamities than the Jallianwala Bagh. ” (Mirpurkhas).

“ It is shameful to see so many tyrannies. Our religion is being interfered with and yet we sit quiet. If we call ourselves human beings and yet remain under the rule of a satanic Government we will become like satan ourselves. ” (Sukkur).

“ Don’t buy foreign cloth and don’t pay taxes and the Government will clear out at once. The Government gives us paper in exchange for our coins but if we refuse to give up our coins what can Government do? ” (Sukkur).

*September:* “ We will positively destroy this *proud* Government. We will not remain under a Government that is wholly sinful and irreligious and will not surrender even though a sword be put to our necks ”.

“We openly say that we create hatred for this Government which does so much wrong. Should we beg from this Government which is rooted in sin and tyranny ?”

“Our brothers are tempted by this satanic Government to do cruel acts. Should our pure souls remain under the slavery of this satanic Government ?” (Hyderabad).

“The Sikhs who helped the British in 1857 in India and in China and during the Great War now have found that they have been nursing a serpent”. (Swami Krishnanand at Karachi).

“The Government is as bad as it can be. It has sucked our blood like an owl and left only the bones. God’s curse be on this Government. (Shikarpur, Sukkur District).

“What have we done towards the destruction of this *zalim* Government which seeks to devour the treasure of India ? This Government is selfish, its acts are full of craft and evil. We cannot bear to see our brothers and sisters disrespected by our servants. God will surely destroy this Government. This cunning Government will never approve of our being free because in her greed for money she can grind us”. (Sukkur).

*October* : "The administration of the English is as that of an idiot *Rajah*. Government prefers evil actions to good ones, therefore, our progress depends on its destruction". (Saraswati Devi at Larkana).

*November* : T. L. Vaswani and Mons. Paul Richard (from Sabarmati *Ashram*) spoke at Larkana advocating the formation of village *Ashrams* for the education of the masses and the use of the masses and the use of the *charkha*.

Mrs. Gandhi spoke at several places in Sind during November on *khadi*, boycott of foreign cloth and contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

At Hyderabad in December a meeting was convened to condemn the proposed address to H. E. the Governor and to persuade people to observe a '*hartal*' on the day of his visit.

### **Counter Propaganda, 1922**

From June onwards there is a record of steady counter propaganda by 'Aman Sabhas' and respectable people. Some of these meetings were well attended and attracted the best elements.

In Tando Mahomed Khan said the Mussalmans owing to a disagreement with the Hindus formed their own society named the 'Aman Anjuman' and at a meeting in October when about 4,000 were present, a resolution condemning Non-co-operators and recommending their boycott socially was adopted.

Two other similar meetings were held in Hyderabad during the same month. At one, Shaikh Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani argued that Hindu-Muslim unity could not last and said under the circumstances he preferred the British Government to any other.

### **The Split in Hindu-Muslim Unity**

During 1923 agitation began to die down noticeably. This was mainly due to inter-communal jealousies and distrust. At the very commencement of the year this became noticeable when, in connection with the "Hindu Yuvak Sabha" (Hindu Youngmen's Association) started by Punjabi Arya Samajist residents of Karachi, the Hindus were exhorted to take steps to save themselves from the attacks of Mussalmans.

The "*Al Wahid*" on the other side, despite its past talk of Hindu-Muslim unity expressed itself strongly on the subject of the conversion in the United Province of Malkana Rajputs and demanded that the *Ulemas* should exert themselves to save them from becoming '*kaffirs*'.

The paper also protested during January against the proposed demolition of an old mosque on a site purchased by a Hindu at Sukkur.

Considerable jealousy was evoked by the election of a Hindu of Upper Sind to be President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee instead of a Mussalman from Lower Sind.

In short there was no active agitation during January unless the passing of a resolution by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee on the 28th to the effect that the collection of Rs. 1,00,000 and the enlistment of 1,000 volunteers should be accomplished by the 30th April as a preliminary to the introduction of Civil-Disobedience as recommended by the Gaya Congress, can be so characterised.

### **Chauri-Chaura Case Decision**

The Non-co-operator papers were busy during the month denouncing the Chauri-Chaura judgement, the result of the enquiry into the Moplah train tragedy when a number of prisoners died, and the bombing by aeroplanes of villages on the North-West Frontier. In this way they did their best to revive the waning agitation and to some extent the Sind Provincial Congress Committee backed them up by deciding that the 9th February should be observed as a day for fasting and for meetings in which to denounce the Chauri-Chaura judgement.

The split in the Gaya Congress had not helped matters and a few Sukkur Hindus as a result joined the *Swaraj* party which favoured Council entry.

### **An Incident in Larkana District**

An incident which might have had serious consequences occurred at Pir Gazi Shah in Larkana district during the annual fair. Some agitators from Dadu on being served by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate with notices under section 42 of the District Police Act prohibiting them from making speeches during the fair, defied the order, were promptly arrested,

convicted and sentenced to imprisonment and fine. This action was somehow construed into an attack on the religious liberties of the people and caused considerable excitement among the crowds of illiterate Baluchis and Brohis who armed with axes and *lathis* surrounded the court. As attitude of the mob was threatening, the magistrate decided that the only way to avoid a riot was to release the prisoners. They were subsequently re-arrested on their way to Dadu and sent to jail. This incident had no noticeable effect on agitation though it might have been regarded as a great triumph for the agitators if the accused had not been so promptly caught again.

### **Gandhi Day**

During March, an increase in meetings was noticed. As the Sind Provincial Congress Committee had announced a '*hartal*' for the 18th March it was partially observed in some of the principal towns in Sind. The Mahomedans in Hyderabad drew attention to themselves and incidentally to the state of Hindu-Muslim unity by refusing to join the procession on that day.

### **Mrs. Naidu's Visit**

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu came to Sukkur during the first week in March to preside over the 2nd anniversary of the Tilak National School, but the visit caused no stir.

### **Khilafat's Flag**

An agitation in connection with the "Khilafat flag" started about this time and at one time it looked as though religious enthusiasm among some of the Mussalman speakers would over-come their common sense.

### **Agitation Increases**

For no very obvious reason there was considerable agitation during April. The increase has been ascribed to the visit which Rajagopalacharya and his Congress deputation paid Sind and also to some extent to the "National Week" 6th-14th April, during which a *khadi* exhibition was held at Hyderabad.

The latter was apparently fairly successful since the original period was extended by a few days and orders amounting in value to Rs. 5,000 are said to have been booked.

### **Congress Deputation in Sind**

The All India Congress deputation arrived in Sukkur on the 4th April where it split up into two parties, one or other of which visited Shikarpur and Jacobabad on the 5th and Naushahro, Feroz and Larkana on the 6th. They came together on the 7th in Karachi and remained together to visit Hyderabad on the 8th and Mirpurkhas on the 9th.

Moazamali had promised to join the deputation during its Sind tour but failed to turn up. Consequently Mahomedans were disappointed and took but little interest in the tour.

The deputation was fully occupied with meetings and gatherings of national school students, and interviews with Congress and Khilafat workers. It urged the need for unity, increased zeal in pushing *khaddar*, in collecting for Tilak Swaraj Fund and in enrolling volunteers.

Considerable capital was made out of taxation in general and the salt tax in particular. It was argued that the latter hit the poor and at the same time saved the rich from other taxation. Government was accordingly accused of securing by this means the support of the wealthy and the money to maintain a larger British force in India since the loyalty of Indian troops was suspect. The speakers argued that under Home Rule there would be no need for a standing army so taxation would be greatly reduced.

The members of the deputation were most anxious that the split between Hindus and Mahomedans which was unfortunately so evident in the Punjab would not spread to Sind. That such dissensions were to be met with everywhere must have been patent to the deputation as also the lack of any real keenness among the so-called workers in Sind. Altogether the tour must have had a depressing effect on the deputation.

### **Salt Tax Agitation**

Notwithstanding the argument much advanced about this time that the salt tax would grind down the poor, the only agitation in Sind was started by politicians and the well-to-do. A meeting which at the time roused a certain amount of interest and even amusement was convened in Karachi to give the local members of the Legislative Assembly an opportunity of airing their views on the subject.

In the ordinary way stern expression would doubtless have been given to the views of various personages present terminating with a resolution of protest, but the Non-co-operators who turned up in force would have none of this and by sheer weight of numbers passed a resolution which demanded the resignation of all members of the Legislative Assembly as the only effective protest against the certification of the tax.

Professor Shahani and Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas both local members resigned. Sir Montagu Webb though present took no part in the meeting and did not resign.

The only other apparent result of this meeting was a suggestion in the "*Al Wahid*" on the 13th April 1923 that Civil-Disobedience should be launched as a protest against the certification of the tax.

### **The Rise of the Swaraj Party in Sind**

While the old stagers of the Non-co-operation party were making strenuous efforts to bring the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the number of volunteers upto the quota laid down at Gaya, a certain number of Non-co-operators had begun to realize that little was to be expected from a thoroughgoing adherence to the tenets of the party. Towards the end of April, the "*New Time*" in a leader had to admit that the 'majority party' in the Congress had failed and it suggested that special Congress should be convened to discuss the situation. The compromise resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay in June was on the whole favourably received in Sind and a majority backed by the press was in favour of council entry. This was especially the case in Sukkur but in Karachi there was a small but determined minority against it and this clique happening to find in a meeting on the 13th June that it out-numbered its opponents promptly passed a resolution favouring propaganda to boycott the elections.

### **Nagpur Flag Agitation**

The Nagpur *Satyagraha* agitation in connection with planting the *Swaraj* flag on the Town Hall caused a diversion and gave the old fashioned Congressites something on which to expend their energies. The Karachi District Congress Committee sanctioned Rs. 2,000 for the despatch of volunteers to Nagpur. Considerable fuss was made of the first batch of seven, mostly Kutchi Hindus, who were feted and photographed

on the 30th June and 1st July. A flag was presented to them at a public meeting with appropriate speeches of the die-for-your country order and two of the volunteers timidly and haltingly replied. This new phase, however, quickly passed despite the efforts of the '*Hindu*' (Hyderabad) and '*Al Wahid*' (Karachi) to keep up enthusiasm when it was found that the volunteers on arrival were promptly arrested and imprisoned. Not all of them actually underwent imprisonment some preferring to apologise and creep back crest-fallen. Even a procession of 400 persons including 200 boys to welcome the return of 8 out of 13 who had gone to jail failed in its purpose of bringing more to the point of volunteering.

### **Gandhi Day, 18th July 1923**

Considerable efforts were made, following a special appeal by Dr. Ansari, to make this Gandhi Day a success. The Sind Provincial Congress Committee called upon all District Congress Committees to obtain as many flags as possible to be carried in procession and displayed from house-tops on the occasion. The result was a moderate display of enthusiasm in almost all the principal towns in Sind. By October, however, so little interest was taken in this monthly event that it was practically dropped.

### **Lajpatrai's Day**

News having been received that Lala Lajpatrai was ill in jail, a 'day' was organised in his honour on the 9th July. This was observed mainly by the Karachi Congress Committee and some Hindus and Sikhs. At the meetings held in Karachi and Larkana, prayers for his recovery were offered.

### **Hindu-Muslim Disunity**

As already mentioned the breakdown of the patched up truce between Hindus and Mahomedans was one of the features of the year. An incident which shows how things were tending occurred at Tando Adam (Nawabshah) where a Hindu had been given a building site which adjoined a mosque. The Mussalmans protested to the Collector who went into the matter and finally reduced the size of the plot by five feet so as to allow a clear ten feet between it and the mosque. In order to effect this, a portion of the Hindu's building had to be demolished. The Mussalmans later again raised the question saying that this had not



been done and alleged that the space round about was being used by Hindus as a latrine. For some time the matter attracted attention from various parts of Sind which all added to the distrust existing between the two communities.

### **The Kenya decision Protest Against**

Indian agitators taking advantage of what they considered the unfair conditions imposed on Indians in Kenya Colony sought how they might turn it to account and the All India Congress Working Committee issued instructions in pursuance of which the Sind Provincial Congress Committee directed all committees subordinate to it to observe a peaceful '*hartal*' on the 26th August. In accordance with this, '*hartals*, took place on the 27th at Karachi, Kotri, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur Rohri, Mirpurkhas and Jacobabad, at many places being only partial.

Prior to this, the "*Al Wahid*" on the 4th August had suggested to Haji Abdullah Haroon, T. L. Vaswani, G. M. Bhurgri and Jamshed N. R. Mehta that a conference of all the Sind leaders of various political views should be called to arrive at a common course of action with regard to the Kenya decision. No notice however, was taken of the suggestion.

### **Council Elections, 1923**

Despite the efforts of the old fashioned group in the Congress Party, electioneering supplanted agitation in the popular fancy during September and in some places even anti-council persons were noticed assisting Swarajist candidates in their election campaigns though refraining from standing themselves.

### **Civil Disobedience**

Commencing with the passing on 27th January 1923, at a meeting held in Shikarpur of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee of a resolution to enroll 1,000 volunteers and collect rupees one lakh in accordance with the Gaya Congress resolution, vain threats of the launching of '*Satyagraha*' in one form or another were issued throughout the year. Nothing materialised, however, and in October it was learnt that the Secretary, Sind Provincial Congress Committee, had written from Sukkur to Dr. Kitchlew that Sind was not ready for '*Satyagraha*'

as the former enthusiasm of the workers had vanished and the Committee's funds were low. He could hold out no hopes of Civil Disobedience ever proving an attraction in Sind but suggested that if the '*Satyagraha*' committee could tour in the province and the All India Congress Committee could supply the money for village organisation, the requisite atmosphere might be created. As the said committee did not come to Sind, presumably the All India Congress Committee did not find in this letter sufficient inducement. Doubtless it was discovering that elsewhere also there was little or no enthusiasm and no money.

### **Shudhi and Anti-Shudhi**

The *Shudhi* (Arya Samaj and Hindus) and anti-*Shudhi* (Mussalmans) movements started in Sind during the year were a fruitful source of dissensions between the two communities. In various places in the province Hindus organised '*Sabhas*' and '*Sangathans*', 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 Shaikhs in Sind.

The 37th anniversary of the Arya Samaj was celebrated in Karachi in September and made the occasion of a big demonstration. Arya Samaj Pandits from elsewhere attended and delivered speeches so strongly anti-Muslim in tone that an open rupture between the two communities was narrowly averted.

To counteract the *Shudhi* organisation, Tabligh Committees were formed by the *Ulemas* in 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 likely to lead.

### **Attempted Reconciliation**

The leaders of both sides realising too well that this state of things in addition to putting an end to agitation might lead to open rupture and regrettable incidents, met privately in the house of Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, M.L.A., pleader of Karachi, on the 8th September to see if a way could be found of composing Hindu-Muslim differences. The assembly was quite a representative one including among others Jamshed N. R. Mehta, G. M. Bhurgri, Jethmal Parsram, Santdas Mangharam,

Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani, Kazi Abdul Rehman, Mahomed Siddik, Moulvi Mahomed Sadik Abdullah and Sheikh Abdul Majid Lilaram. The last named, himself originally a converted Hindu, accused the Arya Samaj lectures of indecent attacks on Islam and said this was the root of the whole trouble in the country. Dr. Choithram replied with what he described as objectionable extracts from the "*Al Wahid*" in which paper the Sheikh was interested. Sheikh Abdul Majid countered with similar extracts from the "*Mirpurkhas Gazette*" and other Hindu papers and declared that his articles in the "*Al Wahid*" were mild in comparison. Tenumal J. Hingorani, vice president of the Karachi Arya Samaj admitted that some of the lectures had been objectionable and promised to do what he could, to effect an improvement. Finally it was decided that both *Shudhi* and anti-*Shudhi* movements might continue but indecent attacks on either religion should be avoided. Resolutions to this effect addressed to the press and the people were then adopted and a board of conciliation was established with G. M. Bhurgri as President, Harchandrai Vishindas, Haji Abdullah Haroon, Moulvi Mahomed Siddik (not Sadik) and Jamshed Mehta as Vice-Presidents, with Choithram, Kazi Abdul Rehman and Santdas Mangharam as Secretaries, the last named to be Treasurer also.

In pursuance of the press resolution the editors of news-papers present at the meeting promptly formed a Press Association with Jethmal (of the "*Bharatvasi*") and Bhojraj (of the "*Insaf*") as provisional joint secretaries.

Following a resolution of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee (passed in the first week of October) a sub-committee composed of the leading men among both Non-co-operators and co-operators was formed to tour in the province for the purpose of starting subordinate conciliation boards in consultation with local Congress and Khilafat bodies and of settling any differences they might meet with during the tour. Excellent though the intentions may have been the fact remains that the tour and speeches of this sub-committee failed in their purpose and matters gradually became worse.

### **Organisation during 1923**

As might be expected the dissensions and lack of enthusiasm everywhere had their effect on the political organisations themselves.

Everywhere rival parties arose, Hyderabadis *versus* non-Hyderabadis, Hindus *versus* Mussalmans, Gujaratis *versus* Sindhis and so on.

During February the Sahiti (Nawabshah) members resigned from the Sind Provincial Congress Committee owing to dissatisfaction with the elections of office-bearers in that body. In March a number of Hindu Congress workers being dissatisfied because a Mussalman was President of the Hyderabad District Congress Committee resigned. During heated discussion at a Sind Provincial Congress Committee meeting in June, accusations of extravagance were hurled at office-bearers. The state of affairs towards the close of the year may be gauged by the following telegram sent on the 2nd August by the Sind members of the All India Congress Committee to the President of that body in connection with the proposal to hold a special session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi in September :—

“We strongly resent calling of meeting soon. Waste of money, energy, time. Calling of meetings and sessions of special Congress useless without arriving at some understanding. We beseech leaders of all parties to pity the condition of the country. Please arrive at some common understanding and compromise. Present condition heart-breaking and disappointing. Wordy war dissipating forces”.

The District Congress Committees at Mirpurkhas and Larkana existed but in name while unsuccessful efforts were made to revive the dying organisations at Jacobabad and Shikarpur.

In June, a Provincial Committee of the *Swaraj* party was formed but owing to disputes did not function well. Some were in favour of responsive co-operation in the councils while others were for obstructionists tactics there. Except in Karachi and Sukkur no district committees of this party were formed but though the movement did not progress rapidly, nevertheless served to weaken the Congress organisation and when the All India Congress Committee at Bombay in the last week of May passed a resolution that those who wished to enter the Councils should be allowed to do so, a number of important Congress workers in Sind resigned in disgust.

### **The Council Election Campaign, 1923**

Candidates standing for election were asked to sign the following pledge :—

“I pledge myself, if elected, to help in the calling of a National Convention to be composed of elected members of the legislatures (with power to co-opt) who have received a mandate to frame a constitution for India embodying Dominion Status, that is, which shall place her on an equality with the other free nations in the common wealth in her external affairs and shall establish within India a Federal (Central) Government and Provincial Governments each with the King-Emperor’s representative at its head, with a cabinet responsible to an elected legislature and with a judiciary, further providing for powers of amendment to the constitution, similar to those possessed by the Dominions, and providing also for such transitional arrangements as to the Army, Navy and Air Force as will bring them under the control of the Central Government when that Government declares its readiness to assume responsibility for the defence of the country”.

The following candidates from Sind signed it :—

#### **LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

G. M. Bhurgri  
Harchandrai Vishindas

#### **BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL**

- (1) Haji Abdullah Haroon
- (2) Durgdas Bhojraj Advani
- (3) Sahibsing Chandasing Shahani
- (4) Hon’ble Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
- (5) Sikandarbeg Mirza
- (6) K. B. Shah Nawaz Bhutto
- (7) Bhojsing Pahlajani
- (8) Gopaldas Jhamatmal
- (9) Mukhi Jethanand Pritamdas
- (10) Kishinchand Wadhmal
- (11) Nur Mahomed (Pleader)

Durgdas Bhojraj Advani was the only swarajist elected.

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### National Courts

The Sind Provincial Congress Committee in January formed a Panchayat Board Committee of 8 members to strengthen existing Panchayats and to form others to try cases.

Cases registered and disposed of by the National Court at Sukkur were 466 and 386, respectively.

The District Congress Committee, Karachi, started a court in February but no leading lawyer would have anything to do with it and the five Non-co-operator arbitrators apparently did not inspire confidence as the public did not bring its cases to the court.

Two Non-co-operator pleaders of Hyderabad resumed practice during the year.

### Press and Leaflets

The Press in Sind contributed not a little during the year towards straining the relations between Hindus and Mussalmans. So irresponsible did even the Non-co-operator papers become, although Hindu-Muslim unity was one of their main avowed aims, that it became obvious that this policy of figuratively cutting each other's throats would only lead to the extinction of all agitation. Eventually it was found necessary to convene at Hyderabad on the 5th October 1923 a meeting of Editors at which was urged upon them the utter futility of their past policy and they were asked to avoid the publication of anything likely to excite fanaticism or wound religious susceptibilities. The appeal however, had little effect.

As instances of the sort of thing that was being published against the best interests of unity the following are illuminating.

In April a leaflet in English "*An Earnest Appeal to Hindus to save the Cow and their religion*", printed at Karachi appeared over the signature of the Secretary, Arya Samaj, Karachi. It declared that Hindus should realise that if they did not rouse themselves they would soon wake to find that some of their co-religionists had become Christians and the rest were likely to be converted to Islam.

A Sindhi translation from Sukkur of this pamphlet was widely distributed.

During June a booklet entitled "*Khuni Khanjar*" (bloodstained dagger) appeared from Shikarpur. It was a tirade against the English and Mussalmans. After describing the rise in price due to voracious English merchants it suggested that the only way to induce them to leave India was to refuse to trade with them. It scoffed at Hindu-Muslim unity, recalled the Moplah and Punjab disturbances and hinted strongly that Mussalmans were so biased by their religion that they would take advantage of any opportunity to convert Hindus.

The "*Al Wahid*", an extremist Mussalman Non-co-operator organ, in August strongly criticised the speech of Madan Mohan Malaviya as President of the Hindu Maha Sabha held at Benares declaring that it meant the death of the *Swaraj* movement and of Hindu-Muslim unity if it were taken to represent the Hindu view. It appealed to all non-Hindus to strive against the Hindu Sabha which aimed at destroying the country through its campaign for conversion.

In September this was followed by another leading article in the same paper to the effect that the Hindus and Mussalmans of India, who had set out to liberate not only India but the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and the whole of Asia as well, had now split, not through the machinations of the "*Aman Sabhas*" or Government, but owing to the envious and inimical attitude of their so-called friends. It congratulated the Viceroy and his confidential friend Madan Mohan Malaviya who with other Hindus had brought Hindu-Muslim unity to an end.

The same paper a few days later in bringing the state of affairs to the notice of the Special Congress about to be held at Delhi called upon it to settle once for all the question of communal friction.

In September also a booklet written by a Hindu of Larkana district and published from Shirkapur (Sukkur) entitled "*Hukomat-jo-Shulo*" (Flame of Government) charged Government with not listening to the grievances of the poor, not having patience, the first requisite of a ruler not inspiring or reposing confidence in the people, levying heavy taxes to pay British officers handsomely while Indians were paid meagrely.

Swami Krishnanand published in September a prayer to save the people from the oppression of tyrants, *viz.*, the kings and their officials of the present day, "and to crown the toils of our national leaders with success."

With the narrow communal outlook of the leading extremist papers, they contributed nothing to the promotion of agitation in general or Hindu-Muslim unity in particular. Two Non-co-operator papers *viz.*, the “*New Times*” (Karachi) and the “*Watan*” (Shikarpur) were in financial difficulties during the year.

### **Swadeshi and Boycott**

With the decrease in agitation the interest in *khaddar* also declined and, 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 and Naushahro Feroz (Nawabshah) closed down early in the year, and some weavers in the Larkana not finding *khadi* weaving profitable severed their connection with the Congress Committee.

Rajgopalacharya who with Gandhi's son Devadas opened a *khadi* exhibition in Hyderabad during April 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 venture by merchants and was pained to find that the women of Shikarpur and Hyderabad had not taken kindly to it and that the spinning wheel was not extensively used in Sind.

In August the Retia Pracharak Mandli of Karachi appealed to the public to boycott both foreign sugar and cloth on the ground that certain animal substances were required in the process of manufacture of both. As a result some of the Gujarati panchayats of Karachi resolved to boycott these articles but the resolution was not generally acted upon.

### **Funds**

Difficulty was experienced in collecting money for the various funds and promises and donations were mainly obtained through the personal influence of leading men.

The money collected or promised during the visit of the All India Congress Deputation amounted to Rs. 6,300.

The Sukkur district's quota of Rs. 10,000 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund was fully subscribed through the personal efforts of Virumal Begraj and then mainly from Sukkur and Shikarpur merchants trading in Karachi



and Bombay. The Karachi District Congress Committee also succeeded in getting its full quota of Rs. 15,000. The Hyderabad District Congress Committee was more fortunately placed than most others and, mainly through the generous contributions of Sind Work Merchants, had just over Rs. 20,700 in hand at the end of January 1923.

During 1923 the Sind Provincial Congress Committee sent the All India Congress Committee a little over Rs. 30,500.

### **Typical Extracts from Speeches, 1923**

Saraswati Devi in January at Kotri attributed the poverty of Indians to gambling, drinking and other vices for which, she said, Government was responsible. She added that 33 crores of Indians were made to dance like monkeys by a lakh or two of Englishmen and there was nothing to prevent a single European dishonouring the mothers and sisters of thousands of Indians.

A speaker at Sukkur during the same month asked why India did not follow Ireland and Egypt which had decided to struggle to the end to obtain Home Rule. The present Government in India, he declared, was a failure, and only existed because Indians were cowards.

He followed this up the next day by calling upon his audience to 'drive out the white skinned monsters who have ruined us and our country.'

At Larkana also in January a speaker asked are you not grieved to see your Indian brothers imprisoned and the holy places bombarded and desecrated ? He added that mosques had been burnt and the children of the Turks slaughtered.

Another speaker in the Larkana district during the same month accused Government of driving people out of *musjids* and depriving them of the *Qoran*, adding that the *Granth Saheb* of the Hindus (Sikhs) had been kicked at Amritsar.

During February, a somewhat rabid speaker at Sukkur gave harrowing and disgusting details of the insults alleged to have been heaped on 'our brothers and sisters' at Jallianwala Bagh, adding that the English came naked to India, were given clothes by Indians and in return had given handcuffs. He even predicted that the day was not far distant when Sukkur people would see gallows in their midst and many would be hanged.

Meetings were held at Mirpurkhas, Jacobabad and Sukkur during the same month to protest against the sentences passed in the Chauri-Chaura case. While during March Mrs. Sarojini Naidu regretting the evidence of ill-feeling between Hindus and Mahomedans at Multan, urged *khadi* and unity as the only means of overthrowing tyranny.

A speaker during March in Nawabshah district referring to the police present to take notes said, "Some servants of the cruel English dogs are here writing. If one of them were to die we should bury him but the English would throw him aside like a dog."

In Nagar Parkar an outlying part of the Thar Parkar district a speaker declared during March that dacoities were the result of Gandhi's agitation (and therefore to be encouraged) and that the *Sirkar* was unable to stop them.

A Mahomedan Non-co-operator pleader of Hyderabad speaking in April, dwelt on the rank ingratitude of the English for requiting the services of Indians with machine guns. He added, "the very General who contrary to Government's promise polluted the holy places of the Mussalmans and tried to shatter the Khilafat, himself admitted that one-twelfth of the army on whom he relied came from India."

During May, an ingenious speaker at Jacobabad cited the imposition of the salt tax and the insolvency of the Alliance Bank of Simla to show that the Government coffers were nearly empty.

A speaker in Mirpurkhas during the same month declared, "We had to disseminate sedition and we have disseminated it because every person now expresses hatred of and contempt for the *Sirkar*."

During the next two months of July and August two speeches from the Larkana district stand out. In the one from Kambar during July the speaker said, "We have to fight with Government, to consume its flour and thereby make it bankrupt and to disobey its orders which are intended to hurt our honour. We have neither gun nor sword yet Government is afraid of us on account of its own actions. Now is the time for you to wake up and be sepoys of '*ahimsa*' (Non-violence) to destroy the Government with the 'cannon ball' of *khadi*."

The second at Larkana thus described Government "It is of the 'kill and live' order. Its motto is 'beat and loot the poor people.' They will destroy your rights. What care for others will a nation have whose object is to make slaves of others and to imprison boys and grown-ups in order to terrorise them ? The poor are being looted by *zamindars* who in turn are being looted by Government. What can we hope from a Government whose policy is 'kill your country, kill your nation and do the best for the English'?"

A speaker in Shikarpur during August declared that Germany had successfully used passive resistance against France and deduced from this that similar action should be taken against the Government in India and its laws broken.

At Mirpurkhas during the same month the following occurred in a speech. "It is our duty to fight with Government and destroy it by '*ahimsa*'. We have been made menials and slaves. The English are afraid of the Japanese and so are going to make a naval base at Singapore. I have no '*zid*' against the masters but against the *Shaitan* Government which is '*beiman*' (dishonourable.). The motherland is in chains. The English take dogs in their arms but keep Indians at a distance. I say openly that it is our duty to fight with Government and destroy it. You should be filled with the rage that led Gobindsingh's sons to their death on the battle-field." (This is a fair sample of the 'hedging' that is found in many speeches. It starts off by preaching non-violence and ends on a distinct note of violence).

At Dadu (Larkana) in September a speaker likened the bureaucracy to a pig for having incarcerated Gandhi, and said Indians were now slaves to those who were formerly under them.

The last speech worthy of notice during the year occurred at Hyderabad during November when a speaker declared, "This is the time for every sect to unite and be free from this tyrant, otherwise the time will come when you will regret it and remain slaves for centuries. This tyrant Government wants to injure the religion of both the Hindus and Mussalmans. It wants to see us dead but it must remember that previously the arrogant and irreligious have suffered at the hands of our '*gurus*' and '*rishis*'. This tyrant Government is '*Ravan*' (a demon). It has lost its senses

and become irreligious. As Shri Rama destroyed the wicked 'Ravan', so there will have to be an end to this Government at the hands of the Sikhs. "

### **Agitation during 1924, General**

Inherent mutual distrust between Hindus and Mussalmans, especially among the leaders, practically killed agitation during 1924.

On such occasions as the National Week (6th-13th April), Tilak's death anniversary on the 1st August and Gandhi's birthday on the 2nd October there was a half-hearted show in a few places and a very apparent lack of enthusiasm. A typical instance of the latter may be seen in the abandonment for want of an audience of a public meeting announced by the Karachi District Congress Committee for the 27th November to protest against the Municipality's decision to present an address to the Governor of Bombay.

Naturally this decline in agitation was viewed with alarm by those who had made a living out of it but even their efforts to keep it alive could not cope with the general distrust.

Interest was now focussed on the various societies for the preservation of religion such as Hindu Sabhas and Sangthans and the Muslim Tabligh Committees which sprang up all over the country and attracted the agitators. This of course led to Hindu-Muslim tension.

Attempts were made to combat this and promote unity but found few backers. The most noteworthy of these was one in November to prevent the dissemination of objectionable literature and offensive articles in the papers aimed by one rival religion against the other. Some committees were formed to compromise disputes but achieved nothing.

The climax may be said to have been reached when the Sind Provincial Congress Committee decided against holding its annual public conference.

### **Gandhi's Illness and Release**

Perhaps the event of greatest interest to all was the illness of Gandhi in January but even in this the Mussalmans failed to find a common meeting ground and the large gathering of some 3,000 in Karachi on the 16th January was composed almost entirely of Hindus while the principal

speakers were Lala Lajpatrai, then in Karachi, and Harchandrai Vishindas. In the speeches, sympathy with Gandhi was expressed coupled with threats of '*Satyagraha*' if Gandhi were not forth with released. Harchandrai even compared what he termed the prosecution of Gandhi with that of Christ. In spite, however, of these threats the speeches were moderate in tone on the whole.

The net result was that the Secretary of the Karachi District Congress Committee wired to the Secretary, All India Congress Committee, asking that an ultimatum should be sent to Government demanding the release of Gandhi by a certain date failing which Civil Disobedience would be started throughout India.

"Gandhi month" from the 18th February to the 18th March despite the appeals of the All India and Sind Provincial Congress Committees passed almost unnoticed in Sind showing the hollowness of the threatened disobedience. When Gandhi was released there was much rejoicing among the various Hindu parties and two wings of the Congress, *viz.*, the Swarajists and the no-Changers. Each claimed it as a victory, the former for the pressure brought to bear on Government through the Councils and the latter owing to the universal demand and threatened Civil-Disobedience which had caused Government to take the line of least resistance.

Naturally with his release, hope of a revival in the Non-co-operation movement and of the return of Hindu-Muslim unity again arose.

### **Lajpatrai in Karachi**

Lala Lajpatrai had come to Karachi in December 1923 as it had been recommended to him owing to his ill health. For some time he remained quiet but in January 1924 accepted a garden party supposed to have been given by the citizens of Karachi. In reality it was organised by the local Manager of the Punjab Bank, in which Lajpatrai was a director and two prominent members of the Municipality subscribed towards the cost. From this time onwards Lajpatrai began to speak on unity, non-violence and Gandhi's constructive policy. He also started propaganda for Gandhi's release and as already mentioned spoke in a meeting on the 16th January. He with others in Sind was not impressed with the results of the Coconada Congress and especially the compromise between the Swarajists and no-Changers.

### **Gandhi on Hindu-Muslim Tension**

Gandhi's statement in his paper "*Young India*" of the 29th May on Hindu-Muslim tension pleased neither community and the Karachi Arya Samajists even went to the extent of holding a meeting of protest against what they considered a reflection on their religion. The Mussalmans on the other hand resented his remarks on Moulana Abdul Bari.

### **Opposition to Gandhi**

When a little later Gandhi proposed that the Swarajists and others who had no faith in his five boycotts should resign from the Congress. Most of the speakers in a Karachi meeting on the 21st June were against the proposal contending that as the All India Congress Committee had given the Swarajists permission to enter the Councils there was no valid reason why they should withdraw from Congress. A Mussalman speaker described Gandhi as a "*Sadhu*" who had no longer any place in politics and advised him to form a "*Sadhu Sabha*" and work on his own.

### **Ahmedabad Conference Resolutions**

The whittled down resolutions of the Ahmedabad All India Congress Committee, which resulted from the compromise between no-Changers and Swarajists, being in favour of the latter were well-received in Sind where the '*Charkha*' had never been favourably regarded. The resolutions were frankly regarded as a defeat for Gandhi and a corresponding victory for the Swarajists. All the Sind members who attended voted against the compulsory spinning conditions for Congress membership. The "*Hindu*" of the 18th September remarked that the spinning stipulation would not make for political unity and as the Congress was a political body, entry into it should be unconditional.

### **Gandhi's Fast, September**

Gandhi's twenty one days' fast in September certainly had the effect of rousing the leaders to strive for Hindu-Muslim unity and a surprising fact was that the Mussalmans were almost as ready as the Hindus to compromise. Undoubtedly there was a feeling, that Gandhi might die and that a heavy responsibility would then rest on the party which did not promote unity.

The All India Congress Committee instructed the provincial bodies to give the widest publicity to the fast and the need for unity, and meetings were held in Sind, principally in the large towns. Simultaneously, the Khilafat Committees and Anjuman-i-Tabligh-i-Islam organised similar ones assuring Gandhi that everything would be done to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity and urging him to break his fast.

On the 8th October meetings were organised at several places to celebrate the conclusion of the fast, and everyone seemed relieved and pleased. But despite these celebrations there were few, if any, signs of real unity and two prominent Hindus of Hyderabad who had just returned from the Unity Conference at Delhi did not seem satisfied. One of them in fact frankly stated that the decisions there arrived at satisfied neither party and the heart-unity demanded by Gandhi had yet to come.

### Unity Conferences

The Delhi Conference had been attended by a few Hindus from Sind. On their return they made laudable efforts to give effect to its resolutions. Co-operators and Non-co-operators among the Hindu leaders issued a joint appeal in October calling upon Sind Hindus to abide by its decisions and to exercise self-control even under the greatest provocation.

Among Mussalmans, however, the general feeling was one of dissatisfaction with the Conference which gave them neither religious nor political benefits and they undoubtedly suspected Hindu *Swaraj*, the coming of which they professed to foresee. Mussalmans were rapidly coming to the conclusion that though in the days of the Mirs it might have been a very fine thing to scoff at education as fit only for clerks and subject races, in these days lack of education merely meant general backwardness which brought no credit with it. They therefore, began to consider education as the main thing and in the meantime to claim as a backward community in Sind special representation both in Councils and in the Government services. Thus they veered towards Government and Constitutionalism. In this way it came about that Sind Mussalman Non-co-operators, much to the disgust of the Hindu agitators, attended an Educational Conference at Hyderabad which was opened by H. E. the Governor.

The rapidly waning interest in the unity question may be judged from the fact that Sind was represented at the All Party Conference in Bombay by one man, a Hindu Besantine.

After this there is little to record of agitation in Sind. The Hindu papers on the whole criticised the Bengal arrests under section 18 of Ordinance of 1924 and meetings were held under the auspices of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, now almost entirely a Hindu organisation in Sind, but there was no real enthusiasm anywhere and agitation against Government died down leaving the masses apathetic.

### Funds

Naturally, with interest waning, collections likewise decreased. One notable donation during the year was Rs. 10,000 given by Haji Abdullah Haroon to Moulana Mahomed Ali to help him with his papers '*Comrade*' and '*Hamdard*'.

Three new papers were started in Sind during the year, viz., the '*Kesari*' in Karachi by Swami Govindanand to push the Non-co-operation programme of boycotts and *Satyagraha*, the '*Parkash*' of Hyderabad advocating obstructive tactics by Swarajists in Council, and the '*Janma Bhumi*' of Shikarpur.

Two Urdu booklets, viz., "*Punjab ka Hatya Kand*" (Massacre in Punjab) and "*Payami Jail*" (Message from jails) appeared in Karachi from Bareilly. Both contained objectionable poems.

The "*Hindu*" in October came out with some bold headings to an article on "*Alexis of Warsaw*" such as "Why he became anti-Government could not tolerate tyranny and high-handedness. An unmarried girl raped. It is a duty to destroy such a Government." On the whole however, the tone of the press in Sind was mild.

In Sind there were some 300 elected members of Congress but it was reported that only 38 including 3 Mussalmans sent in their quota of yarn to the All India Khadi Board in accordance with the Ahmedabad spinning resolution.

The Hyderabad District Congress Committee carried out the free distribution of 325 spinning wheels in villages.

From various places fair sales of *khadi* were reported at certain periods such as during the National week but, despite lectures, such as those in August in Karachi by a Parsi of Bombay interest evaporated.



Early in the year, the Council of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Larkana decided to work up the following constructive programme by the end of the following April :—

- (1) Enrolment of 20,000 Congress Members.
- (2) Collection of Rs. 33,000 for Tilak Swaraj Fund.
- (3) Opening of *khadi* shops at suitable centres.
- (4) Organising through Congress Committees and panchayats, a liquor boycott by peaceful means, excluding picketing.
- (5) Working for the removal of untouchability.
- (6) A sub-committee of three was appointed to frame detailed rules for Civic Guards, which the Secretary Sind Provincial Congress Committee, was authorised to organise.

During the year the Hyderabad District and City Congress Committees were amalgamated as there was found to be insufficient work and interest to justify the continuance of them both.

## APPENDICES

*Appendix—I*—List of those who renounced honours or privileges or resigned services as a result of the Non-co-operation or Khilafat movements.

*Appendix—II*—List of agitators convicted of political offences in connection with the Khilafat or Non-co-operation movements.

*Appendix—III*—Rules of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee.

FINIS

## APPENDIX I

List of those who renounced honours or privileges or resigned services as a result of the Non-co-operation of Khilafat movements in Sind.

Serial No.	Names of persons	Residence	Nature of renunciation or resignation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
Karachi Headquarters				
1	Mir Mahomed Baloch	..	Honorary Magistrateship	....
2	Fazalhaq, son of Ghulam Hussain	..	Police ..	....
3	Changa, son of Sayedulah	..	-Do-	....
4	Mulshanker Jadowjee Vyas	..	Base Supply Depot, Keamari.	....
5	Shri Krishan, son of Harbhagwandas	..	Legal Practice	The practice was suspended for a year but again taken up.
6	Lunidaram, son of Gokaldas	..	-Do-	
7	Mirza Ghulam Dastghir	..	-Do-	
Karachi District				
8	Sayed Ghulam Hussain Shah	..	Durbar Chair	....
9	Abdul Rahim Shah Wd. Mahomed Rahim Shah	..	-Do-	....

10	Haji Ibrahim Wd. Khamiso Gandhro	..	Tatta	..	-Do-	Restored in 1920.
Hyderabad District						
11	Fazal Ali Shah Shuja Mahomed Shah	..	Matiari	..	Gave up licence for a Gun and a Chair in <i>Durbars</i> .	....
12	Pir Ghulam Mujadid Pir Abdul Halim	..	-Do-	..	-Do-	....
13	Haji Mahomed Shah Haji Muradil Shah	..	-Do-	..	Gave up licence for a gun, his chair in <i>Durbars</i> and Honorary Magistrateship.	....
14	Haji Allah Baksh Shah Mir Sayed	..	-Do-	..	Gave up licence for a gun, and Chair in <i>Durbars</i> .	....
15	Haji Allah Baksh Shah Mir Sayed	..	-Do-	..	-Do-	....
16	Sayed Allahbachayo Shah Khan Bahadur Hussan Ali Shah	..	-Do-	..	Gave up licence for a gun, Chair in <i>Durbars</i> and Honorary Magistrateship.	....
17	Shah Alim Shah Ghulam Hussain Shah	..	-Do-	..	Gave up licence for a gun and chair in <i>Durbars</i> .	....
18	Aminuddin Najabuddin Munshi	..	Hyderabad	..	Gave up licence for a revolver and Honorary Magistrateship.	....
19	Shaharali Khan Mahomed Khan Nizamani	..	Matli	..	Gave up licence for a gun.	....

# APPENDIX I—Contd.

Serial No.	Names of persons	Residence	Nature of renunciation or resignation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
20	Mahomed Khan Ahmed Khan Nizamani ..	Matli	.. Gave up licence for a gun	....
21	Ahmed Ali Khan Mahomed Khan Nizamani	-Do-	.. -Do-	....
22	Haji Ghulam Hussein Sayed Mahomed Khan Nizamani	-Do-	.. -Do-	....
Hyderabad District				
23	Sheikh Mahomed Yusuf	..	.. gave up licence for a gun	....
24	Sayed Adbul Khalik Adbul Halim	..	.. -Do-	....
25	Pir Mahub Shah Pir Rashid Ahmed Shah Nizamani	Matli	.. -Do-	....
26	Abdullah Sayed Kumberali Shah Zamindar	Taluka Badin	.. Gave up licence for a gun and chair in <i>Durbars</i> .	....
27	Haji Nur Mahomed Shah Juman	..	.. -Do-	....
28	Haji Mahomed Bohar Nur Mahomed	..	.. -Do-	....
29	Pir Baksh Khan Mahomed Bachal	..	.. Gave up licence for a gun and chair in <i>Durbars</i> .	....
30	Khalifa Darya Khan Haji Wali Mahomed Khan Chandio	Taluka Badin	.. -Do-	....

31	Abrab Fazal Ali Minhal	..	..	-Do-	..	-Do-	....
32	Zain-ul-Abdin Shah Wd. Miran Mahomed Shah.	Shah Wd. Miran Mahomed	Shah.	Guni	..	Gave up Collector's chair	....
33	Ali Asghar Shah Wd. Abdullah Shah	..	..	-Do-	..	-Do-	....
34	Haji Ghulam Mahomed Murad Ali Khan Nizamani.	Murad Ali Khan	Nizamani.	Matli	..	Honorary Magistrateship	....
35	Haji Mahomed Yakub Bulian	..	..	....	..	Taluka Local Board Membership	....
36	Nasiro Khan Khaskhedli	..	..	Badin	..	Gave up gun licence	....
37	Haji Hamzo Not Khan	..	..	....	..	-Do-	....
38	Wali Mahomed Not Khan	..	..	Dero Mohbat	..	Honorary Magistrateship	....
39	Abdul Wahid Abdul Mali Kazi	..	..	Matiani	..	Settlement <i>Munshi</i> , Tando	....
40	Wali Mahomed Shah Umed Ali Shah	..	..	-Do-	..	<i>Tapedar's</i> post	....
41	Fateh Mahomed Mahomed Ali	..	..	Matli	..	<i>Sowar's</i> post (Police)	....
42	Ghulam Hussein Nizamani	..	..	-Do-	..	<i>Tapedar's</i> post	....
43	Shafi Mahomed Memon	..	..	Hala	..	<i>Sowar's</i> post (Police)	....
44	Ghulam Nabi Haji Wahid Baksh	..	..	Hyderabad	..	<i>Tapedar's</i> post	....
45	Shamasdin Mahomed Yusuf	..	..	-Do-	..	<i>Darogha's</i> appointment in the P. W. D.	....
46	Umed Ali Dost Mahomed	..	..	-Do-	..	<i>Tapedar's</i> post	....
47	Mahomed Sadik	..	..	-Do-	..	-Do-	....

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# APPENDIX I—Contd.

Serial No.	Names of persons	Residence	Nature of renunciation or resignation	Remarks
47	2	3	4	5
48	Fateh Mahomed Hafiz Khair Mahomed	Hyderabad	Tapadar's post	....
49	Sarai Abdullah	-Do-	Appointment in the Forest Department.	....
50	Kalu Hiranand	-Do-	Tapadar's post	....
51	Hassomal Baharmal Shivdasani	Hyderabad	Assistant Collector, Surat.	....
52	Ghulam Mahomed, Son of Wali Mahomed Bhurgri.	Dhengan (Mirapurkhas District)	Legislative Assembly	Deceased.
53	Pir Baksh, son of Haji Khan Shedi	Hyderabad	School Master, Municipal School, Hyderabad.	....
54	Abdul Jabbar Mahomed Yakub	-Do-	Legal Practice	Since resumed.
55	Pahilajrai Sakhawatrai Gidwani, B. A., LL.B.	-Do-	-Do-	....
56	Ratansing Gidumal Malkani	Mirpurkhas	-Do-	....
Sukkur District				
57	Imamdin		Branch Postmaster, Garhi, Yasin.	....

58	Ghulam Ali Ghulam	..	..	....	Junior Clerk, Sukkur Forest Range.	....
59	Kasim, son of Kadir Baksh	..	..	....	Constable	....
60	Ghulam Rasul	..	..	....	Trains Clerk	....
61	Ghulam Muhyadin	..	..	....	Guard, Khanpur Station.	....
62	Gokul	..	..	....	Luggage Porter, Ghotki Station.	....
63	Sadhu	..	..	....	Sweeper, Mando Dairo Station.	....
64	Gul Mahomed	..	..	....	Shunting <i>Jamadar</i>	..
65	Labbu	..	..	....	Sweeper, Januri Station.	....
66	Sidik	..	..	....	Cabinman, Pad Idan Station.	....
67	Majid	..	..	....	Pointsman, Hamayun Station.	....
68	Rakhio	..	..	....	Peon, D. T. S.'s office, Sukkur.	....
69	Umar Hayat	..	..	....	-Do-	..
70	Abdul Ghafur	..	..	....	Clerk, D. T. S.'s office, Sukkur.	....
71	(Name unknown)	..	..	....	Clerk, Sub-Civil Court, Rohari.	....
72	Usman Wd. Pir Baksh	..	..	....	Constable	..

# APPENDIX I—Contd.

Serial No.	Names of persons	Residence	Nature of renunciation or resignation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
73	Khanwandino Shah Asghar Ali Shah	....	Constable	....
74	Pir Baksh Ghulam Hussein	....	-Do-	....
75	Sakhi Mahomed, son of Kasim	....	Police	....
76	Dayalchand	....	Trains Clerk, Pad Idan.	....
77	Teckchand	....	Phone Clerk, Railway.	....
78	Nenumal	....	Guard, Rohai	....
79	Ganesh	....	Cook, Pad Idan	....
80	Abdul Rahman Ahmed Khan	....	Constable	....
81	Mahomeddin Sukar Ali	....	-Do-	....
82	Allah Baksh Nabi Baksh	....	Constable	....
83	Abdul Ghani Mir Alum Khan	....	-Do-	....
84	Shivparsadsingh Shivilasingh	....	-Do-	....
85	Rahmatallah Mahomed Hussain	....	-Do-	....
86	Mahabir Ganesh	....	-Do-	....
87	Abdul Hakim Abdul Rahman	....	-Do-	....



88	Ghulam Hussein Ghazi	..	..	....	-Do-	..	....
89	Javali Shah Asghar Ali Shah	..	..	....	-Do-	..	....
90	Muzanul Ahmedji	..	..	....	Police	..	....
91	Mahtabdin Shah Sharif	..	..	....	Constable	..	....
92	Sherbaz Jabar	..	..	....	-Do-	..	....
93	Yakub Sher Ali	..	..	....	-Do-	..	....
94	Jiwan	..	..	....	Shunting Jamadar, Sukkur.	..	....
95	Matub Ali	..	..	....	Shunting Porter, Sukkur.	..	....
96	Phagoo	..	..	....	Peon, Sukkur	..	....
97	Silia	..	..	....	Pointsman, Sukkur	..	....
98	Sukhi	..	..	....	Malhi	..	....
99	Surjan Singh	..	..	....	Railway Choukidar	..	....
100	Sundersingh	..	..	....	Choukidar, Sukkur	..	....
101	E. E. Manomal	..	..	....	Guard, Sukkur	..	....
102	Pherumal	..	..	....	Signaller, Ruk	..	....
103	Tarachand Deumal Gajra, M. A.	..	..	Shikarpur	Teacher, Government High School, Shikarpur.	..	....
104	Bachal, son of Mir Khan	..	..	....	Railway	..	....
105	Illahi Baksh Khuda Baksh	..	..	....	Constable	..	....

# APPENDIX I—Contd.

Serial No.	Names of persons	Residence	Nature of renunciation or resignation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
106	Pir Baksh Nur Mahomed	....	Constable	....
107	Guru Parsadsing Matadin	....	-Do-	....
108	Shabzudsing Bharosasing	....	-Do-	....
109	Gorakhman Khan Bahadur	....	-Do-	....
110	Faizallah Barkatali	....	-Do-	....
111	Suntram	....	Choukidar, Sukkur Municipality.	....
112	Abdul Halim Imam Baksh	....	Sind Canal Sub-Division.	....
113	Mahomed Yakub, son of Abdul Majid Pathan.	Shikarpur	Supervising Tapedar.	....
114	Kamaldin Budo	....	Munshi, Civil Court	....
115	Hamzoo alias Amir Baksh, son of Mahomed Khan Mahar.	Hambia, taluka Sukkur.	Head Master, Sindhi School.	....
116	Wadero Wali Mahomed, son of Safal Khan Sethar.	Chak	Chairmanship, Sanitary Board.	....
117	Abdul Gafur, son of Lal Khan Kakepoto	Taluka Garhi Yasin.	Veterinary Surgeon at Maljar.	....

118	Mulchand, son of Pherumal	..	Sukkur	Legal Practice.	....
119	Lakhasing, son of Karamchand	..	Rohari	-Do-	....
120	Harijandas Rupchand	..	Sukkur	-Do-	....
<b>Larkana District</b>					
121	Rais Jan Mahomed Junejo	..	....	Legal Practice.	Deceased.
122	Mahomed Hassan, son of Abdul Ghafur Malak	..	....	Munshi, Taluka Office, Warah.	....
123	Mahomed Ismail, son of Allahdino	..	....	Supervising Tapedar, Taluka Larkana.	....
124	Mahomed Hussain, son of Mahi	..	....	Constable	....
125	Mouladad Maandad, son of Ali Baksh Chandio	..	....	-Do-	....
126	Wali Mahomed Raza Mahomed	..	....	-Do-	....
127	Abdullah Jio	..	....	Pound Munshi, Warah.	....
128	Kazi Ghulam Nabi Abdul Sami	..	....	Guard, N. W. Railway.	....
129	Mahomed Hussain Jumo	..	....	Constable	....
130	Haji Abdullah Mahomed Akil	..	....	School Master, Mangwani, Taluka Mehr.	....
131	Mahomed Hasham Karamullah	..	....	Constable	....
132	Sukhranddas Tulsidas	..	....	Teacher, High School, Larkana.	....
133	Metharam Isardas	..	....	-Do-	....

# APPENDIX I—Contd.

Serial No.	Names of persons	Residence	Nature of renunciation or resignation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
134	Nanakram Jiwatrai Bhambani ..	....	Teacher, High School, Larkana	Now Chief Officer, Larkana Municipality.
Ther Parkar District				
135	Bilawal Khan, son of Haji Jan Mahomed Khan Lashari.	Taluka Samaro	Gave up gun licence	Deceased.
136	Mahomed Khan, son of Fateh Khan Pathan.	-Do-	-Do-	....
137	Pir Mahomed Ali Jan Sarhandi ..	Taluka Umar Kot	Gave up gun and pistol licences.	Deceased.
138	Mahomed Hashim Sumro ..	-Do-	Gave up gun licence	....
139	Bahawal, son of Murid Lashri ..	Taluka Digri	-Do-	....
140	Mahomed Ishaq Shah ..	Samaro	Membership of the Taluka Local Board.	Since accepted the membership of the School Board Committee and also helps Government.
141	Sajan, son of Jeram Kirar ..	Taluka Chachro	Membership of the Taluka Local Board.	....

142	Mahomed Kabir	..	....	Clerk, Treasury Office, Mirpurkhas.	....
143	Fateh Mahomed	..	....	<i>Tapedar</i>	....
144	Ghulam Nabi	..	....	-Do-	....
145	Abdul Majid	..	....	-Do-	....
<b>Nawabshah District</b>					
146	Pir Jamaludin Pir Turab Ali	..	Naushahro	Chair in Collector's <i>Dar-</i> <i>bar</i> , gun licence, seats on the Dispensary and Madressah Commi- tees at Naushahro.	....
147	Kazi Nabi Baksh Shah Mahomed		Moro	Sean on Sanitary School and Dispensary Commi- tees at Moro.	....
<b>Upper Sind Frontier District</b>					
148	Wadero Sher Mahomed, son of Khan Faiz Mahomed Pathan.		taluka Kashmor	Chair in the Deputy Commissioner's <i>Dar-</i> <i>bar</i> .	....
149	Ghulam Qadir Bhuto	..	Mubarakhpur, taluka Thul.	Local Board Member- ship and chair in the Deputy Commissioner's <i>Darbar</i> .	....
150	Mahomed Zaman Mahar	..	-Do-	-Do-	....
151	Mahomed Hasim	..	Taluka Thul	Supervising <i>Tapedar</i> .	....
152	Razikdino	..	-Do-	<i>Tapedar</i> .	....

# APPENDIX I—Concl'd.

Serial No.	Names of persons	Residence	Nature of renunciation or resignation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
153	Gul Mahomed ..	Mubarakhpur, Taluka Thul,	<i>Tapedar</i>	....
154	Mir Hazar Khan Wahid Baksh ..	....	Police Training School, Nasik.	Since appointed 2nd grade Head Constable.
155	Momin, son of Sadik ..	....	Constable	Afterwards re-enlisted. Died shortly afterwards.
Upper Sind Frontier District—				
156	Dad Mahomed Jan Mahomed ..	....	-Do-	Dismissed for disloyalty on account of the Khilafat movement.
157	Sher Zaman Mardan Ali ..	....	-Do-	-Do-

## APPENDIX II

List of agitators convicted of political offences in connection with the Khilafat or Non-co-operation movement.

Serial No.	Name	Section	Sentence	Date of conviction	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Karachi Headquarters</b>					
1	Mahomed Bakar Abdul Kadir	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R. I.	25-4-1921	.....
2	Govindanand <i>alias</i> Jawahermal Totiram Mansukhani	124-A.I.P.C.	5 years' transportation.	3-5-1921	.....
3	Fatehali Natho	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R. I.	30-8-1921	.....
4	Mahomed Ali Abdul Ali Khan	505 and 117 I.P.C.	2 years' R.I. under each charge concurrently.	1-11-1921	.....
5	Hussain Ahmed Sayed Habib	505-109 and 109 I. P. C.	-Do-	-Do-	.....
6	Nisar Ahmed, of Cawnpore	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	.....
7	Saifuddin Kitchloo Azizdin	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	.....
8	Pir Ghulam Mujahid, son of Agha Abdul Hamid	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	.....
9	Shaukat Ali Abdul Ali	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	.....
10	Allahditta Mahomed Hussain	108, C. P. C.	12 months' R. I.	5-11-1921	.....
11	Kunjilal Dhanpatram	-Do-	-Do-	10-12-1921	.....
12	Abdul Karim Abdullah	-Do-	-Do-	7-2-1922	.....
13	Mahomed Moosa Jumoo	-Do-	6 months' R. I.	6-2-1922	.....

## APPENDIX II—Contd.

Serial No.	Name	Section	Sentence	Date of conviction	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
14	Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan	123, C. P. C.	12 months' S. I.	9-3-1922	....
15	Mahomed Alim Ghulam Ali	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
16	Kazi Khuda Baksh Nabi Baksh	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
17	Kalander Shah Jehan Shah	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
18	Mohiuddin Dinali Shah	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
19	Lalchand Amardinomal	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
20	Nathumal Damodar	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
21	Manilal Jadhawji Vyas	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
22	Ali Mahomed Parial	108, C. P. C.	6 months' R. I.	20-4-1922	....
23	Narsinglal Nanumal	108, I. P. C.	6 months' S. I.	-Do-	....
24	Mahomed Usif Haji Mahomed	-Do-	8 months' S. I.	17-5-1922	....
25	Swami Kishanand Swami Guru Angani	108, C. P. C.	12 months' R. I.	16-9-1922	....
26	Jamaluddin Hassan	-Do-	-Do-	29-11-1922	....
27	Nabi Baksh Khuda Baksh	124-A, I. P. C.	-Do-	29-3-1923	....
28	Abdul Hai Karamdin	108, C. P. C.	-Do-	20-6-1923	....
29	Mahomed Usman Haji Mahomed Khati	188, I. P. C.	6 months' R. I.	6-6-1922	....



## Hyderabad District

30	Pir Mahbub Shah Pir Rashiduddin Shah	124-A and 153 I. P. C. 108 I. P. C.	2 years' R. I. 12 months' R. I.	25-8-1920 3-9-1921	.... ....
31	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma	124-A and 153-A I. P. C.	3 years' R. I.	3-9-1921	....
32	Sheikh Abdul Majid Lilaram	124-A and 153-A I. P. C. 108, C. P. C.	2 years' R. I. 12 months' R. I.	3-9-1921 17-1-1924	.... ....
33	Jairamdas Doultram Alinch- andani	124-A. I. P. C.	2 years' R. I.	21-12-1921	....
34	Ghanshamdas Jethanand Shivdasani	-Do-	-Do-	3-3-1922	....
35	Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani	-Do-	18 months' R. I. Rs. 500 fine or in default 6 months' R. I.	23-3-1922	....
36	Gagumal Tarachand	108, C. P. C.	12 months' R. I.	25-3-1922	....
37	Yar Mahomed Fakhurdin Jamali	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
38	Kessumal Teckchand Jhangiani	147, I. P. C.	-Do-	26-5-1922	....
39	Lokram Nainaram Sharma	124-A, I. P. C.	18 months' R. I.	26-6-1922	....
40	Allahabad Nihal Koso	108, C. P. C.	To enter into a bond of Rs. 2,000 and to produce two respectable sureties for good behaviour for 12 months or in default to undergo 12 months' R. I.	4-8-1922	....

## APPENDIX II—Contd.

Serial No.	Name	Section	Sentence	Date of conviction	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
41	Umed Ali Hussain Talpur	108, C. P. C.	As. Sr. No. 40	24-11-1922	....
42	Taj Mahomed (Moulvi), of Nasarpur	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
43	Mahomed Moosa of Kotri	-Do-	To enter into a bond of Rs. 2,000 and to produce two respectable sureties for 6 months or in default to undergo 6 months' R. I.	24-11-1922	...
44	Jhamatmal Lakhasing Jagtiani	-Do-	To enter into a bond of Rs. 2,000 and to produce two respectable sureties for good behaviour for 12 months or in default to undergo 12 months' R. I.	19-1-1923	....
45	Mahomed Baksh Raza Mahomed	-Do-	-Do-	13-1-1923	....
46	Allahbachayo Mahomed Khati	-Do-	-Do-	25-9-1923	....
47	Haji Hassan Hafiz Ismail	-Do-	12 months' R.I.	6-4-1923	....
48	Choithram Teckchand Valecha of Sukkur	-Do-	12 months' R.I.	6-4-1923	....

49	Ghulam Nabi Abdul Sami	-Do-	12 months' S.I.	17-1-1924	....
<b>Sukkur District</b>					
50	Abdul Karim Abdullah Chisti	188, I.P.C. 108, C.P.C.	4 months' R.I. 12 months' R.I.	March 1922 7-3-1922	....
51	Amanullah Idan	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	18-10-1921	....
52	Choithram Teckchand Valecha	-Do-	-Do-	3-9-1921	....
53	Pamandas Sugnomal	-Do-	-Do-	7-6-1921	....
54	Utam Hernandas	61-E and 53-A, B.D.P. Act	4 months' R.I.	3-9-1921	....
55	Chuhar Ramsinghani	-Do-	2 months' R.I.	-Do-	....
56	Kishno Relu	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
57	Bilandmal Vasandmal	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	11-9-1922	....
58	Mulchand Virumal	-Do-		....	Furnished security and surety
59	Khushiram Karorimal	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	22-8-1922	....
60	Taj Mahomed Dur Mahomed (Ali)	-Do-	12 months' S.I.	7-9-1922	The complaint was filed by the Dy. Sup. of Police, Nawabshah in the Court of S. D. M. Shikarpur.
61	Lilaram Narsingdas Pherwani	124-A, I.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	24-7-1922	....
62	Tikandas Damodaradas	-Do-	-Do-	10-4-1923	....
63	Mahomed Hashim Allah Baksh	108, C.P.C.	-Do-	4-7-1923	....

# APPENDIX II—Contd.

Serial No.	Name	Section	Sentence	Date of conviction	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
64	Virumal Begraj	143, 504 and 149-117 I.P.C.	2 years' R.I.	10-1-1922	....
65	Bhojaraj Motumal	-Do- 108, C.P.C.	-Do- 12 months' R.I.	-Do- 13-3-1923	....
66	Veromal Waparmal	-Do- 108, C.P.C.	-Do- 12 months' R.I.	-Do- 13-3-1923	....
67	Sugnomal Khialdas	109, C.P.C.	4 months' R.I.	3-5-1922	....
68	Jawarmal Chuhamal	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
69	Kanayalal Thakurdas	124-A, I.P.C.	6 months' R.I.	29-1-1924	....
<b>Larkana District</b>					
70	Mahomed Ramzan Wd. Allah-dino Mirbahar	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	10-8-1921	....
71	Mahomed Sohrab Wd. Dhani Baksh Magsi	-Do-	-Do-	March 1922	....
72	Abdul Karim Chisti, of Shikarpur	108, C.P.C.	4 months' R.I.	March 1922	....
73	Bhagwandas Wd. Phundumal	71 B.D.P. Act	Fined Rs. 200 or 3 months' R.I.	-Do-	.... Convicted in connection with agitation.
74	Pasram Wd. Vishinsing	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	1-4-1922	....

75	Pir Mithal Shah Wd. Pir Mazhardin Shah	-Do-	12 months' R.I.	26-4-1922	....
76	Mahomed Sadik Wd. Datarino	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	April 1922	....
77	Ghulam Nabi Wd. Abdul Samih	-Do-	-Do-	August 1922	....
78	Mahomed Ramzan Wd. Allahdino	-Do-	-Do-	25-8-1922	....
79	Amulsing Wd. Newandrai	-Do-	-Do-	September 1922	....
80	Hakim Shah Wd. Ali Sher Shah	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
81	Mahraj Dwarkapershad Wd. Rochiram	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
82	Mouladad <i>alias</i> Miandad Wd. Ali Baksh Chandio	-Do-	-Do-	June 1922	....
83	Mahomed Yakub Wd. Lemon	-Do-	12 months' S.I.	2-5-1923	....
84	Abdul Karim Wd. Mulla Mahmud	-Do-	-Do-	8-9-1923	....
85	Ramzan Wd. Id. Mahomed	-Do-	-Do-	8-9-1923	....
86	Udheban Wd. Lekhraj	42, B.D.P. Act	3 months' R.I. and Rs. 50 fine	Feb. 1923	....
87	Tharimal Wd. Pohumal	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
88	Mahomed Ramzan Wd. Id. Mahomed	42, B.D.P. Act	3 months' R.I. and Rs. 50 fine	Feb. 1923	....
89	Mahomed Ibrahim Wd. Mahomed Kasim	108, C.P.C.	12 months' S.I.	5-4-1924	....

(Bk) R 5-11

## APPENDIX II—Contd.

Serial No.	Name	Section	Sentence	Date of conviction	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Thar Parkar District :</b>					
90	Makhan Fakir Lund	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	13-8-1920	....
91	Haji Ahmed Ali	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
92	Moulvi Mahomed Amin	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
93	Gangashankar Parbushankar	-Do-	-Do-	17-6-1921	....
94	Abdul Karim Haji Mahomed of Ajmer	-Do-	-Do-	18-10-1921	....
95	Fateh Mahomed	-Do-	-Do-	19-12-1921	....
96	Mahomed Karim	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
97	Dhalunal Kishinchand	-Do-	-Do-	25-2-1922	....
98	Bhagumal <i>alias</i> Bhagchand	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	7-5-1922	....
99	Dostali Haji Bhagali Talpur	-Do-	-Do-	3-10-1922	....
100	Abdullha Haji Kaiser Mari	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
101	Maulvi Abdul Qayyum Palli	-Do-	-Do-	2-8-1923	....
102	Pir Mahbul Shah	-Do-	-Do-	3-3-1925	....
103	Mahomed Sidik Abdul Rauf Sumro	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	16-10-1920	....
104	Habibullah Faizallah Junejo	-Do-	-Do-	16-11-1921	....

105 Sachhanand Pherumal	-Do-	-Do-	20-11-1921	....
106 Abdullah Mahomed Nabi Kureishi	-Do-	-Do-	5-12-1921	....
107 Kessumal Tejuma	108, C.P.C.	12 months' R.I.	22-12-1921	....
108 Dharmumal Khiomal	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
109 Hassomal Chandumal	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
110 Attiaallah Shah Ali Mahomed Shah	-Do-	-Do-	12-1-1922	....
111 Gobindram Naraindas	-Do-	-Do-	18-2-1922	....
112 Khemchand Chebandas	108, C. P. C.	12 months' R. I.	22-12-1921	....
113 Habibullah Khudadad Panwhar	-Do-	-Do-	12-4-1922	....
114 Faiz Mahomed Dost Mahomed	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
115 Chhugomal <i>alias</i> Chhagomal Santdas.	-Do-	-Do-	8-7-1922	....
116 Mahomed Mawaz Mahomed Araf	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
117 Hemandas Shewakram	124-A, I. P. C.	9 months' R. I. and Rs. 200 fine.	18-10-1922	....
<b>Upper Sind Frontier</b>				
118 Newandram Tirithdas	68, B. D. P. Act 107, C. P. C.	Rs. 20 fine. One surety of Rs. 1,000 for six months.	18-4-1921 29-4-1922	.... ....
119 Dr. Menghraj Chainrai	107, C. P. C. 68, B. D. P.	6 months' R. I. Rs. 100 fine or 30 days.	29-4-1922 5-1-1922	.... ....

# APPENDIX II—Concl'd.

Serial No.	Name	Section	Sentence	Date of conviction	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
120	Radhomal Tikomal	68, B. D. P. Act 107, C. P. C.	Rs. 100 fine or 30 days, 6 months' R. I.	5-1-1922 29-4-1922	....
121	Gul Mahomed Khush Mahomed	68, B. D. P. Act	6 months' and Rs. 20 fine.	18-4-1921	....
122	Kaimdin Kadir Baksh Hakim	-Do-	Rs. 100 fine or 30 days.	5-1-1922	....
123	Abdul Karim Abdul Rauf	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
124	Ramchand Bansiram	-Do-	Rs. 30 fine or 15 days.	5-1-1922	....
125	Takumal Kalyanomal	-Do-	Rs. 25 fine or 5 days.	-Do-	....
126	Wadhupal Gokomal	107, C. P. C.	One surety for Rs. 1,000 for six months.	29-4-1922	....
127	Chhangomal Choithmal	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
128	Pherumal Teckchand	107, C. P. C.	6 months' R. I.	29-4-1922	....
129	Kodumal Hiranand	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....
130	Thakandas Motandas	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-	....



## APPENDIX III

**Rules of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee :****Object :**

1. The Sind Provincial Congress Committee shall have for its object the attainment of *Swarajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means and shall carry out within the Province all the duties imposed on it by the Constitution of the Indian National Congress.

2. The headquarters of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee shall be located at Karachi, but its meetings, including the council meetings, shall be held by turns at Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur, Larkana, Nawabshah, Mirpurkhas and Jacobabad, provided that at no place meetings shall be held more than once till the rotation is finished.

3. The Province of Sind shall be divided into the following districts :-

(1) Karachi, (2) Hyderabad, (3) Sukkur, (all talukas except Shikarpur and Garhi Yasin), (4) Shikarpur (talukas of Shikarpur and Garhi Yasin), (5) Larkana, (6) Sahiti (talukas of Kandiaro, Moro Nausharo Feroz), (7) Nasrat (remaining talukas of Nawabshah district), (8) Mirpurkhas, (9) Jacobabad.

The State of Cutch shall be attached to the district of Karachi provided that the delegates representing the State shall be natives of Cutch living in Cutch. In case no such delegates are available, no other persons can be elected as delegates on behalf of the State.

The State of Khairpur shall be attached to the district of Sukkur with similar provisions as to election of delegates as mentioned above.

4. The Committee shall consist of representatives annually elected by the members of the various Districts and other Congress Committees as hereinafter provided.

5. The number of members of the Provincial Congress Committee shall be in the proportion of one member for every 50,000 or fraction thereof, of the population of the province, excluding the Indian States, and shall be divided among the districts in proportion to their population (*see Appendix I*).

6. The delegates annually elected to the regular session of the Congress by the various districts excluding the delegates from Indian States as hereinafter provided, shall be for the year following their election, the representatives of the districts on the Provincial Congress Committee under Article VI of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress.

7. Every member of the Provincial Congress Committee shall pay an annual fee of Rs. 3.

8. The Committee shall elect the following office-bearers out of its own members :—

- (a) President, two Vice-Presidents, two Joint Secretaries and a Treasurer and an Executive Council of 15 members, the above-office-bearers being its *ex-officio* members.
- (b) At least one Vice-President, one Secretary and the Treasurer shall be from Karachi.
- (c) No member shall be eligible for re-election as President, Vice-President or Secretary after having held the same office for two consecutive years, except that for exceptional reasons, he may be re-appointed for only one additional year.

9. The Provincial Congress Committee shall after annual elections hold its first meeting in the month of November for the following business :—

- (a) To elect office-bearers, the Auditor and the Executive Council for the ensuing year. Each district shall have some representation on the Council.
- (b) To elect the representatives of the Province on the All India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.
- (c) To transact any other business mentioned in the notice of the meeting.

10. For elections under rule 9, nominations shall be invited by the Secretaries and these must reach the Secretaries within ten days of the date fixed for the elections. No nomination shall be accepted thereafter. Each

nomination must be proposed and seconded by a member of the Provincial Congress Committee. Members who remain absent from the meeting may send in their votes in writing.

11. At the annual meeting of the Committee the Secretaries shall submit a report of the work done by the Committees and an audited statement of accounts, both having been first submitted to the Council for adoption.

12. The Secretaries may, in consultation with the President and in his absence a Vice-President call meetings of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, or of the Executive Council whenever they may deem necessary. On receipt of a written requisition, clearly specifying the object for which the meeting is to be called, signed by not less than 7 members of the Provincial Congress Committee or 3 members of the Executive Council, the Secretaries shall within two weeks call a meeting of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee or of the Executive Council as the case may be. Votes may be invited by post by the Secretaries from the members of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee on matters of urgency, if the President or in his absence, a Vice-President deems it advisable. The votes will be opened and counted at a meeting of the Executive Council and the result declared.

13. The Executive Council may fill any vacancy in the list of office-bearers, excluding the President and the Vice-Presidents, till the next general meeting of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee.

14. As a general rule, a notice of every ordinary or special meeting of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, shall be issued to members by the Secretaries, at least 7 days before the date of the meeting, specifying the date, hour and place of the meeting, with a copy of the agenda. For the meetings of the Executive Council a similar notice shall ordinarily be issued 5 days before the meeting. For a meeting adjourned for want of a quorum or otherwise a shorter notice may be issued if time permits. For an emergent meeting of general body or Council notice shall be issued 3 and 2 days respectively before the date fixed for the meeting. It shall be open to any member to bring up before the meeting, with the permission of the Chairman, any matter not on the agenda.

15. The quorum for meetings of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee shall be 10 members and for meetings of the Executive Council, 5 members. No quorum shall be necessary for a meeting adjourned for want of a quorum.

16. Subject to these rules and to the resolutions that may be passed by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee from time to time, the management of the affairs of the Committee and the control of its funds shall vest in the Executive Council, provided that in the matters of the election of the President of the Congress or of the Provincial Conference, the selection of a place for the Provincial Conference or the election of members to the All India Congress Committee, as also in all large matters of principle, the decision shall rest with the general body of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee.

17. Any member elected on the All India Congress Committee who fails to attend three consecutive meetings of the All India Congress Committee shall forfeit his seat.

18. Any member of the Council of the Provincial Congress Committee who fails to attend three consecutive meetings of the Council shall forfeit his seat.

19. Any member of the Provincial Committee who fails to attend four consecutive meetings of the Committee shall forfeit his seat.

20. Every person not disqualified under Article IV of the Constitution of the Congress and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any one District Congress Committee.

21. Each District Congress Committee shall pay to the Provincial Congress Committee an annual fee of Rs. 5.

22. All Congress Committees shall work under the general supervision and guidance of the Provincial Congress Committee. Every Committee shall frame its bye-laws. All such bye-laws shall within one week of their formation be laid before the Provincial Congress Committee and shall be open to revision by them. They shall in no way be inconsistent with Committee and shall be open to revision by them. They shall in no way be inconsistent with the constitution of the Indian National Congress or with any resolution of that body or with any general or special directions of the Provincial Congress Committee or with its rules.

23. Each District Congress Committee shall send to the Provincial Congress Committee a copy of its annual report and audited statement of accounts within a fortnight of their adoption.

24. Every village, group of villages, town or taluka having at least 5 persons qualified under Article VII of the Congress Constitution may have a Congress Committee, to be affiliated to the District Congress Committee.

25. It is not open to anyone to become an original member of more than one Congress body or to become a candidate of more than one constituency; provided that no one whose name appears on any Congress register is precluded from becoming a member of Congress Committees, of various grades—Thus A cannot be enrolled on more than one Congress register or stand for election as a member of more than one parralled body but he can be a member, for instance, of a District Committee, a Provincial Committee and the All India Congress Committee at the same time.

26. Each District Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress from its own district.

27. The electoral roll for the election of delegates to the Congress shall consist of the members of all the Congress organisations controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee.

28. The delegates of the Province shall be elected by the members of the various Congress organisations in each District, the number of delegates elected by each district being in proportion to its population (*See Appendix II*).

29. The District Congress Committee shall prepare an electoral roll for the district containing the names of all the members of the Congress organizations, within its area, divided according to the election areas under rule 30, provided that no member whose subscriptions of 4 annas has not been paid shall be so entered. On or before the 1st of October of every year, the Congress organizations in the district shall send a complete list, in duplicate, of members on their rolls to the District Congress Committee. The list of Congress electors as made up on the 1st October shall, necessarily, be revised by the District Congress Committee and sent to the electoral authority in charge of

(Bk) R 5-12

the elections in each election area not later than the 15th of October. Every person whose name is entered in the final list shall be entitled to vote provided that no person shall vote at more than one voting centre in a district.

30. The District Congress Committee shall fix voting centres at all places where there are Congress organizations and also a certain number of hours on the election day during which voters may register their votes at the polling stations. Public meetings of voters shall be called by the local Congress organizations at the different voting centres on the day of election where the method of voting shall be explained and the names of candidates announced. Votes may be recorded at the polling centres or sent by post, in accordance with the principle of single transferable vote.

31. The election of delegates shall take place on such dates as may be fixed by the various District Congress Committees, but ordinarily they shall be not later than the first week of November.

32. The candidature of each candidate shall be supported by at least 2 voters. The nomination shall be in writing and shall mention the organization to which the candidate belongs and shall be sent to the Secretary of the District Congress Committee of the district where the candidate proposes to stand.

33. Each candidate shall deposit with the Secretaries of the District Congress Committee Rs. 13 being the amount of delegation fee and subscription for the Provincial Congress Committee at the time of his being proposed. If he is not elected, the amount shall be refunded to him. In case an elected member does not attend the Congress Rs. 10 will be forfeited to the Provincial Congress Committee.

34. Each District Congress Committee shall print sufficient number of copies of the list of candidates for the purpose of being supplied to each elector, in the form appended as Appendix III. These copies shall be forwarded to the Congress organizations in the district in sufficient number for each area for the purpose of being distributed among the electors.

35. The District Congress Committee shall nominate polling officers for each centre and a number of volunteers to assist illiterate voters to vote in accordance with the principle of single transferable vote. In the latter case the mark of the illiterate voter and the signature of the volunteer shall be affixed to the voting paper.

36. The Secretaries of the District Congress Committee shall be responsible for sending authorised lists of such duly elected delegates before the 15th November to the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committee.

37. Every District Congress Committee shall send to the Provincial Congress Committee a report of the work done in the district once in a fortnight. It will also have to communicate to the Secretaries its important resolutions and proceedings, the list of office-bearers together with any changes that may occur in them from time to time.

38. Each District Congress Committee shall prepare a monthly balance sheet of income and expenditure of its district and send a copy thereof to the Provincial Congress Committee within the 15th of the following month. If a Committee makes default, its representative on the Provincial Congress Committee shall not have the right to vote till the particular balance sheet is submitted.

39. If any District or other Congress Committee were to refuse to work according to the directions given by the Provincial Congress Committee or if after due enquiry it is found that any particular Congress Committee is either incapable or unwilling to submit itself to the control and guidance of the Provincial Congress Committee as laid down in rule No. 9, the Provincial Congress Committee shall have the right of dis-affiliating the particular Congress Committee and to deprive it of all benefits of belonging to Congress organisation. It may, if it chose to, form a new Congress Committee for the locality.

40. Receipts for subscriptions and donations, if any, shall be signed by the Treasurer and Secretary.

41. The Treasurer shall not have right of disbursing any money except by order or with the permission of the President or a Secretary.

42. The extent of the powers of the President or the Secretaries as regards the amount of money which they can draw upon or sanction shall be fixed and determined by the Council.

43. The funds of the Provincial Congress Committee lying in any bank can be operated upon by the Treasurer jointly with the President or one of the Secretaries.

## TRANSITORY RULE

### FIRST ELECTIONS

44. Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, all members enrolled this year (1921) in the Congress organizations of each district shall elect their representatives on the Provincial Congress Committee on a date not later than 31st of May and in the manner to be fixed by the Provincial Congress Committee. The members shall be elected according to the allotment in Appendix I and shall together constitute the Provincial Congress Committee under the new constitution until the new Provincial Congress Committee is formed in November 1921. The present Provincial Congress Committee shall go out of office when the new Provincial Congress Committee is formed under this transitory rule.

## APPENDIX I

The representation of the various districts on the Sind Provincial Congress Committee shall be as follows :—

Karachi	..	..	..	11
Hyderabad	..	..	..	12
Sukkur	..	..	..	8
Shikarpur	..	..	..	4
Larkana	..	..	..	13
Nawabshah	..	..	..	9
Thar Parkar	..	..	..	9
Jacobabad	..	..	..	5
				<hr/>
				71



## APPENDIX II

## NUMBER OF DELEGATES

Karachi (including Cutch)	..	..	11 + 10 = 21
Hyderabad	..	..	12
Sukkur (including Khairpur)	..	..	8 + 5 = 13
Shikarpur	..	..	4
Larkana	..	..	13
Nawabshah	..	..	9
Thar Parkar	..	..	9
Jacobabad	..	..	5

## APPENDIX III

## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

## Election of Delegates

.....District

The following persons have been nominated for election as delegates to the Indian National Congress from the .....District :—

1.

2.

etc.

The voting shall take place on.....at the following centres :—

1.

2.

etc.

You are requested to be present at the centre to whose Congress Committee you belong or to send in your vote there in writing. The voting shall be in accordance with the principle of single transferable vote.

Secretary,

..... District Congress Committee.

## RULES PERTAINING TO SIND PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

### 1 *Sessions :*

(a) The Sind Provincial Conference shall ordinarily meet in the month of October or November. The exact dates shall be fixed by the Reception Committee and place of the Conference will be fixed by the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee after taking into consideration the invitations from the various districts.

(b) An extraordinary session may be summoned by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee at any time either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the District Congress Committees and it will be held whenever and wherever it may deem advisable to hold such a session.

2. The number of delegates to be sent by each district shall be in accordance with Appendix IV (not published with the rules).

### 3. *Election of delegates :*

(a) Each District Congress Panchayat shall at least three weeks before the sitting of the session and after electing such of them as it thinks fit shall issue to such elected persons Delegation Certificates.

(b) No one shall be qualified for being a delegate unless he is a member of a Congress Committee in the Province.

(c) Every District Congress Panchayat shall elect a certain number of *haris*, labourers and members of depressed classes as special delegates.

(d) Members of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee will be *ex-officio* delegates.

(e) Every District Congress Panchayat shall send to the Reception Committee an alphabetical list of the delegates containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee at least a week before the date fixed for the sitting.

4. *Delegation fee :*

(a) Every male delegate [excepting those for whom a special provision is made in clause (c)] on presenting Delegation Certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 2 at the Conference Office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission.

(b) Every female delegate on presenting Delegation Certificate and paying a fee of Re. 1 at the Conference Office shall receive a ticket entitling her to admission.

(c) Every *hari* and labourer or member of a depressed class on presenting a certificate and paying a fee of annas four shall be admitted to the Conference as a special delegate.

5. *Visitors :*

(a) A number (to be fixed by the Reception Committee) of persons whether members of any Congress Committee or not will be admitted to a Conference as visitors.

(b) There shall be two kinds of visitors—

i) Distinguished visitors.

ii) Ordinary visitors.

(c) Distinguished visitors shall pay a fee to be fixed by the Reception Committee but it shall not be less than Rs. 5.

(d) The fee to be paid by the ordinary visitors shall be fixed by the Reception Committee, but it shall in no case be more than Rs. 3.

6. *Right to vote :* Delegates alone shall have the power of taking part in Conference deliberations or voting at the Conference sitting.

7. *Reception Committee :* The Reception Committee shall be formed by the District Congress Committee at least 2 months before the meeting of the Conference and may include persons who are not members of a Congress Committee. The male members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 3 each and the female members shall pay not less than Re. 1 each.

8. The Reception Committee shall elect its chairman and other office-bearers from among its own members in a meeting specially convened for this purpose.

9. It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Conference and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and as far as possible and practicable of visitors and for the printing for distribution a sufficient number of copies of the resolutions passed in the Conference in the vernacular of the Province and shall supply every delegate one such printed copy.

10. The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an Auditor appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee and the statement of accounts together with the Auditors' report shall be submitted to the Provincial Congress Committee within six weeks from the termination of the session.

11. *Disposal of funds* : The Reception Committee shall after defraying the expenses of the session hand over  $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the balance to the Provincial Congress Committee and  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd to its own District Congress Committee not later than two weeks after the settlement of the accounts.

12. Each District Congress Panchayat in Sind shall, as far as possible, by the 1st of September, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in its opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Conference and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, before the 15th of September submit to each District Congress Panchayat the names thus suggested, for its final recommendations, provided that such final recommendations will be of any one, but not more, of such names. If any District Congress Panchayat makes a recommendation for more than one name, its vote shall be held to be invalid. The Reception Committee shall meet before the end of September to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the District Congress Panchayats is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the

Conference. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the majority of the District Congress Panchayats or in case of emergency, by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall be referred by it to the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, whose decision, shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected President belong to the district in which the Conference is to be held. There shall be no formal election of the President by or in the Conference but merely the adoption of a formal resolution requesting the President already elected, in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

13. *Subjects Committee* : The members of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session. President, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and general Secretaries and 3 other Secretaries of Conference shall be *ex-officio* members of Subjects Committee.

14. The Subjects Committee shall meet at least one day before the meeting of the Conference in open session. At this meeting, the President elected shall preside and the Secretaries of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee shall submit the draft resolutions recommended by the various District Congress Panchayats and Reception Committee for adoption.

15. The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss and frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

16. The Subjects Committee may also meet from time to time as the occasion may require during the pendency of the Conference.

17. Chairman of the Reception Committee shall issue tickets to the members of the Subjects Committee.



## INDEX

### A

Abdul Karim-72  
 Advani Durgadas Bhojraj-7, 16, 27  
 After the Election-33  
 Agitation-December 1921-76  
 Agitation During 1924, General-128  
 Ahmedabad Conference Resolutions-130  
 Ahmed Zahur-101  
 Akali Jagatsingh-48  
 Akhtar M. A.-18  
 Andrews C. F. Mr. in Sind October 1920-29  
 Ali Brothers-3, 8, 13, 46, 66, 72, 78, 96  
 Ali Shaukat-21, 24, 59  
 Ali Maulvi Mahomed-21, 52, 59  
 Alimchandani Jairamdas Daulatram-15, 21, 35, 61, 67, 78  
 Ali Zafar-36  
 Allah Baksh Talpur-68  
 All India Congress Committee-5, 12, 22  
 All India Home Rule League-1, 2, 7, 31  
 All India Khilafat Conference-8, 12, 13, 59  
 All India Muslim League-13  
 Amersen Pandit-31, 67  
 Amrutlal Pandit-66  
 An Incident in Larkana District-112

Angora Fund-106  
 Ansari, Dr.-116  
 Anti Non-Co-operation feeling-52  
 Anti Peace Celebration Campaign-12  
 Appendix I—List of Non-Co-operators-134  
 Appendix II—List of Agitators-148  
 Appendix III—Rules of Sind Provincial Congress Committee-159  
 A—Resolution by Hasrat Mohani-94  
 A—Schools and Colleges-79  
 A—Temporary Revival-65  
 Azad Maulana Abdul Kalam-21, 64, 87  
 Aziz Shaikh Abdul-38

### B

Bajaj Jamnalal-66, 69  
 Baksh Khuda Kazi-31, 43, 78  
 Baksh Mahomed-31  
 Begraj Virumal-35, 74, 95  
 Besant, Mrs.-1, 2  
 Besantine Party-14, 16  
 Bezwada Conference-46  
 Bhurgri G. M.-7, 98, 117, 118, 119, 121  
 Bombay Legislative Council and Assembly List of the persons who signed the Pledge-121  
 Boycott-62  
 Boycott of Councils-29  
 Boycott of Councils-voters duties-30  
 Boycott of Foreign cloth-63

## C

Central Khilafat Committee-21, 27  
 Choudhrani Sarla Devi, Mrs.-24, 57  
 Chauri-Chaura Case decision-112  
 Choudhari, Rambhuj Dutt-57  
*Comrade* a newspaper-132  
 Congress deputation in Sind-114  
 Council Boycott Committee-33  
 Council Elections 1923-117  
 Counter Propaganda 1922-111  
 Calcutta Special Congress-Sept. 1920-27

## D

Dadu-48, 127  
 Das C. R.-99  
 Delhi Conference-131  
 Devi Mai Saraswati-44, 106  
 Disintegration-74  
 Dyer General-13

## G

Gandhi M. K. Mr.-1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 31, 52, 71, 98, 99, 101  
 Gandhi M. K. Mrs.-101  
 Gandhi's Fast September-130  
 Gandhi on Hindu-Muslim tension-130  
 Gandhi's Illness and Release-128  
 Gandhi's visit to Sind April 1921-51  
 Gandhi's visit to Sind July 1920-24  
 Ganga Shankar-49  
 General Conference Hyderabad-98

General Degeneration-53

General Propaganda February 1921-39

George Lloyd, Mr.-9

Ghulam Sidic-71

Gidwani A. T. 99,-97, 101

Gidwani C. P., Dr.-21, 62, 67, 94, 98, 119

Gopaldas Jhamatmal-105

Governor's proposed visit-43

Gulrajni Jethmal Parsram-7

Gurumukhadas Daulatram and Karamchand-16

Gujarat Subha in Karachi July 1920-23

## H

Haji Abdullah Haroon-93, 117, 119, 132

Haji Ghulam Hussain Kassim, Dr.-64

Hakim Ali Shah-71

Harchandrai Vishindas-115, 118, 129

Hardinge Lord-9

Hartals April 1921-48

Hasim Mahomed-31

Hasrat Mohani-21

*Hindu* a newspaper-132

Hindu Brothers (Musalmans)-30

Hindu Maha Sabha-123

Hindu-Muslim Unity 1922-102

Hindu-Muslim disunity-116

Hingorani Tenumal J.-119

Hunter Committee-5, 12

Hyderabad-3, 13, 17, 60



## I

Imperial Legislative Council-3  
 Income Tax Non-Payment Campaign-34  
 Increase in Speeches-70  
 Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919-3  
 Indian Home Rule League-7  
 Indian National Congress-2, 5, 13  
 India's National Memorial (Jallianwala Baug)-19

## J

Jacobabad-6, 59, 65  
 Jagtiani Lalchand A.-15  
 Jallianwala Baug-5, 19, 20, 48  
 Jamiat-Ul-Ulema-100  
*Janma Bhumi* a newspaper-132  
 Jeswani T. K.-42  
 Jethmal Parsram-118  
 Jethanand Mukhi-6, 7  
 Jhamatmal Gopaldas-14

## K

Kadir Baksh-72  
 Kalachand Hassamal-35  
 Karachi-2, 3, 12, 31  
 Karachi Jail Incident-96  
 Karachi National Municipal Party-93  
 Karim Fazal-46  
 Karim Moulvi Abdul-31  
 Kazi Abdul Rehman-119  
 Kazi Assadullah Shah-72  
*Kesari* a newspaper-132  
 Khalik Abdul-31  
 Khan Hakim Ajmal-3, 13

Khan Mahomed Khan Ghazi-13  
 Khatri Ahmed Haji Siddik-21  
 Khilafat conference-13  
 Khilafat Fund-70  
 Khilafat Question-8  
 Kitchlew, Dr.-21, 24, 87

## L

Lajpatrai, Lala-41, 129  
 Lajpatrai's day-116  
 Lajpatrai in Karachi-129  
 Larkana-3, 96

## M

Mahomed Khan Ghazi Khan-75, 109  
 Mahomed Khati-65  
 Mahomed Siddik-119  
 Majid Shaikh Abdul-7, 13  
 Malaviya Madan Mohan-20, 123  
 Mansingh Chuharmal-61  
 Mangharam Santdas-16, 118  
 Mansukhani Jawaharmal Totiram *alias* Swami Govindanand-7, 132  
 Mariwala Hariram Dayaram-7, 16  
 Mehta N. R. Jamshed-2, 14, 117, 118, 119  
 Mirpurkhas-96, 127  
 Mir Allah Baksh-77  
 Montagu, Mr.-17  
 Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms-1  
 Moulvi Allaudin Sammu-106  
 Moulvi Mahomed Sadik Abdullah-119  
 Moulvi Mokhamdin Allah Baksh-106

**M—Contd.**

Mujadid Pir Ghulam-48  
 Mukhtiarkar-47  
 Munshi Animuddin-52  
 Muslim League-16  
 Mustapha Kamal Pasha-107

**N**

Nagpur Congress-38  
 Nagpur flag agitation-115  
 Naidu and other visitors-69  
 Naidu Sarojini, Mrs.-66, 69, 113  
 Narsinglal-6  
 National Courts-61  
 National Home Rule League-1  
 National Schools-81  
 National Week 6th-13th April  
 1920-16  
 National Week April 1921-42  
 National Week-20  
 Nawabshah-72, 96  
 Naushahro-96  
 Nehru Jawaharlal-24  
 Nehru Pandit Motilal-13, 99  
*New Times* a non-co-operator  
 paper-100  
 Non-co-operation and local Bo-  
 ards-94  
 Non-co-operation and Municipa-  
 lities-89  
 Nur Mahomed-7

**O**

O'Dwyer, Michael, Sir-13  
 Organisation during 1923-119  
 Our Mahatma Gandhi-20

**P**

Panchayat Fund-40  
*Prakash* a newspaper-132  
 Patel's V. J. visit to Sind-38  
 Patel Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai-87  
 Paul Richard-101, 111  
 Pickthall Marmaduke-100  
 Picketing Liquor Shops-62  
 Picketing September 1921-64  
 Pir Ilahi Baksh-71  
 Prasad Dwarka-32  
 Prasad Gobind-33  
 Press Comments in 1920-36  
 Preventive measures in Sind-7  
 Prince of Wales-98  
 Proposed Hartal during Royal  
 visit-70  
 Protest against Turkish peace  
 terms-27  
 Punjab Congress Sub-Committee  
 1919-1920-12  
 Punjab Relief Fund-5, 17

**Q**

Quershi Shuaib-3

**R**

Rajagopalacharya-113, 124  
 Retia Parcharak Mandali-124  
 Rise of Sind Muslim Interest in a  
 Agitation November-December  
 1919-13  
 Rohri-20  
 Rowlatt Act-3  
 Royal Proclamation of 1858-17  
 Royal visit to Karachi-98

## S

Salt Tax agitation-114  
 Sawtanam Pandit of Lahore-101  
 Satar Abdul-32  
 Satyagraha Association-4  
 Seth Naraindas of Shikarpur-18  
 Seventh Sind Provincial  
 ( Congress ) Conference at  
 Sukkur-April 1920-14  
 Shah Pir Ali Anwar-32  
 Shah Pir Mahbub-48  
 Shahani Professor-115  
 Shahani Tarachand K.-44  
 Shah Pir Turavbali-32  
 Sheikh Abdul Majid-119  
 Shaikh Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani-  
 111  
 Sharma Lokram Nainaram-14  
 Shikarpur-3, 13, 96  
 Shikarpuri Young Mens' Swaraj  
 Sabha-42  
 Shivdasani Ghanshamdas Jetha-  
 nand-7, 88  
 Sidhwa R. K.-35  
 Sind-1, 12  
 Sind Provincial Congress  
 Committee-101, 102  
 Sind Provincial Congress  
 Committee Meeting-August  
 1921-62  
 Sind Provincial Congress  
 Conference-IX-101  
 Sind Provincial Congress  
 Conference-October 1921-66  
 Sind Provincial Congress  
 Committee Meeting at Hydera-  
 bad-November 1920-35

Sind Provincial Congress  
 Committee Organisation-39  
 Sind Provincial Khilafat  
 Conference Sukkur, July 1922-  
 100  
 Sixth Sind Provincial (Congress)  
 Conference at Jacobabad-5  
 Speeches-September 1921-65  
 Swadeshi-6  
 Swami Krishnanand-31, 62, 123  
 Swami Satyadev-3, 101, 108  
 Swaraj-17, 18, 72  
*Swaraj* a newspaper-56  
 Swaraj Sabha-2  
 Swami Shradhanand-20  
 Sukkur-3, 13, 55, 61, 96  
 Sukkur District Congress  
 Conference May 1921-55  
 Sukkur National Arbitration  
 Court-56  
 Suspension of Satyagraha-8

## T

Tahilramani Parsram Vishinsing-  
 106  
 Tahilsing Gurdinomal-49  
 Tando Adam (a village)-49, 72  
 Temperance Propaganda-16  
 The Ahmedabad Congress and  
 after-94  
 The Council Election Campaign,  
 1923-121  
 The Formal Adoption of Gandhi's  
 Non-Co-operation proposal-21  
 The General Trend of Agitation  
 in Sind during 1919-2

**T—Contd.**

The Kenya decision protest  
against—117  
The Movement analysed—75  
The Rise of the Swaraj Party in  
Sind—115  
Tilak—death on 31st July 1920—27  
Tilak in Sind—13  
Tilak Congress Fund—81  
Tilak Swaraj Fund—42, 56, 78, 103  
Typical Extracts from speeches,  
1923—125

**V**

Vaswani T. L.—16, 21, 111, 117  
Vishindas Harchandrai—15  
Vyas Manilal J.—44, 75

**W**

What the Conference showed—15

**Y**

Yacub Abdul Jabbar Mahomed—  
—48, 94, 101  
Yemin Mahomed, Dr.—32



