INTRODUCTION
Purpose, Scope, Methodology of the Study and an Outline of the Geographical and Historical Background:

We have arrived at a moment in history where war has to be banned if humanity is to survive. War and violence and methods of destruction can never lead to peace. If they could bring peace, it would have come long ago. But the history of war, whether tribal, national or international, tells quite the opposite tale. The present world is the world of nuclear weapons. If the war psychology is still maintained in any quarter of the earth, the final war would bring peace but it would be the peace only of the burial ground. Man has therefore, for his very survival to find some other way than war of overcoming conflict.

Against this background, Gandhiji's life, message and work derive vital significance, for he points to an alternative to war and violence. He gave to the unarmed masses a strength not of bullets and bombs, such as the mighty oppressors themselves possessed, but the soul-force residing in every human being, which this war-weary world of today has yet to understand and which alone, carried to its logical conclusion, can abolish war for all time.
The principle of Non-violent Non-Co-operation is
Gandhiji's finest contribution to a war-worn and violence-
torn world. During 1920-22, the Indian National Congress
launched, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, a nation-
wide non-co-operation movement against the British govern-
ment to win 'Swaraj' and to get the Punjab and Khilafat
wrongs redressed. The first ever non-violent revolt, not
only in the history of India but also in the history of
the whole world, it awakened the masses and roused them
to action as never before. It ushered in a new phase of
political action which, in retrospect, might be viewed as an
important land-mark in the history of the freedom struggle
in India, and an inspiration at least to fighters for
freedom elsewhere.

Several writers, including the eminent historians
Dr. Tarachand¹ and R.C. Mazumdar² have written books on the
freedom movement in India; P.C. Bamford³ and B.M. Taunk⁴
have written about the Non-co-operation Movement also. But
all these works have concentrated on all-India movements.

1. Dr. Tarachand, The History of Freedom Movement in India,
   (New Delhi; Govt. of India Publication).
2. R.C. Mazumdar, History of Freedom Movement in India,
   (Calcutta; Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya).
3. P.C. Bamford, Histories of the Non Co-operation and
   Khilafat Movements, (Delhi; Deep Publications).
4. B.M. Taunk, Non Co-operation Movement in Indian Politics,
   1919-1924: A historical Study, (Delhi; Sundeep
The story of the struggle in the Central Provinces and Berar has been conspicuously neglected as if it did not figure consistently or spectacularly in the freedom movement as did other provinces in India. In fact, till today C.P. and Berar remained a "peaceful province" to historians, "benighted and dull" to British Officers, "backward and hopeless" to national leaders.

The main purpose in selecting this topic has, therefore, been to assess the role of Madhya Pradesh in the historical Non-Co-operation Movement. But the task was not as easy as it was presumed in the beginning, because, till today, no work has been done on this particular topic. The only available book, describing the history of the freedom movement in Madhya Pradesh covers the period from 1857 to 1947 in which only a few pages are devoted to the chapter on the non-co-operation movement.

In the absence of any published material on the topic, this study has been mainly based on original records and interviews with the veteran freedom fighters.

First of all, I tried to meet the actual participants of non-co-operation movement whose number is being depleted by death. Fortunately I could meet some of the leaders of this movement in Madhya Pradesh, including the veteran

freedom fighter and former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh Pt. D.P. Mishra who gave me the authentic information about the nature of this movement in Madhya Pradesh. These freedom fighters gave me valuable suggestions which helped me to form the central idea of the Thesis and to assess the movement impartially. Besides the oral testimony, I have fully depended upon the original Government records preserved at the National Archives of India, New Delhi; M.P. Secretariat Records Room, Bhopal; Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi; and Maharashtra Government Secretariat, Nagpur; which include fortnightly reports on the internal political situation of Central Provinces and Berar; Government circulars, confidential reports, Reports of the Chief Commissioner of C.P. and Berar, Confidential reports of the district authorities, A.I.C.C. papers, Provincial Congress Committee papers, private papers and diaries of contemporary leaders and the reports of the native newspapers. I have also consulted the records available in some of the district collectorates of Madhya Pradesh. Besides these the published records and Annual Administration Reports of the government of C.P. and Berar provided me with valuable and authentic statistics related to my topic. The newspaper of the time have also proved to be of immense value as these have not only provided authentic information of the day to day development of this

6. Original or microfilm copies are available in the Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi; National Archives of India, New Delhi; and the Itavada Library, Nagpur.
movement in the province but also given a glimpse of the
great zeal, enthusiasm and devotion prevailing among all
the sections of the people. Certain books and unpublished
Ph.D. Theses have been useful as secondary sources to this
work.

The Non Co-operation movement was the first all-
India movement ever launched in India. During the movement
the country was profoundly stirred and an unprecedented wave
of enthusiasm ran through India's teeming millions.
Unparalleled scenes of fervour, devotion and sacrifice were
witnessed throughout the length and breadth of the country.
This irresistible mass movement was the expression of the
united will of the people of our country, without dis-
tinction of province, class, and creed. Therefore, to
trace the extent and magnitude of this all-India movement
in terms of a single province appeared to be as impossible
a venture as to separate the waters of a river from the
ocean it feeds. So, the narrative has inevitably drawn
within its scope the important all-India activities and
currents of thought which swelled the volume of this
movement. Of course I have dealt more with the practice
than with the theory but, incidentally, principles have
also been discussed in order to identify the main trend
of the movement.
II

In the present work I have dealt with the Madhya Pradesh as it existed during 1920–22 and which was known as Central Provinces and Berar.¹

**Salient Features of a Bi-lingual Province:**

**The Central Provinces and Berar**

**History of the Formation of C.P. and Berar:**

The Province was formed in 1861 by a merger of the Hindi territory of "Saugar and Nerudda"² (which till then had been a part of the North-western Provinces) and the Hindi and Marathi territories of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, which were passed on to the Government of India in 1854.³

In 1903, in order to give financial support to this amalgam, the Government of India added to it the wealthy Marathi area of Berar.

Geographically, the province consisted of two main parts: (i) Central Provinces and, (ii) Berar.

1. The Divisions and districts included in the Province are mentioned in Map No. A.


3. In 1864, the district of Nimar was added to the Province; *HPFM*, p. 111.
Geographical Location of Central Provinces:

The Central Provinces were situated in the centre of the Peninsula, and comprised a large portion of the bread belt of hill and plateau country which separated the plains of Hindustan from the Deccan. The province lay between $17^\circ 47'$ and $24^\circ 27'$ North and between $75^\circ 57'$ and $84^\circ 24'$ East. Its extreme length from north to south was 500 miles, and its breadth from east to west also about 500 miles; while the area was 113,285 square miles of which 28,109 were British territory while the remainder was governed by the Ruling Chiefs. The province was bounded on the North and North-west by the "Central India States", on the south by the Tapti river, the Satpura hills and the Wardha river and on the east by the Tributary states. The province was enclosed on nearly every side by Indian states, and was cut off geographically from the British province.

Geographical Location of Berar:

Berar lay between $19^\circ 35'$ and $21^\circ 47'$ North and $75^\circ 59'$ and $79^\circ 11'$ East. It consisted of a broad valley running east to west, between two tracts of hilly country, the Gawilgarh hills (The Melghat) on the north, and the Ajanta range (The Balaghat) on the south. The area of Berar was 17,767 square miles. It was bounded on the north and the

4. In 1921, the Government substituted the title of 'Ruling Chief' for Feudatory Chief.
east by the Central Provinces, along the greater part of its southern frontier, where it adjoined the Nizam's dominions; while on the west an artificial line cutting across the broad valley from the Satpura hills to the Ajanta range, and produced south-wards over those hills, separated it from the Khandesh district of Bombay and the Nizam's dominions.  

**Area and Population:**

The British districts of the Central Provinces occupied an area of 82,109 square miles with a population of 10,837,444; Berar of 17,767 square miles with a population of 3,075,316; and the Feudatory states of 31,176 square miles with a population of 2,066,900. The Central Provinces, in point of area came sixth and of population seventh among the provinces of India.

**Administrative Setup:**

Nagpur was the capital city of C.P. and Berar. The administration of the Province was carried on by the Governor, aided by a Secretary, a Junior Secretary, and

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7. Before the enforcement of Montague-Chelmsford reforms in 1920, the head of the Province was known as Chief Commissioner; Sir Frank Sly was Chief Commissioner of the Province in 1920 and later Governor from 1920 to 1924.
an Assistant Secretary. In addition to his general duties of superintendence, the Governor was also charged with the special supervision of the Revenue and Executive departments.

The province was divided for administrative purposes into five divisions, each controlled by a Commissioner, 22 districts, each in charge of a Deputy Commissioner, and 83 tahsils, each in charge of a Tahsildar. Incorporated with the districts were 106 Zamindaris and Jagirs, or large estates, separately assessed on somewhat favourable terms, and held generally on a privileged tenure. These were attached to the Hoshangabad, Chhindwara, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur and Drug districts. The Central Provinces also included the 15 Feudatory states of Makrai, Bastar, Kanker, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, Kawardha, Sakti, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Jashpur, Sirguja, Udaipur, Korea and Changbhakar forming the territories of the hereditary ruling chiefs, whose relations with the local Government were controlled by a political agent appointed for this purpose.

Society:

The province was the combination of two separate linguistic regions. The Central Provinces mainly consisted


9. In this work, place-names are spelt according to current usage in India, except in quotations using older forms; in referring to places which no longer exist, and in citing references which use another form.
of Hindi speaking districts, whereas Berar was predominantly a Marathi-speaking area. The inhabitants of the Hindi region were mostly people who had migrated from northern India, whereas the inhabitants of the Marathi-speaking region were migrants from western India. Each region had its own historical tradition that was connected with the country, either of its origin or its adoption.

As a result of various industries such as Cotton mills, mineral resources and better transportation facilities, the Marathi-region enjoyed a better economic position than that of Hindi region. In comparison with the Hindi region, the Marathi region also had better educational institutions, newspapers, and literary traditions.

The historical, social, cultural, and economic differences existing in these two regions resulted in the selection by each region of its political leaders from among its own ranks as those best qualified to advance their regional interests.

Before the commencement of the non-co-operation movement, the leaders of the Hindi region consisted of

10. With the exception of Nagpur Division, which included four Marathi-speaking districts, they were: Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara, and Chandrapur. Hereafter, 'Marathi' or 'Hindi' will be used for 'Marathi-speaking' or 'Hindi-speaking'; thus, Marathi or Hindi towns, districts, politicians, congress, region, etc.

11. As per the Census of 1921, out of a total population of 1,39,12,760 in the province, 75,07,158 spoke Hindi or Chhattisgarhi, and 47,73,561 spoke Marathi. (Census of India 1921 Vol. XI, Central Provinces and Berar, pt. II, Tables).
Kanya Kubja and other Hindi speaking Brahmins, Rajputs, and Marwaris, while in the Marathi region, they consisted of Maharashtrian Brahmins, Marathas, and Marwari traders. By 1918 politicians from the middle class also emerged as the leaders of society. The leaders in each region always tried to represent their social customs and tradition and thus maintained their regional identity. Till 1920, the leaders of the Marathi region led the provincial politics. Most of them were the followers of Tilak, whereas the Hindi region was mainly influenced by the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi.

12. Prominent leaders of the Hindi region include:
   Ravi Shankar Shukla, Kanya Kubja Brahmin, pleader, Raipur; Bishnu Dutta Shukul, Brahmin, Malquzar and landlord, Sihora (Jabalpur district); Thakur Chhedilal, Rajpur, Malquzar and barrister, Bilaspur; G.S. Gupta, Bania, pleader and Malquzar, Durg; Rai Sahab Mathura Prasad, Kayastha, landowner, Chhindwara; Beohar Rajendra Singh, Kayastha, Jagirdar and author, Jabalpur; G.C. Singhai, Bania, pleader, Damoh; Hari Singh Gour, Rajput, barrister, Saugor; Makanlal Chaturvedi, Brahmin, poet, Khandwa.

13. The leaders of the Marathi region:
   G.S. Khaparde, Dr. B.D. Moonje, Dr. Chokar, B.G. Khaparde, M.S. Aney, Jamnalal Bajaj, Wamanrao Joshi, Peonam Chand Ranka, Moreshwar Vasudeo Abhyankar.

14. The Government too encouraged the politicians to for linguistic and regional groups. In 1920, the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms established an elective legislature in which politicians formed territorial lobbies to secure the newly created places in the Ministry and the Executive Council.