CHAPTER IV

OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION

MOVEMENT AND GOVERNMENT REACTION
Madhya Pradesh played an active role in the nationwide Non-Co-operation Movement. Apart from strengthening the national programme, the provincial leaders also solved the local issues through non-violent means. Out of these local issues the 'Ratona slaughter house agitation' and the 'Jungle Satyagraha' in Chhattisgarh drawn the country-wide attention.

(1) Ratona Slaughter House Agitation:

An incident that served as pointer to the political awakening in Madhya Pradesh was the Ratona slaughter house movement of 1920-21.

In 1920, an English Company David Port Company of Calcutta, started constructing a slaughter house at Ratona, eight miles to the west of Saugor. It obtained, a Government licence on the name of 'Central Provinces Tanning and Trading Company' for slaughtering as many as 1,400 cattle per day.¹

The people of Saugor strongly opposed the plan of opening the slaughter house at Ratona. Pt. Makhanlal-

¹ MPDG, Saugor, p. 75; The proposal of Ratona slaughter house was accepted during the regime of Sir Benjamin Robertson, the then Chief Commissioner of C.P. and Berar.
Chaturvedi was the first man to raise the public feelings by writing a leading article in his nationalist weekly *Karamavir* on 17 July, 1920.² Pt. Makhnanlal Chaturvedi also persuaded Lala Lajpat Rai to move this matter before the special session of Congress to be held in Calcutta (September, 1920).³ Later on Chaturvedi made correspondence with all the leading figures of the Province⁴ and with the support of Diwan Bahadur Vallabh Das, Pt. Vishnu Dutt Shukul, and Pt. Kashiprasad Pandey, created an anti slaughter house atmosphere in the Province.⁵ The public feeling became so bitter that even the share-holders of the 'David Port Company', who stood for Council's elections, were badly defeated.⁶

A vigorous propaganda was launched through the articles of *Karamavir*. These articles were translated and published in many leading newspapers of India, resulted a wide publicity of the matter. The *Iai* (Jabalpur), *Yudha Samachar* (Chhindwara), *Amrit Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) and the local newspapers of Madhya Pradesh created atmosphere to work up a powerful agitation on this subject.⁷ A committee was also established for

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3. Ibid.


5. Interview with Pt. Kashiprasad Pandey (Sihora) on 31 May, 1981.

6. Ibid.

this purpose with Dr. Harisingh Gour and Dr. B.S. Moonje as President and Secretaries respectively. Anti slaughterhouse meetings were held throughout the Province. Two persons were arrested during a similar meeting held at Amraoti.

Soon the movement got wide publicity and the Government found it difficult to check it. Under these circumstances the Government was forced to order the closure of Ratona slaughter house, along with those at Damoh and Rahatgarh, in Saugor district.

The victory of Ratona slaughter house movement was the first victory of the people of Madhya Pradesh, ever achieved through non-violent means. It served as a stimulating factor in the political life of the District and State as a whole.

(ii) Jungle Satyagraha in Chhattisgarh:

In the pursuit of Non-Co-operation Movement, Dhamtari tehsil played a praiseworthy role. The famous Jungle Satyagraha was launched here at Negri and Sihawa in 1921-22.


12. Forest.
It was the movement against Forest Officers, who exploited the tribal labour by forcing them to serve in begar or at very nominal rate of wages. During the movement, the local agitators of Sihawa\textsuperscript{14} persuaded the villagers to "cut and remove each a head load of fuel from the reserved forest without licence.\textsuperscript{15}

The forest movement of Nagri was started in the first week of January 1922.\textsuperscript{16} On the third day of the commencement of 'Satyagraha', the Sub Divisional Officer, Bailey, Circle Inspector Janardan Prasad, and Sub Inspector Ram Dulare, reached Nagri with arms and ammunition. The houses of tribal people were searched. They were charged and punished for stealing firewood from the 'Preserved Forest'. The villagers and volunteers were assaulted and 33 volunteers were sentenced to three to six months rigorous imprisonment.\textsuperscript{17}

The people of Dhamtari tahsil strongly resented against the police atrocities. The leaders of Dhamtari organised a

\begin{footnotes}
\item [14] Prominent among them were: Shyamal Som, Pancham Singh, Mudra Thakur, Chali Thakur and Bisambhar Patel, \textit{Ibid.}, p.35.
\item [16] CPB HAP 1921-22 (Nagpur: 1923), Vol. I Pt II, p. 32.
\end{footnotes}
campaign of Non-Co-operation against the officials who came to investigate the theft of forest wood. The following report of the District Magistrate of Raipur describes this campaign, and demonstrates the extent to which notions of non-co-operation had penetrated in this region of Madhya Pradesh. The report says: 'By the date 24 February (1922) I arrived at Sihawa with Messrs Taylor and Bailey .... There was partial hartal (and) .... many difficulties had to be overcome; both watermen, for example, were withdrawn from the camp by volunteers on the second day. .... In Sihawa the children of almost every village have been taught to shout Gandhi ki jai as soon as the hoof beats of an officer's horse are heard.... . We found (also) that forest subordinates and practically all others were boycotted in all leading villages and were unable to obtain the services of barber, waterman, and dhobi.'

The non-co-operation campaign against the government officials continued for some time. Seeing the intensity of the movement the Government was compelled to take the proper steps to redress the grievances of the people of this area.

(iii) Boycott of Prince of Wales's Visit

Prince of Wales the heir-apparent to the British throne, visited India during 1921–22, professedly, with the object of congratulating the people of India for their


19. Later on became King Edward VIII.
"magnificent contribution" to the British war efforts. But the country had already been profusely rewarded in Jallianwala Bagh, and it wanted no more retribution.

The Indian National Congress decided to boycott the visit of Prince of Wales because the congress regarded the proposed visit as "a political move calculated to give strength and support to a system of government that designed to keep India as long as possible from her birth right of Swaraj."20

It was made absolutely clear that boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales had nothing to do with him personally. It was a political boycott. The Indian Government in consultation with the British Government brought the Prince of Wales to India, with the intention of exploiting the traditional loyalty of Indians to the crown and thus, arrest the growth of the Non-Co-operation Movement. Lord Curzon also, while speaking in the House of Lords said, that the presence of the Prince would make a good impression not only on the Princes of India but also on the masses. He described the tour as "fraught with great possibilities."21

20. Rajendra Prasad, "A Brief History of N.C.O.Ms." M.K. Gandhi, (ed.) Young India, 1921-1922, p. LII. It is interesting to note that the Congress never wanted to boycott the visit of Prince of Wales. The Congress had even passed a resolution to give a rousing welcome to the Prince during his visit to India (see, resolution of Indian National Congress, Amritsar, Dec. 1919, in H.N. Mitra, The Indian Annual Register 1920, p. 369). But the political developments during 1920-21 forced the congress to change its earlier decision.

Gandhiji's opposition to the visit of the Prince was not on account of any personal hostility towards him, but was motivated by political considerations. He made a subtle distinction between "boycotting the Prince and boycotting any welcome arranged for him." He was prepared to extend the heartiest welcome to the Prince if "he came or could come without official patronage and the protecting wings of the Government of India." While narrating the object behind the Prince's visit he clearly said, "I have no manner of doubt that the Prince's visit is being exploited for advertising the "benign" British rule in India. It is a crime against us if His Royal Highness is being brought for personal pleasure and sport when India is seeing with discontent when the masses are saturated with disaffection towards the system under which they are governed ..."

Preparations were made throughout India to boycott the forthcoming visit of Prince of Wales. The question of presenting the welcome address to the Prince was discussed both in Central and State Legislative Assemblies and Councils. K.B.L. Agnihotri of Bilaspur (C.P.) who was then the member of Central Legislative Assembly, strongly opposed the idea of presenting the welcome address to the Prince. In opposing the resolution he said: "From the attitude of the people as is apparent from the demonstrations all over the country, it is clear that the visit will be boycotted by the public whose representatives we claim to be. It is true, having the means

23. Ibid.
and power, this House can make the visit successful in some ways, but will that be regarded as having been done in our representative character or according to the wishes of the people? The passing of this resolution by this House, I respectfully beg to submit, will have the effect of further exasperating Indian public opinion.  

No doubt the resolution was passed in spite of this opposition. It was also discussed in the 'Central Provinces Legislative Council' at Nagpur. The proposal of presenting the welcome address to the Prince was strongly opposed by K.P. Pandey, M.L.C., who feelingly argued: "The Punjab grievances are not redressed. The Khilafat question is yet in the melting pot. Many of the non-co-operators are rotting in jail. . . . What has brought country to such a dire state of desperation? It is the policy of our Indian Government which has brought matters to this state . . . . I regret I can not support this resolution either on my behalf or on behalf of the constituency which I represent."  

While opposing the resolution R.M. Deshmukh, M.L.C., said, "The course of events in the country and the treatment within and without the borders of India meted out to Indian citizens has been, I submit, singularly unfortunate. There has been no change which would soothe our heavy and lacerated hearts . . . . under the circumstances, I find myself unable to support this resolution."  

D.K. Kane and Maganlal, also opposed the resolution in legislative council. 

The prominent members of the Nagpur Municipal Committee also strongly opposed the idea of presenting a welcome address to the Prince.  

25. Quoted from MPFM, p. 312.  
27. Ibid., p. 894.  
The C.P. Government adopted all the ways to gain the public sympathy in welcoming the Prince, but the public remained aloof from all these activities. The Maharastra narrated the position as follows: "The bureaucracy at Nagpur is making every possible arrangement for the reception of the Prince by erecting arches towers and the like particularly in the Civil Station, as if the rest of the city including Sitabaldi and the Craddock Town, would not prove cogential to the preparation for the Royal Visit. It is doubtful how far these inarticulate decorations would be able to receive and hail the Royal visitor in a filling manner.... But we trust that its attempts to drive the people in the mofussil to Nagpur like dumb cattle on the day of the Prince's visit would meet with failure on account of the N.C.O.M. that has reached every nook and corner in the Province." Another nationalist paper the Praja Paksha exerted the public opinion and called upon the people of Madhya Pradesh to boycott the visit of Prince of Wales and observe a complete hartal on 30 January 1922. The Rajasthan Kesari also while publishing a poem entitled "Reception to the Prince of Wales" frankly expressed that the people of C.P. would not welcome the Prince.

Hindi P.C.C. printed 40,000 handbills for the propaganda. Public meetings were also held every day in Nagpur to propagate the boycott of Prince. By the efforts of Congress workers a

32. NAI, IP, CPB., 1922, p. 536, Rajasthan Kesari (Wardha) 13 Nov. 1921.
34. NAI, Home Pol., F-18, CPB, F.4-2/Jar. 1922, p. 61.
successful hartal was observed throughout the Province on 17 November 1921. 35

Government adopted repressive measures to check the nationalist movement, consequently Dr. Paranjpe a popular leader of Nagpur was arrested before the Prince's visit to Nagpur. 36 Seven persons were arrested at Hoshangabad under section-144 C.P.C. for the publication of posters advocating the boycott of the Prince. 37 The C.P. Government made all the efforts to make the Prince's visit a success but it was counter-checked by the non-co-operators. In order to show a good gathering Government even offered free Railway passes to all the boys of Hindu High School, Amraoti, to attend the Welcome function at Nagpur. 38

At last the Prince of Wales visited Nagpur on 30 January 1922. A complete hartal was observed on this day throughout the Province. 39 All public functions connected with the Royal visit were boycotted by the people. All business was suspended and the people did not even stir out of their houses. 40 The atmosphere in Nagpur was so tense

35. NML, A.I.C.C. Papers, F-6/1922, "Report of the Non-Co-operation in Hindi C.P."
that the Reception to the Prince had to be held on the grounds of the Government House instead of in the Council Hall.\textsuperscript{41} Commenting on the success of the boycott Programme the Karamavir remarked "the masses joined the classes in the observance of 'hartal' is a proof positive of the growing influence of the National Congress and deep seated faith of the people in it."\textsuperscript{42} With the fear of public demonstrations the C.P. Government had to keep the Prince’s departure programme secret.\textsuperscript{43}

The visit of the Prince of Wales was an event of great importance for the Government; and it had made all efforts to make it a success, yet the attitude of people did not mollify. False rumours were spread to mislead the people and religious arrangements were advanced in order to make the visit a success. The C.P. Government issued a leaflet in the vernacular which was distributed in the schools. It explained that, "according to Hindu scriptures, the King’s son was a part of God, Therefore all Hindu boys should fulfil their religion by assembling to cheer the Prince of Wales."\textsuperscript{44} But all these efforts were of no avail. The people were annoyed at the repressive policies of the government. Therefore wherever the Prince went the people boycotted his visit. The

\textsuperscript{41} MPTM, p. 312.
\textsuperscript{42} NAI, IP., CFB, 1922, p. 67, Karamavir, 4 Feb. 1922.
\textsuperscript{44} Reginald Reynolds, "White Sahibs In India," (London: Socialist Book Club, 1946), p. 173.
Prince of Wales himself was not satisfied with the receptions he had from Indians.\(^45\)

It was in fact unfortunate that notwithstanding the pre-eminent consideration, the tour was decided. It was equally unfortunate that the repercussions it was feared it would evoke were in fact evoked. In this way the Prince's visit afforded a great fillip to the non-co-operation and boycott movement.

(iv) The Formation of Volunteer Organisations:

The volunteers of 'National Volunteer Corps' did commendable work during the Non-Co-operation Movement. With the efforts of these volunteers, the movement could run in a peaceful and organised way.

Establishment of National Volunteer Organisations all over India called non-violent volunteer corps. It minimised the possibility and intensity of violence and ensured absolute non-violent atmosphere in all political activities of the country.

The first All India Volunteers Conference was held under the Presidentship of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru,\(^46\) at Nagpur on 25 December, 1920.\(^47\) The Conference called upon the

\(^{45}\) S.D. Waley, Edwin Montagu: A Memoir and an Account of His Visit to India, p. 261.

\(^{46}\) Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964); One of the greatest freedom fighters of India. President, Indian National Congress in 1922-30 and 1952-53. Prime Minister of India, 1947-1964. Staunch believer in secularism and the policy of non-interference and peaceful co-existence.

\(^{47}\) Hitavada, 8 Jan. 1921, p. 7.
students to enlist themselves under volunteer corps. The students of C.P. responded to the call, and thousands of them became the members of this organisation.

Later on all the provincial organisations were brought together under the 'National Volunteer Corps' which was organised to undertake the execution of the programme of Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movement such as organising hartals, demonstrations, picketing against the sale of liquor and foreign cloth and to render social service. The Ahmedabad session of the Congress prescribed the following pledge to be signed by each volunteer:

"With God as witness I solemnly declare that,

1. I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.

2. So long as I remain a member of the Corps, I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that, as India is circumstanced, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsee, Christian or Jew.

3. I believe in, and shall endeavour always to promote, such unity.

4. I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.

48. The Tribune, "Resolution No. 4 of All India College," 29 Dec. 1920.

49. I.A.K. 1921-22, pt. I "Resolution on volunteers, of the congress working committee meeting in Bombay on 22 and 23 Nov. 1921."
5. As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with, and endeavour to render service to, the submerged classes.

6. I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board of the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

7. I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.

8. In the event of my imprisonment, I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.\^\textsuperscript{50}

The leaders of Madhya Pradesh launched a campaign of enlisting members to the national Volunteer Corps. Pt. Makanlal Chaturvedi, through his nationalist paper, made a pathetic appeal to its countrymen to join the volunteer corps.\^\textsuperscript{51} In the same paper Seth Govind Das also exhorted the younger generation to become the members of volunteer corps and said, "Histories of all the nations of the world bear testimony to the fact that it is the younger generation, which is at once the hope and glory of a nation. There is no nation whose rise is not directly traced to the labours of its younger generation. In India too the time has come when the students ought to realise their responsibilities towards their motherland. True, they have made considerable sacrifices but that is not sufficient. Our present circumstances


\^\textsuperscript{51} Editorial, "When will the Central Provinces Wake Up?" \textit{Karamavir}, 24 Dec. 1921.
require that every student should leave his school and college and enlist himself as a national volunteer. I specially appeal to the youth of the Central Provinces to step out in to the political arena and forthwith enlist themselves as volunteers so that this province may not lag behind in the religious and peaceful struggle going on in the country."  

With the result of viruous propaganda launched by E. Raghavendra Rao, Seth Govind Das, Ravishankar Shukla, Dr. B. S. Moonje and Vinoba Bhave, hundreds of students of Madhya Pradesh joined the National Volunteer Corps. Heavy enrollment was specially seen at Nagpur, Daryapur, and Betul. On seeing the large number of members joining the volunteer corps, the Nagpur P.C.C. got the permission to establish a volunteer's training school at Nagpur. In this school, training on different activities of Non-Co-operation Movement was given to the volunteers. The students of this Training School took an active part in the Non-Co-operation Movement. Teachers were also appointed in Hindi region to give the similar training to the volunteers.

52. Ibid., 14 Jan. 1922.


56. Ibid., F 1/1922 Pt I, pp. 199-201.

The activities of the volunteers began to arouse the concern of the Government of India and its attitude began to harden in the course of the progress of the Non-Co-operation Movement. The most important aspect of the activities of the volunteers was picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth dealers in connection with the boycott programme. The volunteers usually stood in front of shops and resorted to moral persuasion. Their appeals in most cases proved successful and they performed their work peacefully; but in some cases, when the police intervened, fracas took place at different places.58

Government adopted repressive measures to check the activities of volunteer corps. Anadi-Nagarchi a volunteer, of Mauza Bora, a tahsil of Gondia, was kicked by the Police on the charge of joining the volunteer corps.59 The Central Government too suggested to "take vigorous action to oppose any campaign of unlawful picketing and to make it clear that disorders arising out of this campaign will not be tolerated.60 Positive steps were suggested to the local authorities in order to strengthen their law and order machinery and to apprehend and prosecute volunteers who indulge in such picketing.

60. NAI, Home Pol. F-170 of 1921, Home Sec. Govt. of India to all local Governments, Dt. 23 July 1921.
But apart from the repressive policy of the Government the members of the National Volunteer Corps continued their efforts and whole heartedly supported the programme of Non co-operation and strengthen the cause of freedom struggle in Madhya Pradesh.

(v) The No-Tax Campaign:

All the items of the non-co-operation programme were more or less related to the preparatory stage, it was only the Civil Disobedience and non payment of taxes that could finally decide the issue. It was the extreme measure of non-co-operation programme. The no-tax campaign was aimed to overthrow the British administration from its root level.

The non-cooperator very well realized that no one was bound to obey a constitution in the framing of which he had no hand. From such a point of view India had no constitution. No government had a right to tax a people unless it worked according to their wishes "no representation, no - taxation."

Of course the no-tax campaign did not gather much momentum in Central Provinces and Berar; but still it made an effect on the over all revenue collection of the province. As per the official statement during the period of Non Co-operation Movement "the net realizable demand of excise revenue fell from rupees 1,51,00,000 to rupees 1,07,00,000 and its incidence per head of the population from annas 12 to annas 7-10; collection amounted to rupees 1,04,49,000 against
rupees 1,45,11,000. Likewise the total area held by tenants also decreased by 35,872 acres.

With the result of no-tax campaign the farmers of Seoni, Bhandara and Yeotmal districts were refused taccavi loans from the Government. But the gradual efforts of the non-co-operating farmers continued, and government was finally forced to abolish the payment of Balutamahar from farmers.

(vi) Intensification of Non-Co-operation Movement in Madhya Pradesh:

The year 1921, witnessed the intensification of non-co-operation and boycott movements in C.P. and Berar. The District Political Conferences became a regular feature in these days and helped to spread political awakening in rural areas. These conferences were held at Chhindwara, Balaghat, Amraoti, Chanda, Damoh, Narsinghpur and Saugor. These meet-

62. Ibid., Year 1922-23 (Nagpur, 1924), pt. II, p. 11.
63. Karamviri, 9 July 1921.
64. CP1RAP 1922-23 (Nagpur, 1924), pt. II, p. 10.
65. Lokmat (Yeotmal), 29 April 1921.
66. CP1CP, 1921, Vol. II, p. 188, the farmers of the following villages of Yeotmal district were refused loan or any other sort of help from the Government: Darwha, Ladhe, Far, Digras, Jawala, Arni, Mahagaon, Kasba! Information given to D.K. Kane, MLC, in the proceedings of C.P. Legislative Council, on 2 Aug. 1921.
-ings, together with the annual Provincial Conferences held at different places by turns, served to educate and energise the people and hastened the transformation of the political struggle from a middle class movement to a mass movement. The new mood was best reflected in the Hindi C.P. Provincial Political Conference held at Jabalpur in May 1921. While presiding over the conference, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao exposed the hollowness of Government Reforms and said, "We hold the view that the present system of Government is morally indefensible, politically insensitive and is intended to emasculate our manhood and to complete the process of our economic subjection." The conference also set up a committee for Mahakoshal with Dr. Rao as president and prepared a programme for intensive political propaganda throughout the area.

Soon after the leaders mobilised the public enthusiasm and support in their respective areas and the programme of non-co-operation was carried out with redoubled efforts.

**Government Repression to Check the Movement:**

Government of C.P. and Berar took it as a challenge and arrested hundreds of non-co-operators along with their leaders. The leaders, Tajuddin, Wamanrao Joshi

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68. MPPM, p. 308.
69. NML, MPCC Papers in A.I.C.C. file No. 1/1921; MPPM, loc.sit.
70. For the details of the arrests and section of IPC or CPC, please see Appendix K; In all 258 persons were arrested in 1921, JAL, Home Pol. 28 of 1922, pp. 20-21.
Bhagwandin\textsuperscript{73}, Makhanlal Chaturvedi,\textsuperscript{74} Dr. Chelkar,\textsuperscript{75} and Sunderlal\textsuperscript{76} were prosecuted on the charge of preaching disaffection towards the Government. Numbers of criminal proceedings instituted in Amraoti, Akola, Yeotmal and Buldhana districts.\textsuperscript{77} The punitive police was imposed in Nagpur, Bhandara, Raipur and Bilaspur districts.\textsuperscript{78}

In spite of great sufferings, the prosecuted leaders did not defend their cases. Makhanlal Chaturvedi exhorted the people by his statement before the court. He said, "I have a clear conscience and belief that in doing my honourable and legitimate duty towards my country I have done no wrong under any moral laws. I am not at all to seek justice from this or for the matter of that, from the British court. I have been prompted to make this statement in furtherance of my sacred duty of exposing the moral wickedness underlying the system of the Government. I will do no better service to relieve my motherland of subjection then to cheerfully and patiently suffer for it. I commend this course of conduct to my comrades."\textsuperscript{79} Sunderlal also, cheerfully accepted the punishment and wrote to Gandhiji that, "To die in jail or to be hammered into shape (after the new style) for the service of humanity is equally pleasing to me ..."\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{73} Sankalpa (Nagpur), 9 April 1921; Karamavir, 10 April 1921.
\textsuperscript{74} Karamavir, 18 June 1921; Young Patriot, 11 July 1921.
\textsuperscript{75} Maya, 23 Aug. 1921.
\textsuperscript{76} Young India, 25 May 1921.
\textsuperscript{77} Prajakshena (Akola), 12 June 1921; Appendix K and N
\textsuperscript{78} Information given to B.P. Pachory M.L.C. on 5 Sept. 1922, CPIC 1922, Vol. II, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{80} Young India, 13 July 1921.
Gandhiji highly appreciated the example set-forth by the leaders of Madhya Pradesh and said, "I adhere to the belief, so often expressed by me that Pandit Sunderlal and now Pandit Makhanlal (Chaturvedi) are serving the community better being in jail for the sake of conscience than they would have being free." 81

In the meantime the people came to know about the ill treatment of political prisoners in jails. People strongly resented over this issue. 82 The contemporary newspapers criticised the jail authorities. 83 The Karamavir harshly commented, "It is indeed, most barbarous and brutal to ill treat a political opponent in jail and put him to hard labour. We are not at all surprising to see the bureaucracy practicing such inhuman acts...." 84 The issue was also discussed in the C.P. Legislative Council. Speaking on this motion, Mohamad Ahmad referred to the callous manner in which highly respected leaders had been treated by the Police. He said: "A political offender when arrested is, as a rule, handcuffed and paraded along the streets. I do not know if this is done with a view to strike terror in the minds of the people and to inspire awe and fear regarding the might of the Government. Let me humbly inform the mighty Government that such a course seeks rather to create a feeling of defiance and bitterness than a feeling of awe and fear. The people have begun to believe that 'iron bars do not make a prison', and that the country's cause requires that they should manfully suffer imprisonment...." 85

82. Interview with K.P. Pandey (Sihora) on 31 May 1981.
83. Lokmat (Yeotmal), 21 Oct. 1921.
84. Karamavir (Jabalpur), 7 Jan. 1922.
85. MPFM, p. 316.
K.P. Pandey also criticised the Government and said, "If the Government does not give up its present repressive policy at an early date, I am quite sure that it would drive all the co-operators in to the camp of non-co-operat~ors. In view of the great dissatisfaction prevailed among the people, the Government was finally bound to liberalise the rules for treatment of political prisoners in Central Provinces jails. The growing popularity of non-co-operation movement persuaded the C.P. government to adopt unjust means to check the movement. Consequently the students of Hoshangabad High School were tormented for refusing to salute the Union-Jack. The Narsinghpur District Political Conference was disturbed by throwing the human excreta on the pandal. The government servants and malguzars etc. were prohibited to attend the non-co-operation meetings. Moreover, the Magistrates were

87. Appendix M.
88. Government of India had already suggested to stop the use of Post and Telegraph system for the advertisement of non-cooperation activities; NAI, Home Pol. File 244-257, p.6, telegram No. 4440, Simla, Dt. 30 Oct. 1920. Also Governor of C.P. & Berar’s Message Dt. 2 March 1921; CPLIC 1921, Vol. I, p. 83.
90. The Deputy Commissioner of Narsinghpur was suspected for this action, Young India, 26 Jan. 1922.
91. CPLIC 1921, Vol. II, p. 487, member was J.P. Jaiswal. Their attendance is banned under Government Servants Conduct Rule, and vide circular No. R-182/IV, GAD, Govt. of C.P.B., 4t. 15 June 1920.
empowered to attend the N.C.O. meetings and arrest the speakers for treasonable speeches. 92 To weaken the morale, the popular leaders were publically insulted. 93 All these measures further roused the people's indignation against the bureaucracy.

The myth of breaking down people through suppression and punishment was totally exploded. The leaders and volunteers of non-co-operation movement continued their campaign with great fervour, devotion and sacrifice. 94


93. Jamnalal Bajaj was insulted at Wardha railway station, Rajasthan Kesari (Marcha), 12 June 1921.

94. The P.C.C. (Hindi) published two pamphlets, and distributed the following posters etc. towards N.C.O. propaganda:

- 5,000 big posters regarding Boycott of foreign cloth
- 10,000 hand bills
- 3,000 big posters regarding the boycott of Prince of Wales's visit; IML, A.I.C.C. papers, F-6, 1922, p. 201.

The Nashtriya Hindi Mandir, under the presidency of Seth Loving Das also published national literature, please see, Shri Sharda, June 1921, pp. 185-86; Ibid., 3 Sept. 1921, pp. 374-375.