

APPOLO STUDY CENTRE

MODERN HISTORY & INM TEST - 2

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8th History

1. Advent of the Europeans

Introduction

Many of the foreign travellers, traders, missionaries and civil servants who came to India in the 18th and 19th centuries have left accounts of their experiences and their impressions of various parts of the country. To know the events of modern period, we have abundant sources at the international, national, and regional level.

Sources of Modern India

The sources for the history of modern India help us to know the political, socio-economic and cultural developments in the country. From the very beginning, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the Danes, and the English recorded their official transactions in India on state papers. Well preserved records are very valuable to know about their relations in India. The archives at Lisbon, Goa, Pondicherry and Madras were literally store houses of precious historical information's. All these sources must, however, is critically evaluated before they are used for historical writing.

Kinds of Sources

We can write history with the help of sources like written sources and material sources.

Written Sources

After the advent of the printing press, numerous books were published in different languages. Hence, people began to acquire knowledge easily in the fields like art, literature, history and science. The Europeans came to know about the immense Wealth of India from the accounts of Marco Polo and similar sources. The wealth of India attracted Europeans to this country. AnandaRangam is a name to conjure with in the annals of Tamil history. He was a Dubash (Translator) in Pondicherry to assist French trade in India. He recorded the events that took place in French India. His diaries contain the daily events from 1736 to 1760, which are the only written secular record available during that period. His diaries reveal his profound capacity for political judgment, and is a most valuable source of history. Written sources include Literatures, Travel Accounts, Diaries, Auto Biographies, Pamphlets, Government Documents and Manuscripts.

Archives

This is the place where historical documents are preserved. The National Archives of India (NAI) is located in New Delhi. It is the chief storehouse of the records of the government of India. It has main source of information for understanding past administrative machinery as well as a guide to the present and future generations related to all matters. It contains authentic evidence for knowing the political, social, economic,

cultural and scientific life and activities of the people of India. It is one of the largest Archives in Asia.

Tamil Nadu Archives

The Madras Record Office, presently known as Tamil Nadu Archives (TNA) is located in Chennai. It is one of the oldest and largest document repositories in Southern India. The most of the records in the Tamil Nadu archives are in English. The collections include series of administrative records in Dutch, Danish, Persian and Marathi. Few documents are in French, Portuguese, Tamil and Urdu.

Tamil Nadu Archives has 1642 volumes of Dutch records which relate to Cochin and Coromandal coast. These records cover the period from 1657 - 1845. The Danian records cover the period from 1777 - 1845. Dodwell prepared with great effort and the first issue of the calendar of Madras records was published in 1917. He was highly interested in encouraging historical researches. He opened a new chapter in the History of Tamil Nadu Archives.

Material Sources

Many paintings and statues are the main sources of modern Indian history. They give us a lot of information and the achievement of national leaders and historical personalities. Historical buildings like St. Francis Church at Cochin, St. Louis Fort at Pondicherry, St. George Fort in Madras, St. David fort in Cuddalore, India Gate, Parliament House, President House in New Delhi, etc are different styles and techniques of Indian architecture. Other objects and materials of religious, cultural and historical value are collected and preserved in Museums. These museums help to preserve and promote our cultural heritage. The national museum in Delhi is the largest museum in India which was established in 1949.

Coins are a good source to know about administrative history. The first coinage in modern India under the crown was issued in 1862. Edward VII ascended after Queen Victoria and the coins issued by him bore his model. The Reserve Bank of India was formally set up in 1935 and was empowered to issue Government of India notes. The first paper currency issued by RBI in January 1938 was 5 rupee notes bearing the portrait of King George VI.

Advent of the Europeans

After the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in A.D (CE) 1453, the land route between India and Europe was closed. The Turks penetrated into North Africa and the Balkan Peninsula. It became imperative on the part of the European nations to discover new sea routes to the East.

Portugal

Amongst the entire European nations Portugal was the foremost to make a dynamic attempt to discover a sea route to India. Prince Henry of Portugal, who is commonly known as the “Navigator”, encouraged his countrymen to take up the adventurous life of exploring the unknown regions of the world. Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese sailor reached the southern-most point of Africa in 1487. He was patronized by the King John II.

Vasco da Gama

Vasco da Gama, another Portuguese sailor reached the southern-most point of Africa and he continued his journey to Mozambique from where he sailed to India with the help of an Indian pilot. In A.D (CE) 1498, he reached Calicut, where he was cordially received by King Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut. A second Portuguese navigator, Pedro Alvares Cabral, sailed towards India, following the route discovered by Vasco da Gama with 13 ships and a few hundred soldiers in 1500. On his arrival at Calicut, there arose conflicts between the Portuguese and king Zamorin.

Vasco da Gama came to India for the second time in 1501 with 20 ships and founded a trading centre at Cannanore. One after another, they established factories at Calicut and Cochin. King Zamorin attacked the Portuguese in Cochin, but was defeated. Cochin was the first capital of the Portuguese East India Company. The third voyage of Vasco da Gama was in 1524. He soon fell ill, and in December 1524 he died in Cochin.

Francisco de Almeida (1505-1509)

In 1505, Francisco de Almeida was sent as the first Governor for the Portuguese possessions in India. Almeida had the aim of developing the naval power of the Portuguese in India. His policy was known as the “Blue Water Policy”. As Portuguese tried to break the Arab's monopoly on Indian Ocean trade, it negatively impacted on the trade interests of Egypt and Turkey. Sultans of Bijapur and Gujarat were also apprehensive of the expansion of Portuguese control of ports which led to an alliance between Egypt, Turkey and Gujarat against Portuguese invaders. In a naval battle fought near Chaul, the combined Muslim fleet won a victory over the Portuguese fleet under Almeida's son who was killed in the battle. Almeida defeated the combined Muslim fleet in a naval battle near Diu, and by the year 1509, Portuguese claimed the naval supremacy in Asia.

Alfonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515)

The real founder of the Portuguese power in India was Alfonso de Albuquerque. He captured Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur in November 1510. In 1515, he established the Portuguese authority over Ormuz in Persian Gulf. He encouraged the marriages of the Portuguese with Indian women. He maintained friendly relations with Vijayanagar Empire.

Nino de Cunha (1529-1538)

Governor Nino de Cunha moved capital from Cochin to Goa in 1530. In 1534, he acquired Bassein from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. In 1537, the Portuguese occupied Diu. Later, they wrested Daman from the local chiefs of Gujarat. In 1548, they occupied Salsette.

Thus during the 16th century, Portuguese succeeded in capturing Goa, Daman, Diu, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay on the western coast, Hooghly on the Bengal coast and San Thome on the Madras coast and enjoyed good trade benefits. The Portuguese brought the cultivation of tobacco to India. Due to the influence of Portuguese Catholic religion spread in certain regions on India's western and eastern coasts. The printing press was set up by the Portuguese at Goa in 1556. A scientific work on the Indian medicinal plants by a European writer was printed at Goa in 1563. In 17th century, the Portuguese power began to decline to the Dutch and by 1739 the Portuguese pockets became confined to Goa, Diu and Daman.

The Dutch

The Dutch followed the Portuguese into India. In 1602, the United East India company of Netherlands was formed and it received the sanction of their government to trade in East India. After their arrival in India, the Dutch founded their first factory in Masulipatnam, (Andhra Pradesh) in 1605. This company captured Amboyna from the Portuguese in 1605 and established its supremacy in the Spice Islands. They captured Nagapatnam near Madras from the Portuguese and made this place as their strong hold in South India. At first, Pulicat was their headquarters. Later, they shifted it to Nagapatnam in 1690. The most important Indian commodities traded by the Dutch were silk, cotton, indigo, rice and opium. They monopolized the trade in black pepper and other spices. The important factories in India were Pulicat, Surat, Chinsura, Kasim bazaar, Patna, Nagapatnam, Balasore and Cochin.

The English East India Company remained engaged in rivalry with the Portuguese and the Dutch throughout the 17th century. In 1623, the Dutch cruelly killed ten English traders and nine Javanese in Amboyna. This incident accelerated the rivalry between the two Europeans companies. Their final collapse came with their defeat by the English in the Battle of Bedera in 1759. The Dutch lost their settlements one by one to the English and was completely wiped out by the year 1795.

Dutch in Tamil Nadu

The Portuguese who established a control over Pulicat since 1502 were over thrown by the Dutch. In Pulicat, the Dutch built the fort Geldria in 1613. This fort was once the seat of Dutch power. The Dutch established their settlement at Pulicat in 1610. Diamonds were exported from Pulicat to the western countries. The other Dutch colonial forts and possessions were Nagapattinam, Punnakayal, Porto Novo, Cuddalore and Devanampatinam;

The British

On 31st December 1600, Elizabeth, the Queen of England granted a charter to the governor and company of Merchants of London to trade with East Indies. The Company was headed by a Governor and a court of 24 directors. Captain Hawkins visited Jahangir's court in 1608 to get certain concessions for the company. He secured permission to raise a settlement at Surat. However, the Emperor cancelled the permission under pressure from the Portuguese.

In 1612, the English Captain Thomas Best, inflicted a severe defeat over the Portuguese in a naval battle near Surat. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir permitted the English to establish their factory in 1613 at Surat, which initially became the headquarters of the English in western India. Captain Nicholas Downton won another decisive victory over the Portuguese in 1614. These events enhanced the British prestige at the Mughal court. In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent to Jahangir's court by King James I of England. He remained at Agra for three years and succeeded in concluding a commercial treaty with the emperor. Before the departure of Sir Thomas Roe, the English had established their trading centres at Surat, Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach.

On the coastline of the Bay of Bengal, the English established their first factory in 1611 at Masulipatam, an important port in the territory of the kingdom of Golconda. In 1639, the English merchant, Francis Day, obtained Madras as a lease from ChennappaNayaka, the ruler of Chandragiri. The East India Company built its famous factory known as Fort St. George in Madras, which became their headquarters for the whole of the eastern belt and first fort built by British. King Charles II of England received the island of Bombay as a part of his dowry from the Portuguese King, on the occasion of his marriage with Catherine. In 1668, the East India Company acquired the island at an annual rent of £ (pounds) 10 from Charles II.

In 1690 a factory was established at Sutanuti by Job Charnock. The Zamindari of the three villages of Sutanuti, Kalikata and Govindpur was acquired by the British in 1698. These villages later grew into the city of Calcutta. The factory at Sutanuti was fortified in 1696 and this new fortified settlement was named as 'Fort William' in 1700. After the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and the Battle of Buxar in 1764, the Company became a political power. India was under the East India Company's rule till 1858 after it came under the direct administration of the British Crown.

Danish

On March 17, 1616 the King of Denmark, Christian IV, issued a charter and created a Danish East India company. They established settlement at Tranqueber (Tamilnadu) in 1620 and Serampore (Bengal) in 1676. Serampore was their headquarters in India. They failed to strengthen themselves in India and they sold all their settlement in India to the British in 1845.

The French

The French East India Company was formed in 1664 by Colbert, a Minister of King Louis XIV. In 1667, a French expedition came to India under Francois Caron. France was the last European country to come India as traders. Caron founded the first French factory in India at Surat. In 1669, Marcara founded second French factory at Masulipatam by securing a patent from the Sultan of Golkonda. In 1673, the settlement of Pondicherry was founded by Martin under a grant from Sher Khan Lodi, the ruler of Bijapur. Pondicherry became the most important and prosperous French settlement in India. A fort known as St. Louis was built by Francois Martin in Pondicherry. In 1673, the French obtained permission from Shaista Khan, the Mughal Subedar (governor) of Bengal to establish a township at Chandranagore, near Calcutta.

The French East India Company established factories in different parts of India, particularly in the coastal regions such Mahe, Karaikal, Balasore and Qasim Bazar. These were a few important trading Centers of the French East India Company. The vision of the French power in India was further reinforced by the appointment of Joseph Francois Dupleix as the Governor of the French East India Company in 1742. He succeeded Dumas as the French governor of Pondicherry.

Conclusion

Since the Portuguese were eliminated by the Dutch and the later extinguished by the English, the French were left to face the English for control over trade and territory. The French neglected trade and entangled themselves in wars with Indian and other European powers. The three “Carnatic wars” ruined the French and rejuvenated the English to embark on a systematic territorial expansion. The comparative success of the British over the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danish, and the French was largely due to their commercial competitiveness, spirit of supreme sacrifice, government support, naval superiority, national character and their ascendancy in Europe.

NOTE

- ❖ George William Forrest can rightly be called as the Father of National Archives of India.
- ❖ In 1690, Fort St. David’s was built by the British in Cuddalore.
- ❖ Danish called Tranqueber as Danesborg. The king of Denmark sent Ziegenbalg to India. Ziegenbalg set up a printing press at Tranqueber (Tarangambadi).
- ❖ **The Swedish:** The Swedish East India Company was founded in Gothenburg, Sweden, in 1731 for the purpose of conducting trade with the Far East. The venture was inspired by the success of the Dutch East India Company and the British East India Company.

2. From Trade to Territory

Introduction

In the 15th Century, Europe witnessed an era of geographical discoveries through land and sea routes. In 1498, Vasco Da Gama of Portugal discovered a new sea route from Europe to India. The main motive behind those discoveries was to maximize profit through trade and to establish political supremacy. The rule of East India Company in India became effective after the conquest of Bengal. The main interest of the company in India was territorial and commercial expansions.

The Black Hole tragedy (1756)

There was a small dungeon room in the Fort William in Calcutta, where troops of the Nawab of Bengal Siraj-ud-daula, held 146 British Prisoners of war for one night. Next day morning, when the door was opened 123 of the prisoners found dead because of suffocation.

Establishment of Political Power by the English East India Company

Battle of Plassey (1757)

Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal died in 1756 and his grandson Siraj-ud-daula ascended the throne of Bengal. The British taking advantage of the New Nawab's weakness and unpopularity seized power. So, Siraj-ud-daulah decided to teach them (British) a lesson by attacking over their political settlement of Calcutta. The Nawab captured their factory at Kasimbazar. On 20th June 1756, Fort William surrendered but Robert Clive recovered Calcutta.

On 9th February 1757, Treaty of Alinagar was signed, where by Siraj-ud-daulah conceded practically all his claims. British then captured Chandranagore, the French settlement, on March 1757. The battle of Plassey took place between the British East India Company and the Nawab of Bengal and his French allies. It was fought on 23 June 1757. The English East India Company's forces under Robert Clive defeated the forces of Siraj-ud-daulah. After the collapse of Bengal, the company gained a huge amount of wealth from the treasury of Bengal and used it to strengthen its military force. The beginning of the British political sway over India may be traced from the Battle of Plassey. It was the most decisive battle that marked the initiation of British rule in India for the next two centuries.

Battle of Buxar (1764)

After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the company was granted undisputed right to have free trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It received the place of 24 parganas in Bengal.

Mir Jafar (1757 to 1760) the Nawab of Bengal however fell into arrears and was forced to abdicate in favor of his son in law, Mir Qasim.

Mir Qasim ceded Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong. He shifted his capital to from Mursidabad to Monghur. Mir Qasim soon revolted as he was angry with the British for misusing the destakes (free duty passes). However, having been defeated by the British, he fled to Awadh, where he formed a confederacy with Shuja-ud-daulah and Shah Alam.

The Battle was fought on October 22, 1764 at Buxar, a “small fortified town” within the territory of Bihar, located on the banks of the Ganges river about 130 kilometers west of Patna. It was a decisive victory for the British East India Company. Shuja-ud-daulah, Shah Alam and Mir Qasim were defeated by General Hector Munro. Mir Jafar was again placed on the throne. On Mir Jafar’s death, his son Nizam-ud-daulah was placed on the throne and signed Allahabad Treaty on 20th February 1765 by which the Nawab had to disband most of his army and to administer Bengal through a Deputy Subahdar nominated by the company. Robert Clive concluded two separate treaties with Shuja-ud-daula and Shah Alam II. Dual System of government started in Bengal.

Carnatic wars

In the 18th century, three Carnatic wars were fought between various Indian rulers, British and French East Indian Company on either side. Traditionally, Britain and France were rival countries in Europe. Their rivalry continued in India over trade and territories. It resulted in a series of military conflicts in the south known as the Carnatic wars which spanned from 1746 to 1763. These wars resulted in establishment of political supremacy of British East Indian Company

First Carnatic war

On the outbreak of the Austrian war of succession in Europe the English and the French were on opposite camps increased the hostility between these two forces. The echo of this war was felt in India.

Battle of Adayar (1746)

The First Carnatic War is remembered for the battle of San. Thome (Madras) fought between the French forces and the forces of Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Carnatic, who appealed the British for help. A small French army under Captain Paradise defeated the strong Indian army under Mahfuz Khan at San. Thome on the banks of the River Adayar. This was the first occasion when the superiority of the well-trained and well-equipped European army over the Indian army was proved beyond doubt.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748)

The war was ended by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which brought the Austrian War of Succession to an end. Under the terms of this treaty, Madras was returned back to the English, and the French, in turn, got their territories in North America.

Second Carnatic War

The main cause of this war was the issue of succession in Carnatic and Hyderabad. Anwaruddin Khan and Chanda Sahib were the two claimants to the throne of Carnatic, whereas Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang were claimants to the throne of Hyderabad. The French supported Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, while the British supported the other claimants with the objective of keeping their interest and influence in the entire Deccan region.

Battle of Ambur (1749)

Finally Dupleix, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang formed a grand alliance and defeated and killed Anwar-ud-din Khan, the Nawab of Carnatic, on 3 August 1749 in the Battle of Ambur. Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwar-ud-din, fled to Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib became the Nawab of Carnatic and rewarded the French with the grant of 80 villages around Pondicherry.

In the Deccan, too, the French defeated and killed Nasir Jang and made Muzaffar Jang as the Nizam. The new Nizam gave ample rewards to the French. He appointed Dupleix as the governor of all the territories in south of the river Krishna. Muzaffar Jang was assassinated by his own people in 1751. Salabat Jang, brother of Nasir Jang was raised to the throne by Bussy. Salabat Jang granted the Northern Circars excluding the Guntur District to the French. Dupleix's power was at its zenith by that time.

Battle of Arcot (1751)

In the meantime, Dupleix sent forces to besiege the fort of Trichy where Muhammad Ali had taken shelter. Chanda Sahib also joined with the French in their efforts to besiege Trichy. Robert Clive's proposal was accepted by the British governor, Saunders, and with only 200 English and 300 Indian soldiers, Clive was entrusted the task of capturing Arcot. His attack proved successful. Robert Clive defeated the French at Arni and Kaveripak. With the assistance of Lawrence, Chanda Sahib was killed in Trichy. Muhammad Ali was made the Nawab of Arcot under British protection. The French Government recalled Dupleix to Paris.

Treaty of Pondicherry (1755)

Dupleix was succeeded by Godeheu who agreed the treaty of Pondicherry. According to it, both the powers agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of the native states. They were to retain their old positions. New forts should not be built by either power. The treaty made the British stronger. The second Carnatic war also proved inconclusive. The English proved their superiority on land by appointing Mohammad Ali as the Nawab of Carnatic. The French were still very powerful in Hyderabad. However, the predominant position of the French in the Deccan peninsula was definitely undermined in this war.

Third Carnatic War

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe led to the third Carnatic war in India. By this time, Robert Clive established the British power in Bengal by the Battle of Plassey which provided them with the necessary finance for the third Carnatic war. Count de Lally was deputed from France to conduct the war from the French side. He easily captured Fort St. David. He ordered Bussy to come down to the Carnatic with his army, to make a united effort to push the British out of the Carnatic. Taking advantage of Bussy's departure, Robert Clive sent Colonel Forde from Bengal to occupy the Northern Circars (parts of Andhraparadesh and Odhisha).

Battle of Wandiwash (1760)

The decisive battle of the third Carnatic war was fought on January 22, 1760. The English army under General Eyre Coote totally routed the French army under Lally. Within a year the French had lost all their possessions in India. Lally returned to France where he was imprisoned and executed.

Treaty of Paris (1763)

The Seven Years' War was concluded by the treaty of Paris. The French settlements including Pondicherry were given back to the French. But they were forbidden from fortifying those places. They were not allowed to gather armies. The French dominance in India practically came to an end.

Mysore and its Resistance to British Expansion

The state of Mysore rose to prominence in the politics of South India under the leadership of Haider Ali (1760-82). He and his son Tipu Sultan (1782-99) played a prominent role against the expansion of British Empire in India. Both of them faced the English with undoubted courage. In 1761, he became the de facto ruler of Mysore. He also proved to be the most formidable enemy of the English in India.

The First Anglo-Mysore War

Causes

- ✓ Haider Ali's growing power and his friendly relations with the French became a matter of concern for the English East India Company.
- ✓ The Marathas, the Nizam and the English entered into a triple alliance against Haider Ali.

Course

The Nizam, with the help of British troops under General Joseph Smith, invaded Mysore in 1767. Haider Ali defeated English and captured Mangalore. In March 1769, he attacked Madras and forced the English to sign a treaty on 4 April 1769.

Treaty of Madras (1769)

At the end of the war, the Treaty of Madras was signed between Haider Ali and British East India Company. Both the parties returned the conquered territories and promised to help each other in case of any foreign attack on them.

The Second Anglo-Mysore War

Causes

- ✓ The English did not fulfill the terms of the treaty of 1769, when Haider's territories were attacked in 1771 by Marathas, Haider did not get help from the British.
- ✓ British captured Mahe, a French settlement within Haider's Jurisdiction. It led to the formation of an alliance by Haider with the Nizam and Marathas against the English in 1779.

Course

In 1781, the British General Sir Eyre Coote defeated Haider Ali at Porto Novo. The Mysore forces suffered another defeat at Solinger. Haider Ali died of cancer during the course of the war. After the death of Haider Ali in 1782, his son Tipu Sultan, continued the war against the English. Tipu captured Brigadier Mathews, the supreme commander of the British forces along with his soldiers in 1783. It was a serious loss to Tipu.

Treaty of Mangalore (1784)

On 7th March 1784 the treaty of Mangalore was signed between the two parties. Both agreed to return the conquered territories and also the prisoners of war. Thus, Warren Hastings saved the newly-established British dominion from the wrath of powerful enemies like Marathas and Haider Ali. When the British lost their colonies in America and elsewhere, Warren Hastings lost nothing in India. Instead, he consolidated the British power in India.

The Third Anglo-Mysore War

Causes

- ✓ Tipu was trying to seek alliance of foreign powers against the English and for that purpose he had sent his ambassadors to France and Turkey.
- ✓ Tipu attacked on Travancore in 1789 whose ruler was an ally of the British.
- ✓ The English, the Nizam and the Marathas entered into a "Triple Alliance" against Mysore.

Course

Tipu fought alone which continued for two years. It was fought in three phases. The attack of the English under General Medows failed. Therefore, in December 1790, Cornwallis himself took the command of the army. Cornwallis captured all the hill-forts which obstructed his advance towards Srirangapatam and reached near its outer wall. Tipu felt desperate and opened negotiations with the English. Cornwallis agreed and the treaty of Srirangapatnam was concluded in 1792.

Treaty of Srirangapatnam (1792)

- ✓ Tipu surrendered half of his kingdom to the allies.
- ✓ Tipu agreed to pay 3.6 crore of rupees to the English as war indemnity and surrendered two of his sons as hostages to the English.
- ✓ The English acquired Malabar, Coorg, Dindigul and Baramahal (Coimbatore and Salem).

The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War

Tipu Sultan did not forget the humiliating treaty of Srirangapatnam imposed upon him by Cornwallis in 1790.

Causes

- ✓ Tipu sought alliance with foreign powers against the English and sent ambassadors to Arabia, Turkey, Afghanistan and the French.
- ✓ Tipu was in correspondence with Napoleon who invaded Egypt at that time.
- ✓ The French officers came to Srirangapatnam where they founded a Jacobin Club and planted the Tree of Liberty.

Course

Wellesley declared war against Tipu in 1799. The war was short and decisive. As planned, the Bombay army under General Stuart invaded Mysore from the west. The Madras army, which was led by the Governor-General's brother, Arthur Wellesley, forced Tipu to retreat to his capital Srirangapatnam. On 4th May 1799 Srirangapatnam was captured. Tipu fought bravely and was killed finally. Thus ended the fourth Mysore War and the whole of Mysore lay prostrate before the British.

Mysore after the War

- ✓ The English occupied Kanara, Wynad, Coimbatore, Darapuram and Srirangapattinam.
- ✓ Krishna Raja Odayar of the former Hindu royal family was brought to the throne.
- ✓ Tipu's family was sent to the fort of Vellore.

Anglo-Maratha Wars

The Marathas managed to overcome the crisis caused by their defeat at Panipat and after a decade recovered their control over Delhi. However the old Maratha Confederacy controlled by the Peshwa had given way to five virtually independent states. Peshwa at Pune, Gaikwads at Baroda, Bhonsle at Nagpur, Holkars at Indore, and Scindias at Gwalior. The Peshwa's government was weakened by internal rivalries, and the other four leaders were often hostile to one another. Despite this, the Marathas were still a formidable power. The internal conflict among the Marathas was best utilized by the British in their expansionist policy.

First Anglo-Maratha War

In the case of the Marathas, the first British intervention was at the time of dispute over succession to the Peshwaship following the death of Narayan Rao. After the death of Narayan Rao, RaghunathRao (Raghoba) became the Peshwa, but his authority was challenged by a strong party at Poona under Nana Phadnavis. The party recognised the infant born posthumously to Narayan Rao's wife, Ganga Bai, as the Peshwa and set up a council of regency in his name. Having failed in his bid to capture power, RaghunathRao approached the British for help. The Treaty of Surat between the English and RaghunathRao was concluded in 1775. However, the majority of the Supreme British Council in Calcutta was opposed to the Surat treaty, although Warren Hastings himself had no objection to ratifying the treaty. The council sent Colonel Upton to Poona to negotiate a peace with the Poona regency. Accordingly, Upton concluded the Treaty of Purandhar in 1776. The treaty, however, did not take effect due to opposition from the English government in Bombay. In 1781, Warren Hastings dispatched British troops under Captain Popham. He defeated the Maratha chief, MahadajiScindia, in a number of small battles and captured Gwalior. Later on 17th May 1782, the Treaty of Salbai was signed between Warren Hastings and MahadajiScindia.

Results

- ✓ RaghunathRao was pensioned off and MadhavRao II was accepted as the Peshwa.
- ✓ Salsette was given to the British.
- ✓ The Treaty of Salbai established the British influence in Indian politics. It provided the British twenty years of peace with the Marathas.

The internal affairs of the Marathas

The internal affairs of the Marathas deteriorated further after the close of the first Maratha War. Nana Fadnavis grew fond of power, jealous of MahadajiScindia and became progressively inclined to seek the support of the English. The young Peshwa, MadhavaRao II, tried to improve the affairs but could not check the rivalry of the Maratha chiefs. MahadajiScindia died in 1794 and was succeeded by his grand nephewDaulatRaoScindia. His death left Nana Fadnavis supreme at Poona and the English to expand their influence in north India. PeshwaMadhavRao II committed suicide in 1795, and BajiRao II, worthless son of RaghunathRao, became the Peshwa. The death of Nana Phadnavis in 1800 gave the British an added advantage.

JaswantRaoHolkar and DaulatRaoScindia were fighting against each other. The Peshwa supported Scindia against Holkar. The Peshwa and the Scindia agreed to help each other. Holkar marched against the Peshwa. The combined forces of Scindia and the Peshwa were utterly defeated in 1802 and captured the city. BajiRao II approached Lord Wellesley, the then Governor-General of India, for help. Lord Wellesley welcomed the Peshwa and made him sign the Treaty of Bassein, in other words, the Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance, accepting the status of a British subsidiary in 1802. As an immediate to the Treaty of Bassein, the British troops marched under the command of Arthur Wellesely towards Poona and restored the Peshwa to his position. The forces of Holkar vanished from the Maratha capital.

The Second Anglo-Maratha War

After accepted the subsidiary alliance by the Peshwa, DaulatRaoScindia and RaghojiBhonsle attempted to save Maratha's independence. But the well prepared and organised army of the English under Arthur Wellesely defeated the combined armies of Schindhia and Bhonsle at Assaye and Argaon. The English forced them to conclude separate subsidiary treaties namely the Treaty of Deogaon and the Treaty of Surji-Arjungaon respectively in 1803. But, YashwantRaoHolkar (also called as JaswantRaoHolkar) was yet undefeated. He had not participated in the war so far. Holkar plundered the territory of Jaipur and, in 1804, the English declared war against him. YashwantRaoHolkar made an attempt to form a coalition of Indian rulers to fight against the British. But his attempt proved unsuccessful. The Marathas were defeated, reduced to British vassalage and isolated from one another.

Results

- ✓ The Maratha power was gradually weakened.
- ✓ The English East India Company started becoming the paramount power in India.

The Third Anglo-Maratha War

The Third Anglo-Maratha War was the final and decisive conflict between the British East India Company and the Maratha Empire in India. It began with an invasion of the Maratha territory by British East India Company troops. The troops were led by the Governor General Hastings and he was supported by a force under General Thomas Hislop. The Peshwa BajiRao II's forces, followed by those of Mudhoji II Bhonsle of Nagpur and Malharrao Holkar III of Indore, rose against the British. Daulatrao Scindia of Gwalior remained neutral. The Peshwa was defeated in the battles of Khadki and Koregaon and several minor battles were fought by the Peshwa's forces to prevent his capture. Bhonsle was defeated in the battle of Sitabaldi and Holkar in the battle of Mahidpur.

Results

- ✓ The Maratha confederacy was dissolved and Peshwaship was abolished.

- ✓ Most of the territory of PeshwaBajiRao II was annexed and became part of the Bombay Presidency.
- ✓ The defeat of the Bhonsle and Holkar also resulted in the acquisition of the Maratha kingdoms of Nagpur and Indore by the British.
- ✓ The BajiRao II, the last Peshwa of Maratha was given an annual pension of 8 lakh rupees.

The British Administrative Organisation in India

The British Indian administration was run by four principal institutions - Civil Services, Army, Police and Judiciary.

Civil Services

The term 'civil service' was used for the first time by the East India Company to distinguish its civilian employees from their military counterparts. Translating law into action and collecting revenue were the main jobs of the civil service. The civil service was initially commercial in nature but later it was transformed into a public service. In the beginning, the appointment to these services was the sole prerogative of the Court of Directors of the Company. But the nominated civil servants indulged in corruption, bribery and illegal private trade. So, Cornwallis who came to India as Governor-General in 1786, enforced the rules against private trade. He also raised the salary of the Company's servants who became the highest paid civil servants in the world.

Lord Wellesley, who came to India as Governor-General in 1798, introduced the idea of suitable training for the civil servants in India. In 1800, he established the College in Fort William at Calcutta to provide training in literature, science and languages. However, the directors of the Company disapproved of his action and replaced it by their own East India College, established at Haileybury in England in 1806. The idea of competition for recruitment was introduced first by the Charter Act, 1833. But the system of competition was these not nominated by the Court of Directors were not eligible to write the competitive examination. Hence, the system was called as nomination-cum-competition system. The system of recruitment on the basis of open competitive examination was introduced in 1853. This system was confirmed by the Government of India Act of 1858. The maximum age for competitors was fixed at 23. Subsequently, East India College at Haileybury was abolished in 1858, and recruitment to civil services became the responsibility of the civil service commission. By the Regulation of 1860 the maximum age was lowered to 22, in 1866 to 21 and in 1876 to 19.

The Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 passed by the British Parliament exclusively reserved certain categories of high executive and judicial posts for the covenanted civil service which was later designated as the Indian Civil Service. Due to the lowering of age limit and holding of examination in London it could be possible only for a very few wealthy Indians to appear at the I.C.S. examination. In 1869, three Indians - SurendraNathBanerje, Ramesh Chandra Dutt and BihariLal Gupta became successful in the I.C.S. examination. Later on, the Indians demanded to increase the age limit and to

establish centre for examination in India instead of England. In 1892, the minimum age limit for appearing for the Civil Service Examination was raised to 21 and the maximum to 23. In 1912, a Royal Commission on Public Service was appointed. Chaired by Lord Islington, this commission had two Indian members - G.K. Gokhale and Sir Abdur Rahim - besides four Englishmen. The Commission published its report in 1917. Islington commission's recommendations partly fulfilled the demand for the Indenisation of Civil Service.

In 1918, Montague and Lord Chelmsford recommended that 33% Indian should be recruited in Indian Civil Services and gradually the number should be increased. In 1923, a Royal Commission on Public Services was appointed with Lord Lee of Fareham as chairman. This commission recommended that recruitment to all-Indian services like the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service and the Indian Forest Service should be made and controlled by the Secretary of State for India. The Lee Commission recommended the immediate establishment of a Public Service Commission. The Act of 1935 also made provisions for the establishment of a Federal Public Service Commission at the Centre and the Provincial Public Service Commissions in the various provinces. Provision was also made for a Joint Public Service Commission in two or more Provinces. Although, the main aim of this measure was to serve the British interests, it became the base of the civil service system in independent India.

Army

The army was the second important pillar of the British administration in India. The East India Company started recruiting its own army, which came to be known as the sepoy (from sipahi or soldier) army. That sepoy army was trained and disciplined according to European military standards and was commanded by European officers in the battlefield. During the early stage of British rule, three separate armies had been organised in three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Army had a great contribution in the establishment and expansion of British rule in India. Indian soldiers were given less salaries and allowances than English soldiers. In 1857, the Indians constituted about 86 percent of the total strength of the Company's army. However, the officers of the army were exclusively British. For example, in 1856, only three Indians in the army received a salary of 300 rupees per month. The highest rank an Indian could ever reach was that of a subehdar.

Strength of British Army

- ✓ Plassey war (1757): 1950 European infantry, 100 European artillery, 50 English sailors, and 2,100 Indian sepoys, an English army of 6000 troops was maintained in Bengal.
- ✓ In 1857, the strength of the army in India was 3,11,400 of whom 2,65,900 were Indians. Its officers were British.

After the revolt of 1857, the important changes were made in the Indian army services in 1858. They increased British troops and reduced Indian troops. Also, only English were appointed in artillery.

Police

When the East India Company took over the diwani in 1765, the Mughal police system was under the control of faujdars, who were in charge of their 'sarkars' or rural districts. The kotwals were in charge of towns, while the village watchmen were paid and controlled by the Zamindars. The police system was created by Lord Cornwallis. He relieved the Zamindars from police functions and established a regular police force in 1791. Cornwallis established a system of circles or 'thanas' each headed by a 'daroga'. The authority of the daroga extended to village watchmen who performed the police duties in the villages.

The hereditary village police became 'chowkidars'. In the big cities, the old office of kotwal was, however, continued, and a daroga was appointed to each of the wards of a city. The daroga system was extended to Madras in 1802. Before the post of district superintendent of police was created, all the thanas were under the general supervision of the district judge. In 1808, a Superintendent of Police was appointed for each division. Later, the district collector was entrusted with the task of controlling the police force in the districts. The main task of the police was to handle crime and to prevent conspiracy against the British rule.

Judicial system

In 1772, the Dual Government was abolished and the Company took over the direct responsibility for the collection of revenue as well as the administration of justice. Consequently a Diwani Adalat and Faujdari Adalat were established. By the Regulating Act of 1773, a Supreme Court was set up in Calcutta. This court consisted of a chief justice and three puisne judges who were appointed by the Crown. This court decided civil, criminal, ecclesiastical and admiralty cases. On the model of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, a Supreme Court was established in Madras in 1801 and in Bombay in 1823. In 1832, William Bentinck started jury system in Bengal. A Indian Law Commission was established to compile the laws. A rule of law was established for the whole empire. According to the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, three High Courts were set up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in place of the old Supreme Courts.

The Subsidiary Alliance

Lord Wellesley introduced the system of Subsidiary Alliance to bring the princely states under the control of the British. It was the most effective instrument for the expansion of the British territory and political influence in India. The princely state was called 'the protected state' and the British came to be referred as 'the paramount power'. It was the duty of the British to safeguard the state from external aggression and to help its ruler in maintaining internal peace.

Main Features of Subsidiary Alliance

- ✓ An Indian ruler entering into this alliance with the British had to dissolve his own armed forces and accept British Forces.
- ✓ A British Resident would stay in his capital.
- ✓ Towards the maintenance charges of the army, he should make annual payments or cede some territory permanently to the Company.
- ✓ All the non-English European officials should be turned out of his state.
- ✓ The native ruler should deal with foreign states only through the English Company.
- ✓ The British would undertake to defend the state from internal trouble as well as external attack.

Merits for the British

- ✓ The British Company maintained a large army at the expense of the Indian rulers.
- ✓ All Frenchmen in the service of native rulers were dismissed, and the danger of French revival was completely eliminated.
- ✓ The British Company began to control the foreign policy of the Princely States.
- ✓ Wellesley's diplomacy made the British the paramount power in India. He transformed the British Empire in India into the British empire of India.

Defects of the Princely states

The Subsidiary Alliances made the Indian rulers weak, oppressive and irresponsible. Protected by British arms, they neglected their duty towards their subjects and even exploited them. The first Indian state to accept the Subsidiary Alliance was Hyderabad (1798). It was followed by Tanjore (1799), Auadh (1801), Peshwa (1802), Bhonsle (1803), Gwalior (1804), Indore (1817), Jaipur, Udaipur and Jodhpur (1818).

Doctrine of Lapse

Lord Dalhousie was one of the chief architects of the British Empire in India. He was an imperialist. He adopted a new policy known as Doctrine of Lapse to extend British Empire. He made use of this precedent and declared in 1848 that if the native rulers adopted children without the prior permission of the Company, only the personal properties of the rulers would go to the adopted sons and the kingdoms would go to the British paramount power. This principle was called the Doctrine of Lapse. It was bitterly opposed by the Indians and it was one of the root causes for the great revolt of 1857.

By applying the Doctrine of Lapse policy, Dalhousie annexed Satara in 1848, Jaipur and Sambalpur in 1849, Baghat in 1850, Udaipur in 1852, Jhansi in 1853 and Nagpur in 1854.

Factors for the success of the British

- ✓ greater naval power.
- ✓ development of textile.
- ✓ scientific division of labour.
- ✓ economic prosperity and skilful diplomacy of the British.
- ✓ feelings of insecurity among the Indian merchants.

- ✓ the inequality and ignorance of the Indian kings.

Conclusion

The Battle of Plassey was the foundation of British dominion in India. The company's administration was not for the interests of people. It was imperialistic, expansionist and exploitative. It brought more Indian territories under British domain through subsidiary Alliance and Doctrine of Lapse. This policy led to a South Indian rebellion (1800-01), Vellore Rebellion (1806) and the Great Rebellion (1857).

NOTE

- ❖ Satyendranath Tagore, the elder brother of poet Rabindranath Tagore, was the first Indian to pass the I.C.S. Examination in 1863.
- ❖ Sir ElijaImpey was the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal.
- ❖ Sir ThiruvarurMuthusamyIyyar was the first Indian Chief Justice of the Madras High Court



3. Rural Life and Society

Introduction

In the pre-colonial period, Indian economy was predominantly an agrarian economy. Agriculture was then the primary occupation of the people and even industries like textiles, sugar, oil, etc. were dependent on it. The British Government in India did not adopt a pro-Indian agriculture and land revenue policy. British Government introduced three major land revenue and tenurial systems in India, namely, the Permanent Settlement, the Mahalwari system and the Ryotwari system. The economic exploitation of the peasants led to the revolt in future.

The Land Revenue Policy under the British

Permanent Settlement

When Robert Clive obtained the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, there used to be an annual settlement (of land revenue). Warren Hastings changed it from annual to quinquennial (five-yearly) and back to annual again. During the time of Cornwallis, a ten years' (decennial) settlement was introduced in 1793 and it was known Permanent Settlement. Permanent settlement were made in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Varanasi division of U.P., and Northern Karnataka, which roughly covered 19 percent of the total area of British India. It was known by different names like Zamindari, Jagirdari, Malguzari and Biswedari.

Salient Features of the Permanent Settlement

- ✓ The Zamindars were recognised as the owners of land as long as they paid the revenue to the East India Company regularly.
- ✓ The Zamindars acted as the agent of the Government for the collection of revenue from the cultivators.
- ✓ The amount of revenue that the Zamindars had to pay to the Company was firmly fixed and would not be raised under any circumstances.
- ✓ They gave 10/11 of the revenue collected by them from the cultivator to the Government.
- ✓ The Zamindars would grant patta (written agreements) to the ryots. The ryots became tenants since they were considered the tillers of the soil.
- ✓ All judicial powers were taken away from the Zamindars.

Merits

- ✓ Under this system many of the waste lands and forests became cultivable lands.
- ✓ The Zamindars became the owner of the land.
- ✓ The Zamindars were made free from the responsibility of providing justice.
- ✓ The Zamindars remained faithful to the British Government.
- ✓ This system secured a fixed and stable income for the British Government.

Demerits

- ✓ The British Government had no direct contact with the cultivators.
- ✓ The rights of the cultivators were ignored and they were left at the mercy of the Zamindars.
- ✓ The peasants were almost treated as serfs.
- ✓ This system was made the Zamindars lethargic and luxurious.
- ✓ Many conflicts between the zamindars and the peasants arose in rural Bengal.

Ryotwari system

Ryotwari system was introduced by Thomas Munro and Captain Read in 1820. Major areas of introduction of Ryotwari system included Madras, Bombay, parts of Assam, and Coorg provinces of British India. By Ryotwari system the rights of ownership was handed over to the peasants. British government collected taxes directly from the peasants. Initially, one-half of the estimated produce was fixed as rent. This assessment was reduced to one-third of the produce by Thomas Munro. The revenue was based on the basis of the soil and the nature of the crop. Rents would be periodically revised, generally after 20 to 30 years. The position of the cultivators became more secure. In this system the settlement was made between the Government and the Ryots. Infact, the Government later claimed that the land revenue was rent and not a tax.

Salient Features of the Ryotwari system

- ✓ Revenue settlement was done directly with the ryots.
- ✓ Measurement of field and an estimate of produce were calculated.
- ✓ Government fixed the demand at 45 to 55 percent of the produce.

Effects of the Ryotwari Settlement

- ✓ In most areas the land revenue fixed was excessive; the ryots were hardly left with bare maintenance even in the best of seasons.
- ✓ Under this system the government exploited the farmers instead of zamindars.

Mahalwari system

Mahalwari system, a brain child of Holt Mackenzie was modified version of the Zamindari settlement introduced in the Ganga valley, the North-West Province, parts of the Central India and Punjab in 1822. Lord William Bentinck was to suggest radical changes in the Mahalwari system by the guidance of Robert Martins Bird in 1833. Assessment of revenue was to be made on the basis of the produce of a Mahal or village. All the proprietors of a Mahal were severally and jointly responsible for the payment of revenue. Initially the state share was fixed two-thirds of the gross produce. Bentinck, therefore, reduced to fifty percent. The village as a whole, through its headman or Lambardar, was required to pay the revenue. This system was first adopted in Agra and

Awadh, and later extended to other parts of the United Provinces. The burden of all this heavy taxation finally fell on the cultivators.

Salient Features of the Mahalwari Settlement

- ✓ The Lambardar acted as intermediaries between the Government and the villagers.
- ✓ It was a village-wise assessment. One person could hold a number of villages.
- ✓ The village community was the owner of the village common land.
- ✓ The village land belonged to the village community.

Effects of the Mahalwari Settlement

- ✓ The Lambardar enjoyed privileges which was misused for their self-interest.
- ✓ This system brought no benefit to the cultivators.
- ✓ It was a modified version of the Zamindari system and benefited the upper class in villages.

Impact of the British land revenue system on the cultivators

- ✓ A common feature of all the settlements was the assessment and the maximize income from land. It resulted in increasing land sales and dispossession.
- ✓ The peasants were overburdened with taxation. Due to the tax burden and famines, in general, the people suffered in poverty and burdened with debts. They had to seek the moneylenders who became rich and acquired lands from the peasants.
- ✓ The Zamindars, money-lenders and lawyers exploited the poor peasants.
- ✓ The stability and continuity of the Indian villages was shaken.
- ✓ Cottage industries disappeared on account of the import of British goods and the peasants had nothing to supplement their income.
- ✓ The old body of custom was replaced by new apparatus of law, courts, fees, lawyers and formal procedures.
- ✓ The British policy proved advantageous only to the government of a privileged section of the society at the cost of the cultivators who were the rightful owners of their lands and claimants of the larger share of the produce.

Peasants Revolts

The British rule in India brought about many changes in the agrarian system in the country. The old agrarian system collapsed and under the new system, the ownership of land was conferred on the Zamindars. They tried to extract as much as they could from the cultivators of land. The life of the peasants was extremely miserable. The various peasant movements and uprisings during the 19th and 20th centuries were in the nature of a protest against of the existing conditions under which their exploitation knew no limits.

The Santhal Rebellion (1855-56)

The first revolt which can be regarded as peasants' revolt was the Santhal Rebellion in 1855-56. The land near the hills of Rajmahal in Bihar was cultivated by the Santhals. The landlords and money-lenders from the cities took advantage of their ignorance and began grabbing their lands. This created bitter resentment among them leading to their armed uprising in 1855. Consequently, under the belief of a divine order, around 10,000 Santals gathered under two Santhal brothers, Siddhu and Kanhu, to free their country of the foreign oppressors and set up a government of their own. The rebellion assumed a formidable shape within a month. The houses of the European planters, British officers, railway engineers, zamindars and money-lenders were attacked. The rebellion continued till February 1856, when the rebel leaders were captured and the movement was put down with a heavy hand. The government declared the Parganas inhabited by them as SanthalParganas so that their lands and identity could be safeguarded from external encroachments.

Indigo Revolt (1859-60)

The Bengal indigo cultivators strike was the most militant and widespread peasant uprisings. The European indigo planters compelled the tenant farmers to grow indigo at terms highly disadvantageous to the farmers. The tenant farmer was forced to sell it cheap to the planter and accepted advances from the planter that benefitted the latter. There were also cases of kidnapping, looting, flogging and burning. Led by DigambarBiswas and BishnuCharanBiswas, the ryots of Nadia district gave up indigo cultivation in September 1859. Factories were burnt down and the revolt spread. To take control of the situation, the Government set up an indigo commission in 1860 whose recommendations formed part of the Act VI of 1862. The indigo planters of Bengal, however, moved on to settle in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The newspaper, Hindu Patriot brought to light the misery of the cultivators several times. DinabandhuMitra wrote a drama, Nil-Darpan, in Bengali with a view to draw the attention of the people and the government towards the misery of the indigo-cultivators.

Pabna Revolt (1873-76)

Pabna Peasant Uprising was a resistance movement by the peasants against the oppression of the Zamindars. It originated in the Yusufshahipargana of Pabna in Bengal. It was led by Keshab Chandra Roy. The zamindars routinely collected money from the peasants by the illegal means of forced levy, abwabs, enhanced rent and so on. Peasants were often evicted from land on the pretext of non-payment of rent.

Large crowds of peasants gathered and marched through villages frightening the zamindars and appealing to other peasants to join with them. Funds were raised from the ryots to meet the costs. The struggle gradually spread throughout Pabna and then to the other districts of East Bengal. Everywhere agrarian leagues were organized. The main form of struggle was that of legal resistance. There was very little violence. It occurred only when the zamindars tried to compel the ryots to submit to their terms by force. There

were only a few cases of looting of the houses of the zamindars. A few attacks on police stations took place and the peasants also resisted attempts to execute court decrees. Hardly zamindars or zamindar's agent were killed or seriously injured. In the course of the movement, the ryots developed a strong awareness of the law and their legal rights and the ability to combine and form associations for peaceful agitation.

Deccan Riots (1875)

In 1875, the peasant revolted in the district of Poona, that event has been called the 'Deccan Riots'. The peasants revolted primarily against the oppression of local moneylenders who were grabbing their lands systematically. The uprising started from a village in Poona district when the village people forced out a local moneylender from the village and captured his property. Gradually, the uprising spread over 33 villages and the peasants looted the property of Marwari Sahukars. The uprising turned into violent when the Sahukars took help of the police. It was suppressed only when the army was called to control it. However, it resulted in passing of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act' which removed some of the most serious grievances of the peasants.

Punjab Peasant Movement (1890-1900)

The peasants of the Punjab agitated to prevent the rapid alienation of their lands to the urban moneylenders for failure to pay debts. The Government of India did not want any revolt in that province which provided a large number of soldiers to the British army in India. In order to protect the peasants of the Punjab, the Punjab Land Alienation Act was passed in 1900 "as an experimental measure" to be extended to the rest of India if it worked successfully in the Punjab. The Act divided the population of the Punjab into three categories viz., the agricultural classes, the statutory agriculturist class and the rest of the population including the moneylenders. Restrictions were imposed on the sale and mortgage of the land from the first category to the other two categories.

Champan Satyagraha (1917-18)

The European planters of Champan in Bihar resorted to illegal and inhuman methods of indigo cultivation at a cost which was wholly unjust. Under the Tinkathia system in Champan, the peasants were bound by law to grow indigo on 3/20 part of their land and send the same to the British planters at prices fixed by them. They were liable to unlawful extortion and oppression by the planters. Mahatma Gandhi took up their cause. The Government appointed an enquiry commission of which Mahatma Gandhi was a member. The grievances of the peasants were enquired and ultimately the Champan Agrarian Act was passed in May 1918.

Kheda (Kaira) Satyagraha (1918)

In the Kheda District of Gujarat, due to constant famines, agriculture failed in 1918, but the officers insisted on collection of full land revenue. The local peasants, therefore, started a 'no-tax' movement in Kheda district in 1918. Gandhi accepted the leadership of

this movement. Gandhiji organised the peasants to offer Satyagraha and opposed official insistence on full collection of oppressive land revenue despite the conditions of famine. He inspired the peasants to be fearless and face all consequences. The response to his call was unprecedented and the government had to bow to a settlement with the peasants. Sardar Vallabhai Patel emerged as an important leader of the Indian freedom struggle during this period.

Moplah Rebellion (1921)

The Muslim Moplah (or Moplah) peasants of Malabar (Kerala) was suppressed and exploited by the Hindu zamindars (Jenmis) and British government. This was the main cause of this revolt.

The Moplah peasants got momentum from the Malabar District Conference, held in April 1920. This conference supported the tenants' cause, and demanded legislations for regulating landlord-tenant relations. In August 1921, the Moplah tenants rebelled against the oppressive zamindars. In the initial phase of the rebellion, the Moplah peasants attacked the police stations, public offices, communications and houses of oppressive landlords and moneylenders. By December 1921, the government ruthlessly suppressed the Moplah rebellion. According to an official estimate, as a result of government intervention, 2337 Moplah rebels were killed, 1650 wounded and more than 45,000 captured as prisoners.

Bardoli Satyagraha (1929-30)

In 1928, the peasants of Bardoli (Gujarat) started their agitation under the leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in protest against the government's proposal to increase land revenue by 30 percent. The peasants refused to pay tax at the enhanced rate and started no-tax campaign from 12 February 1928. Many women also participated in this campaign. In 1930, the peasants of Bardoli rose to a man, refused to pay taxes, faced the auction sales and the eventual loss of almost all of their lands but refused to submit to the Government. However, all their lands were returned to them when the Congress came to power in 1937.

4. People's Revolt

Introduction

The establishment of political and economic dominance by the British over many parts of India after the Battle of Plassey, 1757 disrupted the political, social and economic order of the country. This led to the divesting many landlords and chieftains of their power and estates. Naturally, many of them revolted against the British. The English assumed the right of collecting the annual tribute from the Palayakkarar. The first resistance to the British was offered by the Pulithevar. Since then there had been rebellions by Palayakkarar such as the VeerapandiyaKattabomman, Oomathurai, Marudu brothers and DheeranChinnamalai.

Origin of Palayam

The Vijayanagar rulers appointed Nayaks in their provinces. The Nayak of Madurai in turn appointed Palayakkarar. Viswanatha became the Nayak of Madurai in 1529. He noticed that he could not control the chieftain who wanted more powers in their provinces. So with the consultation of his minister AriyanathaMudaliyar, Viswanatha instituted Palayakkarar system in 1529. The whole country was divided into 72 Palayams and each one was put under a Palayakkarar. Palayakkarar was the holder of a territory or a Palayam. These Palayams were held in military tenure and extended their full co-operation to be need of the Nayaks. The Palayakkarars collected taxes, of which one third was given to the Nayak of Madurai another one third for the expenditure of the army and rest was kept for themselves.

Early revolts of South India

Revolt of the Palayakkars

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Palayakkarars played a vital role in the politics of Tamil Nadu. They regarded themselves as independent. Among the Palayakkarars, there were two blocs, namely the Eastern and the Western blocs. The Eastern Palayams were the Nayaks ruled under the control of Kattabomman and the Western palayams were the Maravasruled under the control of Pulithevan. These two palayakkarars refused to pay the kist (tribute) to the English and rebelled.

The early struggle between the Palayakkaras and the East India Company had a strong political dimension. By the Carnatic treaty of 1792, consolidated the English power over the Palayakkars. The English got the right to collect taxes. The result was the outbreak of the revolt of Palayakkars.

Pulithevar

Pulithevar was the pioneer in Tamil Nadu, to protest against the English rule in India. He was the Palayakkarar of the Nerkattumseval, near Tirunelveli. During his tenure he refused to pay the tribute neither to Mohammed Ali, the Nawab of Arcot nor to the English. Further he started opposing them. Hence, the forces of the Nawab of Arcot and

the English attacked Pulithevar. But the combined forces were defeated by Pulithevar at Tirunelveli. Pulithevar was the first Indian king to have fought and defeated the British in India. After this victory Pulithevan attempted to form a league of the Palayakkars to oppose the British and the Nawab. In 1759, Nerkattumseval was attacked by the forces of Nawab of Arcot under the leadership of Yusuf Khan. Pulithevar was defeated at Anthanallur and the Nawabs forces captured Nerkattumsevval in 1761. Pulithevar who lived in exile recaptured Nerkattumseval in 1764. Later, he was defeated by Captain Campell in 1767. Pulithevar escaped and died in exile without fulfilling his purpose, although his courageous trail of a struggle for independence in the history of South India.

VirapandyaKattabomman

The Ancestors of Kattabomman belonged to Andhra. They migrated to Tamil country during the 11th century. As a feudatory under Pandyas, JagaveerapandiayaKattabomman ruled Virapandyapuram. Panchalankurichi was its capital. He later became a Poligar during the rule of Nayaks. He was succeeded by his son VeerapandyaKattabomman. His wife was Jakkammal and his brothers were Oomathurai and Sevathaiah.

Nawab of Arot

After the decline of the Vijayanagarempire, the mughals established their supremacy in the south. The Nawabs acted as their representatives in Karnataka. Panchalamkuruchipalayam was acted as an ally to the Nawab of Arcot. Hence it paid tribute to the Nawabs. But in 1792, the political condition had completely changed. Based on the Carnatic treaty of 1792, the company gained the right to collect taxes from Panchalamkuruchi. The collection of tribute was the main cause for the rivalry between the English and Kattabomman.

Kattabomman met Jackson

In 1798, Colin Jackson, the collector of Ramanathapuram wrote letters to Kattabomman asking him to pay the tribute arrears. But Kattabomman replied that he was not in a position to remit the tribute due to the famine in the country. Colin Jackson got angry and decided to send an expedition to punish Kattabomman. However, the Madras government directed the collector to summon the Palayakkarar at Ramanathapuram and hold a discussion. In 1798, Kattabomman and his minister Siva Subramaniam met the Collector at Ramanathapuram. Upon a verification of accounts, Colin Jackson was convinced that Kattabomman had cleared most of the arrears leaving only 1080 pagodas as balance. During this interview Kattabomman and his Minister, Sivasubramaniam, had to stand before the arrogant collector for three hours. The Collector insulted them and tried to arrest Kattabomman and his minister. Kattabomman tried to escape with his minister. Oomathurai suddenly entered the fort with his men and helped the escape of Kattabomman. But unfortunately Sivasubramaniam was taken as prisoner.

Edward Clive and Kattabomman

After his return to Panchalamkuruchi, Kattabomman wrote a letter to the Madras Council narrating the behaviour of the Collector Colin Jackson. Edward Clive, the Governor of Madras Council ordered Kattabomman to surrender. The Madras Council directed Kattabomman to appear before a Committee. Meanwhile, Edward Clive dismissed the Collector for his misbehaviour and released SivaSubramania. Kattabomman appeared before the Committee, and found Kattabomman was not guilty. S.R. Lushington was appointed collector in the place of Colin Jackson, who was eventually dismissed from service.

The confederacy of Palayakkarars

During that time, MaruduPandyan of Sivaganga formed the South Indian Confederacy of rebels against the British, along with the neighbouring Palayakkarars. This confederacy declared a proclamation which came to be known as Tiruchirappalli Proclamation. Kattabomman was interested in this confederacy. He tried to establish his influence over Sivagiri, who refused to join with alliance of the rebels. Kattabomman advanced towards Sivagiri. But the Palayakkar of Sivagiri was a tributary to the Company. So the Company considered the expedition of Kattabomman as a challenge to their authority. So the Company ordered the army to march to Panchalamkuruchi.

Fall of Panchalamkuruchi

Major Bannerman moved his army to Panchalamkuruchi on 5th September. They cut off all the communications to the Fort. In a clash at Kallarpatti, Siva Subramaniyam was taken as a prisoner. Kattabomman escaped to Pudukottai. VijayaRagunathaTondaiman, Raja of Pudukottai, captured Kattabomman from the jungles of Kalapore and handed over to the Company. After the fall of Panchalamkuruchi, Bannerman brought the prisoners to an assembly of the Palayakkarars and after trial sentenced them to death. Sivasubramania was executed at Nagalapuram. On the 16th October ViraPandyaKattabomman was tried before an assembly of Palayakkarar, summoned at Kayathar. On 17th October 1799, Kattabomman was hanged at the fort of Kayathar. Kattabomman's heroic deeds were the subject of many folk ballads which kept his memory alive among the people.

VeluNachiyar

VeluNachiyar was a queen of Sivagangai. At the age of 16, she was married to MuthuVaduganathar, the Raja of Sivagangai. In 1772, the Nawab of Arcot and the British troops invaded Sivagangai. They killed MuthuVaduganathar in KalaiyarKoil battle. VeluNachiyar escaped with her daughter VellachiNachiyar and lived under the protection of GopalaNayaker at Virupachi near Dindigul. During this period she organised an army and employed her intelligent agents to find where the British stored their ammunition. She arranged a suicide attack by a faithful follower Kuyili, a commander of VeluNachiar. She recaptured Sivagangai and was again crowned as queen with the help of Marudu brothers. She was the first queen to fight against the British colonial power in India. She is known by Tamils as Veeramangai and also known as 'Jhansi Rani of South India'.

Marudu Brothers

Marudu brothers were the sons of MookiahPalaniappan and Ponnathal. The elder brother was called PeriyaMarudu (VellaMarudhu) and the younger brother ChinnaMarudu. ChinnaMarudu was more popular and was called MaruduPandiyan. ChinnaMarudu served under MuthuVaduganathaPeriaUdayaDevar (1750-1772) of Sivaganga. In 1772 the Nawab of Arcot laid seige of Sivaganga and captured it. MuthuVaduganathaPeriaUdayaDevar, died in battle. However after a few months Sivaganga was re-captured by Marudu Brothers and PeriyaMarudu was enthroned as the ruler. ChinnaMarudu acted as his adviser. Due to the terrorist activities against British, he was called as "Lion of Sivaganga". In the later half of the eighteenth century the rebellion against the British was carried by Marudu Brothers in South India.

Causes for the conflict

Kattabomman was hanged to death and his brother Umaithurai and others fled to Sivaganga, where MaruduPandy gave protection to them. The merchants of Sivaganga did not like the interference of the company in their internal politics. The company waged war against Sivaganga for these two causes.

The South Indian Rebellion (1800-1801)

In February 1801 the brothers of Kattabomman, Oomathurai and Sevathaiah escaped from Palayamkottai prison and reached Kamudhi. ChinnaMarudu took them to Siruvayal, his capital. They reconstructed their ancestral fort at Panchalamkurichi. The British troops under Conlin Macaulay retook the fort in April and the Palayakkarar brothers sought shelter in Sivaganga. The English demanded Marudu Pandyas to hand over the fugitives, the latter refused. Conlonel Agnew and Colonel Innes marched against them. The Palayakkarar War assumed a much broader character than its predecessor. It was directed by a confederacy consisting of MaruduPandi of Sivaganga, GopalaNayak of Dindugal, Kerala Varma of Malabar and KrishnappaNayak and Dhoondaji of Mysore. The English declared war against the confederacy.

The Tiruchirappalli Proclamation (1801)

The Marudu Pandyas issued a proclamation of Independence called Tiruchirappalli Proclamation in June 1801. The Proclamation of 1801 was the first call to the Indians to unite against the British. A copy of the proclamation was pasted on the walls of the Nawab's palace in the fort of Tiruchi and another copy was placed on the walls of the Vaishnava temple at Srirangam. Thus Marudu brothers spread the spirit of opposition against the English everywhere. As a result many Palayakkarars of Tamil Nadu went on a rally to fight against the English. ChinnaMarudu collected nearly 20,000 men to challenge the English army. British reinforcements were rushed from Bengal, Ceylon and Malaya. The rajas of Pudukkottai, Ettayapuram and Thanjavur stood by the British. Divide and rule policy followed by the English spilt the forces of the Palayakkarars.

English annexed Sivagangai

In May 1801, English attacked the rebels in Thanjavur and Tiruchi areas. The rebels went to Piranmalai and Kalayarkoil. They were again defeated by the forces of the English. In the end, the superior military strength and the able commanders of the British army won the battle. The rebellion failed and English annexed Sivagangai in 1801. The Marudu brothers were executed in the Fort of Tirupathur in Ramanathapuram District on 24 October 1801. Oomathurai and Sevathaiah was captured and beheaded at Panchalamkuruchi on 16 November 1801. Seventy three rebels were sentenced to Penang in Malaya, then called the Prince of Wales Island. Though they fell before the English, they were the pioneers in sowing the seeds of nationalism in the land of Tamil.

Thus the South Indian Rebellion is a land mark in the history of Tamil Nadu. Although the 1800-1801 rebellion was to be categorized in the British records as the Second Palayakkarar War. Under the terms of the Karnataka Treaty on 31 July 1801, the British assumed direct control over Tamil Nadu. The Palayakkarar system was abolished.

DheeranChinnamalai

DheeranChinnamalai was born at Melapalayam in Chennimalai near Erode. His original name was Theerthagiri. He was a palayakkarar of Kongu country who fought the British East India Company. The Kongu country comprising Salem, Coimbatore, Karur and Dindigul formed a part of the Nayak kingdom of Madurai but had been annexed by the Wodayars of Mysore. After the fall of the Wodayars, these territories along with Mysore were controlled by the Mysore Sultans. After the third and fourth Mysore wars the entire Kongu region passed into the hands of the English.

DheeranChinnamalai was trained by French military in modern warfare. He was along the side Tippu Sultan to fight against the British East India Company and got victories against the British. After Tippu Sultan's death Chinnamalai settled down at Odanilai and constructed a fort there to continue his struggle against the British. He sought the help of Marathas and MaruthuPandiyar to attack the British at Coimbatore in 1800. British forces managed to stop the armies of the allies and hence Chinnamalai was forced to attack Coimbatore on his own. His army was defeated and he escaped from the British forces. Chinnamalai engaged in guerrilla warfare and defeated the British in battles at Cauvery, Odanilai and Arachalur. During the final battle, Chinnamalai was betrayed by his cook Nallapan and was hanged in Sankagiri Fort in 1805.

Vellore Revolt (1806)

The family members of Tippu were imprisoned at Vellore fort after the fourth Mysore war. Some three thousand ex-servants and soldiers of Hyder and Tippu had also been moved to the vicinity of Vellore and their property in Mysore confiscated. It was quite natural that they were all unhappy and they hated the English. The Vellore fort consisted of large majority of Indian troops, a good part of it recently been raised in Tirunelveli after the Palayakkarar uprising of 1800. Many of the trained soldiers of the

various Palayams were admitted into the English army. Thus the Vellore fort became the meeting ground of the rebel forces of South India. In 1803, William Cavendish Bentinck became Governor of Madras. During his period certain military regulations were introduced in 1805-06 and were enforced by the Madras Commander-in-Chief Sir John Cradock. But the sepoys felt that these were designed to insult them.

Causes for the revolt

- ✓ The strict discipline, new weapons, new methods and uniforms were all new to the sepoys.
- ✓ The sepoys were asked to shave the beard and to trim the moustache.
- ✓ The wearing of religious mark on the forehead and the use of ear-rings were also banned.
- ✓ The English treated the Indian sepoys as their inferior. There was the racial prejudice.

Immediate Cause

In June 1806, military General Agnew introduced a new turban, resembling a European hat with a badge of cross on it. It was popularly known as 'Agnew's turban'. Both the Hindu and Muslim soldiers opposed it. So the soldiers were severely punished by the English.

Course of the Revolt

The Indian soldiers were waiting for an opportunity to attack the English officers. Tippu's family also took part. FettaHyder, the elder son of Tippu, tried to form an alliance against the English. On July 10th in the early morning the native sepoys of the 1st and 23rd Regiments started the revolt. Colonel Fancourt, who commanded the garrison, was their first victim. The fort gates were closed. Meantime, the rebels proclaimed FutteHyder, as their new ruler. The British flag in the fort was brought down. The tiger-striped flag of Tippu Sultan was hoisted on the fort of Vellore.

Suppression of the Revolt

Major Cootes who was outside the fort rushed to Ranipet and informed Colonel Gillespie. Col. Gillespie reached Vellore fort. He made an attack on the rebel force. The revolt was completely suppressed and failed. Peace was restored in Vellore. On the whole, 113 Europeans and about 350 sepoys were killed in the uprising. The revolt was suppressed within a short period. It was one of the significant events in the history of Tamil Nadu.

Effects of the Vellore Revolt

- ✓ The new methods and uniform regulations were withdrawn.
- ✓ The family of Tippu as a precautionary measure was sent to Calcutta.

- ✓ William Cavendish Bentinck was removed from his service.

Causes for the failure of the Revolt

- ✓ There was no proper leadership to guide the soldiers properly.
- ✓ The rebellion was also not well organised.
- ✓ Divide and Rule policy of the English, split the unity of the Indians.
V.D. Savarkar calls the Vellore revolt of 1806 as the prelude to the first War of Indian Independence in 1857.

The Revolt of 1857

The early uprisings did not succeed in threatening the British in India. It took the Revolt of 1857 to bring home to the Company and the British thought that their rule was not accepted to a large section of the population. The Revolt of 1857 was a product of the character and the policies of colonial rule. The cumulative effect of British expansionist policies, economic exploitation and administrative innovations over the years had adversely affected the positions of all rulers of Indian states.

Causes of the Revolt

- ✓ The most important cause of revolt 1857 was a popular discontent of the British policy of economically exploiting India. This hurt all sections of society. The peasants suffered due to high revenue demands and the strict revenue collection policy.
- ✓ Policies of doctrine of lapse, subsidiary alliance and policy of Effective Control created discontentment among people. Annexation of Oudh proved that even the grovelling loyalty can't satisfy British greed for territories.
- ✓ The conversion activities of Christian missionaries were looked upon with suspicion and fear. The priests and the maulavis showed their discontent against the British rule.
- ✓ Abolition of practices like sati, female infanticide, support to widow remarriage and female education were seen by many as interference in their Indian culture by the Europeans.
- ✓ The Indian sepoys were looked upon as inferior beings and treated with contempt by their British officers. They were paid much less than the British soldiers. All avenues of the promotion were closed to them as all the higher army posts were reserved for the British.

Immediate cause

The immediate cause was the introduction of new Enfield Rifles in the army. The top of the cartridge of this rifle was to be removed by the mouth before loading it in the rifle. The cartridges were greased by the fat of pig and the cow. The Indian sepoys believed that the British were deliberately attempting to spoil the religion of both the Hindus and the Muslims because while the Hindus revered the cow, the Muslims hated

the pig. The soldiers, therefore, determined to refuse their service and, ultimately revolted. Thus, the primary and the immediate cause of the revolt was the use of the greased cartridges.

The Outbreak of the Revolt

On 29 March 1857 at Barrackpur (near Kolkata) MangalPandey, a young Sepoy from Bengal Regiment, refused to use the greased cartridge, and shot down his sergeant. He was arrested, tried and executed. When this news spread many sepoys revolted.

Course of the Revolt

On 10 May 1857, the Sepoys of the third cavalry at Meerut openly revolted by swarming the prisons and releasing their comrades. They were immediately joined by the men of the 11th and 20th Native Infantries, and they murdered some English officers and then marched to Delhi. The arrival of Meerut sepoys at Delhi on 11th May and declared of Bahadur Shah II as the Emperor of India. Delhi became the centre of the Great Revolt and Bahadur Shah, its symbol.

The revolt spread quickly. There were mutinies at Lucknow, Kanpur, Jhansi, Bareilly, Bihar, Faizabad, and many other places in north India. Many of them found that it was a good opportunity to burn the papers of their landlords. Many others whose titles and pensions were abolished by the British who participated in it, in order to take revenge. The Muslim leaders and Maulvis sought the opportunity of establishing the Muslim rule in India after turning out the British.

Suppression of the Revolt

Lord Canning, the governor-general took immediate steps to suppress the revolt. He collected the forces of Madras, Bombay, Sri Lanka and Burma. On his own initiative, he called the British army which was deputed to China by Britain to Calcutta. He ordered the loyal Sikh army to proceed to Delhi immediately. The British regained their lost positions very soon.

Delhi was recaptured by General John Nicholson on 20 September, 1857 and deportation of Bahadur Shah II to Rangoon where he died in 1862. Military operations with the recovery of Kanpur were closely associated with the recovery of Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell occupied Kanpur. Nana Saheb was defeated at Kanpur and escaped to Nepal. His close associate Tantia Tope escaped to central India, was captured and put to death while asleep. The Rani of Jhansi had died in the battle-field. Kunwar Singh, Khan Bahadur Khan were all dead, while the Begum of Awadh was compelled to hide in Nepal. The revolt was finally suppressed. By the end of 1859, British authority over India was fully re-established.

Places of Revolt	Indian Leaders	British Officials who suppressed the revolt
Delhi	Bahadur Shah II	John Nicholson
Luck now	Begum HazaratMahal	Henry Lawrence
Kanpur	Nana Saheb	Sir Colin Campbell
Jhansi & Gwalior	Lakshmi Bai, Tantia tope	General Hugh Rose
Bareilly	Khan Bahadur Khan	Sir Colin Campbell
Bihar	Kunwar Singh	William Taylor

The Causes for the Failure of the Revolt

Various causes were responsible for the failure of the revolt.

- ✓ Lack of organisation, discipline, common plan of action, centralised leadership, modern weapons and techniques.
- ✓ The rebel leaders were no match to the British Generals. Rani Lakshmi Bai, Tantia Tope and Nana Saheb were courageous but they were not good generals.
- ✓ Non-participation of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, western Punjab and Rajputana.
- ✓ The modern educated Indians did not support the Revolts as they believed that only British rule could reform Indian society and modernize it.
- ✓ The British managed to get the loyalty of the Sikhs, Afghans and the Gurkha regiments. The Gurkhas actually helped the British in suppressing the revolt.
- ✓ The British had better weapons, better generals, and good organisation.

Consequences of the Revolt

- ✓ The Revolt of 1857 marked a turning point in the history of India. It led to changes in the system of administration and the policy of the Government.
- ✓ The administration of India was transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown through the 'Queen's Proclamation' in 1858.
- ✓ The governor general was given the title of viceroy.
- ✓ The Board of Directors and the Board of Control were replaced by the Council of 15 members headed by the Secretary of State to supervise Indian affairs.
- ✓ The Indian Army was thoroughly reorganised. More Britishers were employed in the army.
- ✓ The British military policy came to be dominated by the idea of 'divide and counterpoise'.

Infact, the Revolt of 1857 played an important role in bringing the Indian people together and imparting them the consciousness of belonging to one country. The Revolt paved the way for the rise of the modern national movement. It was at the beginning of the twentieth century that the 1857 Revolt came to be interpreted as a "planned war of national independence", by V.D. Savarkar in his book, First War of Indian Independence.

NOTE

In Central India the revolt was guided by Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi. She was one of the greatest patriots of India. Sir Hugh Rose occupied Jhansi. Rani Lakshmi Bai fled from Jhansi and joined hands with Tantia Tope who had assumed the leadership of the rebel army at Gwalior. But the British captured Gwalior in June 1858. Rani was killed in the battle. Tantia Tope fled away but was captured and later executed. According to the British historians, present at the time of revolt, Rani Lakshmi Bai was the best and the bravest among the leaders of the Revolt of 1857.



Unit 5 - Educational Development in India

Introduction

Education is a continuous process of acquiring and sharing of knowledge, skills and values. Education is recognised as the foundation of a progressive society. It plays a vital role in shaping responsible people. The world we live is constantly changing and developing. So, to meet the challenges and overcome the obstacles we need to be well educated and to know the role of the education in the human development process. Let us learn the development of education in India through the ages.

Education in Ancient India

The historical sources provide the information that from very early times, the tradition of teaching and learning had been in vogue in India. The concept of Education might have originated from the Vedas. The literal meaning the Sanskrit word 'Veda' is knowledge and the word derived from the word Vid, which means 'to know'. Our ancient education system evolved over many centuries and focused on the holistic development of the individual by taking care of both the innate and latent capacities. It emphasised on values such as humility, truthfulness, discipline, self-reliance and respect for all creations.

Sources of Learning

You must have heard the names of Panini, Aryabhata, Katyayana and Patanjali. Their writings and the medical treatises of Charaka and Sushruta were also some of the sources of learning. Various disciplines such as history, logic, interpretation, architecture, polity, agriculture, trade, commerce, animal husbandry and archery were taught. Physical education too was an important curricular area and pupils participated in games and recreational activities. The Gurus and their students worked conscientiously together to become proficient in all aspects of learning.

In order to assess students' skills, literary debates were organised. Students at an advanced stage of learning guided younger students. A system of peer learning was also practiced, like you have group/peer work.

Ancient Education System in India: A Way of Life

In ancient India, both formal and informal education existed. Indigenous education was imparted at home, in temples, patashalas, and gurukulas. There were people in homes, villages and temples who guided young children in imbibing pious ways of life. Temples played a vital role in imparting education and served the centres of learning. Students went to viharas and universities for higher studies. Teaching was oral and students remembered and meditated upon what was taught in the Gurukulas. Many of these Gurukulas were named after the sages. Situated in forests, in serene and peaceful surroundings, hundreds of students used to learn together in Gurukulas. During the early

period education was imparted by the teacher (Guru/Acharya) to the pupils who gathered around him and came to live in his house as members of his family. This was known as Gurukula system of education. The family of Guru functioned as a domestic school or an Ashram.

During that period, the gurus and their shishyas (pupils) lived together helping each other in day-to-day life. The main objectives was to have complete learning, leading a disciplined life and realising one's inner potential. Students lived away from their homes for years together till they achieved their goals. The gurukula was also the place where the relationship between the guru and student strengthened with time.

Many monasteries and viharas were set up for monks and nuns to meditate, debate and discuss with the learned for their quest for knowledge during this period. Around these viharas, other educational centres of higher learning developed, which attracted students from China, Korea, Tibet, Burma, Ceylon, Java, Nepal and other distant countries.

Viharas and Universities Buddhist Period

Taxila was an ancient Indian city, which is now in northwestern Pakistan. It is an important archaeological site and the UNESCO declared it as a world heritage site in 1980. Its fame rested on the university where Chanakya is said to have composed his Arthashastra. Archaeologist Alexander Cunningham discovered its ruins in the mid-19th century.

The Jataka tales, accounts given by Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing (Chinese scholars), and other sources tell us that kings and society took an active interest in promoting education. Through monasteries and Viharas Buddhist scholars carried out the educational work. As a result, many famous educational centres came into existence. Among the most notable universities that emerged during that period were situated at Taxila, Nalanda, Valabhi, Vikramshila, Odantapuri and Jagaddala. These universities developed in connection with the viharas. Those at Benaras and Kanchi developed in relation with temples and became centres of community life in the places where they were situated.

These institutions catered to the needs of advanced level students. Such students joined the centres of higher learning and developed their knowledge by mutual discussions and debates with renowned scholars. Not only that, there was also occasional summoning by a king to a gathering in which the scholars of the various viharas and universities would meet, debate and exchange their views.

Role of the Teacher

Teachers had complete autonomy in all aspects from selection of students to designing their syllabi. When the teacher was satisfied with the performance of the students, the course concluded. He would admit as many students as he liked and taught

what his students were keen to learn. Debate and discussions were the primary methods of teaching. Teachers were assisted by their advanced level students.

The ancient Nalanda University was a centre of learning from the 5th century

AD (CE) to 12th century AD (CE). Located in present-day Rajgir, Bihar. Nalanda was one of the oldest universities of the world and UNESCO declared the ruins of NalandaMahavihara a world heritage site. The new Nalanda University is envisaged as a centre of inter-civilisational dialogue.

Education in Medieval India

Medieval period witnessed a radical transformation with introduction of Muslim education in the Indian subcontinent. The country was invaded by various foreign rulers and several traders from different part of the world. The tradesmen and the invaders brought with them their own cultures and intermingled with the people of the country. Besides, religion, society and culture, education in medieval India also experienced a new perspective. The aim of education during Muslim period (medieval) was the illumination and extension of knowledge. In the eleventh century, the Muslims rulers established elementary and secondary schools. Education developed with a fresh aspect during that period as there was an excellent interaction between Indian and Islamic traditions in all fields of knowledge like theology, religion, philosophy, fine arts, painting, architecture, mathematics, medicine and astronomy.

However before the arrival of the Muslims in India, a developed system of education was already in place. Muslim rulers promoted urban education by bestowing libraries and literary societies. They founded primary schools (maktabs) in which students learnt reading, writing, and basic Islamic prayers. And secondary schools (madrasas) were established to teach advanced language skills. Several madrasas were set up by the Sultans, and nobles. The main objective of these madrasas was to train and educate the scholars who would become eligible for the civil service. Iltutmish was the first ruler to establish a madrasa at Delhi during his rule. Gradually many madrasas came into existence.

The system of education in medieval India was under the control of Ulema. During those days, education was related to religious training. However, various subjects such as medicine, Arabic literature, grammar and philosophy were also taught. History states that Arab and Central Asian people brought Muslim educational models to India in both the medieval and early modern periods. Women education in India was prevalent during the medieval period.

Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur encouraged learning of scientific subjects. Besides, many institutions were started by private individuals as well. Madrasa of Ghaziuddin in Delhi, and the madrasa of Maulana Sadruddin at Shahjahanabad.

In the later medieval era, the British came to India and introduced English education. With the coming of the European missionaries, Western education made firm advances in the country. Various universities and thousands of colleges were formed and popularity of education increased.

The medieval period saw the founding of many religious mutt or monasteries which also took up the cause of education. The Ahobila mutt in Srirangam was one among them where Sri Ramanuja has made distinctive contribution to the cause of education. Besides mutts, Jain pallis and Buddhist vihars played a vital role in educating people where ever the existed. They had large libraries of books in all branches of learning.

Modern system of Education

The beginning of the modern system of Indian education can be traced to the efforts of the Christian missionaries who arrived in India in the wake of European occupation. As a result of their efforts, many institutions were established across India. These institutions imparted Western as well as Indian education.

Role of Christian Missionaries

Europeans came to India for trade and established trading companies. They acquired lands and constructed fortresses. Later they wanted to spread their culture and religion among Indians. The Europeans thought that they could make Indians understand the administration and religious theories better if they could impart education to the local population in their own method. So they started educational institutions. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who started modern system of education in India. Francis Xavier, a Jesuit, started a university at Cochin. They started many primary schools. The first college offering degrees on a completion of a course was started in Goa in 1575 where Christianity, logic, grammar and music were taught. John Kiernander was one of the most zealous pioneers and was perhaps the first missionary in India to introduce education for non-Christian children as an evangelistic agency. In 1812, Dr. C.S. John established 20 free reading schools in Tranquebar.

Followed by the Portuguese, the French opened their institutions for all the Indians where education was imparted by Indian teachers through local languages. They started higher secondary schools where French language was taught. Two German Bishops, named Ziegenbalg and Plustscham, started schools and a training college for teachers in Travancore. After the arrival of English East India Company in 1600 AD(CE), institutions were established for imparting instruction in English. Gradually Sanskrit colleges were opened in Madras and Benaras. The first Bishop of Calcutta, the Revered Dr. Middleton, started a missionary college at Calcutta, which became famous as the Bishop's College. Mountstuart Elphinstone was actually a strong advocate of vernacular education, but on his retirement in 1827, his admirers collected funds and established a college offering English classes, named the Elphinstone College at Bombay. Missionaries made a good deal of attempt for the propagation of education in India. Due to their efforts many institutions

were established. These institutions imparted Western education as well as Indian education.

Education in the British Rule

History of education in British rule can be divided into four periods: (i) from the early days of the British rule up to 1813; (ii) period from 1813–1853; (iii) period from 1854–1920 and (iv) period from 1921–1947.

During its early days, the East India Company followed a policy of indifference and non-interference towards education as this sector did not form a part of its programme. The Company's charter was renewed in 1813, which compelled the Company to assume responsibility for the education of Indians, though on a very limited scale. Besides missionaries, non-missionaries like Raja Ram Mohan Roy of Bengal, Pachyappar of Madras, W. Frazer of Delhi contributed to the cause of education.

In 1813, the East India Company was compelled to assert the responsibility for the education of the Indians. Charter of Act of 1813 made a provision for an annual grant of a sum of 1 lakh rupees for the promotion of education in India.

The second period was also marked by great educational controversies concerning the issues of educational policy, medium of instruction and method of spreading education. First, there were the orientalists who supported the preservation of Oriental learning and the use of Sanskrit and Persian as the media of instruction. They were opposed by the Anglicists who advocated dissemination of Western knowledge through English. A third section believed in the use of Indian languages as the media of instruction.

These controversies were partially set at rest by Macaulay's Minutes of 1835. Higher education was de-orientalised, encouraging English education for the upper classes. Each province was allowed to follow its own education policy. But even then, the controversies continued till 1854.

The third phase of British-influenced education may be called the period of an All-India Educational Policy. It commenced with Sir Charles Wood's Despatch in 1854.

The Wood's Despatch (1854) is called the 'Magna Carta' of English education in India because it was the first declaration of British education policy for educating the masses at all levels. But it resulted in the complete control on state education, divorcing it from Indian ideals and culture.

The fourth phase may be called the period of provincial autonomy. The Act of 1935 ushered a new era of educational advancement through the country. The new

programmes were hit hard by the worldwide economic depression in 1929. The introduction of complete provincial autonomy by the Government of India Act of 1935 further strengthened the position of the provincial ministers of education. After the Second World War, a very important plan for educational development, known as the Sergeant Report (1944) was prepared. This blueprint had a powerful influence on contemporary education, both in thought as well as in practice.

Wardha Scheme of Education(1937)

In 1937, Gandhiji evolved a scheme popularly known as the Wardha Scheme of Basic National Education. The principle of nonviolence was the basis of Gandhiji scheme of Basic Education. Through this scheme he wanted to develop those qualities in future citizens of India which he considered necessary for building a non-violent society. His system of Education wanted to root out exploitation and centralization in society and create a non-violent social order

Educational Development of Independent India

The new epochmaking era in the history of education was ushered with the attainment of independence in 1947. It brought a new hope, a new vision, a new future for the Indians. In 1948, Dr. Radhakrishnan Commission was appointed to present a report on University education. In pursuance of the Commission's recommendations, University Grants Commission was constituted to determine the standard of higher education. One of the most important events that have taken place in the field of secondary education was the appointment of Secondary Education Commission in 1952-53. It suggested new organisational patterns, improvement in quality of textbooks, curriculum and methods of teachings. An education commission under the chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Kothari was appointed by the Government of India in 1964. Free and compulsory primary education for all children up to the age of 14 years and uniform educational structure of 10+2+3 pattern were its main recommendations.

National Policy on Education

The first National Education Policy of 1968 marked a significant step in the history of education in post-independent India. It aimed to promote national progress, a sense of common citizenship and culture and to strengthen national integration. In 1986, the Government of India introduced a New Education Policy. The aim of New Education Policy was to

Education remained a state subject till December 1976. But now the education is in the concurrent list.

transfer a static society into a vibrant one with a commitment to development and change. It emphasised on equal opportunities for marginalised sections of the country and the removal of disparity through scholarships, adult education and open universities,

especially for rural India. The New Education Policy called for a child-centred approach in primary education and launched Operation Blackboard to improve primary schools nationwide.

The New Education Policy was revised again in 1992. It envisaged the formulation of a National Curriculum Framework, emphasis on in-service education, improvement of facilities and streamlining of the evaluation system at the secondary stage.

SarvaShikshaAbhiyan (SSA) and RastriyaMadhyamikShikshaAbhiyan (RMSA)

The SarvaShikshaAbhiyan (SSA) is the Government of India's flagship program that was launched in 2000-01 to achieve Universal Elementary Education (UEE). SSA is now the primary vehicle for implementing the provisions of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (2009) (RTE). Right To Education (RTE) provides for free and compulsory education to all the children from the age of 6 to 14 years.

The SSA initiates a variety of innovation and activities related to schools. Some important activities include providing the Mid-Day Meals and stipends for students, the setting up of School Management Committees (SMCs) and provision of teaching learning materials for classrooms.

RastriyaMadhyamikShikshaAbhiyan(RMSA) is a centrally sponsored scheme for universalisation of access and improvement of quality education at the secondary stage, which was implemented during Eleventh Five-Year Plan period. The goal of RMSA is to make secondary education qualitative, available, accessible and affordable to all young students in the age group 15-16 years.

Science lab, libraries, in-service training for teachers, computer-aided education, cocurricular activities and teaching-learning aids are provided by the Government of India through RMSA scheme at the school level.

The Union Budget 2018-19 proposed to give school education holistically without segmentation from Pre-School to Class XII. SamagraShiksha, and to be prepared with the broaden goal of improving school effectiveness, measured in terms of equal opportunities and equable learning outcomes. It subsumes the schemes: SSA, and RMSA. In 2017, a committee was constituted by the Ministry of Human Resources Development to draft the National Education Policy. This committee submitted its report in 2019.

Educational Development in Tamil Nadu

The pattern of education in Tamil Nadu was not merely reading and understanding of books but listening to learned persons. The Thirukkural stresses the need for education and warns the dangers of illiteracy. In ancient times, the school was called 'Palli' and the teacher was a 'Kanakkayar'.

A significant development took place in the field of education during the Pallava period. Ghatika was an educational institution. The Pallava kings supported those educational institutions through endowments. The Vaishnava and Saiva mutts provided boarding and lodging facilities to all students and teachers. Hiuen Tsang gives a graphic picture about Kanchi Buddhist centre and Kanchi, was considered as the main centre of learning.

The Chola period was the most brilliant and creative period in the Tamil literature. Tamil education enjoyed a greater connection with religion and temple. Free education was given to people. The curriculum and syllabi had a theoretical background. From the inscription of that period, we can now gain knowledge about the qualification of teacher, method of teaching, salary of teachers, food provided to the students and the land given to the schools etc. Rajaraja Chaturvedimangalam was the famous seat of a Vedic college (Ennayiram in Former South Arcot district). At Tirubuvanai (in Pondicherry) Vedic college flourished. The Tiruvidaikkalai inscription mentions a library. Tiruvaduthurai inscription of Viravajendrar refers to a medical school.

The Pandya kings patronised Sanskrit in an exemplary way. It is revealed in the copper plates. The educational institutions of that period were called as Ghatigai, Salai and Vidhyasathana.

Lands were given to teachers. They were known as Salabhogam (e.g. Vallabha Perunchalai at Kanyakumari). The famous college during the Pandya regime was Kandhalur Salai. Mutts occupied a significant place in the promotion of education. Learning flourished under the Vijayanagar rule. Many educational institutions were established under their patronage. Thinnappalli Koodam was established during the Nayak rule.

Modern period

Fernandez, who came to Madurai during the time of Veerappa Nayak, established a primary school. The Maratha ruler Sarfoji II collected the old records and kept them in the Saraswathi Mahal library. He also had a printing press with Devanagari type, which was located at Tanjore. Pradran is an important center of higher education in the country. Sir Thomas Munroe the Governor of Madras Presidency (1820-27) was highly responsible for the introduction of Western education in Madras Presidency. He appointed a committee to conduct a statistical survey of the condition of education. The Education Commission of Munroe recommended the creation of two principal schools (Collectorate and Tahsildar schools) in each district. In 1835 Lord William passed a resolution favouring the introduction of western system of education in India. Wood's Despatch of 1854 introduced the Department of Public instruction in Madras Presidency. Grant-in-aid was given to all schools. The Madras University was founded in 1857. It was the first University in Tamil Nadu under the British rule. In 1882 the Local Boards Act was passed. The Board was empowered to open new schools and to get grants from the government. By 1938, all subjects except English were taught in Tamil in schools.

The Annamalai University was founded at Chidambaram in 1929. This was the nextstep in the development of higher education

Education since independence

Free education at the secondary school level was introduced in 1964 - 65. TheGandhigram Rural College was established in 1975. Distance education has also been introduced to educate those who could not go to colleges.

In 1956, Midday Meal Programme was introduced in schools. Later, it was extended as Nutrition Meal Scheme in 1982 to avoid drop-outs in schools.

The National Policy on Education was framed in 1986 and was modified in 1992. Since then several changes have taken place to meet the changing dynamics of the society.



Unit 6- DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

Introduction

The history of Indian industry perhaps dates back to the history of humankind. India's traditional economy was characterised by a blend of agriculture and handicrafts. According to Edward Baines, 'The birthplace of cotton manufacture is India where it probably flourished long before the dawn of authentic history.' Bernier, who visited India during the reign of Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, marvelled at the incredible quantity of manufactured goods. Tavernier, a French traveller, admired the peacock throne, carpets of silk and gold as well as mini carvings.

Traditional Crafts of India

The crafts in India has a rich history. Crafts were an integral part in the life of the people. Before arrival of mechanised industry, the production of Indian handicrafts was the second largest source of employment in rural India next to agriculture. The traditional Indian industry was known in the fields of textiles, woodwork, ivory, stone cutting, leather, fragrance wood, metal work and jewellery. The village artisans such as potters, weavers, smiths produced articles and utensils for domestic use. But some specialised goods were produced for domestic and international markets. Some such specialised goods produced were cotton textiles, muslin, wool, silk and metal articles. India was famous for its fine quality of cotton and silk clothes. There are references made in many scholarly works to the professions of the weaver, the tailor and the dyer. Certain centres of metal industry were quite well known. For example, Saurashtra was known for bell metal, Vanga for tin industry and Dacca was identified with muslin clothes.

The muslin of Dacca

Mummies in Egyptian tombs dating from 2000 BC(BCE) were found wrapped in Indian muslins of the finest quality. A 50metres of this thin fabric could be squeezed into a match box

Decline of Indian Industries

a. Loss of Royal Patronage

The British conquest transformed Indian economy (self-reliant) into colonial economy.

As the British conquered the Indian territories one after another, the native rulers, the nobles and the landlords lost their power and prosperity. The demand for the fine articles to be displayed in durbars and other ceremonial occasions disappeared. As a result, the craftsman who were patronised by these rulers lost their importance and became poor. For generations, these craftsmen had been practicing their craft, and they did not possess any other skills. So they had to work as labourers in fields to meet their daily needs. This change resulted in increased pressure on agriculture and there was large-scale under-employment in agriculture. The substitution of

commercial food crops in agriculture ruined the Indian agro-based industry. The splendid period of indigenous handicraft industries came to an end as the political influence of the East India Company spread over various parts of the country.

b. Transition from producer to exporter of raw materials

Indian handicrafts that had made the country famous collapsed under the colonial rule. This was mainly due to the competition posed by the machine-made goods that were imported from Britain by the British rulers. The ruling British turned India as the producer of raw materials for their industries and markets for their finished products. Moreover, the railways and roadways introduced by the British facilitated the movement of finished products to reach the remotest parts of India and the procurement of raw materials from these parts.

c. Competition of Machine-Made Goods

Textile was the oldest industry in India. The highly specialised skills of Indian weavers and the low production cost gave a tough competition to the European manufactures. It led to the invention of cottongin, flying shuttle, spinning jenny and steam engine in England, which made the production of textiles on largescale. India became the market for the finished products of Britain. As a result, peasants who had supplemented their income by part-time spinning and weaving had to now rely only on cultivation. So they lost their livelihood. Moreover, the Indian goods made with primitive techniques could not compete with industrial goods made in England.

The Drain Theory of DadabaiNaoroji

DadabaiNaoroji was the first to acknowledge that the poverty of the Indian people was due to the British exploitation of India's resources and the drain of India's wealth to Britain

d. Trading policy of the British

All the policies implemented by the British government in India had a deep impact on India's indigenous industries. Free trade policy followed by the East India Company compelled the Indian traders to sell their goods below the market prices. This forced many craftsmen to abandon their ancestral handicraft talents. East India Company's aim was to buy the maximum quantity of Indian manufactured goods at the cheapest price and sell them to other European countries for a huge profit. This affected the traditional Indian industry. The British followed the policy of protective tariffs that was much against the trading interests of India. Heavy duties were charged on Indian goods in Britain, but at the same time, the English goods entering India were charged only nominal duties.

e. De-Industrialisation

During the first half of 19th century western countries were experiencing industrialisation, India suffered a period of industrial decline. The process of disruption of

traditional Indian crafts and decline in national income has been referred to as de-industrialisation. The Indian domestic industry could not have withstood foreign competition, which was backed by a powerful industrial organisation, big machinery, large-scale production. The difficulties in Indian industries was complicated further by the construction of Suez Canal, because of which transport cost was reduced, which made the British goods cheaper in India. The main cause for the decline of handicraft industry was the greater employment opportunities and income-generating effect of the modern factory.

Beginning of Modern Industries

The process of industrialisation started in India from the mid-19th century. The beginning of modern industry is associated with the development in mainly plantations like jute, cotton and also steel. There was a limited development of mining, especially coal. The accelerated industrialisation began with the development of railways and roadways. This growth greatly influenced the economic and social life of people in the country. The two World Wars gave an impetus to the development of number of industries such as chemical, iron and steel, sugar, cement, glass and other consumer goods. Most mills were setup by wealthy Indian businessmen. Initially this development was confined to the setting up of cotton and jute textile mill

a. Plantation Industries

The plantation industry was the first to attract the Europeans. The plantation industry could provide jobs on a large scale, and in reality, it could meet the increasing demands for tea, coffee and indigo by the British society. Therefore, plantation industry was started early on. The Assam Tea Company was founded in 1839. Coffee plantation also started simultaneously. As the tea plantation was the most important industry of Eastern India, coffee plantation became the centre of activities in South India. The third important plantation, which gave birth to factory, was jute. All these industries were controlled by the many former employees of the British East India Company.

b. Machine-based Industries

In India, modern industrial sector in an organized form started with the establishment of cotton textile industry in Bombay in 1854. In 1855, jute industry was started in the Hooghly valley at Rishra near Calcutta. The first paper mill was started in Ballygunj near Calcutta in 1870. The cotton mills were dominated by Indian enterprises and the jute mills were owned by the British capitalists. Cotton mills were opened in Bombay and Ahmedabad, and jute mills proliferated on the Hooghly river banks. The woollen and leather factories became prominent in Kanpur.

c. Heavy Industries

The heavy industries included the iron and steel industry, Steel was first manufactured by modern methods at Kulti in 1874. Iron and steel industries began rooted in the Indian soil in the beginning of 20th century. However, the credit for the

development of large-scale manufacture of steel in India goes to Jamshedji Tata. The Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO) was setup in 1907 at Jamshedpur. It started producing pig iron in 1911 and steel ingots in 1912.

Growth of Modern Industries

The length of railways increased from 2,573 km in 1861 to 55,773 km in 1914. Opening of the Suez Canal also shortened the distance between Europe and India by about 4,830 km. This reduced distance facilitated further industrialisation of India. As a result of Swadeshi Movement, the cotton mills increased from 194 to 273 and jute mills from 36 to 64. The British had consolidated the power in India and thereby attracted large number of foreign entrepreneurs and capital particularly from England. Foreign capitalists were attracted to Indian industry as it held the prospect of high profit. Labour was extremely cheap. Raw materials were cheaply available. And India and its neighbours provided a ready market.

Confederation of Indian Industry (CII)

The Confederation of Indian Industry is a business association in India. CII is a nongovernment, not-for-profit, industry-led and industry-managed organisation. It was founded in 1985. It has over 9,000 members from the private as well as public sectors, including small and medium enterprises (SME) and multinational corporations (MNCs).

Industrial Growth in India

To realise the dream of development of industries, Indian Government adopted certain industrial policies and Five-Year Plans. One of the most important innovations in the industrial field after Independence has been the introduction of the Five-Year Plans and the direct participation in industry by the government as expressed in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. This Resolution delineated the role of the state in the industrial development both as an entrepreneur and as an authority. As per the Industrial Policy Resolution 1956, industries were classified into three categories:

Schedule A: Only the Government can handle these industries. Some of these are atomic energy, electrical, iron and steel and others.

Schedule B: These comprise road and sea transportation, machine tools, aluminium, chemicals including plastics and fertilisers, ferro alloys and certain types of mining.

Schedule C: Under this category, the remaining industries are left to the private sector.

Classification of Industries

- On the basis of raw materials used, industries can be classified into agro-based and mineral-based. According to their role it can be classified into basic and key industries.

- On the basis of ownership it can be classified into public sector, private sector, joint sector and co-operative sector

Phases of Industrial development in India

a. Industrial development during 1950s to 1965

During this phase, a majority of consumer goods were produced in India. The industrial sector was underdeveloped with weak infrastructure. Technical skills were in short supply. The first three Five-Year Plans were very important because their aim was to build a strong industrial base in independent India. These plans mostly focused on the development of capital goods sector. As a result, this phase witnessed a strong acceleration in the growth rate of production.

b. Industrial development during 1965–1980

As the first three Five-Year Plans mostly focused on the development of the capital goods sector, the consumer goods sector was neglected. The consumer goods sector is the backbone of rural economy. As the result, there was a fall in the growth rate of industrial production. So this period is marked as the period of structural retrogression.

c. Industrial Development during 1980s till 1991

The period of the 1980s can be considered as the period of the industrial recovery. This period witnessed quite a healthy industrial growth.

d. Industrial Development Post 1991 Reforms

The year 1991 ushered a new era of the economic liberalisation. India took major decision to improve the performance of the industrial sector. The Tenth and Eleventh Five-Year Plans witnessed a high growth rate of industrial production. The abolition of industrial licensing, dismantling of price controls, dilution of reservation of small-scale industries and virtual abolition of monopoly law enabled Indian industry to flourish. The new policy welcomes foreign investments.

Modernisation

India has now a large variety of industries producing goods of varied nature, which shows a high degree of modernisation. Some modern industries have really grown and they are competing effectively with the outside world. This has reduced our dependence greatly on foreign experts and technologists. On the contrary, India is exporting trained personnel to relatively less developed countries.

The term information technology includes computer and communication technology along with software. Along with three-sector model of primary, secondary and

tertiary industries, a fourth sector, information-related industries, has emerged. The knowledge economy depicts the automation of labour-intensive manufacturing and service activities as well as growth in new service industries such as health care, distance education, software production and multimedia entertainment.

Self-Reliance

Another positive aspect of industrial growth is the attainment of the goal of self-reliance. We have achieved self-reliance in machinery, plant and other equipment. Today, the bulk of the equipment required for industrial and infrastructural development is produced within the country.

The Indian road network has become one of the largest in the world. Government efforts led to the expansion of the network of National Highways, State highways and major district roads, which in turn has directly contributed to industrial growth.



UNIT - 7 URBAN CHANGES DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

Introduction

The evolution of towns (urban settlements) has occurred in different ways and in different stages. Towns flourished since pre-historic times in India. Towns in India can be classified into ancient towns, medieval towns and modern towns.

Ancient Towns

In ancient times, towns emerged in and around of residential places of kings and its location easily accessible to sea and rivers for trade. Most of them developed as administrative, religious and cultural centres. Harappa, Mohenjadar, Varanasi, Allahabad and Madurai are well-known ancient towns.

Medieval towns

During medieval times most of the towns developed as headquarters of principalities and kingdoms. They functioned either fort city or port city. Important among them are Delhi, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Lucknow, Agra and Nagpur.

Modern towns

With the arrival of Europeans brought about new changes in the development of towns. They first developed some coastal towns such as Surat, Daman, Goa and Pondicherry. The British after consolidated their power in India developed three main cities - Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkatta as the administrative headquarters and trading centres. With the extension of domination they developed new towns, depending on its location, purpose and resources. The newly developed towns are known differently as hill towns, industrial towns, court towns, railway station towns, cantonments and administrative towns.

Unique features of urbanisation under the British

I. De-industrialisation

In the beginning of eighteenth century, the policies of the British proved harmful to the process of urbanisation. Later, the economic policies followed by the British led to the rapid transformation of India's economy into a colonial economy and development of cities.

With the help of one-way free trade predominance of British, Indian manufacturing industries were destroyed. The effect of this wholesale destruction of the Indian manufacturing industries, led to the ruin of the millions of artisans and craftsman. There was a sudden collapse of the urban handicrafts industry which had for centuries made India's name in the markets of the entire civilised world.

Towns and cities long famed for their specialized products gazed continually shrinking market. As a result, old populous manufacturing towns such as Dacca, Murshidabad, Surat and Lucknow lost their previous importance. The entire industrial structure crashed down under stiff competition of imported goods.

The traditional industrial base of Indian cities, made by the indigenous handicraft production was destroyed by Industrial revolution. The high import duties and other restrictions imposed on the import of Indian goods into Britain and Europe led to the decline of Indian industries. Thus, India became the agricultural colony of Britain.

II. De-urbanisation

The transformation of India's economy into a colonial one – a market for the manufactures and source for the supply of the raw materials to her industries hit hard the industrial and commercial base of a number of towns.

The gradual erosion of king's power led to the demise of towns associated with their rule. Agra once an imperial city in the first quarter of 19th century was surrounded by extensive ruins all around. The native rulers lost their kingdom to the British by means of various policies of the colonial power.

Another factor which contributed to the decline of the urban centres of the pre-British period was the introduction of the network of railroads in India since 1853. The introduction of the railways resulted in the diversion of trade routes and every railway station became a point of export of raw materials. The railways enabled British manufactures to reach every nook and corner of the country and uprooted the traditional industries in the villages of the country.

III. The Growth of New Urban Centres

British developed new centres of trade like Calcutta, Madras and Bombay on the eastern and western coastal areas. Madras (1639) Bombay (1661) and Calcutta (1690), cities which the British largely created and fortified. All those were earlier fishing and weaving villages. Here they built their homes, shops and churches as well as their commercial and administrative headquarters.

From the mid-eighteenth century, there was a new phase of change. As the British gradually acquired political control after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, and the trade of English East India company expanded.

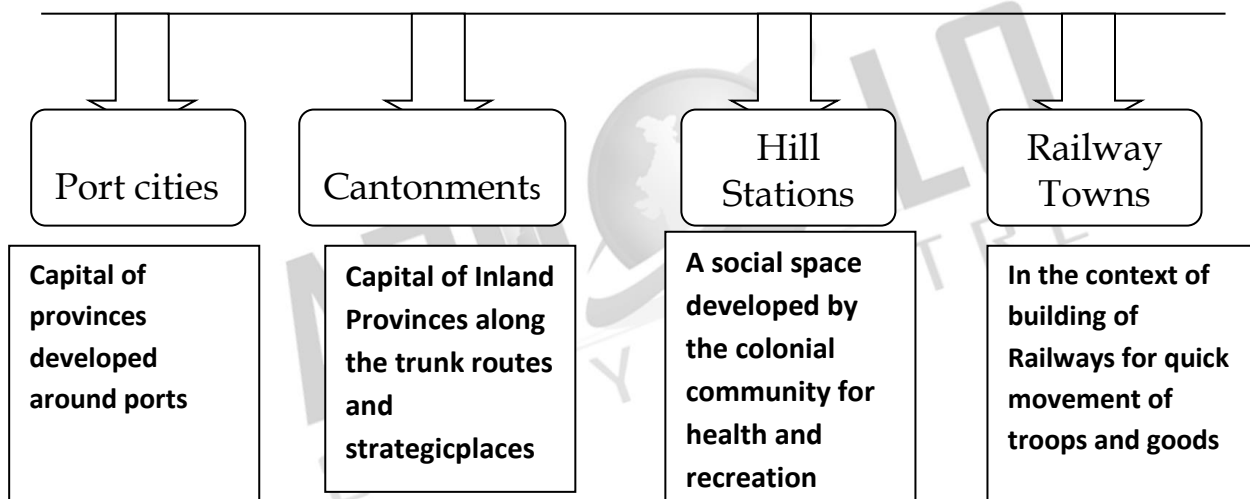
A new trend of urbanisation began in the latter half of the nineteenth century as a result of the opening of Suez Canal, introduction of steam navigation, construction of railways, canals, harbours, growth of factory industries, coal mining, tea plantation, banking, shipping and insurance. Changes in the networks of trade were reflected in the development of urban centres.

An urban area is one that has a high population density engaged in occupations other than food production, living in a highly built environment.

a. Port cities

The British arrived in India for trading. Madras, Calcutta and Bombay became the important ports. They played important role in trade. These cities became the prominent commercial areas with tall European - styled buildings. The English East India Company built its factories and fortified them for the protection for their settlement. Fort St. George in Madras and Fort William in Calcutta were the best examples.

Colonial Urban Development



The British occupied the Indian territory and political power by their military force. So they needed strong military camps and established the cantonments. The cantonments were thus an entirely new kind of urban centres. Army people began to live in these places and gradually they were grown up a city. For e.g. Kanpur, Lahore.

c. Hill stations

Hill stations were distinctive features of colonial urban development. Although Hill stations were not unknown, prior to their founding by the British in India, they were few and had a small population and were often visited for specific purpose. For e.g. Srinagar was a Mughal recreational centre, Kedarnath and Badrinath were Hindu religious Centres. The British coming from a cool temperate climate, found the Indian summer season inhospitable. So the cool climate of Indian hills was seen as protective and advantage. It protected the Europeans from hot weather and epidemics. So they built up the alternative capitals in cool areas, like Darjeeling was the alternative of Calcutta, Dehradun was the alternative of Delhi. Hill stations became strategic places for billeting troops, guarding frontiers and launching campaigns. Hill stations were developed both in North and South

India, e.g. Simla, Nainital, Darjeeling, Ootacamund and Kodaikanal. Simla (Shimla) was founded during the Gurkha war (1814-16). Darjeeling was wrested from the rulers of Sikkim in 1835. These hill stations were also developed as Sanatoriums (places for soldiers for rest and recovery from illness). The introduction of railways made hill station more accessible.

d. Railway towns

Railway towns were also a type of urban settlements and were established in 1853 after the introduction of railways by the British. By the nature of railway transport, all the towns were located on the plains. Eg. Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkatta.

Creation of Municipalities and Corporation

The development of local government in the British India may be traced in three distinct phases.

a. First phase (1688-1882)

Municipal government in India has been in existence since 1688 with the formation of Madras Municipal Corporation with a Mayor. Sir Josiah Child, one of the Directors of the East India Company was responsible for the formation of the Corporation. The Charter Act of 1793 established Municipal administration in the three presidency towns. According to the provisions of the Act of 1850, municipalities were formed in North Western Frontier provinces, Oudh and Bombay. Lord Mayo's famous Resolution of 1870 intended to afford opportunities for the development of self-government.

b. Second phase (1882-1920)

Ripon's Resolution on local Self - Government was a landmark in the history of local self-government. So Ripon is rightly regarded as the Father of Local Self - Government in India and his Resolution as the Magna-Carta of Local Self-Government.

c. Third phase (1920-1950)

The Government of India Act of 1919 introduced Dyarchy in the provinces. The Government of India Act of 1935 introduced Provincial Autonomy. With the attainment of Independence in 1947 India had the unique opportunity of making and moulding local government to meet the needs of the free nation.

Administration of the Presidency Towns

Towards the close of eighteenth century, a Parliamentary statute authorized the Governor General to appoint justices of the peace in these towns. After various trials a system of government was evolved for the three presidency towns which had the essential features like a large corporation with elected members, a strong independent executive authority with adequate safeguards for checking accounts and statutory provision for the

performance of essential duties such as sanitation and water supply and collection of revenue etc.

Origin and Growth of Madras

The beginning of the city of Madras goes back to the earliest stages of British commercial enterprise in India. The English East India Company was started in 1600 A.D(C.E). Twelve years later, a Factory was set up at Surat on the West coast. Subsequently the search for textiles brought British merchants to have port on the east coast.

Presently Fort St. George is the power centre of Tamil Nadu State Government, extending across 172 sq. KM (66 sq. miles)

The English, after some efforts secured the privilege of building a factory at Masulipatnam. It was well protected from the monsoon winds. But then Masulipatnam was in the throes of a famine. In spite of every assurance of protection, English trade did not thrive at that place.

Then the English traders looked for a new site. Francis Day, the member of the Masulipatnam council and the chief of the Armagon Factory, made a voyage of exploration in 1637 with a view to choose a site for a new settlement. At last, he was given the offer to choose Madrasapatnam. Francis Day inspected the place and found it favourable to set up factory.

The official grant for the land was given by DamarlaVenkatapathyNayak, the deputy of the Raja of Chandragiri (12km west of Tirupathi). Damarla gave British a piece of land between Cooumriver and the Egmore. In 1639 the deed was signed by English East India Company's Francis Day accompanied by his interpreter BeriThimmappa and superior Andrew Cogan. By this Francis Day and Andrew Cogan (the chief of the Masulipatnam Factory), was granted permission to establish a factory - cum - trading post and a fort at Madrasapatnam in 1639. This fortified settlement came to be known as Fort St. George settlement. It is otherwise referred to as the White Town. While the nearby villages inhabited by local population was called as Black Town. Collectively the White Town and the Black Town were called Madras.

Madrasapatnam

DamarlaVenkatapathy gave the English the grant of Madrasapatnam. He was under the control of VenkatapathyRayalu, the Rajah of Chandragiri. Venkatapathy was succeeded by Srirangarayalu in 1642. He issued a new grant to English in 1645 called Srirangarayapatnam. Venkatapathy desired that the name Chennapatnam should be given to the new Fort and settlement of the English after his father ChennappaNayak. But the English preferred to call the two united towns by the name of Madrasapatnam.

Making of Chennai

Chennai was once a group of villages set amidst palm fringed paddy fields until two English East India Company merchants visited there. Raja Mahal in Chandragiri palace, where Sir Francis Day of the East India Company was granted land in 1639 in order to set up factory which later came to be known as Madras. This first factory was completed on St. George's Day, 23 April 1640 and named Fort St. George. Day and Cogan were jointly responsible for the construction of Fort St. George. This was the East India Company's principal settlement until 1774.

The first building to be seen on entering the Fort through the Sea Gate is the seat of the Government of Tamil Nadu. These impressive buildings built between 1694 and 1732 are said to be among the oldest surviving British Construction in India.

The Madras presidency was an administrative sub division which was referred to as the Madras province. The Madras presidency during the British regime covered a vast expanse of the southern part of India that encompasses modern day Tamil Nadu, the Lakshadweep Island, Northern Kerala, Rayalaseema, coastal Andhra, districts of Karnataka and various districts of southern Odisha.

Dalhousie Square in Calcutta and Fort St, George in Madras were close to the central commercial area and had massive buildings which were british variants of roman styles.

After independence in 1947 the Madras presidency became the state of Madras and the other regions that were a part of the erstwhile presidency were constituted in separate states of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Mysore under the States Reorganisation Act, 1956. Later on in 1969 the State of Madras was rechristened as Tamil Nadu. On 17th July 1996, Madras was officially renamed as Chennai.

Bombay

Bombay was initially seven islands. It was under the control of the Portuguese from 1534 onwards. Portuguese king gave it as a dowry to Charles II of England when he married the former's sister in 1661. King leased it to the East India Company. The city of Bombay began to grow when the East India Company started using Bombay as its main port in Western India. In 1687, the English East India Company transferred its headquarters from Surat to Bombay.

Calcutta

In 1690, the English merchants founded a settlement at Sutanuti. In 1698, they secured Zamindari rights over Sutanuti, Calcutta and Gobindpur. The company established Fort William in Calcutta. Calcutta became Presidency with a Governor and Council to manage its affairs.

Conclusion

The British empire gradually consolidated and established an elaborate spatial structure of administration with an imperial capital, provincial capitals and district headquarters. The new rulers brought new officials, new institutions and new structure to these towns with a kacheri, cantonment, police station, jail treasury. Public garden, post office, schools, dispensary and above all a municipal committee.

Thus in course of time, administrative headquarters emerged as the most important towns and cities of the country. For example, by the beginning of 20th century, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras had become the leading administrative commercial and industrial cities of India. These cities became the central commercial area with buildings of European style. Sub urban railways, tram car and city buses gave the colonial cities a new look and status.

Recap

- ❖ The evolution of urban settlements has occurred in different ways and in different stages.
- ❖ In ancient times towns emerged around king's palaces. During medieval times the towns functioned either fort city or port city.
- ❖ With the extension of domination British developed new towns depending on its location, purpose and resources.
- ❖ In the late 18th century Calcutta, Bombay and Madras rose as Presidency cities.
- ❖ Chennai was once a group of villages. Sir Francis Day of the East India Company was granted land in 1639 to setup factory which later came to be known as Chennai.
- ❖ On 17th July 1996, Madras was officially renamed as Chennai.

UNIT – 8 Status of Women in India through the ages

Introduction

Generally human society is constantly changing with additions, assimilations and omissions from within and outside. Women constitute half of the population. It is imperative to have a historical understanding of the status of women through ages.

The position of women was not uniform in all periods, differed with regional variations. In ancient India particularly early Vedic period women enjoyed equal rights. But with the passage of time their status in the society found deteriorated as a result of frequent foreign invasions. They were subjected to subjugation and subordination. New social practices, customs and systems which crept into the society in turn put limitations and restrictions on the liberty of women.

During the British Raj, many socio- religious reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy, Dayananda Saraswathi, Keshab Chandra Sen, Iswara Chandra VidyaSagar, Pandita Ramabai, Dr.Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar, Jyotiraophule, Periyar E.V.R, Dr.Dharmambal were the prominent leaders who fought for the upliftment of women. Raja Rammohan Roy's efforts led to the abolition of sati in 1829. Vidyasagar's crusade for the improvement in the condition of widows, led to the passing of Widow Remarriage Act in 1856. The reformers rightly realized that female education as an emancipating agent in eradicating social evils. So they started girls' schools in various parts of the country, which brought significant changes in the lives of women.

Women played an important part in Indian Freedom struggle. Until independence, there was no radical changes in the status of women. In independent India, last few decades have witnessed the all round development of women. Women are now making their presence felt in every walk of life.

The position of women

a) Ancient Period

In the ancient Indus civilization of India, evidences show the worship of the mother goddess. Hence, the adoration for the mother is evident during that period. During the Rig Vedic period, it is believed that the position of wife was honoured and women's position was acknowledged, especially in the performance of religious ceremonies.

During later Vedic age witnessed a transitional development in the status of women restricting her role in the social life except in the performance of religious sacrifices. Her social and political freedom was restricted. Sati became popular during the later Vedic period where the widows either chose for themselves or were forced to jump into the pyre of their husbands. The patriarchal system became rigid. Women were denied to study Vedic scriptures.

b) Medieval Period

The position of women in the society further deteriorated during the medieval period and they suffered from many social evils such as sati, child marriages, female infanticide, and slavery. Normally monogamy was in practice but among the rich polygamy was prevalent. 'Sati' was in practice particularly among the royal and upper strata of the society. Widow re-marriage was rare. Devadasi system was in practice in some parts of India. Among the Rajputs of Rajasthan, the Jauhar was practiced. The condition of widow became miserable during the medieval period. But we don't ignore the fact that the Mughal ruler Akbar attempted to abolish sati. In fact very little attention was paid to female education.

Jauhar refers to the practice of collective voluntary immolation by wives and daughters of defeated Rajput warriors, in order to avoid capture and dishonour.

In spite of general determination, we can find some exceptions Razia sultana, Queen Durgavati, Chand bibi, Nurjahan, Jahannara, Jijabai and Mira bai.

During medieval times Women's education was not completely ignored, though no regular separate school seems to have existed. Female education was informal. Girls usually had their lessons from their parents in their childhood. The rich appointed tutors to teach their daughters at home. The daughters of Rajput chiefs and Zamindars studied literature and philosophy.

c) British Period

For centuries women in India had been subordinated to men and socially oppressed. The major effect of national awakening in the nineteenth century was seen in the field of social reform. The enlightened persons increasingly revolted against rigid social evils and outdated customs. Numerous individuals, reform societies and religious organisations worked hard to spread education among women, to encourage widow remarriage, to improve the living conditions of widows, to prevent marriage of young children, to enforce monogamy and to enable middle-class women to take up professions or public employment.

In the beginning of nineteenth century female literacy was extremely low when compared to male literacy. The Christian missionaries were the first to set up the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in 1819. The Bethune school was founded in 1849 by J.E.D. Bethune, who was the president of the council of education in Calcutta.

Charles Wood's despatch on education in 1854 laid a great stress on the need for female education. Indian Education Commission (Hunter) of 1882 recommended to start primary schools for girls and teacher-training institution and suggested special scholarships and prizes for girls. In 1880's Indian women began to enter universities. They

were also trained to become doctors and teachers. They began to write books and magazines. In 1914 the women's medical service did a lot of work in training mid-wives. In the 1890s D.K. Karve established a number of female schools in Poona. Prof D.K. Karve, Pandita Rama bai, made sincere effort to emancipate women through education was really remarkable. The Indian women's university was started by Prof. D.K. Karve in 1916. It was an outstanding institution imparting education to women. In the same year Lady Harding Medical College was started in Delhi.

Major Social Evils

a) Female infanticide

Female infanticide was another inhuman practice afflicting the nineteenth century Indian society. It was particularly in vogue in Rajputana, Punjab and the North Western Provinces. It was mainly to avoid economic burden.

Factors such as family pride, the fear of not finding a suitable match for the girl child were some of the major reasons responsible for this practice. Therefore, immediately after birth, the female infants were being killed.

The company administration in India took steps to ban this practice by passing the Bengal Regulatory Act XXI of 1795, the Regulating Act of 1802 and the Female Infanticide Act of 1870.

b) Female Foeticide

Female foeticide is also an inhuman practice which cuts across the caste, creed, class and regional boundaries. Whether it is female infanticide or female foeticide the prime motive remained the same. In order to ban the female foeticide and sex-determination the central Government passed various Acts.

c) Child marriage

The practice of child marriage was another social disgrace for the women. In 1846, the minimum marriageable age for a girl was only 10 years. The native marriage Act was passed in 1872. It fixed the minimum marriageable age of girls at 14 and boys at 18. In 1930, the Central Legislative Assembly passed Rai Saheb Harbilas Sarada's child Marriage Bill fixing the minimum marriageable age for boys at 18 and 14 for girls. It was later amended to 18 for girls and 21 for boys according to Hindu Marriage Act 1955.

Akbar prohibited child marriage and made it obligatory for the parents to obtain the approval of both the bride and the bridegroom before the marriage. He prescribed 14 years as the age of consent for girls and 16 years for boys

d) Sati

Sati was social evil that prevailed in Indian society especially among the Rajputs. Earlier it was a voluntary act but later by the relatives forced the widow to sit on the funeral pyre. The Italian traveler, Niccolo Conti, who visited Vijayanagar about the year A.D. (C.E) 1420, notes that 'the inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands'.

In the early years of 19th century, sati was in practice in various Parts of Bengal, western India and southern India. In 1811, Jagan Mohan Roy, brother of Rammohan Roy, passed away and his wife was burnt along with him. Rammohan Roy was moved to the extreme at the sight of it and took an oath that he would have the cruel practice abolished by law. He carried on a continuous agitation through press and platform for the abolition of Sati.

Raja Rammohan Roy published his tracts in 1818-20, making the point that the rite of Sati was not enjoined by the Sastras. This material was used by the Serampore missionaries to shatter the generally accepted view that Sati was an integral part of the Hindu religion. Orthodox Hindu opinion against the abolition was advocated by Radhakanta Deb, and Bhawani Charan Banerji.

When Lord William Bentinck took up the question of Sati, he found that the abolition had been recommended by the judges of the criminal courts. He passed Regulation XVII on December 4, 1829 'declaring the practice of Sati or burning or burying alive the widow of Hindus, illegal and punishable by Criminal Courts'. Similar legislative measures were enacted soon after in Bombay and Madras.

e) Devadasi System

The word Devadasi (Sanskrit) or Devaradiyal (Tamil) means "servant of God" dancing girl dedicated to the service of god in a temple. Devadasi system was a social evil. There was also tradition of dedicating one daughter to the temple. In addition to taking care of the temple, they learnt and practiced Bharatha Natiyam and other classical traditional Indian arts.

Later on they were ill treated and humiliated. The Devadasis lost their dignity, sense of pride, self-respect and honour.

Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar who was the first woman doctor in India, dedicated herself for the cause of abolishing the cruel practice of Devadasi system from Tamil Nadu. Appreciating her role in the agitation against Devadasi system she was nominated to the Tamil Nadu legislative council in 1929. Periyar E.V. Ramasamy was instrumental in passing the "Devadasi abolition bill". Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar proposed the bill to the Madras legislative council in 1930.

Moovalur Ramamirtham was yet another woman who fought for the emancipation of the Devadasi. With the continuous moral support rendered by Rajaji, Periyar and Thiru. Vi. Ka, she raised slogan against this cruel practice. As a result the government passed the "Devadasi Abolition Act".

The Madras Devadasi Act was a law that was enacted on 9th October 1947. The law was passed in the Madras presidency and gave Devadasis the legal right to marry and made it illegal to dedicated girls to Indian temples.

Role of Social Reformers

From the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of social reformers and social reform movements sought to promote the upliftment of women by giving them education, raising their marriageable age and taking care of widows, as well as to remove the rigidity of caste and raise the suppressed class to a status of equality. The reformers who led the movements were the forerunners of modern India.

a) Raja Rammohan Roy

There were some enlightened Indians who supported the British attempt to reform the oppressive social order of India. The first was the abolition of sati by law, on humanitarian grounds. Raja Rammohan Roy, the pioneer of Indian social reform movement was a casteless crusader of sati after having seen this practice in the case of his own sister-in-law. He started his campaigning against this inhuman evil practice. Influenced by the ruthless attack of the movement led by Rammohan Roy the British government declared this act as “culpable Homicide”. Raja Rammohan Roy is most remembered for helping Lord William Bentinck to declare the practice of Sati a punishable offence in 1829. He also protested against the child marriage and female infanticide. He favoured the remarriage of widows, female education and women’s right to property. Thus the evil practice of sati on any scale was wiped out.

b) Ishwar Chandra Vidhyasagar

Ishwar Chandra Vidhyasagar carried on the movement for female education, widow remarriage and abolition of polygamy in Bengal. He submitted petitions to this effect to the Indian Legislative Council and to the passing of the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act in 1856. His son Narayanachandra set an example to others by marrying a widow of his choice. To promote female education, Vidhyasagar founded several girls’ schools in the districts of Nadia, Midnapur, Hugli and Burdwan in Bengal.

c) Kandukuri Veeresalingam

Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu was the earliest champion in South India of women’s emancipation. He published a journal *vivekavardhani*. He opened his first girls’ school in 1874 and made widow remarriage and female education the key points of his programme for social reform.

d) M.G. Ranade and B.M. Malabari

In Bombay presidency, M.G. Ranade and B.M. Malabari carried on the movement for the upliftment of women. In 1869, Ranade joined the Widow Remarriage Association and encouraged widow remarriage and female education and opposed child marriage. In 1887, he started the National Social Conference, which became a pre-eminent institution for social reform. In 1884, B.M. Malabari, a journalist, started a movement for the abolition of child marriage. He published pamphlets on this subject and appealed to the government to take action.

e) Gopal Krishna Gokhale

In 1905, Gopal Krishna Gokhale started the Servants of India Society which took up such social reform measures as primary education, female education and depressed classes' upliftment. The spread of female education further led to the participation of women in the freedom struggle.

f) Periyar E.V.R.

Periyar E.V.R. was one of the greatest social reformers of Tamil Nadu. He advocated women education, widow remarriage and inter-caste marriages and opposed child marriages.

g) Women Reformers

Most of the reform movements like Brahma Samaj (1828), PrarthanaSamaj (1867) and AryaSamaj (1875) were led by male reformers who set the limit of the freedom and development of women. Women reformers like PanditaRamabai, Rukhmabai and TarabaiShinde tried to extent further. In 1889, PanditaRamabai opened SaradaSadan (Home of Learning) for Hindu widows in Bombay. It was later shifted to Poona. Her greatest legacy was her effort, the first in India, to educate widows. Theosophical society was established at Chennai and Dr. Annie Besant who came from Europe and joined it. It also developed general social reform programme.

Dr. S. Dharmambal was another reformer who was very much influenced by the ideas of Periyar. She showed great interest in implementing widow remarriage and women education. Among 'MoovalurRamamirdhamAmmaiyar' raised her voice against Devadasi system along with Dr.MuthulakshmiAmmaiyar. In her memory, the government of Tamil Nadu has instituted the "MoovalurRamamirdhaAmmalNinaivu Marriage assistance scheme", a social welfare scheme to provide financial assistance to poor women as poverty was the root cause for all these evils. Thus women reformers also contributed a lot for winning their own rights.

Leading women realized the need of forming their own associations in order to safeguard their interests. As a result three major national women's organizations - Women's India Association, National Council of Women in India and the All India Women's Conference were founded.

Women in the freedom movement

In the early anti-colonial struggle women played major roles in various capacities. Velunachiyar of Sivaganga fought violently against the British and restored her rule in Sivaganga. Begum HazratMahal, Rani Lakshmi Bhai of Jhansi led an armed revolt of 1857 against the British.

In the freedom struggle thousands of women came out of their homes, boycotted foreign goods, marched in processions, defied laws, received lathi charges and Courted jails. Their participation in the struggle added a new dimension of mass character.

Impact of reform movement

- ❖ Significant advances were made in the field of emancipation of women.
- ❖ It created of national awakening among the masses.
- ❖ It created the feeling of sacrifice, service and rationalism.
- ❖ The practice of sati and infanticide were made illegal.
- ❖ It permitted widow remarriage.

Women in Independent India

Women in India now participate in all activities such as education, politics, medical, culture, service sectors, science and technology.

The constitution of India guarantees (Article 14) equal opportunity and equal pay for equal work.

The National policy for empowerment of women was passed under the National Policy on Education (1986), new programme was launched called MahilaSamakhya, its main focus was on empower of women. Reservation of 33 percent to women envisaged an improvement in the socio-political status of women.

The National Commission for women was set up January 1992. Its main functions is to review women related legislation and intervene in specific individual complaints of atrocities and denial of rights.

The following legislations have enhanced the status of women in matters of marriage adoption and inheritance.

Legislation	Provisions
Bengal regulation of XXI, 1804	Female infanticide was declared illegal
Regulation of XVII, 1829	Practice of sati was declared illegal
Hindus Widow's Remarriage Act, 1856	It permitted widow remarriage
The Native Marriage Act, 1872	The Child Marriage was prohibited
The Sharda Act, 1930	The age of marriage was raised for boys and girls
Devadasi abolition Act, 1947	It abolished Devadasi system

10th history
Unit - 2 The World between Two World Wars

(b) Decolonisation in India

Dyarchy in Provinces

The decolonization process started in India from the beginning of the twentieth century with the launch of the Swadeshi Movement in 1905. The outbreak of the First World War brought about rapid political as well as economic changes. In 1919, the Government of India Act introduced Dyarchy that provided for elected provincial assemblies as well as for Indian ministers to hold certain portfolios under Transferred Subjects. The Indian National Congress rejected Dyarchy and decided to boycott the legislature.

Lack of Measures to Industrialise India

Despite the discriminating protection given to certain select industries such as sugar, cement, and chemicals, there was no change in the colonial economic policy. But in the case of indigenous industries, support was only in the form of providing “technical advice and education, and the establishment of pioneer factories in new industries”. However, even this policy was soon abandoned as many British enterprises were opposed to this.

Impact of Depression on Indian Agriculture

The ‘Great Depression’ also dealt a death blow to Indian agriculture and the indigenous manufacturing sector. The value of farm produce, declined by half while the land rent to be paid by the peasant remained unchanged. In terms of prices of agricultural commodities, the obligation of the farmers to the state doubled. The great fall in prices prompted Indian nationalists to demand protection for the internal economy. The 1930s saw the emergence of the Indian National Congress as a militant mass movement.

Government of India Act, 1935

The British had to appease the Indian nationalists and the outcome was the passage of the Government of India Act, 1935. This provided for greater power to the local governments and the introduction of direct elections. In the 1937 elections the Congress won a resounding victory in most of the provinces. However the decision of Britain to involve India in the Second World War, without consulting the popular Congress ministries, forced the latter to resign from office.

10th history
Unit 3 -World War II

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

In the aftermath of the Holocaust the UNO in its Charter, pledged to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction to race, sex, language and religion. The UN efforts to protect human rights on a global basis resulted in the constitution of UN Commission on Human Rights. A committee constituted under its auspices was chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt wife of late President Franklin Roosevelt. The members of the Commission included Charles Malik of Lebanon, P.C. Chang of Nationalist China, John Humphrey of Canada, and Rene Cassin of France. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was its important contribution. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights set forth fundamental human rights in 30 articles. The UN adopted this historic Charter on 10 December 1948. This day (10 December) is observed globally as Human Rights Day. Provisions of some ninety national constitutions since 1948, according to the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in New York, can be traced to this Declaration.

Birth of Israel

A major outcome of the Holocaust was the creation of the state of Israel as a homeland for the Jews. While this was historically the original home of the Jews during Roman times.

New International Order

By 1941 the United States and Britain began to give serious consideration to the need for international cooperation for achieving lasting peace among all nations. International economic and financial stability were also important objectives. All these would need international organizations with members of the various nations across the world working together for these common objectives. This ultimately resulted in the establishment of the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, with many associated organizations which deal with basic issues of importance for all societies and countries.

United Nations

The first initiative for the United Nations came from the United States and Britain in 1941 when they issued a joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter. This Declaration of the United Nations was accepted by all the 26 countries which were fighting against the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) on New Year's Day, 1942. The Charter of the United Nations was signed on June 26, 1945 by 51 nations. India which was not an independent country then also was a signatory to the Charter. Now the United Nations has 193 member states and each one - big or small - has an equal vote in the United Nations.

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small ...".

- from The Preamble to the United Nations

General Assembly and Security Council

The United Nations functions almost like any government, through its principal organs which are similar to the legislative, executive and judicial wings of a state. In the General Assembly is the body in which each member state is represented. It meets once a year and issues of interest and points of conflict are discussed in the Assembly. The Security Council has fifteen members. Five countries - the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China - are permanent members, and there are ten temporary members who are elected in rotation. These two bodies function like a legislature. Each of the permanent members has the right to veto any decision by the other members of the Security Council. This right has often been used to block major decisions, especially by the superpowers, the US and Russia. Major issues and conflicts are discussed in the Security Council.

Administrative Structure

The executive wing of the United Nations is the UN Secretariat. It is headed by the Secretary General, who is elected by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary General, along with his cabinet and other officials, runs the United Nations. The International Court of Justice, headquartered at The Hague in Holland, is the judicial wing of the United Nations. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the fifth organ of the United Nations, is responsible for coordinating all the economic and social work of the United Nations. The regional Economic Commissions functioning for regional development across the various regions of the world (Asia Pacific, West Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America) are organs of ECOSOC. They have been very successful, and have been headed by eminent economists like Gunnar Myrdal.

Other Important Organs of the UN

Associated organizations deal with areas of critical interest to the world at large like food, health and education, and culture. These are: Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), World Health Organisation (WHO), UNESCO (UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation). There are also special organizations funded voluntarily by member countries. The two best known among them are UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) which promotes child health and welfare across the world, and the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), which focuses on development.

Activities of the UN

Over the decades, the United Nations has expanded its activities in response to the changing problems facing the world. Thus, in the 1960s, decolonization was an important issue. Human rights, the problems of refugees, climate change, gender equality are all now within the ambit of the activities of the United Nations. A special mention must be made of the UN Peacekeeping force, which has acted in many areas of conflict all over the world. The Indian army has been an important part of the peacekeeping force and has been deployed in many parts of the world.

World Bank

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, referred to as the “Bretton Woods Twins”, were both established in 1945 after the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. Located in Washington D.C. in the United States, they have the same membership, since a country cannot be a member of the Bank without being a member of the Fund.

The two main organs of the World Bank are the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Agency (IDA). Together they are often referred to as the World Bank. The main responsibility of the IBRD in the initial years was to fund the reconstruction activities under the Marshall Plan in the European countries devastated by the war. The agenda later expanded to promote economic development in poorer countries and the Bank lends money to various countries for developmental projects. A further area of interest is poverty alleviation, especially in the rural areas of developing countries. The International Development Agency (IDA) also lends money to governments for developmental activities. These loans are “soft” loans, and are given at very low rates of interest for a period of 50 years. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) mainly functions with private enterprises in developing countries.

In recent years the Bank is actively promoting the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals which aim at improving living standards, removing illiteracy, empowering women and improving maternal and child health, improving the environment and eradicating AIDS.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The International Monetary Fund was primarily the brainchild of Harry Dexter White and John Maynard Keynes, the famous economist. It was formally organized in 1945 with 29 member countries. It now has a membership of 189 countries. Its primary objective is to ensure financial stability and development across the world. The main agenda is to promote international monetary cooperation, expansion of international trade and exchange stability. The Fund lends money from its resources to countries facing balance of payments problems (because they are unable to pay for their imports). It however imposes stringent conditions on the borrowing nations to tighten their budgets, practice fiscal prudence and reduce their expenditure. This is often unpopular, especially

among the developing countries which may have to cut down on various programmes which provide subsidies to the people.

The objectives of the IMF are: “to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth and reduce poverty around the world.”



10th history

5- Social and Religious Reform Movements in the 19th Century

English education, introduced with the object of producing clerks, also produced a new English-educated middle class. This class came under the influence of western ideas and thoughts. Christianity also had its effect on the newly emerging middle class. Though small in number, the educated middle class began to take a lead in political as well as in reform movements. The Indian reformers were, however, quite hesitant to subject their old notions and habits to critical scrutiny. Instead they attempted to harmonize both Indian and Western cultures. Their ideas and their actions helped to mitigate social evils such as sati, female infanticide, and child marriage and various superstitious beliefs.

The reform movements of nineteenth century in the realm of religion fall under two broad categories: reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and the Aligarh Movement; and the revivalist movements such as the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Deoband Movement. There were also attempts to challenge the oppressive social structure by Jyotiba Phule in Pune, Narayana Guru and Ayyankali in Kerala and Ramalinga Adigal, Vaikunda Swamikal and Iyothee Thassar of Tamil Nadu.

Raja Rammohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj

Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) was one of the earlier reformers influenced by the Western ideas to initiate reforms. He was a great scholar, well-versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and English apart from his knowledge in his mother tongue, Bengali. Rammohan Roy was opposed to meaningless religious ceremonies and all forms of pernicious social customs. Yet he wanted to preserve continuity with the past. In his religio-philosophical social outlook, he was deeply influenced by monotheism and anti-idolatry. Based on his interpretation of the Upanishads, he argued that all the ancient texts of the Hindus preached monotheism or worship of one God.

Deeply concerned with the prevailing customs of sati, child marriage, and polygamy he published tracts against them and petitioned the government to legislate against them. He advocated the rights of widows to remarry. He wanted polygamy to end. His opinions were resisted fiercely by orthodox Hindus. He appealed to reason and humanity and compassion of the people. He visited the crematorium of Calcutta to try and persuade the relatives of widows to give up their plan of self-immolation. His campaign played a key role in forcing the Governor-General William Bentinck's legislation abolishing sati in 1829.

Ram Mohan Roy condemned the subjugation of women and opposed the prevailing ideas that women were inferior to men. He strongly advocated education for women. He gave his full support for the introduction of English language and western sciences in schools and colleges. Rammohan found in the Upanishads a new revelation of one infinite, divine Being, the eternal Brahman, while Hinduism as he saw in the daily life around him was a perversion of their teaching.

Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. On 20 August 1828 he opened a temple in Calcutta, where there was no image. There he laid down that 'no religion should be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to.' The Samaj forbade idol-worship and condemned meaningless religious rites and ceremonies. However, from the beginning, the appeal of the Brahmo Samaj remained limited to the intellectuals and enlightened Bengalis. Though the Samaj failed to attract the people from the lower sections of society, its impact on the culture of modern Bengal and its middle class was quite significant.

Maharishi Debendranath Tagore

After the death of Ram Mohan Roy (1833), Maharishi Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905), the poet Rabindranath Tagore's father, carried on the work. He laid down four articles of faith:

1. **In the beginning there was nothing. The one Supreme Being alone existed who created the Universe.**
2. **He alone is the God of Truth, Infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power, eternal, omnipresent, the One without second.**
3. **Our salvation depends on belief in Him and in His worship in this world and the next.**
4. **Belief consists in loving Him and doing His will.**

Keshab Chandra Sen & Brahmo Samaj of India

Debendranath was a moderate reformer. But his younger colleagues in the Sabha were for rapid changes. The greatest of these, Keshab Chandra Sen, (1838-84) joined the movement in 1857. He was greatly influenced by Christianity, believing in its spirit but not in the person of its founder. But in 1866 a split occurred in the ranks of Brahmo Samaj. Keshab left the Samaj and founded a new organization. Debendranath's organization, thereafter, came to be known as Adi Brahmo Samaj. After Keshab had his fourteen-year-old daughter married to an Indian prince, in contravention of the Samaj's condemnation of child marriages, the opponents of child marriage left the Brahmo Samaj of India and started the Sadharan Samaj, which developed anti-Christian tendencies.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

Another outstanding reformer in Bengal was Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891). While Ram Mohan Roy and others looked to western rationalist ideas to reform society, Vidyasagar argued that the Hindu scriptures were progressive. He provided evidence from scriptures that there was no sanction for burning of widows or for the prohibition on the remarriage of widows. He wrote a number of polemical tracts, and was the pioneer of modern Bengali prose. He played a leading role in promoting education of girls and helped them in setting up a number of schools. He dedicated his whole life for the betterment of the child widows of the Hindu society. The movement led by

Vidyasagar, resulted in the Widows' Remarriage Reform Act of 1856. This Act was intended to improve the lot of child widows and save them from perpetual widowhood.

Prarthana Samaj

The Maharashtra region was another region where reform activities gained Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar steam. A movement similar to the Brahmo Samaj, but founded in Bombay in 1867, was Prarthana Samaj. Its founder was Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang (1825–1898). The two distinguished members of this Samaj were R.C. Bhandarkar and Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade. They devoted themselves to activities such as intercaste dining, inter-caste marriage, widow remarriage and improvement of women and depressed classes. Ranade (1842–1901) was the founder of the Widow Marriage Association (1861), the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha (1870) and the Deccan Education Society (1884).

While the above reformers worked among the upper castes, during the same time Jyotiba Phule worked for the uplift of depressed castes and the cause of women. His book Gulamgiri ('Slavery') is an important work that condemned the inequities of caste.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj, 1875

In the Punjab, the reform movement was spearheaded by the Arya Samaj. It was founded (1875) by a wandering ascetic in the western Gangetic plain, Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824–83). Swami Dayanand later settled in the Punjab to preach his ideas. His book, Satyarthprakash, enjoyed wide circulation. He declared the practices such as child marriage, the prohibition of widow remarriage, and the alleged polluting effects of foreign travel had no scriptural sanction. The positive principles enunciated by Dayanand were: strict monotheism, condemnation of idolatry, and rejection of Brahman domination of ritual and social practices. He also rejected superstitious beliefs in Hinduism, especially Puranic literature and his cry was "go back to Vedas."

Arya Samaj attempted to check the incidence of religious conversion in British India. One of its main objectives was counter-conversion, prescribing a purificatory ceremony called suddhi, directed at Hindus who had converted to Islam and Christianity. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a period of great turmoil in undivided Punjab with intense debates between Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. The primary achievements of the Arya Samaj were in the field of social reform and spread of education. The Samaj started a number of Dayananda Anglo-Vedic schools and colleges.

Ramakrishna

As we saw earlier, the Brahmo Samaj, as a response to Christian and rationalist criticism had criticised idolatry and other orthodox Hindu practices. The popularity that Ramakrishna (1836–86), a simple priest of Dakshineswar near Kolkata, gained in the latter half of the nineteenth century was a response to this. He emphasised the spiritual union with god through ecstatic practices such as singing bhajans. An ardent worshipper of

goddess Kali, the sacred mother, he declared that the manifestations of the divine mother were infinite. In his view, all religions contain the universal elements which, if practised, would lead to salvation. He said, "Jiva is Siva" (all living beings are God). Why then talk of showing mercy to them? Not mercy, but service, service for man, must be regarded as God.'

Ramakrishna Mission

Ramakrishna's primary achievement was his ability to attract educated youth who were dissatisfied with the rational orientation of religious reform organizations such as the Brahmo Samaj. After his death in 1886, his disciples organised themselves as a religious community and undertook the task of making his life and teaching known in India and abroad. The chief spirit behind this task was Vivekananda. Following the organizational structure of Christian missionaries, Vivekananda established the Ramakrishna Mission which did not restrict itself to religious activities but was actively involved in social causes such as education, health care and relief in times of calamities.

Swami Vivekananda

Narendra Nath Datta (1863–1902), later known as Swami Vivekananda, was the prime follower of Ramakrishna Paramahansa. An educated youth, he was drawn to Ramakrishna's message. Dissatisfied with conventional philosophical positions and practices, he advocated the practical Vedanta of service to humanity and attacked the tendency to defend every institution simply because it was connected with religion. He emphasized a cultural nationalism and made a call to Indian youth to regenerate Hindu society.

His ideas bred a sense of self confidence among Indians who felt inferior in relation to the materialist achievements of the West. He became famous for his address on Hinduism at the 1893 World Congress of Religions in Chicago. Despite his fame, he was condemned by orthodox Hindus for suggesting that the lower castes should be allowed to engage in the Hindu rituals from which they were traditionally excluded. Vivekananda's activist ideology rekindled the desire for political change among many western-education young Bengalis. Many of the youths who were involved in the militant nationalist struggle during the Swadeshi movement following the Partition of Bengal were inspired by Vivekananda.

Theosophical Movement

During the nineteenth century, Hindu religion and culture were being discredited in the West, especially due to missionary propaganda. However, some Western intellectuals looked to the East for spiritual salvation as a remedy to the materialistic orientation of the West. The Theosophical Society, founded by Madame H.P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Colonel H.S. Olcott (1832–1907) played a key role in this. Founded in the USA in 1875, it later shifted to India at Adyar, Chennai in 1886. Theosophical Society stimulated a study of the Hindu classics, especially the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita. The Theosophical

Society also played an important role in the revival of Buddhism in India. Western interest in Hindu scriptures gave educated Hindus great pride in their tradition and culture.

Contribution of Annie Besant

In India the movement became further popular with the election of Annie Besant(1847–1933) as its president after the death of Olcott. She played a role in Indian nationalist politics, and formed the Home Rule League demanding home rule to India on the lines of Ireland. Annie Besant spread Theosophical ideas through her newspapers called New India and Commonweal.

Jyotiba Phule

Jyotiba Govindrao Phule was born in 1827 in Maharashtra. Phule is chiefly known as Jyotiba Phule and Savitribai Phule as the earliest leader of the non-Brahman movement. He opened the first school for “untouchables” in 1852 in Poona. He launched the Satyashodak Samaj (Truth-Seekers Society) in 1870 to stir the non-Brahman masses to self-respect and ambition. Phule opposed child marriage and supported widow remarriage, which was prohibited particularly among high-caste Hindus. Jyotiba and his wife Savitribai Phule devoted their lives for the uplift of the depressed classes and women. Jyotiba opened orphanages and homes for widows. Unlike many contemporary nationalists he welcomed British rule and missionary activities on the ground that British rule enabled lower castes to challenge the supremacy of Brahmins. His work, Gulamgiri (Slavery) is an important text that summarized many of his radical ideas.

Narayana Guru

Born to poor parents in Kerala, Narayana Guru (1854– 1928) evolved into a poet and scholar in Malayalam, Tamil and Sanskrit. In his days the people of depressed classes had no access to temples, streets, public tanks and wells and educational institutions. Men and women belonging to lower castes were not allowed to wear the upper garments. Disturbed by the terrible caste tyranny, that the lower caste people suffered, he dedicated his whole life for the betterment of the oppressed. He set up the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam, an organization to work for the uplift of the “depressed classes”. He established a grand temple at Aruvipuram and dedicated it to all. His movement inspired a radical transformation of Kerala society, especially among the Ezhavas. Thinkers and writers such as Kumaran Asan and Dr Palpu were influenced by his ideas and carried forward the movement.

Ayyankali

Nineteenth - century Kerala region was plagued by caste discriminations of worst kind. Certain social groups were not only considered untouchable but also un-seetable. However, the strident campaigns by thinkers such as Narayana Guru and Ayyankali (1863–1941) in the context of larger political and economic changes ushered in tremendous

social changes, especially in the caste structure. Ayyankali was born in 1863 at Venganoor in Thiruvananthapuram then in the princely state of Travancore.

The discrimination he faced as a child turned him into a leader of an anti-caste movement and who later fought for basic rights including access to public spaces and entry to schools. Ayyankali challenged many caste conventions such as clothing style; he wore clothes associated with upper castes that were prohibited for lower castes. He rode on an ox-cart challenging the 'ban' on untouchables from accessing public roads used by caste Hindus. Inspired by Sree Narayana Guru, Ayyankali founded the Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangam (Association for the Protection of the Poor) in 1907 which campaigned and raised funds to educate the lower caste Pulaya people.

Islamic Reforms

After the suppression of great revolt of 1857 Indian Muslims looked to Western culture with suspicion. The community feared that Western education, Western culture and Western ideas would endanger their religion. Therefore only a small section of Muslims accepted the new avenues for modern education. Consequently, Indian Muslims as a community lagged behind in comparison to the Hindu elite of various parts of India.

Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan

As Indian Muslims steadily lost ground in education, in the public services and in general leadership in India, there was a realization that there was no alternative but to accept modern education if the community was to go on the path of progress. The man who gave life and soul to it was Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan (1817-1898). Born in Delhi into a noble Muslim family, Sayyid Ahmed Khan thought that lack of education, especially modern education, had harmed the Muslims greatly and kept them backward. He exhorted the Muslims to accept Western science and take up government services. He founded a scientific society and translated many English books, especially science books into Urdu. He believed that the interest of the Muslims would be best served if they bonded with the British Government rather than pitch in with the rising nationalist movement. So he advised the Muslims to take to English education and to concentrate on it.

Aligarh Movement

Say id Ahmed Khan's movement, the "Aligarh movement," is so called because it was centred around the Aligarh Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental college founded by him in 1875, which is a landmark in the history of Indian Muslim education. The college was raised to the status of a university in 1920. Aligarh produced a huge body of intelligentsia over successive generations who played a key role in public life.

Deoband Movement

Deoband was a revivalist movement organized by the orthodox Muslim Ulema with the twin objectives of propagating the pure teachings of the Quran and the Hadith as well as encouraging the spirit of Jihad against the foreign and un-Islamic elements. The Ulema under the leadership of Muhammad Qasim Wanotavi (1832-80) and Rashid Ahmad Gangotri (1828-1905) founded the school at Deoband in the Saharanpur district of the U.P in 1866. The school curricula shut out English education and western culture. The instruction imparted was in original Islamic religion and the aim was moral and religious regeneration of the Muslim community. The Deoband School did not prepare its students for government jobs but for the preaching of Islamic faith.

In politics, the Deoband School welcomed the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. In 1888 the Deoband Ulema issued a religious decree (fatwa) against Syed Ahmed Khan's Organisation called "The United Patriotic Association" and "The Muhammeden Anglo - Oriental Association." It is said the Deoband Ulema were mainly influenced by their determination to oppose Sir Syed Ahmed's activities. Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan became the new Deoband leader. The Jamait-Ul-Ulema (council of theologians) led by him gave a concrete shape to Hassan's ideas of protection of the religious and political rights of the Muslims in the overall context of Indian unity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the reform activities of the educated Parsis (the Zoroastrians who had fled from Iran in the tenth century in the face of religious persecution) began in Mumbai. Furdunji Naoroji founded the Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha (Parsis' Reform Society) in 1851. Rast Goftar (The Truth Teller) was the main voice of the movement. The leaders of the Sabha criticized elaborate ceremonies at betrothals, marriages and funerals. They opposed both infant marriage and the use of astrology. Behrramji Malabari organized a campaign for legislation against the practice of child marriage. The community produced many leaders such as Pheroza Shah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha who played a big role in the early Congress.

Sikh Reforms Movement (Nirankaris and Namdharis)

The wave of reform movements did not leave any community untouched. Among the Sikhs of Punjab too there were attempts to reform. Baba Dayal Das, founder of the Nirankari Movement, stressed the worship of god as Nirankar (formless). Rejection of idols, rejection of rituals associated with idolatry, reverence for the authority of Guru Nanak and of the Adi Granth formed the essence of his teachings. He reiterated the prohibition on meat-eating, and liquor consumption. The Namdhari Movement, founded by Baba Ram Singh, was another socio-religious movement among the Sikhs.

The Namdharis insisted on wearing the symbols of Sikhism except the kirpan (sword). Instead Baba Ram Singh wanted his followers to carry a lathi. It considered both men and women equal and accepted widow remarriage. It prohibited the dowry system and child marriage. In the wake of the gathering influence of Arya Samaj and the Christian missionaries, the Singh Sabha of Amritsar was established. Its main objective was to restore the purity of Sikhism. With the support of British, it established Khalsa College for the Sikhs in Amritsar. Singh Sabha was a forerunner of Akali Movement.

Ramalinga Swamigal

Popularly known as Vallalar, Ramalinga Swamigal or Ramalinga Adigal (1823–1874), was born in Marudhur, a village near Chidambaram. After his father's death, his family moved to his brother's house at Chennai. Despite having no formal education he gained immense scholarship. Ramalinga emphasised the bonds of responsibility and compassion between living beings. He expressed the view that 'those who lack compassion for suffering beings are hardhearted, their wisdom clouded'. He showed his compassion and mercy on all living beings including plants. This he called jeevakarunya.

He established the Samarasa Vedha Sanmarga Sangam in 1865 and it was renamed "Samarasa Suddha Sanmarga Satya Sanga" which means "Society for Pure Truth in Universal self-hood". Ramalinga also established a free feeding house for everyone irrespective of caste at Vadalur (1867), in the wake of a terrible famine in south India in 1866. His voluminous songs were compiled and published under the title Thiruvartuppa (Songs of Grace). His radical views deeply disturbed Saiva orthodoxy, who condemned his writings as Marutpa (songs of ignorance).

Vaikunda Swamikal

Vaikunda Swami (1809–1851), one of the earliest crusaders for social justice in south India was born at Sasthan Koil Vilai, the present Samithoppu, a village near Kanyakumari. His original name Mudichudum Perumal was changed to Muthukutty by his parents due to objection raised by the upper caste Hindus. Muthukutt had no opportunity to have any systematic school education but acquired knowledge of various religious texts. He preached the ideas of equality and advocated the rights of depressed class people in the face of stiff opposition from upper castes as well as the princely state of Travancore. Vaikunda Swamikal criticised the rule of the British and the rule of Rajah of Travancore as the rule of White devils and Black devils respectively.

He visited Tiruchendur temple and experienced a new vision. Calling himself Vaikundar, he requested the people to give up all the irrelevant rites and rituals in their worship. His preaching's against the prevailing religious order brought about a considerable change in the attitude of the lower caste people. In 1833, Vaikundar commenced his meditation at Samithoppu for the abolition of caste differences and social integration of the society. During this period, he led a life of a hermit. In south Travancore, there were many restrictions on lower caste people such as what they could wear and not wear. At a time when there was prohibition on certain sections on wearing headgear he advocated the wearing of a turban in protest. It gave a sense of honour to the oppressed people and offered a spirit of self-respect.

A new confidence was installed in the minds of his followers. Like the other contemporary reform movements of India in the 19th century, Vaikunda Swamigal condemned the worship of idols. The low caste people had no temples for their gods, they erected small pyramids of mud or bricks in their honor, plastered and white-washed. He

considered this kind of worship as an uncivilized custom. The people sacrificed goats, cocks and hens. He condemned these religious customs and campaigned against animal sacrifice.

Vaikunda Swamigal founded Samathuva Samajam to unite all the people of various castes. He organized inter-dining to accomplish it. Even though he was imprisoned by the Maharajah of Travancore, he never gave up his principles. His followers called him respectfully as Ayya (father). His cult was also known as Ayya Vazhi (The Path of Ayya). His message emancipated the people from the unjust social customs and superstitious beliefs. His ideas are collected into a text called Akila Thirattu.

C. Iyothee Thassar

Pandithar Iyothee Thassar (1845–1914) was a radical Tamil scholar, writer, siddha medicine practitioner, journalist and socio-political activist. Born in Chennai, he was fluent in Tamil, English, Sanskrit and Pali languages. He initiated a new knowledge practice by using journalism as a tool to make inroads into the print public sphere, which, was hitherto an upper caste domain. He campaigned for social justice and worked for the emancipation of the “untouchables” from the caste clutches.

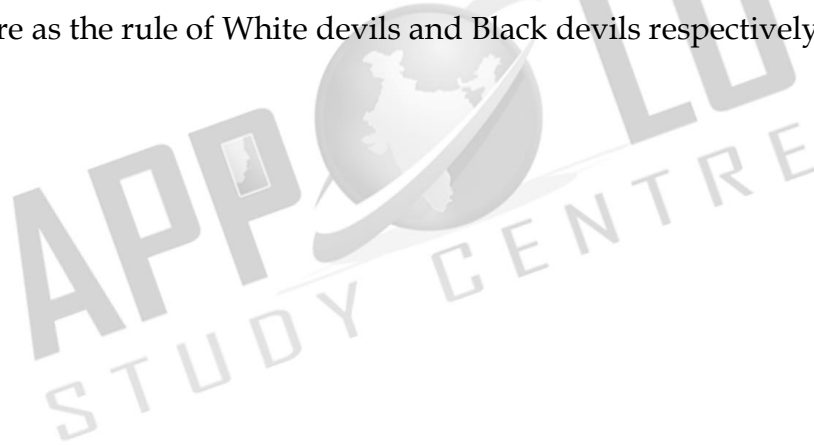
He worked for the construction of a casteless identity and castigated caste hegemony and untouchability. He considered education as an important tool for empowerment and became the driving force behind the establishment of several schools for the “untouchables” in Tamil Nadu. Pandithar Iyothee Thassar founded the Advaidananda Sabha to raise the voice for the temple entry of the “untouchables”. In 1882, John Rathinam and Iyothee Thassar established a movement called, Dravida Kazhagam and launched a magazine called Dravida Pandian in 1885. He founded the Dravida Mahajana Sabhain 1891 and organised the First Conference of the association at Nilgiris.

He started a weekly journal, Oru Paisa Tamilan, in 1907 and published it until his demise in 1914. Pandithar Iyothee Thassar was disappointed with the Hindu dharma, which served as the basis for propagating and validating caste in Hindu society. Influenced by the Theosophist organizer, Colonel H.S. Olcott, he went to Sri Lanka in 1898 and converted to Buddhism. In the same year, he founded the Sakya Buddhist Society at Madras to construct the rational religious philosophy through Buddhist religion. He argued that the so-called untouchables were originally Buddhists who were stigmatized by Brahminism.

He further constructed an alternative history through the interpretation of Tamil literature and folk traditions of Tamil from a Buddhist standpoint. In addition, he stated that the revival of Buddhism could liberate the people from the evil of caste that afflicted the Hindu society. He called the “untouchables” Sathi Petham Atra Dravidar (Casteless Dravidians) and urged them to register as casteless Dravidians in the Census.

NOTE

- ❖ It was also to the credit of Vidyasagar that the first age of consent Act was enacted in 1860. The age for marriage was fixed as ten years. It was raised to twelve and thirteen years in 1891 and 1925 respectively. Sadly, as reported in the Age of Consent Committee (1929), the law remained on paper and the knowledge of it was confined to judges, lawyers and a few educated men.
- ❖ In 1893 Arya Samaj split over the question of doctrinal purity. Swami Shraddhananda (1857-1926), a charismatic figure after Dayananda, accused the group running the DAV School of being too Westernized and thereby ignoring the founder's ideology. From 1900 onward, he established his own network of schools, the Gurukulas, which were outwardly modelled after ancient Hindu seats of learning, emphasising the study of the Vedas.
- ❖ Ramalinga bore witness to hunger and poverty in the country: "I saw poor people, emaciated with hunger and terribly weary, going to every house, yet their hunger was not removed, and my heart suffered intensely. Those who suffer with relentless disease, I saw them in front of me and my heart trembled. I saw those people, poor and of unmatched honor, their hearts weary, and I grew weak."
- ❖ Vaikunda Swamikal criticised the rule of the British and the rule of Rajah of Travancore as the rule of White devils and Black devils respectively.



Unit – 6 - Early Revolts against British Rule in Tamil Nadu

Introduction

After defeating the French and their Indian allies in the three Carnatic Wars, the East India Company began to consolidate and extend its power and influence. However, local kings and feudal chieftains resisted this. The first resistance to East India Company's territorial aggrandisement was from Puli Thevar of Nerkattumseval in the Tirunelveli region. This was followed by other chieftains in the Tamil country such as Velunachiyar, Veerapandiya Kattabomman, the Marudhubrothers, and Dheeran Chinnamalai. Known as the Palayakkarars Wars, the culmination of which was Vellore Revolt of 1806, this early resistance to British rule in Tamil Nadu is dealt with in this lesson.

Resistance of Regional Powers against the British

(a) Palayams and Palayakkarars

The word "palayam" means a domain, a military camp, or a little kingdom. Palayakkarars (Poligaris how the British referred to them) in Tamil refers to the holder of a little kingdom as a feudatory to a greater sovereign. Under this system, palayam was given for valuable military services rendered by any individual. This type of Palayakkarars system was in practice during the rule of Pratapa Rudra of Warangal in the Kakatiya kingdom. The system was put in place in Tamil Nadu by Viswanatha Nayaka, when he became the Nayak ruler of Madurai in 1529, with the support of his minister Ariyanathar.

Traditionally there were supposed to be 72 Palayakkarars. The Palayakkarars were free to collect revenue, administer the territory, settle disputes and maintain law and order. Their police duties were known as Padikaval or Arasu Kaval. On many occasions the Palayakkarars helped the Nayak rulers to restore the kingdom to them. The personal relationship and an understanding between the King and the Palayakkarars made the system to last for about two hundred years from the Nayaks of Madurai, until the takeover of these territories by the British.

Eastern and Western Palayams Among the 72 Palayakkarars, created by the Nayak rulers, there were two blocs, namely the prominent eastern and the western Palayams. The eastern Palayams were Sattur, Nagalapuram, Ettayapuram, and Panchalamkurichi and the prominent western palayams were Uthumalai, Thalavankottai, Naduvakurichi, Singampatti, Seithur. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Palayakkarars dominated the politics of Tamil country. They functioned as independent, sovereign authorities within their respective Palayams.

Revenue Collection Authority to the Company Rule

The Nawab of Arcot had borrowed money from the East India Company to meet the expenses he had incurred during the Carnatic Wars. When his debts exceeded his capacity to pay, the power of collecting the land revenue dues from southern Palayakkarars was given to the East India Company. Claiming that their lands had been handed down to them

over sixty generations, many Palayakkarars refused to pay taxes to the Company officials. The Company branded the defiant Palayakkarars as rebels and accused them of trying to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the country. This led to conflict between the East India Company and the Palayakkarars which are described below.

Palayakkarars' Revolt 1755-1801

(a) Revolt of Puli Thevar 1755-1767

In March 1755 Mahfuzkhan (brother of the Nawab of Arcot) was sent with a contingent of the Company army under Colonel Heron to Tirunelveli. Madurai easily fell into their hands. Thereafter Colonel Heron was urged to deal with Puli Thevar as he continued to defy the authority of the Company. Puli Thevar wielded much influence over the western Palayakkarars. For want of cannon and of supplies and pay to soldiers, Colonel Heron abandoned the plan and retired to Madurai. Heron was recalled and dismissed from service.

Confederacy and Alliance with Enemies of the British

Three Pathan officers, Nawab Chanda Sahib's agents, named Mianah, Mudimiah and Nabikhan Kattak commanded the Madurai and Tirunelveli regions. They supported the Tamil Palayakkarars against Arcot Nawab Mohamed Ali. Puli Thevar had established close relationships with them. Puli Thevar also formed a confederacy of the Palayakkarars to fight the British. With the exception of the Palayakkarars of Sivagiri, all other Maravar Palayams supported him. Ettayapuram and Panchalamkurichi also did not join this confederacy. Further, the English succeeded in getting the support of the rajas of Ramanathapuram and Pudukottai. Puli Thevar tried to get the support of Hyder Ali of Mysore and the French. Hyder Ali could not help Puli Thevar as he was already locked in a serious conflict with the Marathas.

Kalakadu Battle

The Nawab sent an additional contingent of sepoy to Mahfuzkhan and the reinforced army proceeded to Tirunelveli. Besides the 1000 sepoy of the Company, Mahfuzkhan received 600 more sent by the Nawab. He also had the support of cavalry and foot soldiers from the Carnatic. Before Mahfuzkhan could station his troops near Kalakadu, 2000 soldiers from Travancore joined the forces of Puli Thevar. In the battle at Kalakadu, Mahfuzkhan's troops were routed.

Yusuf Khan and Puli Thevar

The organized resistance of the Palayakkarars under Puli Thevar gave an opportunity to the English to interfere directly in the affairs of Tirunelveli. Aided by the Raja of Travancore, from 1756 to 1763, the Palayakkarars of Tirunelveli led by Puli Thevar were in a constant state of rebellion against the Nawab's authority. Yusuf Khan (also known as Khan Sahib or, before his conversion to Islam, Marudhanayagam) who had been sent by the Company was not prepared to attack Puli Thevar unless the big guns and ammunition from Tiruchirappalli arrived. As the English were at war with the French, as well as with Hyder Ali and Marathas, the artillery

arrived only in September 1760. Yusuf Khan began to batter the Nerkattumseval fort and this attack continued for about two months. On 16 May 1761 Puli Thevar's three major forts (Nerkattumseval, Vasudevanallur and Panayur) came under the control of Yusuf Khan.

In the meantime, after taking Pondicherry the English had eliminated the French from the picture. As a result of this the unity of the palayakkarars began to break up as French support was not forthcoming.

Travancore, Seithur, Uthumalai and Surandai switched their loyalty to the opposite camp. Yusuf Khan who was negotiating with the palayakkarars, without informing the Company administration, was charged with treachery and hanged in 1764.

Fall of Puli Thevar

After the death of Khan Sahib, Puli Thevar returned from exile and recaptured Nerkattumseval in 1764. However, he was defeated by Captain Campbell in 1767. Puli Thevar escaped and died in exile.

Ondiveeran

Ondiveeran led one of the army units of Puli Thevar. Fighting by the side of Puli Thevar, he caused much damage to the Company's army. According to oral tradition, in one battle, Ondiveeran's hand was chopped off and Puli Thevar was saddened. But Ondiveeran said it was a reward for his penetration into enemy's fort causing many heads to roll.

(b) Velunachiyar (1730-1796)

Born in 1730 to the Raja Sellamuthu Sethupathy of Ramanathapuram, Velunachiyar was the only daughter of this royal family. The king had no male heir. The royal family brought up the princess Velunachiyar, training her in martial arts like valari, stick fighting and to wield weapons. She was also adept in horse riding and archery, apart from her proficiency in English, French and Urdu.

At the age of 16, Velunachiyar was married to Muthu Vadugar, the Raja of Sivagangai, and had a daughter by name Vellachinachiar. In 1772, the Nawab of Arcot and the Company troops under the command of Lt. Col. Bon Jour stormed the Kalaiyar Kovil Palace. In the ensuing battle Muthu Vadugar was killed. Velunachiyar escaped with her daughter and lived under the protection of Gopala Nayakar at Virupachi near Dindigul for eight years.

During her period in hiding, Velunachiyar organised an army and succeeded in securing an alliance with not only Gopala Nayakar but also with Hyder Ali as well. Dalavay (military chief) Thandavarayanar wrote a letter to Sultan Hyder Ali on behalf of Velunachiyar asking for 5000 infantry and 5000 cavalry to defeat the English. Velunachiyar explained in detail in Urdu all the problems she had with the East India Company. She conveyed her strong determination to

fight the English. Impressed by her courage, Hyder Ali ordered his Commandant Syed in Dindigulfort to provide the required military assistance.

Gopala Nayak, the Palayakkarar of Virupachi

Gopala Nayak spearheaded the famous Dindigul League, which was formed with Lakshmi Nayak of Manaparai and Poojai Nayak of Devadanapatti. He drew inspiration from Tipu Sultan who sent a deputation to show his camaraderie. He led the resistance against the British from Coimbatore and later joined Oomaidurai, Kattabomman's brother. He put up a fierce fight at Aanamalai hills where the local peasants gave him full support. But Gopala Nayak was overpowered by the British forces in 1801.

Velunachiyar employed agents for gathering intelligence to find where the British had stored their ammunition. With military assistance from Gopala Nayakar and Hyder Alishe recaptured Sivagangai. She was crowned as Queen with the help of Marudhu brothers. She was the first female ruler or queen to resist the British colonial power in India.

Kuyili, a faithful friend of Velunachiyar, is said to have led the unit of women soldiers named after Udaiyaal. Udaiyaal was a shepherd girl who was killed for not divulging information on Kuyili. Kuyili is said to have walked into the British arsenal (1780) after setting herself on fire, thus destroying all the ammunition.

(c) Rebellion of Veerapandya Kattabomman 1790-1799

Veerapandya Kattabomman became the Palayakkarar of Panchalamkurichi at the age of thirty on the death of his father, Jagavira Pandya Kattabomman. The Company's administrators, James London and Colin Jackson, had considered him a man of peaceful disposition. However, soon several events led to conflicts between Veerapandya Kattabomman and the East India Company. The Nawab, under the provisions of a treaty signed in 1781, had assigned the revenue of the Carnatic to the Company to be entirely under their management and control during the war with Mysore Sultan. One-sixth of the revenue was to be allowed to meet the expenses of Nawab and his family. The Company had thus gained the right to collect taxes from Panchalamkurichi. The Company appointed its Collectors to collect taxes from all the palayams. The Collector humiliated the palayakkarars and adopted force to collect the taxes. This was the bone of contention between the English and Kattabomman.

Confrontation with Jackson

The land revenue arrears from Kattabomman was 3310 pagodas in 1798. Collector Jackson, an arrogant English officer, wanted to send an army to collect the revenue dues but the Madras Government did not give him permission. On 18 August 1798, he ordered Kattabomman to meet him in Ramanathapuram. But Kattabomman's attempts to meet him in between proved futile, as Jackson refused to give him audience both in Courtallam and Srivilliputhur. At last, an interview was granted and Kattabomman met Jackson in Ramanathapuram on 19 September 1798. It is said that Kattabomman had to stand for three hours before the haughty Collector Jackson. Sensing

danger, Kattabomman tried to escape, along with his minister Sivasubramanianar. Oomaithurai suddenly entered the fort with his men and helped the escape of Kattabomman. At the gate of the Ramanathapuram fort there was a clash, in which some people including Lieutenant Clarke were killed. Sivasubramanianar was taken prisoner.

Appearance before Madras Council

On his return to Panchalamkurichi, Kattabomman represented to the Madras Council about how he was ill-treated by the collector Jackson. The Council asked Kattabomman to appear before a committee with William Brown, William Oram and John Casamajor as members. Meanwhile, Governor Edward Clive, ordered the release of Sivasubramanianar and the suspension of the Collector Jackson. Kattabomman appeared before the Committee that sat on 15 December 1798 and reported on what transpired in Ramanathapuram. The Committee found Kattabomman was not guilty. Jackson was dismissed from service and a new Collector S.R. Lushington appointed. Kattabomman cleared almost all the revenue arrears leaving only a balance of 1080 pagodas.

Kattabomman and the Confederacy of Palayakkarars

In the meantime, Marudhu Pandiyar of Sivagangai formed the South Indian Confederacy of rebels against the British, with the neighbouring palayakkars like Gopala Nayak of Dindigul and Yadul Nayak of Aanamalai. Marudhu Pandiyar acted as its leader. The Tiruchirappalli Proclamation had been made. Kattabomman was interested in this confederacy. Collector Lushington prevented Kattabomman from meeting the Marudhu Brothers. But Marudhu Brothers and Kattabomman jointly decided on a confrontation with the English. Kattabomman tried to influence Sivagiri Palayakkarars, who refused to join. Kattabomman advanced towards Sivagiri. But the Palayakkarars of Sivagiri was a tributary to the Company. So the Company considered the expedition of Kattabomman as a challenge to their authority. The Company ordered the army to march on to Tirunelveli.

The Siege of Panchalamkurichi

In May 1799, Lord Wellesley issued orders from Madras for the advance of forces from Tiruchirappalli, Thanjavur and Madurai to Tirunelveli. Major Bannerman commanded the troops. The Travancore troops too joined the British. On 1 September 1799, an ultimatum was served on Kattabomman to surrender. Kattabomman's "evasive reply" prompted Bannerman to attack his fort. Bannerman moved his entire army to Panchalamkurichi on 5 September. They cut off all the communications to the fort. Bannerman deputed Ramalinganar to convey a message asking Kattabomman to surrender. Kattabomman refused. Ramalinganar gathered all the secrets of the Fort, and on the basis of his report, Bannerman decided the strategy of the operation. In a clash at Kallarpatti, Sivasubramanianar was taken prisoner.

Execution of Kattabomman

Kattabomman escaped to Pudukottai. The British put a prize on his head. Betrayed by the rajas of Ettayapuram and Pudukottai Kattabomman was finally captured. Sivasubramanianar

was executed at Nagalapuram on the 13 September. Bannerman made a mockery of a trial for Kattabomman in front of the palayakars on 16 October. During the trial Kattabomman bravely admitted all the charges levelled against him. Kattabomman was hanged from a tamarind tree in the old fort of Kayathar, close to Tirunelveli, in front of the fellow Palayakars. Thus ended the life of the celebrated Palayakars of Panchalamkurichi. Many folk ballads on Kattabomman helped keep his memory alive among the people.

(d) The Marudhu Brothers

Periya Marudhu or Vella Marudhu (1748–1801) and his younger brother Chinna Marudhu (1753–1801) were able generals of Muthu Vadugar of Sivagangai. After Muthu Vadugar's death in the Kalaiyar Kovil battle Marudhu brothers assisted in restoring the throne to Velunachiyar. In the last years of the eighteenth century Marudhu Brothers organised resistance against the British. After the death of Kattabomman, they worked along with his brother Oomathurai. They plundered the granaries of the Nawab and caused damage and destruction to Company troops.

Rebellion of Marudhu Brothers (1800–1801)

Despite the suppression of Kattabomman's revolt in 1799, rebellion broke out again in 1800. In the British records it is referred to as the Second Palayakar War. It was directed by a confederacy consisting of Marudhu Pandyan of Sivagangai, Gopala Nayak of Dindugal, Kerala Varma of Malabar and Krishnaappa Nayak and Dhoondaji of Mysore. In April 1800 they met at Virupachi and decided to organise an uprising against the Company. The uprising, which broke out in Coimbatore in June 1800, soon spread to Ramanathapuram and Madurai. The Company got wind of it and declared war on Krishnaappa Nayak of Mysore, Kerala Varma of Malabar and others. The Palayakars of Coimbatore, Sathyamangalam and Tarapuram were caught and hanged.

In February 1801 the two brothers of Kattabomman, Oomathurai and Sevathaiah, escaped from the Palayamkottai prison to Kamudhi, from where Chinna Marudhu took them to Siruvayal his capital. The fort at Panchalamkurichi was reconstructed in record time. The British troops under Colin Macaulay retook the fort in April and the Marudhu brothers sought shelter in Sivagangai. The English demanded that the Marudhu Pandyan hand over the fugitives (Oomathurai and Sevathaiah). But they refused. Colonel Agnew and Colonel Innes marched on Sivagangai. In June 1801 Marudhu Pandyan issued a proclamation of Independence which is called Tiruchirappalli Proclamation.

Proclamation of 1801

The Proclamation of 1801 was a nearly call to the Indians to unite against the British, cutting across region, caste, creed and religion. The proclamation was pasted on the walls of the Nawab's palace in Tiruchirappalli fort and on the walls of the Srirangam temple. Many palayakars of Tamil country rallied together to fight against the English. Chinna Marudhu collected nearly 20,000 men to challenge the English army. British reinforcements were rushed from Bengal, Ceylon and Malaya. The rajas of Pudukkottai, Ettayapuram and

Thanjavur stood by the British. Divide and rule policy followed by the English split the forces of the palayakkarars soon.

Fall of Sivagangai

In May 1801, the English attacked the rebels in Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli. The rebels went to Piranmalai and Kalayarkoil. They were again defeated by the forces of the English. In the end the superior military strength and the able commanders of the English Company prevailed. The rebellion failed and Sivagangai was annexed in 1801. The Marudhu brothers were executed in the Fort of Tirupathur near Ramanathapuram on 24 October 1801. Oomathurai and Sevathaiah were captured and beheaded at Panchalamkurichi on 16 November 1801. Seventy-three rebels were exiled to Penang in Malaya. Though the palayakkarars fell to the English, their exploits and sacrifices inspired later generations. Thus the rebellion of Marudhu brothers, which is called South Indian Rebellion, is a landmark event in the history of Tamil Nadu.

Carnatic Treaty, 1801

The suppression of the Palayakkarars rebellions of 1799 and 1800–1801 resulted in the liquidation of all the local chieftains of Tamilnadu. Under the terms of the Carnatic Treaty of 31 July 1801, the British assumed direct control over Tamilagam and the Palayakkarar system came to an end with the demolition of all forts and disbandment of their army.

(e) Dheeran Chinnamalai (1756–1805)

Born as Theerthagiri in 1756 in the Mandradiarroyal family of Palayakottai, Dheeran was well trained in silambu, archery, horse riding and modern warfare. He was involved in resolving family and land disputes in the Kongu region. As this region was under the control of the Mysore Sultan, tax was collected by Tipu's Diwan Mohammed Ali. Once, when the Diwan was returning to Mysore with the tax money, Theerthagiri blocked his way and confiscated all the tax money. He let Mohammed Ali go by instructing him to tell his Sultan that "Chinnamalai", who is between Sivamalai and Chennimalai, was the one who took away taxes. Thus he gained the name "Dheeran Chinnamalai". The offended Diwan sent a contingent to attack Chinnamalai and both the forces met and fought at the Noyyal riverbed. Chinnamalai emerged victorious.

Trained by the French, Dheeran mobilised the Kongu youth in thousands and fought the British together with Tipu. After Tipu's death Dheeran Chinnamalai built a fort and fought the British without leaving the place. Hence the place is called Odanilai. He launched guerrilla attacks and evaded capture. Finally the English captured him and his brothers and kept them in prison in Sankagiri. When they were asked to accept the rule of the British, they refused. So they were hanged at the top of the Sankagiri Fort on 31 July 1805.

Vellore Revolt 1806

Before reducing all palayakkarars of southTamilnadu into submission the East IndiaCompany had acquired the revenue districts of Salem, Dindigul at the conclusion of the warwith Tipu in 1792. Coimbatore was annexedat the end of the Anglo-Mysore War in 1799.In the same year the Raja of Thanjavur whosestatus had been reduced to that of a vassal in1798 gave up his sovereign rights over thatregion to the English. After the suppressionof resistance of Kattabomman (1799) andMarudhu Brothers (1801), the British chargedthe Nawab of Arcot with disloyalty and forced a treaty on him. According to this Treaty of 1801,the Nawab was to cede the districts of NorthArcot, South Arcot, Tiruchirappalli, Maduraiand Tirunelveli to the Company and transferall the administrative powers to it.

(a) Grievances of Indian Soldiers

But the resistance did not die down. Thedispossessed little kings and feudal chieftainscontinued to deliberate on the future courseof action against the Company Government.The outcome was the Vellore Revolt of 1806.The objective conditions for a last ditch fightexisted on the eve of the revolt. The sepoysin the British Indian army nursed a strongsense of resentment over low salary andpoor prospects of promotion. The English army officers' scant respect for the social andreligious sentiments of the Indian sepoys alsoangered them. The state of peasantry fromwhich class the sepoys had been recruited alsobothered them much. With new experimentsin land tenures causing unsettled conditionsand famine breaking out in 1805 many of thesepoys' families were in dire economic straits.The most opportune situation come with thesons and the family members of Tipu beinginterned in Vellore Fort. The trigger for therevolt came in the form of a new militaryregulation notified by the Commander-in-Chief Sir John Cradock.

According to the new regulations, the Indiansoldiers were asked not to wear caste marks or earrings when in uniform. They were to be cleanly shaven on the chin and maintain uniformityabout how their moustache looked. The newturban added fuel to fire. The most objectionableaddition was the leather cockade made of animalskin. The sepoys gave enough forewarning byrefusing to wear the new turban. Yet the Companyadministration did not take heed.

(b) Outbreak of the Revolt

On 10 July 1806, in the early hours, guns were booming and the Indian sepoys of the 1st and 23rd regiments raised their standard of revolt. Colonel Fancourt, who commanded the garrison, was the first victim. Colonel McKerras of the 23rd regiment was killed next. Major Armstrong who was passing the Fort heard the sound of firing. When he stopped to enquire he was showered with bullets. About a dozen other officers were killed within an hour or so. Among them Lt. Elly and Lt. Popham belonged to His Majesty's battalion.

Gillespie's Brutality

Major Cootes, who was outside the Fort, informed Colonel Gillespie, the cavalry commandant in Arcot. Gillespie reached the fort along with a squadron of cavalry under the command of Captain Young at 9.00 am. In the meantime, the rebels proclaimed Fateh Hyder, Tipu's eldest son, as their new ruler and hoisted the tiger flag of Mysore sultans in the Fort. But the uprising was swiftly crushed by Col. Gillespie, who threw to winds all war ethics. In the course of suppression, according to an eyewitness account, eight hundred soldiers were found dead in the fort alone. Six hundred soldiers were kept in confinement in Tiruchirappalli and Vellore awaiting Inquiry.

(c) Consequences of Revolt

Six of the rebels convicted by the Court of Enquiry were blown from the guns; five were shot dead; eight hanged. Tipu's sons were ordered to be sent to Calcutta. The officers and men engaged in the suppression of the revolt were rewarded with prize money and promotion. Col. Gillespie was given 7,000 pagodas. However, the commander-in-chief Sir John Cradock, the Adjutant General Agnew and Governor William Bentinck were held responsible for the revolt, removed from their office, and recalled to England. The military regulations were treated as withdrawn.

(d) Estimate of Revolt

The Vellore Revolt failed because there was no immediate help from outside. Recent studies show that the organising part of the revolt was done perfectly by Subedars Sheik Adam and Sheik Hamid and Jamedar Sheik Hussain of the 2nd battalion of 23rd regiment and two Subedars and the Jamedar Sheik Kasim of the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment. Vellore Revolt had all the forebodings of the Great Rebellion of 1857. The only difference was that there was no civil rebellion following the mutiny. The 1806 revolt was not confined to Vellore Fort. It had its echoes in Bellary, Walajabad, Hyderabad, Bengaluru, Nandydurg, and Sankaridurg.

Unit - 7

Anti-Colonial Movements and The Birth of Nationalism

Introduction

On 23 June 1757 the Nawab of Bengal Siraj-ud-daulah was defeated by the East India Company at the Battle of Plassey. The battle was orchestrated by Robert Clive, commander-in-chief of the East India Company, who managed to get the clandestine support from Mir Jafar, the uncle of Siraj-ud-daulah and the chief of the Nawab's army. Clive was helped by the Jagat Seths (moneylenders from Bengal) who were aggrieved by Siraj-ud-daulah's policy. The Battle of Plassey was followed by the plunder of Bengal. Between 1757 and 1760, the company received ₹ 22.5 million from Mir Jafar, who became the new Nawab of Bengal. The same money was later invested to propel the industrial revolution in Britain, which rapidly mechanised the British textile industry. On the other hand, India was led to the path of de-industrialisation and forced to create a market for the products manufactured in Britain. The plunder of India by the East India Company continued for another 190 years.

After Plassey, the British adopted a policy of territorial expansion. Soon the remaining parts of the Indian subcontinent came under their control. British brought systemic changes in land revenue administration, army, police, judicial system and other institutions of governance.

The early Indian response to colonial exploitation and the colonial political and economic domination consisted of two elements. The response in the late 18th and early 19th century was restorative in nature.

Tribal uprisings and peasant rebellions made an attempt to restore the old order. The second response appeared in the second half of the 19th century in the form of Indian nationalism that imagined India as a nation emphasising on a consciousness of unity and national aspiration.

In this lesson the story of resistance and a varied range of response against the British rule in the Indian subcontinent from the early and mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century are outlined. In the process the nature of British rule, its policies and administrative apparatus, which adversely affected almost all the sections of the society are analysed.

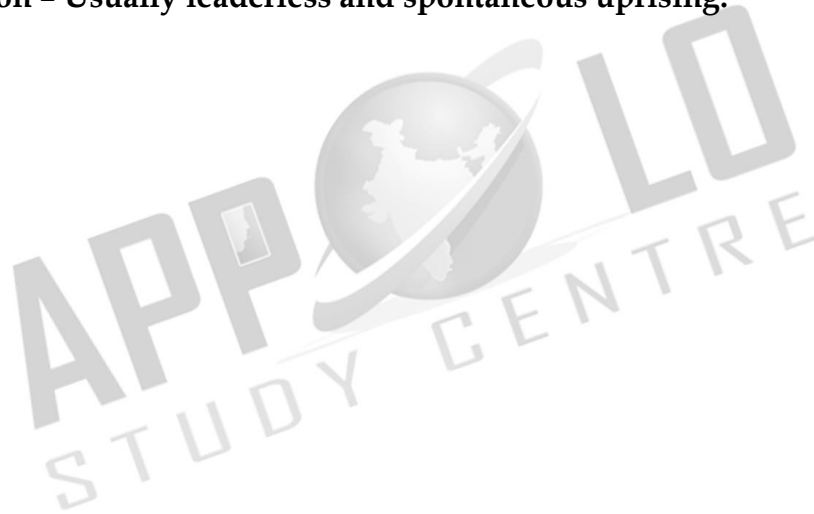
Peasant and Tribal Resistance

While the urban elite of India was busy responding to the western ideas and rationality by engaging in various socio-religious reform movements, a far more aggressive response to the British rule emerged in rural India. The traditional elite and peasantry along with the tribals revolted. They were not necessarily seeking the removal of British but rather the restoration of the pre-colonial order.

The concept of private property rights in land, rigorous collection of land revenue, encroachment of tribal land by the non-tribal people, the interference of Christian missionaries in the socio-religious life of the local people were a few of the many

issues which added to the sense of resentment against the British. The tribal people, in particular, started looking at them as invaders and encroachers. The fundamental aspect of various tribal and peasant revolts was that all of them tried to eliminate the most immediate and visible cause of their misery. There were nearly a hundred peasant uprisings during British rule. They can be classified into the following categories:

- a. **Restorative rebellions** - Agitation of this type relates to attempts to restore old order and old social relations.
- b. **Religious Movements** - Such agitations were led by religious leaders who fought for the liberation of the local populace by restructuring society on certain religious principles.
- c. **Social Banditry** - The leaders of such movements were considered criminal by the British and the traditional elite but were looked upon by their people as heroes or champions of their cause.
- d. **Mass Insurrection** - Usually leaderless and spontaneous uprising.



Changes in the Revenue System

The East India Company restructured the Mughal revenue system across India in such a manner that it increased the financial burden on the peasants. There was no widespread system of private ownership of the land in pre-British India. Similarly, zamindars and others who were to collect revenue and remit it to the govt were never given the possession right on land. So the changes introduced by the British in land tenures, as we studied in Std. IX significantly altered the agrarian relations.

Subletting of Land

The practice of letting out and subletting of land complicated the agrarian relations. The zamindar often sublet land to many subordinate lords who in return collected a fixed amount of revenue from the peasant.

This increased the tax burden on the peasants.

(a) Peasant Uprising

Peasant revolts began to erupt in the early 19th century and continued till the very end of British rule in India. Many of these revolts were led by religious leaders, who treated the British rule as an invasion into the socio-religious life of the people of India.

Farazi Movement

Farazi movement launched by Haji Shariatullah in 1818, in the parts of eastern Bengal, advocated the participants to abstain from un-Islamic activities. This brought him into direct conflict with the Zamindars and subsequently with British, who favoured the Zamindars to suppress the peasant uprising. After the death of Shariatullah in 1839, the rebellion was led by his son Dudu Mian who called upon the peasants not to pay tax. It gained popularity on a simple doctrine that land and all wealth should be equally enjoyed by the common folk. Dudu Mian laid emphasis on the egalitarian nature of religion and declared that "Land belongs to God", and collecting rent or levying taxes on it was therefore against divine law.

Large numbers of peasants were mobilised through a network of village organisations. There were violent clashes throughout 1840s and 1850s with the zamindars and planters. After the death of Dudu Mian in 1862, the movement was revived in the 1870s by Noah Mian.

Wahhabi Rebellion in Barasat

The Wahhabi rebellion was an anti-imperial and anti-landlord movement. It originated in and around 1827, in the Barasat region of Bengal. It was led by an Islamic preacher who was deeply influenced by the Wahhabi teachings. He became an influential figure among the predominately Muslim peasantry oppressed under the coercive zamindari system. However, the fact that the majority of zamindars were Hindus, gave this movement an anti-Hindu complexion.

On 6 November 1831 the first major attack was launched in the town of Purnea. Titu Mir immediately declared freedom from British rule. Soon there was retaliation from the British and a large number of troops were sent to Narkelberia. Titu Mir along with his 50 soldiers were killed in the struggle.

In the end, the peasant rebellion clearly showed an awareness of the power structure in rural society and a strong will to restructure authority. The rebels were quite familiar with the political source of oppression, demonstrated in their actions against the Zamindar houses, their grain stocks, the moneylenders, and the merchants. At times the British state machinery, which came forward to protect these local agents of oppression, was also attacked. These characteristics were reflected in the peasant movements of the 20th century too.

(b) Tribal Uprising

Under colonial rule, for the first time in Indian history, government claimed a direct proprietary right over forests. The British rule and its encouragement of commercialisation of forest led to the disintegration of the traditional tribal system. It encouraged the incursion of tribal areas by the non-tribal people such as moneylenders, traders, land-grabbers, and contractors. This led to the widespread loss of adivasi land and their displacement from their traditional habitats.

Tribal resistance was therefore, a response against those who either introduced changes in the peaceful tribal life or took undue advantage of the innocence of the tribal people.

'Tribes' who are they?

The modern usage of word tribe in India restricts the definition to distinguish them (tribes) from the rest of the Indian society, a stratified system based on caste. Often the term is misused to refer to isolated groups. Tribes in India were and are very much part of the Indian society. They in fact have acted for long as part of Indian peasantry subsisting through shifting cultivation.

(i) Kol Revolt

One major tribal revolt, the Kol uprising of 1831-32, took place in Chota Nagpur and Singhbhum region of Jharkhand and Orisa, under the leadership of Bindrai and Singhrai. The Raja of Chhota Nagpur had leased out to moneylenders the job of revenue collection. The usury and forcible eviction of tribals from their land led to the resentment of Kols. The initial protest and resistance of Kols was in the form of plunder, arson and attacks on the properties of outsiders. This was followed by the killing of moneylenders and merchants. The tribal leaders adopted varied methods to spread their message such as the beating of drums and the circulation of arrows accompanied by a warning to all outsiders to leave.

Kols organised an insurrection in 1831-32, which was directed against

government officers and moneylenders. The Kol rebels took control of the king's palace. They even succeeded in forming an independent government there. The British suppressed the rebellion with great violence.



(ii) Santhal Hool (Insurrection)

Santhals, scattered in various parts of eastern India, when forced to move out of their homeland during the process of creation of zamins under Permanent Settlement, cleared the forest area around the Rajmahal Hills. They were oppressed by the local police and the European officers engaged in the railway construction. Pushed out of their familiar habitat, the Santhals were forced to rely on the moneylenders for their subsistence.

Soon they were trapped in a vicious circle of debt and extortion. Besides this, Santhals also felt neglected under the corrupt British administration and their inability to render justice to their legitimate grievances.

Outbreak

Around 1854 activities of social banditry led by a person named Bir Singh was reported from different places. These were directed against mahajans and traders. Following this Bir Singh was summoned to the zamindar court, where he was beaten up and humiliated. Bir Singh along with his friends retaliated by committing further dacoities on the mahajans and merchants. The repressive measures only angered the Santhals.

In 1855, two Santhal brothers Sidhu and Kanu proclaimed that they had received a divine message from the God, asking them to lead the rebellion. On June 30, 1855 they announced that God has ordered them "to slaughter all the mahajans and daroga, to banish the traders and zamindars and all rich Bengalis from their country.... And to fight all who resisted them, for the bullets of their enemies would be turned into water". Two Darogas (chief police officers) were killed by the Santhal crowd.

By July 1855 the rebellion has taken the form of open insurrection against the mahajans, the zamindars and the British officials. They marched with bows, poisoned arrows, axes and swords taking over the Rajmahal and Bhagalpur by proclaiming that the Company rule was about to end. In response villages were raided and properties destroyed by the British. Nearly 15 to 25 thousand rebels were murdered before the insurrection was finally suppressed. These events compelled the British government to restructure their policies towards the tribal people. In 1855 an act was passed to regulate the territories occupied by the Santhals. The Act formed the territory into a separate division called Santhal Pargana division.

(c) Munda Rebellion

One of the prominent tribal rebellions of this period occurred in Ranchi, known as Ulugulan rebellion (Great Tumult). The Munda people were familiar with the cooperative or collective farming known as Khuntkatti (joint holding) land system. It was totally eroded by the introduction of private ownership of land and the intrusion of merchants and moneylenders. The Munda people were also forcefully recruited as indentured labourers to work on plantations. The corrupt police, lack of access to justice and the disillusionment with Christian missionaries aggravated the miseries of Munda people. In the

1890s tribal chiefs offered resistance against the alienation of tribal people from their land and imposition of *bethbegari* or forced labour.

The movement received an impetus when Birsa Munda declared himself as the messenger of God. Birsa claimed that he had a prophecy and promised supernatural solutions to the problem of Munda people and the establishment of *Birsait Raj*. The Munda leaders utilised the cult of Birsa Munda to recruit more people to their cause. A series of night meetings were held and a revolt was planned. On the Christmas day of 1889, they resorted to violence. Buildings were burnt down and arrows were shot at Christian missionaries and Munda Christian converts. Soon police stations and government officials were attacked. Similar attacks were carried out over the next few months. Finally the resistance was crushed and Birsa Munda was arrested in February 1900 who later died in jail. Birsa Munda became a folk hero who is to this day celebrated in many folk songs. The Munda rebellion prompted the British to formulate a policy on Tribal land. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (1908) restricted the entry of non-tribal people into the tribal land.

The Great Rebellion of 1857

In 1857, British rule witnessed the biggest challenge to its existence. Initially, it began as a mutiny of Bengal presidency sepoy soldiers but later expanded to the other parts of India involving a large number of civilians, especially peasants. The events of 1857-58 are significant for the following reasons:

1. This was the first major revolt of armed forces accompanied by civilian rebellion.
2. The revolt witnessed unprecedented violence, perpetrated by both sides.
3. The revolt ended the role of the East India Company and the governance of the Indian subcontinent was taken over by the British Crown.

(a) Causes

1. Annexation Policy of British India

In the 1840s and 1850s, more territories were annexed through two major policies:

The Doctrine of Paramountcy. British claimed themselves as paramount, exercising supreme authority. New territories were annexed on the grounds that the native rulers were corrupt and inept.

The Doctrine of Lapse. If a native ruler failed to produce a biological male heir to the throne, the territory was to 'lapse' into British India upon the death of the ruler. Satara, Sambalpur, parts of the Punjab, Jhansi and Nagpur were annexed by the British through the Doctrine of Lapse.

2. Insensitivity to Indian Cultural Sentiments

There was always a suspicion among the people regarding British intentions. In 1806 the sepoys at Vellore mutinied against the new dress code, which prohibited Indians from wearing religious marks on their foreheads and having whiskers on their chin, while proposing to replace their turbans with a round hat. It was feared that the dress code was part of their effort to convert soldiers to Christianity.

Similarly, in 1824, the sepoys at Barrackpur near Calcutta refused to go to Burma by sea, since crossing the sea meant the loss of their caste.

The sepoys were also upset with discrimination in salary and promotion. Indian sepoys were paid much less than their European counterparts. They felt humiliated and racially abused by their seniors.

(b) The Revolt

The precursor to the revolt was the circulation of rumors about the cartridges of the new Enfield rifle. There was strong suspicion that the new cartridges had been greased with cow and pig fat. The cartridge had to be bitten off before loading (pork is forbidden to the Muslims and the cow is sacred to a large section of Hindus).

On 29 March a sepoy named Mangal Pandey assaulted his European officer. His fellow soldiers refused to arrest him when ordered to do so. Mangal Pandey along with others were court-martialed and hanged. This only fuelled the anger and in the following days there were increasing incidents of disobedience. Burning and arson were reported from the army cantonments in Ambala, Lucknow, and Meerut.

Bahadur Shah Proclaimed as Emperor of Hindustan

On 11 May 1857 a band of sepoys from Meerut marched to the Red Fort in Delhi. The sepoys were followed by an equally exuberant crowd who gathered to ask the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II to become their leader. After much hesitation he accepted the offer and was proclaimed as the Shahenshah-e-Hindustan (the Emperor of Hindustan). Soon the rebels captured the north-western province and Awadh. As the news of the fall of Delhi reached the Ganges valley, cantonment after cantonment mutinied till, by the beginning of June, British rule in North India, except in Punjab and Bengal, had disappeared.

Civil Rebellion

The mutiny was equally supported by an aggrieved rural society of north India. Sepoys working in the British army were in fact peasants in uniform. They were equally affected by the restructuring of the revenue administration. The sepoy revolt and the subsequent civil rebellion in various parts of India had a deep-rooted connection with rural mass. The first civil rebellion broke out in parts of the North-Western provinces and Oudh. These were the two regions from which the sepoys were predominately recruited. A large number of Zamindars and Taluqdars were also attracted to the rebellions as they had lost their various privileges under the British government. The talukdar-peasant collective was a common effort to recover what they

had lost. Similarly, artisans and handicrafts persons were equally affected by the dethroning of rulers of many Indian states, who were a major source of patronage. The dumping of British manufactures had ruined the Indian handicrafts and thrown thousands of weavers out of employment. Collective anger against the British took the form of a people's revolt.

Prominent Fighters against the British

The mutiny provided a platform to aggrieved kings, nawabs, queens, and zamindars to express the anti-British anger. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II, provided leadership in the Kanpur region. He had been denied pension by the Company. Similarly, Begum Hazrat Mahal in Lucknow and Khan Bahadur in Bareilly took the command of their respective territories, which were once ruled either by them or by their ancestors.

The siege of Kanpur was an important episode in the rebellion of 1857. The besieged Company forces and civilians in Kanpur were unprepared for an extended siege and surrendered to rebel forces under Nana Sahib, in return for a safe passage to Allahabad. The boats in which they were proceeding were burned and most of the men were killed, including British Commander of Kanpur Major General Hugh Wheeler.

Another such significant leader was Rani Lakshmi Bai, who assumed the leadership in Jhansi. In her case Dalhousie, the Governor General of Bengal had refused her request to adopt a son as her successor after her husband died and the kingdom was annexed under the Doctrine of Lapse. Rani Lakshmi Bai battled the mighty British Army until she was defeated. Bahadur Shah Jafar, Kunwar Singh, Khan Bahadur, Rani Lakshmi Bai and many others were rebels against their will, compelled by the bravery of the sepoys who had defied the British authority.

(c) Suppression of Rebellion

By the beginning of June 1857, the Delhi, Meerut, Rohilkhand, Agra, Allahabad and Banaras divisions of the army had been restored to British control and placed under martial law. The British officers were given the power to judge and take the life of Indians without due process of law.

William Howard Russell, the correspondent of the London Times, who was in India in 1858, met an officer who was a part of the column that under Colonel Neill's orders marched from Allahabad to Kanpur. The officer reported that 'in two days, 42 men were hanged on the roadside, and a batch of 12 men was executed because their faces were turned the wrong way when they were met on the march.' Even boys who had playfully flaunted rebel colours and beaten a tom-tom were not spared. Every Indian who appeared in sight was shot or hung on the trees that lined the road; villages were burnt....'

(d) Causes of Failure

There is hardly any evidence to prove that the rebellion of 1857 was organised and planned. It was spontaneous. However, soon after the siege of Delhi, there was an attempt to seek the support of the neighboring states. Besides a few Indian states, there was a general lack of enthusiasm among the Indian princes to participate in the rebellion. The Indian princes and zamindars either remained loyal or were fearful of British power. Many at times they acted as a fifth column. Those involved in the rebellion were left with either little or no sources of arms and ammunition. The emerging English-educated middle class too did not support the rebellion.

One of the important reasons for the failure of the rebellion was the absence of a central authority. There was no common agenda that united the individuals and the aspirations of the Indian princes and the various other feudal elements fighting against the British.

In the end, the rebellion was brutally suppressed by the British army. The rebel leaders were defeated due to the lack of weapons, organisation, discipline, and betrayal by their aides. Delhi was captured by the British troops in late 1857. Bahadur Shah was captured and transported to Burma.

e) India Becomes a Crown Colony

The British were shocked by the events of 1857. The British Parliament adopted the Indian Government Act, in November 1858, and India was pronounced as one of the many crown colonies to be directly governed by the Parliament. The responsibility was given to a member of the cabinet, designated as the Secretary of State for India. The transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown also meant that there was a regular parliamentary review of Indian affairs.

Changes in the Administration

British rule and its policies underwent a major overhaul after 1857. British followed a cautious approach to the issue of social reform. Queen Victoria proclaimed to the Indian people that the British would not interfere in traditional institutions and religious matters. It was promised that Indians would be absorbed in government services. Two significant changes were made to the structure of the Indian army. The number of Indians was significantly reduced. Indians were restrained from holding important ranks and positions. The British took control of the artillery and shifted their recruiting effort to regions and communities that remained loyal during 1857. For instance, the British turned away from Rajputs, Brahmins and North Indian Muslims and looked towards non-Hindu groups like the Gorkhas, Sikhs, and Pathans. British also exploited the caste, religious, linguistic and regional differences in the Indian society through what came to be known as "Divide and Rule" policy.

Peasant Revolts under Crown

(a) Indigo Revolt 1859-60

Before synthetic dyes were created, natural indigo dye was highly valued by cloth makers around the world. Many Europeans sought to make their fortunes by becoming

indigo planters in India. They employed peasants to grow the indigo, which was processed into dye at the planters' factories. The dye was then exported to Europe. By the early 19th century, India supplied the vast majority of the indigo to Britain. The system was oppressive. The peasants were forced to grow the crop. The British planter gave the cultivator a cash advance to help pay for the rent of the land and other costs. This advance needed to be repaid with interest. The planters forced the peasant to grow indigo, rather than food crops. At the end of the season, the planters paid the cultivators low prices for their indigo. Moreover, the small amount the peasant earned was not enough to pay back the cash advance with interest. So they fell into debt. However, the peasants again would be forced to enter into another contract to grow indigo. The peasants were never able to clear their debts. Debts were often passed from father to son.

The Indigo Revolt began in 1859. The rebellion began as a strike, as the peasants of a village in Bengal's Nadia district refused to grow any more indigo. The movement quickly spread to the other indigo-growing districts of Bengal. The revolt then turned violent. The peasants, both Hindu and Muslim, participated in the revolt, and women – armed with pots and pans – fought alongside the men. Indian journalists in Calcutta wrote articles about the brutality of the planters. The 1860 play *Nil Darpan* ("Mirror of the Indigo") by Dinanath Mitra, did much to draw attention in India and Europe to the plight of the indigo growers.

The indigo industry quickly declined in Bengal. By the end of the 19th century, the demand for natural indigo dye began to decline worldwide, as man-made blue dyes came into use.

(b) Deccan Riots 1875

After the transfer of power to the Crown, deindustrialisation forced workers out of the land. Heavy taxation ruined agriculture. Famine deaths increased. The first recorded incident of rioting against the moneylenders in the Deccan was in May 1875, in Supa village near Poona. Similar cases of riots were reported from close to 30 villages in Poona and Ahmadnagar. The rioting was directed mostly at the Gujarat moneylenders. Under British rule peasants were forced to pay revenue directly to the government. Also, under a new law moneylenders were allowed to attach the mortgaged land of the defaulters and auction it off. This resulted in a transfer of lands from the cultivators to the non-cultivating classes. Trapped in the vicious cycle of debt and unable to pay the outstanding amount the peasant was forced to abandon cultivation.

According to Anthropologist Kathleen Gough British rule brought ... disruption and suffering among the peasantry which was more prolonged and widespread than had occurred in Mughal times. Ranajit Guha writes, 'agrarian disturbances in many forms and on scales ranging from local riots to war-like campaigns spread over many districts were endemic throughout the first three quarters of British rule until the very end of the nineteenth century.'

The Foundation of Indian National Congress (1870 - 1885)

(a) Rise of Nationalism

The second half of the 19th century saw the emergence of national political consciousness among a new social class of English educated Indians. The Indian intelligentsia played a critical role in generating a national consciousness by exposing a large number of people to the idea of nation, nationalism and various democratic aspirations. They articulated modern notions of citizenship, the idea of the state, civil society, human rights, equality before the law, liberty, the distinction between public and private, sovereignty, democracy and so on. The flourishing of print media both in the vernacular and in English played a significant role in circulating such ideas.

Even though they were numerically small they had a national character and capacity to establish contacts on an all India scale. They were working as lawyers, journalists, government employees, teachers or doctors. They took the initiative to float political outfits, such as Madras Native Association (1852) East India Association (1866), Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884), Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870), The Bombay Presidency Association (1885) and many others.

The British directed their policies to trample on the aspirations of Indians, who were exposed to English education and Western ideas and therefore had strong belief in modern values and institutions. However, the national consciousness in the late 19th century was also rooted in a glorification and celebration of Indian past, in which various religious and cultural symbols were used to kindle the patriotic zeal among the people.

(b) Economic Critique of Colonialism

One of the most significant contributions of early Indian nationalists was the formulation of an economic critique of colonialism. India was economically subjugated and transformed into a supplier of raw material to the British industries. Simultaneously it became a market to dump English manufactures and for the investment of British capital. So the colonial economy was a continuous transfer of resources from India to Britain without any favourable returns back to India. This is called "the drain of wealth".

Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice Ranade, and Romesh Chandra Dutt, played a significant role in making this criticism about colonial economy. They clearly understood that the prosperity of the British lay in the economic and political subjugation of India. They concluded that colonialism was the main obstacle to the Indian's economic development.

(c) Objectives and Methods

The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was intended to establish an all India organisation. It was the culmination of attempts by groups of educated Indians politically active in three presidencies: Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. A.O. Hume lent his services to facilitate the formation of the Congress. Womash Chandra Banarjee was the first President (1885) Indian National Congress.

The first session of the Indian National Congress was held on 28 December 1885. The early objectives were to develop and consolidate sentiments of national unity; but also professed

loyalty to Britain. The techniques included appeals, petitions and delegations to Britain, all done within a constitutional framework. Some of the key demands were the following:

- **creation of legislative councils at provincial and central level**
- **increasing the number of elected members in the legislative council**
- **separating judicial and executive functions**
- **reducing military expenditure**
- **reduction of Home Charges**
- **extension of trial by jury**
- **holding civil services exams in India as well as in England.**
- **police reforms**
- **reconsideration of forest laws**
- **promotion of Indian industries and an end to unfair tariffs and excise duties.**

These show the vast gap between the interests of the upper sections of Indian society and the large mass of common people.

Question of Poverty

According to the early Congress leaders the economic exploitation of India was the primary reason for the abysmal and the growing poverty of India. Therefore, early Indian nationalists advocated industrialisation.

Militant Nationalism

The methods of moderate leaders failed to yield any substantive change in the British attitude towards the moderate demands of early Indian nationalists. They were criticised by a group of leaders known as "extremists". Instead of prayers and petitions, these militants were more focused on self-help and the use of religious symbols to bridge the gap between the elite and the masses. The partition of Bengal gave a fillip to those who were advocating militant direct action programmes to fight the exploitative British policies.

Partition of Bengal

In 1899, Lord Curzon was appointed the Viceroy of India. Instead of engaging with the nationalist intelligentsia for handling the problem of famine and plague, Curzon resorted to repressive measures to undermine the idea of local self-government, autonomy of higher educational institutions and gag the press. Partition of Bengal in 1905 was the most unpopular of all. The partition led to widespread protests all across India, starting a new phase of the Indian national movement.

The idea of partition was devised to suppress the political activities against the British rule in Bengal by creating a Hindu-Muslim divide.

(a) Hindu-Muslim Divide

It was openly stated that the objective of partition was to curtail Bengali influence and weaken the nationalist movement. By placing Bengal under two administrative units Curzon reduced the Bengali - speaking people to a linguistic minority in a divided Bengal. Curzon assured Muslims that in the new province of East Bengal Muslims would enjoy a unity, which they never enjoyed since the days of the Mughals.

Instead of dividing the Bengali people along the religious line partition united them. The growth of regional language newspapers played a role in building a sense of proud Bengali identity.

(b) Anti- Partition Movement

The leaders of both the groups - extremist and moderate - were critical of partition. Initially, the objective of the anti-partition campaign was limited to changing the public opinion in England. So they protested through prayers, press campaigns, petitions, and public meetings. However, despite widespread protest, partition of Bengal was announced on 19 July 1905.

With the failure to annul the partition moderate leaders were forced to rethink their strategy and look for new techniques of protest. The boycott of British goods was one such method. However, the agenda of Swadeshi Movement was still restricted to secure an annulment of partition and the moderates were very much against utilising the campaign to start a full-fledged passive resistance. The militant nationalists, on the other hand, were in favour of extending the movement beyond Bengal and to initiate a full-scale mass struggle.

The day Bengal was officially partitioned - 16 Oct 1905 - was declared as a day of mourning. Thousands of people took bath in the Ganga and marched on the streets of Calcutta singing Bande Mataram.

(c) Boycott and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905-1911)

Boycott and swadeshi were always interlinked to each other and part of the wider plan to make India self-sufficient. Four major trends can be discerned during the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal.

1. The Moderate Trend - Faith in British rule and their sense of justice and democratic practice. The moderate leaders were not ready to wrest power from British in one single movement and therefore Boycott and Swadeshi Movement was of limited significance to them.

2. Constructive Swadeshi - Rejected the self-defeating modest approach of moderates and focused on self-help through swadeshi industries, national schools, arbitration courts and constructive programmes in the villages. It remained non-political in nature.

3. Militant Nationalism - A section of Indian nationalists who had little patience for the non-political constructive programmes. They ridiculed the idea of self-help and were more focused on a relentless boycott of foreign goods.

4. Revolutionary terrorism - A far more radical response to the British rule in India was to fight British with violent methods. British officials who were anti-Swadeshi or repressive towards the native population were targeted. It also marked the shift from the mass-based movement to individual action.



Constructive Swadeshi

The constructive programmes largely stressed upon self-help. It focused on building alternative institutions of self-governance that would operate free of British control. It also laid emphasis on the need of self-strengthening of the people which would help in creating a worthy citizen for the political agitation. Swadeshi shops sprang all over the place selling textiles, handlooms, soaps, earthenware, match and leather goods.

Passive Resistance

From 1906 the Swadeshi Movement took a turn where the repeal of partition was no longer on the agenda. For many leaders, the movement was to be utilized for propagating the idea of the political independence or Swaraj across India. Under this new direction, the swadeshi programme included four points: boycott of foreign goods, boycott of government schools and colleges, courts, titles and government services, development of Swadeshi industries, national schools, recourse to armed struggle if British repression went beyond the limits of endurance.

The method of passive resistance had no practical utility in a situation where there is a ruthless and mighty administration on the side and on the other the militarily weaker people. Resistance in such a situation can be provided through relentless non-cooperation and disobedience.

(d) Militant Nationalism

Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab, Bala Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra and Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal were three prominent leaders during the Swadeshi period and were referred to as Lal-Bal-Pal triumvirate. Punjab, Bengal, and Maharashtra emerged as the hotbed of militant nationalism during the Swadeshi Movement. In South India Tuticorin became the most important location of Swadeshi activity with the launch of a Swadeshi Steam Navigation company by V.O. Chidambaranar.

Swaraj or Political Independence

One of the common goals of the extremist leaders was to achieve Swaraj or Self Rule. However, the leaders differed on the meaning of Swaraj. For Tilak Swaraj was the attainment of complete autonomy and total freedom from foreign rule. Unlike the moderates who were critical of the reckless revolutionaries, militant nationalists were sympathetic towards the extremists. However, the political murders and individual acts of terrorism were not approved by the militant leaders.

The British brutally crushed the Swadeshi Movement by jailing prominent leaders for long spells of imprisonment. Revolutionaries were hanged to death. The press was crushed.

Home Rule Movement (1916–1918)

The Indian national movement was revived and also radicalised during the Home Rule Movement (1916–1918), led by Lokamanya Tilak and Annie Besant. World War I and Indian's participation in it was the background for the Home Rule League. When Britain declared war against Germany in 1914, the moderate and liberal leadership extended their support to the British cause. It was hoped that, in return, the British government would give self-government after the war. Indian troops were sent to several theatres of World War. But the British administration remained non-committal to such goals. What was seen as a British betrayal to the Indian cause of self-government led to a fresh call for a mass movement to pressurise the British government.

(a) Towards Charting a Common Path

The 1916 Annual Session of Congress began with two significant developments. One, moderate leaders Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale, two main voices of opposition against the militant faction, had died in 1915. The rising popularity of Annie Besant was the other factor which compelled the moderate to put up a common front against the colonial government. In the Lucknow session of Indian National Congress (1916), it was decided to admit the militant faction into the party.

Tilak set up the first Home Rule League in April 1916. In September 1916, after repeated demands of her impatient followers, Annie Besant decided to start the Home Rule League without the support of Congress. Both the leagues worked independently. The Home Rule Leagues were utilised to carry extensive propaganda through, press, speeches, public meetings, lectures, discussions and touring in favour of self-government. They succeeded in enrolling young people in large numbers and extending the movement to the rural areas. The Home Rule Movement in India borrowed much of its principles from the Irish Home Rule Movement.

(b) Objectives of the Home Rule Movement

- To attain self-government within the British Empire by using constitutional means.

- To obtain the status of dominion, a political position accorded later to Australia, Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand.
- To use non-violent constitutional methods to achieve their goals.

(c) Lucknow Pact (1916)

The Home Rule Movement and the subsequent reunion of moderate and the militant nationalists opened the possibility of fresh talks with the Muslims. Under the Lucknow Pact (1916), the Congress and the Muslim League agreed that there should be self-government in India as soon as possible. In return, the Congress leadership accepted the concept of separate electorate for Muslims.

(d) British Response

The response of the government of British India to the Home Rule Movement was not consistent. Initially it stated that there should be reform to accommodate more Indians in local administrative bodies. As the demand for Swaraj was raised by Tilak and Annie Besant that gained popularity, the British used the same old ploy to isolate the leaders by repressing their activities.

In 1919 the British government announced the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which promised gradual progress of India towards self-government. This caused deep disappointment to Indian nationalists. In a further blow the government enacted what was called the Rowlatt Act which provided for arbitrary arrest and strict punishment.

I mean by self-government that the country shall have a government by councils, elected by the people, elected with the power of the purse and the government is responsible to the house.... India should demand self-government not based on loyalty to the British government or as a reward for her services in the war but as a right based on the principle of national self-determination.

– Annie Besant (in September 1915)

Unit - 8

Nationalism: Gandhian Phase

Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi arrived in India in 1915 from South Africa after fighting for the civil rights of the Indians there for about twenty years. He brought with him a new impulse to Indian politics. He introduced satyagraha, which he had perfected in South Africa, that could be practiced by men and women, young and old. As a person dedicated to the cause of the poorest of the poor, he instantly gained the goodwill of the masses. Before Gandhi, the constitutionalists appealed to the British sense of justice and fair play. The militants confronted the repression of the colonial state violently. Gandhi, in contrast, adopted nonviolent methods to mobilise the masses and mount pressure on the British. In this lesson we shall see how Gandhi transformed the Indian National Movement.

Gandhi and Mass Nationalism

(a) Evolution of Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 into a well-to-do family in Porbandar, Gujarat. His father Kaba Gandhi was the Diwan of Porbandar and later became the Diwan of Rajkot. His mother Putlibai, a devout Vaishnavite, influenced the young Gandhi. After passing the matriculation examination, Gandhi sailed to England in 1888 to study law. After becoming a barrister in June 1891 Gandhi returned to India as a firm believer in British sense of justice and fair play. His experiences in London had not prepared him for the racial discrimination he would encounter in South Africa.

On returning to India, Gandhi's attempt to practice in Bombay failed. It was during this time that a Gujarati firm in South Africa sought the services of Gandhi for assistance in a law-suit. Gandhi accepted the offer and left for South Africa in April 1893. Gandhi faced racial discrimination for the first time in South Africa. On his journey from Durban to Pretoria, at the Pietermaritzburg railway station, he was physically thrown out of the first class compartment. Indians were treated only as coolies. But Gandhi was determined to fight.

Gandhi called a meeting of the Indians in the Transvaal and exhorted them to form an association to seek redress of their grievances. He continued to hold such meetings, petitioned to the authorities about the injustices which were in violation of their own laws. Indians in the Transvaal had to pay a poll tax of £ 3, could not own land except in areas marked for them, and could not move outdoors after 9 p.m. without a permit. He launched a struggle against such unjust laws.

Gandhi was introduced to the works of Tolstoy and John Ruskin. He was deeply influenced by Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, Ruskin's *Unto this*

Lastand Thoreau's Civil Disobedience. Gandhi's ideas were formed due to a blend of Indianand Western thought. Despite being deeplyinfluenced by Western thinkers he washighly critical of Western civilisation andindustrialisation. Inspired by Ruskin Gandhiestablished the Phoenix Settlement (1905)and the Tolstoy Farm (1910). Equality,community living and dignity of labour wereinculcated in these settlements. They weretraining grounds for the satyagrahis.

Satyagraha as a Strategy in South Africa

Gandhi developed satyagraha (devotionto the truth, truth-force) as a strategy, inwhich campaigners went on peaceful marchesand presented themselves for arrest in protestagainst unjust laws. He experimented withit for fighting the issues of immigrationand racial discrimination. Meetings wereheld and registration offices of immigrantswere picketed. Even when the police letloose violence no resistance was offered bythe satyagrahis. Gandhi and other leaderswere arrested. Indians, mostly indenturedlabourers turned hawkers continued thestruggle despite police brutality. Finally, bythe Smuts-Gandhi Agreement the poll tax onindentured labourers was abolished. Gandhi'sstay in South Africa was a learning experiencefor him. It was there that Gandhi realisedthat people of different religions, regions,linguistic groups could be welded into one tofight against exploitation. After the outbreakof the First World War, Gandhi returned toIndia.

Gandhi's Early Satyagrahas in India

Gandhi regarded Gopal KrishnaGokhale, whom he had met on previous visitsto India, as his political guru. On his advice,Gandhi travelled the length and breadth ofthe country before plunging into politics. Thisenabled him to understand the conditionsof the people. It is on one of these journeysthrough Tamil Nadu that Gandhi decided todiscard his following robes and wear a simpledhoti. Gandhi before returning to Indiavisited England where he enlisted for theWar to offer ambulance services. Consideringhimself a responsible citizen of the Empire hebelieved it was his duty to support Englandin its difficult times and even campaignedfor the recruitment of Indians in the army.However, his views changed over the years.

(a) Champaran Satyagraha

In Champaran in Bihar the tinkathia systemwas practiced. Under this exploitative system thepeasants were forced by the European plantersto cultivate indigo on three-twentieths of theirland holdings. Towards the end of nineteenthcentury German synthetic dyes had forcedindigo out of the market. The European plantersof Champaran, while realising the necessity ofrelieving the cultivators of the obligation ofcultivating indigo, wanted to turn the situationto their advantage. They enhanced the rent andcollected illegal dues as a price for the releaseof cultivators from the obligation. Resistanceerupted. Rajkumar Shukla, an agriculturistfrom Champaran who suffered hardshipsof the system, prevailed on Gandhi to visitChamparan. On reaching Chamaparan, Gandhiwas asked by the police to leave immediately.When he refused he was summoned for trial.The news

spread like wild fire and thousandsswarmed the place in support of Gandhi. Gandhiplead guilty of disobeying the order, and thecase had to be finally withdrawn. According toGandhi, "The country thus had its first objectlesson in Civil Disobedience". He was assistedby Brajkishore Prasad, a lawyer by profession,and Rajendra Prasad, who became the firstPresident of independent India. The LieutenantGovernor eventually formed a committee withGandhi as a member which recommendedthe abolition of the tinkathia system, therebyending the oppression of the peasants by theIndigo Planters.

The success of Champaran satyagraha, followed by his fruitful intervention inAhmedabad mill strike (1918) and the KhedaSatyagraha (1918) helped Gandhi establishhimself as a leader of mass struggle. Unlikeearlier leaders, Gandhi demonstrated hisability to mobilise the common people across the country.

(b) Rowlatt Satyagraha and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

In the aftermath of the First World War, people expected liberal political reforms from the British. The Government of India Act 1919, however, caused disappointment, as it did not transfer real power to the Indians. Besides, the government began to enforce the permanent extension of war time restrictions. The Rowlatt Act was enacted which provided for excessive police powers, arrest without warrant and detention without trial. Gandhi called it a 'Black Act' and in protest called for a nation-wide satyagraha on 6 April 1919. It was to be a non-violent struggle with fasting and prayer, and it was the earliest anticolonial struggle spread across the country. The anti-Rowlatt protest was intense in Punjab, especially in Amritsar and Lahore.

Gandhi was arrested and prevented from visiting Punjab. On 9 April two prominent local leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were arrested in Amritsar leading to protests in which a few Europeans were killed. Martial law was declared.

General Dyer's Brutality

On 13 April 1919 a public meeting was arranged at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. As it happened to be Baisaki day (spring harvest festival of Sikhs) the villagers had assembled there in thousands. General Reginald Dyer, on hearing of the assemblage, surrounded the place with his troops and an armoured vehicle. The only entrance to the park that was surrounded. The brutality enraged Indians. Rabindranath Tagore returned his knighthood. Gandhi surrendered his Kaiser-i-Hind medal.

(c) Khilafat Movement

The First World War came to an end in 1918. The Caliph of Turkey, who was considered the head of Muslims of the world, was given a harsh treatment. A movement was started in his support called the Khilafat Movement. Led by the Alibrothers, Maulana Mohamed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali, it aimed to restore the prestige and power of the Caliphate. Gandhi supported the movement and saw in it an opportunity to unite Hindus and Muslims. He presided over the

All India Khilafat Conference held at Delhi in November 1919. Gandhi supported Shaukat Ali's proposal of three national slogans, Allahu Akbar, Bande Mataram and Hindustan Mataram. The Khilafat Committee meeting in Allahabad on 9 June 1920 adopted Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation programme. Non-Cooperation was to begin on 1 August 1920.

Non-Cooperation Movement and Its Fallout

The Indian National Congress approved the non-cooperation movement in a special session held in Calcutta on September 1920.

It was subsequently passed in the Nagpur Session held on December 1920, Chaired by Salem C. Vijayaraghavachariar. The programme of non-cooperation included:

1. **Surrender of all titles of honours and honorary offices.**
2. **Non-participation in government functions.**
3. **Suspension of practice by lawyers, and settlement of court disputes by private arbitration.**
4. **Boycott of government schools by children and parents.**
5. **Boycott of the legislature created under the 1919 Act.**
6. **Non-participation in government parties and other official functions.**
7. **Refusal to accept any civil or military post.**
8. **Boycott of foreign goods and spreading the doctrine of Swadeshi.**

(a) No-Tax Campaign and Chauri Chaura Incident

Programmes such as no-tax campaigns caught the imagination of the kisans (peasants). Gandhi announced a no-tax campaign in Bardoli in February 1922. These movements greatly enhanced Gandhi's reputation as a national leader, especially the peasants. Gandhi made a nation-wide tour. Wherever he visited there was a bonfire of foreign cloth. Thousands left government jobs, students gave up their studies in large numbers and the lawyers gave up thriving practices. Boycott of British goods and institutions were effective. The boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit to India was successful. During this boycott trade unions and workers participated actively. However, Gandhi suddenly withdrew the movement because of the Chauri Chaura incident.

On 5 February 1922 a procession of the nationalists in Chauri Chaura, a village near Gorakhpur in present-day Uttar Pradesh provoked by the police turned violent. The police finding themselves outnumbered shut themselves inside the police station. The mob burnt the police station 22 policemen lost their lives. Gandhi immediately withdrew the movement. This was done much against the wishes of many congressmen including young leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose who thought the movement was gaining momentum. Gandhi was arrested and was released only in 1924. Gandhi believed that the movement failed not because of any defect in the means employed, viz. non-violent non-cooperation but because of lack of sufficiently trained volunteers and leaders. Soon after the Khilafat Movement also came to an end as the office of the Caliph (Caliphate) was abolished in Turkey.

(b) Swarajists

Meanwhile Congress was divided into two groups viz. pro-changers and no-changers. Some of the Congressmen led by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das wanted to contest the elections and enter the legislature. They argued that the national interest could be promoted by working in the Legislative Councils under Dyarchy and wrecking the colonial government within. They were called the pro-changers. Staunch followers of Gandhi like Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajaji and others, known as no-changers, wanted to continue non-cooperation with the government. Despite the opposition C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party on 1 January 1923, which was later approved by a special session of the Congress. Swaraj Party members were elected in large numbers to the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the various Provincial Legislative Councils. They effectively used the legislature as a platform for propagation of nationalist ideas. In Bengal, they refused to take charge of transferred subjects, as they did not want to cooperate with the government. They exposed the true nature of the colonial government. However, the Swaraj Party began to decline after the death of its leader C.R. Das in 1925. Some of the Swaraj Party members began to accept government offices. Swaraj Party withdrew from the legislatures in 1926.

Dyarchy, a system of dual government introduced under the Government of India Act 1919, divided the powers of the provincial government into Reserved and Transferred subjects. The Reserved Subjects comprising finance, defence, the police, justice, land revenue, and irrigation were in the hands of the British. The Transferred Subjects that included local self-government, education, public health, public works, agriculture, forests and fisheries were left under the control of Indian ministers. The system ended with the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1935.

(c) Constructive Programme of Gandhi

After the Chauri Chaura incident, Gandhi felt that the volunteers and the people had to be trained for a non-violent struggle. As part of this effort he focused on promoting Khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity and the abolition of untouchability. He exhorted the Congressmen, "Go throughout your districts and spread the message of Khaddar, the message of Hindu-Muslim unity, the message of anti-untouchability and take up in hand the youth of the country and make them the real soldiers of Swaraj." He made it compulsory for all Congress members to wear khaddar. The All India Spinner's Association was formed. Gandhi believed that without attaining these objectives Swaraj could never be attained.

Despite the cooperation of the Hindus and Muslims during the Khilafat Movement and the Non-Cooperation Movement, the unity was fragile. The 1920s saw a series of communal riots between the Hindus and the Muslims. Hindu Mahasabha was gaining in popularity under Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Muslim League under the Ali Brothers. Gandhi undertook a 21-day fast in between 1924 to appeal to the hearts of the Hindus and Muslims involved in communal politics. Serious efforts by Gandhi and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who at that time believed Swaraj was possible only with Hindu-Muslim unity, failed to stem the communal riots.

(d) Boycott of Simon Commission

On 8 November 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission. Composed of seven members headed by Sir John Simon it came to be widely known as the Simon Commission. It was an all-white commission with no Indian member. Indians were angered that they had been denied the right to decide their own constitution. All sections of India including the Congress and the Muslim League decided to boycott the commission. Wherever the Commission went there were protests, and black flag marches with the slogan 'Go Back Simon'. The protesters were brutally assaulted by the police. In one such assault in Lahore, Lal Lajpat Rai was seriously injured and died a few days later.

(e) Nehru Report

The Simon boycott united the different political parties in India. An all party conference was held in 1928 with the objective to frame a constitution for India as an alternative to the Simon Commission proposals. A committee under the leadership of Motilal Nehru was formed to outline the principles on the basis of which the constitution was to be drafted. The committee's report, known as the Nehru Report, recommended,

- **Dominion status for India.**
- **Elections of the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures on the basis of joint and mixed electorates.**
- **Reservation of seats for Muslims in the Central Legislature and in provinces where they are in a minority and for the Hindus in North-West Frontier Province where they were in a minority.**
- **Provision of fundamental rights, and universal adult franchise.**

Jinnah proposed an amendment to the reservation of seats in the Central Legislature. He demanded that one-third of the seats be reserved for Muslims. Tej Bahadur Sapru supported him and pleaded that it would make no big difference. However, it was defeated in the All Party Conference. Later he proposed a resolution which came to be known as Jinnah's Fourteen Points. However, it was also rejected. Jinnah who was hailed as Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity thereafter changed his stand and began to espouse the cause of a separate nation for Muslims.

The Struggle for Poorna Swaraj and Launch of Civil Disobedience Movement

Meanwhile some congressmen were not satisfied with dominion status and wanted to demand complete independence. In the Congress session held in Lahore in December 1929 with Jawaharlal Nehru as the President, Poorna Swaraj was declared as the goal. It was also decided to boycott the Round Table Conference and launch a Civil Disobedience Movement. 26 January 1930 was declared as Independence Day and a pledge was taken all over the country to attain Poorna Swaraj non-violently through civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The Indian National Congress authorised Gandhi to launch the movement.

(a) Salt Satyagraha Movement

A charter of demands presented to the Viceroy Lord Irwin with an ultimatum to comply by 31 January 1930 included:

- **Reduction of expenditure on army and civil services by 50%**
- **Introduction of total prohibition**
- **Release of all political prisoners**
- **Reduction of land revenue by 50%**
- **Abolition of salt tax.**

When the Viceroy did not respond to the charter of demands, Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. The inclusion of abolition of salt tax was a brilliant tactical decision. Salt was an issue which affected every section of the society. It transformed Civil Disobedience Movement into a mass movement drawing all sections of the population including women to the streets. At the break of dawn on 12 March 1930 Gandhi set out from Sabarmati Ashram with 78 of his inmates. The procession became

larger and larger when hundreds joined them along the march. At the age of 61 Gandhi covered a distance of 241 miles in 24 days to reach Dandi at sunset on 5 April 1930. The next morning, he took a lump of salt breaking the salt law.

Salt Satyagraha in Provinces

In Tamil Nadu, C. Rajaji led a similar salt march from Tiruchirappalli to Vedaranyam. Salt marches took place in Kerala, Andhra and Bengal. In the North West Frontier Province Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan led the movement. He organized the Khudai Khidmatgar, also known as the Red Shirts. Government crushed the movement with brutal force, causing in many casualties. The soldiers of the Garhwali regiment refused to fire on unarmed satyagrahis.

Gandhi was arrested at midnight and sent to Yeravada Jail. Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other leaders were swiftly arrested. Soon other forms of protests such as boycott of foreign cloth, picketing of liquor shops, non-payment of taxes, breaking of forest laws etc. were adopted. Women, peasants, tribals, students, even children and all sections participated in the nation-wide struggle. It was the biggest mass movement India had ever witnessed. More than 90,000 people were arrested.

The British enacted the first forest act in 1865. This act restricted the access of the forest dwellers to the forest areas to collect firewood, cattle fodder and other minor forest produce such as honey, seeds, nuts, medicinal herbs. The Indian Forest Act of 1878 claimed that original ownership of forests was with the state. Waste lands and fallow lands were included as forest. Sifting cultivation practiced by the tribal people, was prohibited. Alienation of forests from local control was stiffly resisted by the aggrieved adivasis (tribals) and the nationalists.

The most striking evidence of continuing struggles of the tribal groups was the one waged by Alluri Sitarama Raju in Rampa. Raju made Adivasi areas in the Eastern Ghats (the forest area along the Visakapatnam and Godavari district) his home. The Adivasis who were organized by Alluri Sitarama Raju lived in abject poverty. They were also harassed by police, forest and revenue officials in 'Manyam' (forest area). Raju's efforts at fighting corrupt officials to protect the interests of Rampa tribals prompted the British to target his life. A special Malabar Police team was sent to quell the uprisings (1922- 24) of Rampa Adivasis. Alluri Sitarama Raju attained martyrdom for the cause of forest dwellers.

(b) Round Table Conferences

In the midst of the movement the First Round Table Conference was held at London in November 1930. Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister, proposed a federal government with provincial autonomy. There was a deadlock over the question of separate electorates for the minorities. The Congress did not attend it as its leaders were in

jail. The Conference closed without any decision on the question. It was clear that without Congress participation the discussions were of no value. Gandhi was released unconditionally.

(c) Gandhi-Irwin Pact

Lord Irwin held talks with Gandhi which resulted in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5 March 1931. The British agreed to the demand of immediate release of all political prisoners not involved in violence, return of confiscated land and lenient treatment of government employees who had resigned. It also permitted the people of coastal villages to make salt for consumption and non-violent picketing. The Congress agreed to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement and attend the conference. Gandhi attended the Second Round Table Conference which began on 7 September 1931. Gandhi refused to accept separate electorates for minorities. As a result, the second conference ended without any result.

(d) Renewal of Civil Disobedience Movement.

On returning to India, Gandhi revived the Civil Disobedience Movement. This time the government was prepared to meet the resistance. Martial law was enforced and Gandhi was arrested on 4 January 1932. Soon all the Congress leaders were arrested too. Protests and picketing by the people were suppressed with force. Nearly 80,000 people were arrested within four months. The nationalist press was completely gagged. Despite Government's repressive measures it is worth mentioning here in that the movement continued till April 1934.

In the meantime, the Third Round Table Conference was held from 17 November to 24 December 1932. The Congress did not participate in the conference as it had revived the Civil Disobedience Movement.

(e) Communal Award and Poona Pact

On 16 August 1932, Ramsay MacDonald announced the Communal Award. It provided separate electorates to the minorities, viz. Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and women and the "depressed classes". Gandhi strongly opposed the inclusion of depressed classes in the list of minorities. Gandhi argued that it would not only divide the Hindus but also make the campaign against untouchability meaningless, as they would be considered distinct from the Hindus. However, he supported reservation of seats. B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes, strongly argued for the separate electorate, as it, according to him, would give them political representation and power. On 20 September 1932, Gandhi went on a fast unto death against the separate electorates for the depressed classes. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Rajendra Prasad and others held talks with Ambedkar and M.C. Rajah the leaders of the depressed classes. After intense negotiations an agreement was arrived between Gandhi and Ambedkar. Known as the Poona Pact, its main terms were:

„The principle of separate electorates was abandoned. Instead, the principle of joint electorate was accepted with reservation of seats for the depressed classes.

„Reserved seats for the depressed classes were increased from 71 to 148. In the Central Legislature 18 percent of these seats were reserved.

(f) Campaign Against Untouchability

Gandhi devoted the next few years towards abolition of untouchability. His engagement with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar made a big impact on his ideas about the caste system. He shifted his base to the Satyagraha Ashram at Wardha. He undertook an all-India tour called the Harijan Tour. He started the Harijan Sevak Sangh to work for the removal of discriminations. He worked to promote education, cleanliness and hygiene and giving up of liquor among the depressed class. He also undertook two fasts in 1933 for this cause. An important part of the campaign was the Temple Entry Movement. 8 January 1933 was observed as 'Temple Entry Day'. His campaign earned the ire of the orthodox Hindus and an attempt was made on his life by obscurantists upper caste Hindus. But this did not deter his mission.

The work among the depressed classes and the tribals took the message of nationalism to the grassroots.

Beginnings of Socialist Movements

Inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Communist Party of India (CPI) was founded at Tashkent, Uzbekistan in October 1920. M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherjee, and M.P.T. Acharya were some of its founding members. The British government in India made vigorous efforts to suppress the communist movement by foisting a series of cases in the 1920s. In a further attempt to eliminate the threat of communism M.N. Roy, S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, M. Singaravelar among others were arrested and tried in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case of 1924. The charge on them was "to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from imperialistic Britain."

(a) Foundation of Communist Party

The communists used it as a platform to propagate their views and to expose the 'true colour of British rule in India'. In an attempt to form a party an All India Communist Conference was held at Kanpur in 1925. Singaravelar gave the Presidential Address. It led to the founding of the Communist Party of India in Indian soil. The Communists organised workers' and peasants' organisations in different parts of India. A number of strikes were organised in the 1920s. Their efforts eventually led to the establishment of the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party in 1928. The progress in this direction was halted with the Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1929. Muzaffar Ahmed, S.A. Dange, S.V. Ghate, G. Adhikari, P.C. Joshi, S.S. Mirajkar, Shaukat Usmani, Philip Stratt and twenty-three others were arrested for organising a railway strike. They were charged with conspiring to overthrow the British government of India.

(b) Revolutionary Activities

The youths who were disillusioned with the sudden withdrawal of the Non Cooperation Movement by Gandhi took to violence. In 1924 Hindustan Republican Army (HRA) was formed in Kanpur to overthrow the colonial rule by an armed rebellion. In 1925 Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqulla Khan and others held up a train carrying government money and looted in Kakori, a village near Lucknow. They were arrested and tried in the Kakori Conspiracy Case. Four of them were sentenced to death while the others were sentenced to imprisonment.

Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and their comrades reorganized the HRA in Punjab. Influenced by socialist ideas they renamed it as Hindustan Socialist Republican Association in 1928. Sanders, a British police officer, responsible for the lathi charge that led to Lala Lajpat Rai's death was assassinated. Bhagat Singh along with B.K. Dutt threw a smoke bomb inside the Central Legislative Assembly in 1929. It was not intended to hurt anyone. They threw pamphlets and shouted 'Inquilab Zindabad' and 'Long Live the Proletariat'. He along with Rajguru was arrested and sentenced to death. Bhagat Singh's daring and courage fired the imagination of the youth across India, and he became popular across India. During the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations there was wide-spread demand to include the case of Bhagat Singh and Rajguru. The Viceroy was not willing to commute the death sentence.

In April 1930, the Chittagong Armoury Raid was carried out by Surya Sen and his associates. They captured the armouries in Chittagong and proclaimed a provisional revolutionary government. They survived for three years raiding government institutions. In 1933 Surya Sen was caught and hanged after a year.

(c) Left Movement in the 1930s

By the 1930s the Communist Party of India had gained strength in view of the economic crisis caused by world-wide Great Depression. Britain transmitted the effects of Depression to its colonies. The effects of Depression were reflected in decline in trade returns and fall in agricultural prices. The governmental measures included forcible collection of land revenue which in real terms had increased two-fold due to a 50% fall in agricultural prices, the withdrawal of money in circulation, retrenchment of staff and expenditure on developmental works.

In this context, the Communist Party, fighting for the cause of peasants and industrial workers hit by loss of income and wage reduction, and problems of unemployment gained influence and was therefore banned in 1934. The Congress, as a movement with a wide spectrum of political leanings, ranging from the extreme Left to the extreme Right, welded together by the goal of Swaraj, emerged as a powerful organisation. There was a constant struggle between the right and left in the Congress during the 1930s. In 1934 the Congress Socialist Party was formed by Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Minoo Masani. They believed that nationalism was the path to socialism and that they would work within the Congress.

They worked to make Congress pro-peasant and pro-worker

'Real Swaraj will come not by acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority, when abused.' - M. K. Gandhi

First Congress Ministries under Government of India Act, 1935

The Government of India Act 1935 was one of the important positive outcomes of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The key features of the Act were provincial autonomy and dyarchy at the centre. The Act provided for an all India Federation with 11 provinces, 6 Chief Commissioner's provinces and all those Princely states which wished to join the federation. The Act also provided autonomy to the provinces. All the subjects were transferred to the control of Indian ministers. Dyarchy that was in operation in provinces was now extended to the central government. The franchise, based on property, was extended though only about ten percent of the population enjoyed the right to vote. By this Act Burma was separated from India.

(a) Congress Ministries and their Work

The Government of India Act 1935 was implemented with the announcement of elections in 1937. The Congress immensely benefitted because of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Congress called off its programme of boycott of legislature and contested elections. It emerged victorious in seven out of the eleven provinces. It formed ministries in 8 provinces - Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces, North West Frontier Province. In Assam it formed a coalition government with Assam Valley Muslim Party led by Sir Muhammad Sadullah. The Congress Ministries functioned as a popular government and responded to the needs of the people. The salaries of ministers were reduced from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 500 per month. Earlier action taken against nationalists were rescinded. They repealed the Acts which vested emergency powers in the government, lifted the ban imposed on political organisations except the Communist Party, and removed the restrictions on the nationalist press. Police powers were curbed and reporting by the CID on political speeches discontinued. Legislative measures were adopted for reducing indebtedness of the peasantry and improving the working conditions of the industrial labour. Temple entry legislation was passed. Special attention was paid to education and public health.

(b) Resignation of Congress Ministries

In 1939 the Second World War broke out. The colonial government of India entered the War on behalf of the Allies without consulting the Congress ministries. The Congress ministries resigned in protest. Jinnah who had returned from London with the determination of demanding separate state for Muslims, revived the Muslim League in 1934. He was one of the staunchest critics of the Congress Ministries. He declared the day when the Congress Ministries resigned as the 'Day of Deliverance'. By 1940 he was demanding a separate state for the Muslims arguing that in an independent India the Muslims would lose all political power to the Hindus.

(c) National Movement during the Second World War, 1939–45

In 1939 Subhas Chandra Bose became the President of the Congress by defeating Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the candidate of Gandhi. When Gandhi refused to cooperate, Subhas Chandra Bose resigned his post and started the Forward Bloc. The Communists initially opposed the War, calling it an imperialist war. However, with the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, they called it the 'People's War' and offered cooperation to the British. As a result, in 1942, the ban on the Communist Party of India was lifted.

Hindu Communalism, Muslim Communalism and Indian Nationalism

The Muslim League dubbed the Congress as a Hindu organisation and claimed that it alone was the representative of the Muslims of India. Similarly, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) took a pronounced anti-Muslim stance. Both Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League claimed that the interests of the Hindus and Muslims were different and hostile to each other. The British policy of divide and rule, through measures such as Partition of Bengal, Communal Award, had encouraged the vested interests out to exploit the religious differences. In 1933, Rahmat Ali a student of Cambridge University conceived the idea of Pakistan, comprising the provinces of Punjab, Kashmir, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan. Muhammad Iqbal, who was advocating Hindu-Muslim unity later changed his stance and began to campaign for the formation of a separate state for Muslims. Indian Nationalism represented by Gandhi, Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and others opposed the idea of partitioning the country.

Developments leading to Quit India Movement

(a) Individual Satyagraha

In August 1940 Viceroy Linlithgow made an offer in return for Congress' support for the war effort. However, the offer of dominion status in an unspecified future was not acceptable to the Congress. However, it did not want to hamper the British during its struggle against the fascist forces of Germany and Italy. Hence Gandhi declared limited satyagraha which would be offered by a few individuals. The objective was to convey to the world that though India was opposed to Nazism it did not enter the War voluntarily. Vinobha Bhave was the first to offer satyagraha on 17 October 1940. The satyagraha continued till the end of the year. During this period more than 25,000 people were arrested.

(b) Cripps Mission

On 22 March 1942, the British government sent a mission under Cabinet Minister Sir Stafford Cripps as the Japanese knocked on the doors of India. The negotiations between the Cripps Mission and the Congress failed as Britain was not willing to transfer effective power immediately. The Cripps Mission offered:

1. **Grant of Dominion Status after the War**
2. **Indian Princes could sign a separate agreement with the British implying the acceptance for the demand of Pakistan.**
3. **British control of defence during the War.**

Both the Congress and the Muslim League rejected the proposal. Gandhi called the proposals as a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank.

(c) "Do or Die" Call by Gandhi

The outcome of the Cripps Mission caused considerable disappointment. Popular discontent was intensified by war time shortages and steep rise in prices. The All India Congress Committee that met at Bombay on 8 August 1942 passed the famous Quit India Resolution demanding an immediate end to British rule in India. Gandhi gave a call to do or die. Gandhi said, 'We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery.' A non-violent mass struggle under Gandhi was to be launched. But early next morning on 9 August 1942 Gandhi and the entire Congress leadership was arrested.

(d) Role of Socialists

With Gandhi and other prominent leaders of the Congress in jail, the Socialists provided the leadership for the movement. Jayaprakash Narayan and Ramanand Misra escaped from prison and organised an underground movement. Women activists like Aruna Asaf Ali played a heroic role. Usha Mehta established Congress Radio underground which successfully functioned till November 1942. British used all its might to suppress the revolt. Thousands were killed with machine guns and in some cases airplanes were used to throw bombs. Collective fines were imposed and collected with utmost rigour. Gandhi commenced a twenty-one day fast in February 1943 which nearly threatened his life. Finally, the British government relented. Gandhi was released from jail in 1944.

(e) People's Response

As news spread to different parts of India, a spontaneous protest broke out everywhere. The people protested in whatever form that they could, such as hartals, strikes, picketing. The government suppressed it with brute force. People attacked government buildings, railway stations, telephone and telegraph lines and all that stood as symbols of British authority. This was particularly widespread in Madras. Parallel governments were established in Satara, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces and Bengal.

Though the movement was suppressed, it demonstrated the depth of nationalism and the readiness of the people to sacrifice for it. Nearly 7000 people were killed and more than 60,000 jailed. Significantly it also demonstrated the weakening of the colonial hegemony over the state apparatus. Many officials including policemen helped

thenationalists. Railway engine drivers andpilots transported bombs and other materialsfor the protestors.

(f) Subhas Chandra Bose and INA

Subhas Chandra Bose's INASubhas Chandra Bose who had left theCongress was now under house arrest. Hewanted to strike British hard by joining itsenemies. In March 1941, he made a dramaticescape from his house in disguise and reachedAfghanistan. Initially he wanted to get thesupport of Soviet Union. After the Soviet Unionjoined the Allied Powers which included GreatBritain, he went to Germany. In February 1943,he made his way to Japan on a submarine andtook control of the Indian National Army. TheIndian National Army Captain Lakshmi Sahgalheaded it (Azad Hindu Fauj) had earlier beenorganized by Gen. Mohan Singh with Indianprisoners of war with the support of Japanesein Malaya and Burma. Bose reorganised itinto three brigades: Gandhi Brigade, NehruBrigade and a women's brigade named afterRani of Jhansi. Subhas Chandra Bose formedthe Provisional Government of Free India inSingapore. He gave the slogan 'Dilli Chalo'.INA was deployed as part of the Japaneseforces. However, the defeat of Japan stoppedthe advance of INA. The airplane carryingSubhas Chandra Bose crashed bringing to anend his crusade for freedom.

The British governmentarrested the INA officersand put them on trial in theRed Fort. The trial becamea platform for nationalistpropaganda. The Congressset up a defence committeecomprising Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru,Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. Though the INAofficers were convicted they were released dueto public pressure. The INA exploits and thesubsequent trials inspired the Indians.

Towards Freedom

(a) Royal Indian Navy Revolt

The Royal Indian Navy ratings revolted atBombay in February 1946. It soon spread to otherstations involving more than 20,000 ratings.Similar strikes occurred in the Indian Air Forceand the Indian Signal Corps at Jabalpur. Thus the British hegemonic control ceased even in thearmed forces. Despite the victory in the War, itleft the British completely weakened. Britishurrender in South-East Asia to the Japanese was a big blow to imperial prestige. All the politicalleaders were released and the ban on Congresswas lifted.

(b) Negotiating Independence: Simla Conference

The Wavell Plan was announced on14 June 1945. It provided for an interimgovernment, with an equal number of Hindusand Muslims in the Viceroy's ExecutiveCouncil. All portfolios, except war portfolio,wastobe held by Indian ministers. However,in the Shimla Conference, the Congress andthe Muslim League could not come to anagreement. Jinnah demanded that all theMuslim members should be from the MuslimLeague and they should have a veto on allimportant matters. In the provincial

elections held in early 1946 the Congress won most of the general seats and the Muslim League won most of the seats reserved for the Muslims thus bolstering its claim.

(c) Cabinet Mission

In Britain, the Labour Party had won a landslide victory and Clement Attlee became the Prime Minister. He declared that he wanted to transfer power at the earliest. He sent a Cabinet Mission comprising Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander. Rejecting the demand for Pakistan, it provided for a Federal government with control over defence, communications and foreign affairs. The provinces were divided into three groups viz. Non-Muslim Majority Provinces, Muslim Majority Provinces in the Northwest and the Muslim Majority Provinces in the Northeast. A Constituent Assembly was to be elected and an interim government set up with representation for all the communities. The Congress and the Muslim League accepted the plan. However, both interpreted it differently. The Congress wanted the division of the provinces to be temporary while the Muslim League wanted it to be a permanent arrangement.

(d) Direct Action Day Call by Muslim League

Difference arose between Congress and Muslim League when the former nominated a Muslim member. The League argued it was to be the sole representative of the Muslims and withdrew its approval. Jinnah declared 16 August 1946 as the 'Direct Action Day'. Hartals and demonstrations took place which soon turned into Hindu-Muslim conflict. It spread to other districts of Bengal. The district of Noakhali was the worst affected. Gandhi left for the worst affected regions and toured them on barefoot bringing the communal violence under control and spreading the message of peace and nonviolence.

(e) Mountbatten Plan

The interim government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru was formed in September 1946. After some hesitation the Muslim League joined it in October 1946. Its representative Liaqat Ali Khan was made the Finance Member. In February 1947, Clement Attlee declared that power would be transferred by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten was sent as Viceroy to India with the specific task of transfer of power. On 3 June 1947 the Mountbatten Plan was announced. It proposed:

- Power would be transferred on the basis of dominion status to India and Pakistan.
- Princely states would have to join either India or Pakistan.
- Boundary commission was to be set up under Radcliffe Brown and the award would be announced after the transfer of power.
- Punjab and Bengal Legislative Assemblies would vote on whether they should be partitioned.

(f) Independence and Partition

The Mountbatten Plan was given effect by the enactment of the Indian Independence Act on 18 July 1947 by the British Parliament. The Act abolished the sovereignty of the British Parliament over India. India was partitioned into two dominions - India and Pakistan. On 15 August 1947 India won independence.



Unit - 9

Freedom Struggle in Tamil Nadu

Introduction

Tamil Nadu showed the lead in resisting colonial rule. As early as the late eighteenth century the Palayakarars, resisted the English attempts to establish their political hegemony in Tamil Nadu. Even after the defeat of the Palayakarars, an uprising was organised by Indian sepoys and officers in Vellore Fort in 1806 that had its echoes in several cantonments in south India. Thanks to the introduction of Western education and eventual emergence of educated Indian middle class, the struggle against the British took the constitutional path. The freedom struggle in Tamil Nadu was unique, because from the beginning it was not only a struggle for independence from the English rule but also a struggle for independence from social disability imposed by the obnoxious caste system. In this lesson we shall study the role played by nationalists wedded to diverse ideologies in Tamil Nadu.

Early Nationalist Stirrings in Tamil Nadu

By the middle of the nineteenth century a group of educated middle class emerged in Madras and began to show interest in public affairs. As in other parts of India, they formed political associations, such as the Madras Native Association and the Madras Mahajana Sabha to articulate their grievances.

(a) Madras Native Association

The Madras Native Association (MNA) was the earliest organisation to be founded in south India to articulate larger public rather than sectarian interests. It was started by Gazulu Lakshminarasu, Srinivasanar and their associates in 1852. It consisted primarily of merchants. The objective was to promote the interests of its members and their focus was on reduction in taxation. It also protested against the support of the government to Christian missionary activities. It drew the attention of the government to the condition and needs of the people. One of the important contributions of the MNA was its agitation against torture of the peasants by revenue officials. These efforts led to the establishment of the Torture Commission and the eventual abolition of the Torture Act, which justified the collection of land revenue through torture. However, by 1862, the Madras Native Association had ceased to exist.

(b) Beginnings of the Nationalist Press: The Hindu and Swadesamitran

The appointment of T. Muthuswami as the first Indian Judge of the Madras High Court in 1877 created a furore in Madras Presidency. The entire press in Madras criticized the appointment of an Indian as a Judge. The press opposed his

appointment and the educated youth realized that the press was entirely owned by Europeans. The need for a newspaper to express the Indian perspective was keenly felt. G. Subramaniam, M. Veeraraghavachari and four other friends together started a newspaper The Hindu in 1878. It soon became the vehicle of nationalist propaganda. G. Subramaniam also started a Tamil nationalist periodical Swadesamitran in 1891 which became a daily in 1899. The founding of The Hindu and Swadesamitran provided encouragement to the starting of other native newspapers such as Indian Patriot, South Indian Mail, Madras Standard, Desabhimani, Vijaya, Suryodayam and India.

(c) Madras Mahajana Sabha

Madras Mahajana Sabha (MMS) was the earliest organisation in south India with clear nationalist objectives. It was the training ground for the first generation of nationalist leaders. On 16 May 1884 MMS was started by M. Veeraraghavachari, P. Anandachari, P. Rangaiah and few others. P. Rangaiah became its first president. P. Anandachari played an active role as its secretary. The members met periodically, debated public issues in closed meetings, conducted hall meetings and communicated their views to the government. The objective of MMS was to create a consensus among people of different parts of the Presidency on various issues of public interest and to present it to the government. Its demands included conduct of simultaneous civil service examinations in England and India, abolition of the Council of India in London, reduction of taxes and reduction of civil and military expenditure. Many of its demands were adopted later by the Indian National Congress founded in 1885.

(d) Moderate Phase

Provincial associations such as the Madras Mahajana Sabha led to the formation of an all-India organisation, the Indian National Congress. Leaders from different parts of India attended several meetings before the formation of the Congress. One such meeting was held in December 1884 in Theosophical Society. It was attended by Dadabhai Naoroji, K.T. Telang, Surendranath Banerjee and other prominent leaders apart from G. Subramaniam, Rangaiah and Anandachari from Madras.

Prominent Nationalists of Tamil Nadu in the Moderate phase

The early nationalists believed in constitutional methods. Their activities consisted of conducting hall meetings and deliberating the problems of the country in English. These views were communicated to the government in a language couched in a liberal discourse in the form of petitions, prayers, memoranda, and as evidence in various government commissions of enquiry. When, at the time of Partition of Bengal, Tilak and other leaders adopted popular methods such as mass public meetings, and used vernacular languages to address the larger public, the early nationalists came to be known as moderates. The distinguished Tamil Moderates from Madras: V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.S. Sivasamy, V. Krishnasamy, T.R. Venkatramanar, G.A. Natesan, T.M. Madhava Rao, and S. Subramaniam. The primary contribution of moderates lies

in exposing the liberal claims of the British: they exposed how the British exploited India and their hypocrisy in following democratic principles in England and imposing an unrepresentative government in the colonies.

The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in 1885 at Bombay. Out of a total of 72 delegates 22 members were from Madras. G. Subramaniam through his writings advanced the cause of nationalism. He ranks with Naoroji and Gokhale for his contribution to the understanding of the economic exploitation of India by the British.

The second session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886, with Dadabhai Naoroji in the Chair. The third session was held at Makkis Garden, now known as the Thousand lights, in Madras in 1887 with Badruddin Tyabji as president. Out of the 607 all India delegates of 362 were from Madras Presidency.

Tamil Nadu was then part of the Madras Presidency which included large parts of the present-day states of Andhra Pradesh (Coastal districts and Rayalaseema), Karnataka (Bengaluru, Bellary, South Canara), Kerala (Malabar) and even Odisha (Ganjam).

Swadeshi Movement

The partition of Bengal (1905) led to the Swadeshi Movement and changed the course of the struggle for freedom. In various parts of India, especially Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra popular leaders emerged. They implemented the programme of the Calcutta Congress which called upon the nation to promote Swadeshi enterprise, boycott foreign goods and promote national education. The Swadeshi movement made a deep impact in Tamil Nadu. The Congress carried on a vigorous campaign for boycott of foreign goods.

(a) Response in Tamilnadu

V.O. Chidambaranar, V. Chakkaraiyar, Subramania Bharati and Surendranath Arya were some of the prominent leaders in Tamilnadu. Public meetings attended by thousands of people were organised in various parts of Tamilnadu. Tamil was used on the public platform for the first time to mobilise the people. Subaramania Bharati's patriotic songs were especially important in stirring patriotic emotions. Many journals were started to propagate Swadeshi ideals. Swadesamitran and India were prominent journals. The extremist leader Bipin Chandra Pal toured Madras and delivered lectures which inspired the youth. Students and youth participated widely in the Swadeshi Movement.

Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company

One of the most enterprising acts in pursuance of swadeshi was the launching of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company at Thoothukudiy by V.O. Chidambaranar. He purchased two ships Gallia and Lavo and plied them between Thoothukudi and

Colombo. However, due to cutthroat competition from the European company and the blatantly partisan role played by the government, V.O.C's efforts ended in failure.

Tirunelveli Uprising

V.O.C joined with Subramania Siva in organising the mill workers in Thoothukudi and Tirunelveli. In 1908, he led a strike in the European-owned Coral Mills. It coincided with the release of Bipin Chandra Pal. V.O.C and Subramania Siva, who organised a public meeting to celebrate the release of Bipin, were arrested. The two leaders were charged with sedition and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. Initially V.O.C. was given a draconian sentence of two life imprisonments. The news of the arrest sparked riots in Tirunelveli leading to the burning down of the police station, court building and municipal office. It led to the death of four people in police firing. V.O.C. was treated harshly in prison and was made to pull the heavy oil press. Others to be arrested included G. Subramaniam and Ethiraj Surendranath Arya. To avoid imprisonment Subramania Bharati moved to Pondicherry which was under French rule. Bharati's example was followed by many other nationalists such as Aurobindo Ghosh and V. V. Subramanianar. The brutal crackdown on Swadeshi leaders virtually brought the Swadeshi Movement to a close in Tamil Nadu.

(b) Revolutionary Activities in Tamil Nadu

As elsewhere the Swadeshi movement inspired the youth. Left leaderless, they turned to the revolutionary path. Pondicherry provided a safe haven for the revolutionaries. Many of these revolutionaries in Tamil Nadu were introduced and trained in revolutionary activities at India House in London and in Paris. M.P.T. Acharya, V.V. Subramanianar and T.S.S. Rajan were prominent among them. Revolutionary literature was distributed by them in Madras through Pondicherry. Radical papers such as India, Vijaya and Suryodayam came out of Pondicherry. Such revolutionary papers and Bharati's poems were banned as seditious literature. These activities in Pondicherry intensified with the arrival of Aurobindo Ghosh and V.V. Subramanianar in 1910. These activities continued till the outbreak of the First World War.

Ashe Murder

In 1904 Nilakanta Brahmachari and others started Bharata Matha Society, a secret society. The objective was to kill British officials and thereby kindle patriotic fervour among the people. Vanchinathan of Senkottai, was influenced by this organisation. On 17 June 1911 he shot dead Robert W.D'E. Ashe, Collector of Tirunelveli in Maniyachi Junction. After this he shot himself. Divorced from the people these young revolutionaries, despite their patriotism, failed to inspire and mobilize the people.

(c) Annie Besant and the Home Rule Movement

While the extremists and revolutionaries were suppressed with an iron hand, the moderates hoped for some constitutional reforms. However, they were disappointed

with the Minto-Morley reforms as it did not provide for responsible government. Despite this the Congress extended support to the British war effort in the hope of getting more reforms.

Thus when the national movement was in its ebb, Annie Besant, an Irish lady and leader of the Theosophical Society, proposed the Home Rule Movement on the model of the Irish Home Rule League. She started the Home Rule League in 1916 and carried forward the demand for home rule all over India. G.S. Arundale, B.P. Wadia and C.P. Ramaswamy assisted her in this campaign. They demanded home rule with only a nominal allegiance to the British Crown. She started the newspapers *New India* and *Commonweal* to carry forward her agenda. She remarked, "Better bullock carts and freedom than a train deluxe with subjection". Under the Press Act of 1910 Annie Besant was asked to pay a hefty amount as security. She wrote two books, *How India wrought for Freedom* and *India: A Nation and a pamphlet on self-government*.

Students joined the movement in large numbers who were trained in Home Rule classes. They were formed into boy scouts and volunteer troops. Annie Besant and her coworkers were interned and prohibited from making public speeches or involve in any political activity. Annie Besant was elected the President of the Congress session of 1917. Members of the Home Rule Movement such as B.P. Wadia played a key role in organising the working classes by forming trade unions. Not only did they succeed in improving their working conditions, they made them part of the struggle for freedom. However, with the rise of Gandhi as a national leader Annie Besant and the Home Rule Leagues were eclipsed.

Non-Brahmin Movement and the Challenge to Congress

In the meanwhile, there was rapid growth in education in the Madras Presidency. There was an increase in the number of educated non-Brahmins. Intense political and social activity discussed above politicised the educated non-Brahmins. They raised the issue of caste discrimination and unequal opportunities in government employment and representation in elected bodies, which were dominated by Brahmins. Further, the Congress was also overwhelmingly composed of Brahmins.

(a) The South Indian Liberal Federation

The non-Brahmins organised themselves into political organisations to protect their interests. In 1912 the Madras Dravidian Association was founded. C. Natesanar played an active role as its secretary. In June 1916 he established the Dravidian Association Hostel for non-Brahmin students. He also played a key role in bridging the differences between two leading non-Brahmin leaders of the time, Dr. T.M. Nair and P. Thyagarayar. Both of them were earlier part of the Congress and were disillusioned by how non-Brahmins were sidelined in the organisation. On 20 November 1916 a meeting of about thirty non-Brahmins was held under the leadership of P. Thyagarayar, Dr. T.M. Nair and C. Natesanar at Victoria Public Hall in Chennai. The South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF) was founded to promote the interests of the non-Brahmins.

They also launched three newspapers: Justice in English, Dravidian in Tamil and Andhra Prakasika in Telugu. Soon the SILF began to be popularly known as Justice Party after its English daily. The Justice Party also held several conferences throughout the Presidency to set up branches.

Demand for Reservation

The Non-Brahmin Manifesto was released outlining its objectives viz., reservation of jobs for non-Brahmins in government service, and seats in representative bodies. It opposed the Home Rule Movement as a movement of Brahmins and feared that Home Rule might give them more power. It also criticised the Congress as a party of the Brahmins. Montagu's announcement of political reforms in the Parliament in 1917 intensified political discussions in Tamil Nadu. The Justice Party demanded communal representation (i.e. representation for various communities in society). The Madras Government was also supportive of the Justice Party as the latter believed that English rule was conducive for the development of the non-Brahmins. The Act of 1919 provided reservation of seats to non-Brahmins, a move criticised by the Congress but welcomed by the Justice Party.

Justice Ministry

The Congress boycotted the elections of 1920. The Justice Party won 63 of 98 elected seats in the Legislative Council. A. Subburayalu of the Justice Party became the first chief minister. After the 1923 elections, Raja of Panagal of the Justice Party formed the ministry. The Justice Party introduced various measures for the benefit of non-Brahmins. They were reservation of appointments in local bodies and education institutions, establishment of Staff Selection Board which later became the Public Service Commission, enactment of Hindu Religious Endowment Act and Madras State Aid to Industries Act, abolition of devadasi system, allotment of poramboke lands (waste government lands) to the poor for housing and extension of primary education to the depressed classes through fee concessions, scholarships and mid-day meals.

(b) Government's Repressive Measures: Rowlatt Act

Given the important contribution of India (especially the soldiers who fought in far-off lands in the cause of Empire) in World War I Indians expected more reforms from Britain. However, a draconian Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, popularly known as the Rowlatt Act, after the name of Sir Sidney Rowlatt, who headed the committee that recommended it was passed in 1919. Under the Act anyone could be imprisoned on charges of terrorism without due judicial process. Indians were aghast at this. Gandhi gave voice to the anger of the people and adopted the Satyagraha method that he had used in South Africa.

Rowlatt Satyagraha

On 18 March 1919 Gandhi addressed a meeting on Marina Beach. On 6 April 1919 hartal was organised to protest against the "Black Act". Protest demonstrations were held at several parts of Tamil Nadu. Processions from many areas of the city converged in the Marina beach where there was a large gathering. They devoted the whole day to fasting and prayer in the Marina beach. Madras Satyagraha Sabha was formed. Rajaji, Kasturirangar, S. Satyamurthy and George Joseph addressed the meeting. A separate meeting of workers was addressed by V. Kalyanasundaram (Thiru. V. Ka) B.P. Wadia and V.O.C. An important aspect of the movement was that the working classes, students and women took part in large numbers.

George Joseph

George Joseph, a barrister and eloquent speaker, played a leading role in organising and publicising the cause of Home Rule League in Madurai. Though born in Chengannur (Alappuzha district, Kerala State), he chose to settle down in Madurai and practice as a people's lawyer. In the course of his long public life, he led the Vaikom Satyagraha in Kerala, as he viewed it as an issue of civil rights for all citizens of India. He championed the cause of the "Criminal Tribes" of Tamil Nadu. He was fondly called "Rosaappu Durai" by the people of Madurai for the services he rendered to the affected communities. He helped the Harvey Mill workers of Madurai to set up Madurai Labour Union (1918). The Union's initial struggles resulted in higher wages and reduced work hours for the mill workers.

(c) Khilafat Movement

Following the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre General Dyer who was responsible for it was not only acquitted of all charges but rewarded. After the First World War the Caliph of Turkey was humiliated and deprived of all powers. To restore the Caliph the Khilafat Movement was started. Muslims who had largely kept from the nationalist movement now joined it in huge numbers. In Tamil Nadu Khilafat Day was observed on 17 April 1920, with a meeting presided over by Maulana Shaukat Ali. Another such conference was held at Erode. Vaniyambadi was as the epicenter of Khilafat agitation.

Non-Cooperation Movement

Tamil Nadu was active during the Non-cooperation Movement. C. Rajaji and E.V. Ramaswamy (EVR, later known as Periyar) provided the leadership. Rajaji worked closely with Yakub Hasan, founder of the Madras branch of the Muslim League. As a result, the Hindus and the Muslims cooperated closely during the course of the movement in Tamil Nadu. A Congress volunteer corps was set up to distribute pamphlets, carry flags during processions and to maintain order in the meetings. They also played an important part in picketing of liquor shops.

(a) No Tax Campaigns and Temperance Movement

As part of the non-cooperation movement, in many places, cultivators refused to pay taxes. A no-tax campaign took place in Thanjavur. Councils, schools and courts were boycotted. Foreign goods were boycotted. There were a number of workers' strikes all over the region, many of them led by nationalist leaders. One of the important aspects of the movement in Tamil Nadu was the temperance movement or movement against liquor. Toddy shops were picketed. Demonstrations and hartals were organised in all parts of the Presidency. There were also agitations by communities against the Criminal Tribes Act. In November 1921 it was decided to organise civil disobedience. Rajaji, Subramania Sastri and EVR were arrested. The visit of Prince of Wales on 13 January 1922 was boycotted. In the police repression two were killed and many injured. The Non-Cooperation Movement was withdrawn in 1922 after the Chauri Chaura incident in which 22 policemen were killed.

(b) E.V.R. and the Constructive Programme

E.V.R. played an important role in Tamil Nadu during this period. He campaigned vigorously for the promotion and sale of khadi. In his opposition to consumption of liquor he cut down an entire coconut grove owned by him. He also played a key role in the satyagraha for temple entry in Vaikom, then under Travancore. It was a time when the depressed classes were not even permitted to walk on the streets around the temple or come within a certain distance of the upper castes. After the major leaders of Kerala were arrested, EVR went to Vaikom and galvanised the movement. He was arrested and sentenced to one-month imprisonment. He refused to leave Vaikom even after his release. He was arrested again for making inspiring speeches and was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. When he returned to Erode after his release he was arrested for his speeches to promote khadi. In June 1925, the ban on the roads around the temple in Vaikom was lifted. For his contribution against caste discrimination and temple entry agitation in Vaikom, Periyar was hailed as 'Vaikom Hero'.

Cheranmadevi Gurukulam Controversy

However, by this time E.V.R. had become increasingly dissatisfied with the Congress. He felt it was promoting the interests of the Brahmins alone. The Cheranmadevi Gurukulam controversy and opposition to communal representation within the Congress led E.V.R. to leave the Congress.

To further the cause of national education, a gurukulam was established in Cheranmadevi by V.V. Subramanianar. It received funds from the Congress. However, students were discriminated on the basis of caste. Brahmin and Non-Brahmin students were made to dine separately and the food served too was different. The issue was brought to the notice of E.V.R. who questioned the practice and severely criticised it along with another leader, Dr P. Varadarajulu.

In the Kanchipuram Conference of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee held on 21 November 1925, he raised the issue of representation for non-Brahmins in the legislature. His efforts to achieve this since 1920 had met with failure. When the resolution was defeated, he left the Conference along with other non-Brahmin leaders who met separately. Soon E.V.R. left the Congress and started the Self Respect Movement.

(c) Swarajists-Justices Rivalry

Following the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Congress was divided between 'no-changers' who wanted to continue the boycott of the councils and 'pro-changers' who wanted to contest the elections for the councils. Rajaji along with other staunch

Gandhian followers opposed the council entry. Along with Kasturirangar and M.A. Ansari, Rajaji advocated the boycott of the councils. Opposition to this led to the formation of the Swaraj Party within the Congress by Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru. In Tamil Nadu the Swarajists were led by S. Srinivasanar and S. Satyamurti.

(d) Subbarayan Ministry

In the elections held in 1926, the Swarajists won the majority of the elected seats. However, it did not accept office in accordance with the Congress policy. Instead they supported an independent, P. Subbarayan to form the ministry. The Swarajists did not contest the 1930 elections leading to an easy victory for the Justice Party. The Justice Party remained in office till 1937.

Agitation for Removal of Neill Statue (1927)

James Neill of the Madras Fusiliers (infantry men with firearms) was brutal in wreaking vengeance at Kanpur ('the Cawnpur massacre', as it was called) in which many English women and children were killed in the Great Rebellion of 1857. Neill was later killed by an Indian sepoy. A statue was erected for him at Mount Road, Madras. Nationalists saw this as an insult to Indian sentiments, and organised a series of demonstrations in Madras. Protesters came from all over the Madras Presidency and were led by S. N. Somayajulu of Tirunelveli. Many were arrested and sentenced to prison. Gandhi, who visited Madras during the same time, gave his support to the agitation. The statue was finally moved to Madras Museum when Congress Ministry, led by C. Rajaji, formed the government in 1937.

(e) Simon Commission Boycott

In 1927 a statutory commission was constituted under Sir John Simon to review the Act of 1919 and to suggest reforms. However, to the great disappointment of Indians, it was an all-white commission with not a single Indian member. So the Congress boycotted the Simon Commission. In Madras, the Simon Boycott Propaganda Committee was set up with S. Satyamurti as the president. There was a widespread campaign among the students, shopkeepers, lawyers and commuters in train to boycott. The arrival of Simon Commission in Madras on 18 February 1929 was greeted with demonstrations and hartals. Black flags were waved against the Commission. The police used force to suppress the protest.

Civil Disobedience Movement

(a) Towards Poorna Swaraj

In the 1920s, Congress with Gandhi in leadership, was transforming into a broad-based movement in Tamil Nadu. The Madras session of the Indian National Congress in 1927 declared complete independence as its goal. It appointed a committee under Motilal Nehru to frame the constitutional reforms in opposition to the Simon Commission. In the 1929 Lahore session of the Congress, Poorna Swaraj (complete independence) was adopted as the goal and on 26 January 1930 the national flag was hoisted by Jawaharlal Nehru on the banks of river Ravi as the declaration of independence.

(b) Salt March to Vedaranyam

When the Viceroy did not accept the demands put forward by Gandhi, he launched the Civil Disobedience Movement by setting out on a Salt Satyagraha with a march to Dandi on 12 March 1930. The Civil Disobedience Movement was a mass movement with the participation of students, shopkeepers, workers, women, etc. Demonstrations, hartals, staging of swadeshi dramas and songs were the order of the day in both rural and urban areas. Tamil Nadu was in the forefront of the Civil Disobedience Movement. In the city of Madras, shops were picketed and foreign goods boycotted. Rajaji organised and led a salt satyagraha march to Vedaranyam. The march started from Tiruchirappalli on 13 April 1930 and reached Vedaranyam in Thanjavur district on 28 April. A special song was composed for the march by Namakkal V. Ramalinganar with the lines, "A War is ahead sans sword, sans bloodshed... Join this march." Despite a brutal crackdown by the police, the marching satyagrahis were provided a warm reception along the route. On reaching Vedaranyam 12 volunteers under the leadership of Rajaji broke the salt law by picking up salt. Rajaji was arrested. T.S.S. Rajan, Rukmani Lakshmi pathi, Sardar Vedarathnam, C. Swaminathar and K. Santhanam were among the prominent leaders who participated in the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha.

(c) Widespread Agitations in Tamil Districts

The satyagrahis under the leadership of T. Prakasam and K. Nageswara Rao set up a camp at Udayavanam near Madras. However, the police arrested them. It led to a hartal in Madras. The clashes with the police in Tiruvallikeni which lasted for three hours on 27 April 1930 left three dead. Volunteers who attempted to offer salt Satyagraha in Rameswaram were arrested. Similar attempts at Uvari, Anjengo, Veppalodai, Thoothukudi and Tharuvaikulam were stopped. Mill workers struck work across the province. Women participated enthusiastically. Rukmani Lakshmi pathi was the first woman to pay penalty for violation of salt laws. Police used brutal force to suppress the movement. Bhashyam, popularly known as Arya, hoisted the national flag atop Fort St. George on 26 January 1932. Satyamurti actively picketed shops selling foreign clothes, organised processions and distributed pamphlets. N.M.R. Subbaraman and K. Kamaraj also played an important role.

Martyrdom of Tirupur Kumaran

On 11 January 1932 a procession carrying national flags and singing patriotic songs was brutally beaten by the police in Tirupur. O.K.S.R. Kumaraswamy, popularly Tirupur Kumaran, fell dead holding the national flag aloft. He is hailed as Kodikatha Kumaran. Thus, civil disobedience movement was one of the largest mass movements in Tamil Nadu with participation of people from all sections of the society.

(d) First Congress Ministry

The Government of India Act of 1935 introduced Provincial Autonomy. The Council of Ministers, responsible to the legislature, administered the provincial subjects. However, the Governor was empowered to disregard the advice of the elected government. In the 1937 election the Congress emerged victorious. The Justice Party was trounced. Congress victory in the elections clearly indicated its popularity with the people.

Rajaji formed the first Congress Ministry. He introduced prohibition on an experimental basis in Salem. To compensate for the loss of revenue he introduced a sales tax. On the social question, he opened temples to the 'untouchables'. Efforts of T. Prakasam led to the appointment of a committee to enquire into the condition of the tenants in the Zamindari areas. However, excepting debt conciliation boards to reduce rural indebtedness, no other measure was adopted. When the British involved India in the Second World War without consulting the elected Congress ministries, the latter resigned.

A temple entry programme with "harijans" in Madurai Meenakshiamman temple was organised (9 July 1939) by Vaidyanathar, L.N. Gopalsamy, President and Secretary of Madurai Harijana Sevak Sangh respectively. The Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act, 1939 for the removal of the civil and social disabilities against the "depressed classes" was passed.

(e) Anti-Hindi Agitation

One of the controversial measures of Rajaji was the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools. This was considered to be a form of Aryan and North Indian imposition detrimental to Tamil language and culture, and therefore caused much public resentment. E.V.R. led a massive campaign against it. He organised an anti-Hindi Conference at Salem. It formulated a definite programme of action. The Scheduled Castes Federation and the Muslim League extended its support to the anti-Hindi agitation. Natarajan and Thalamuthu, two of the enthusiastic agitators died in prison. A rally was organised from Tiruchirappalli to Madras. More than 1200 protestors including E.V.R. were arrested. After the resignation of the Congress Ministry, the Governor of Madras who took over the reins of administration removed Hindi as a compulsory subject.

Quit India Struggle

Failure of the Cripps Mission, war time shortages and price rise created much discontent among the people. On 8 August 1942 the Quit India resolution was passed and Gandhi gave the slogan 'Do or Die'. The entire Congress leadership was arrested overnight. K. Kamaraj while returning from Bombay noticed that at every railway station the police waited with a list of local leaders and arrested them as they got down. Kamaraj gave the police the slip and got down at Arakkonam itself. He then worked underground and organised people during the Quit India Movement. Rajaji and Satyamurti were arrested together when they went about distributing pamphlets. The movement was widespread in Tamil Nadu and K. Kamaraj there were many instances of violence such as setting fire to post offices, cutting of telegraph lines and disrupting railway traffic.

Undying Mass Movement

All sections of the society participated in the movement. There were a large number of workers strike such as strikes in Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras Port Trust, Madras Corporation and the Electric Tramway. Telegraph and telephone lines were cut and public building burnt at Vellore and Panapakkam. Students of various colleges took active part in the protests. The airport in Sullur was attacked and trains derailed in Coimbatore. Congress volunteers clashed with the military in Madurai. There were police firings at Rajapalayam, Karaikudi and Devakottai. Many young men and women also joined the INA. The Quit India Movement was suppressed with brutal force.

The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny, the negotiations initiated by the newly formed Labour Party Government in England resulting in India's independence but sadly with partition of the country into India and Pakistan has formed part of the Lesson in Unit VIII.

Unit - 10

Social Transformation in Tamil Nadu

Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- To acquire knowledge about the social transformation of modern Tamil Nadu
- To know the different social reform movements in Tamil Nadu
- To understand the ideas of the social reformers

Introduction

Europeans established their political power over Indian subcontinent in the latter half of the eighteenth century. While they were concerned with annexing India, by the beginning of the nineteenth century they were reordering Indian society. New revenue settlements were made. Influenced by British Utilitarian ideas and evangelicals they also tried to impose their cultural superiority over the Indian people. Indigenous traditions were treated as primitive. Indian society was portrayed as conservative where human beings were discriminated on the basis of caste, gender, language and creed.

This caused a reaction among the Indians. During the nineteenth century, educated Indians from different parts of the country began to feel the humiliation and responded by seeking their socio-cultural identity from their past. However, they understood some merits in the colonial arguments and were ready to reform. Raja Rammohan Roy was among the pioneers in this process. Roy and many like him came to be known as social reformers. They were preparing a social and cultural sphere to counter the cultural hegemony of Europe. It resulted in the social and religious reform movements in modern India. This particular historical development is also identified as the Indian renaissance.

Renaissance is an ideological and cultural phenomenon. It is closely tied to modernity, rationalism and the progressive movement of the society. Critical thinking is at its root. A new philosophical tradition centring around human rationality and equality is its characteristic. The basic inspiration of renaissance is humanism and questioning the fundamentalist religious practices that denied humans their dignity. This ideology of humanism stimulated creative energy in all spheres of social life and knowledge such as language, literature, philosophy, music, painting, architecture, etc.

Tamil Renaissance

The cultural hegemony of colonialism and the rise of humanism brought several changes in the socio-cultural life of the Indian subcontinent. Modern Tamil Nadu too experienced such a historical transition. Tamil language and culture played a significant role in their identity construction. The introduction of printing press, linguistic research on Dravidian languages, etc... underpinned the process of Tamil renaissance. Although religious literature was taken up predominantly for publication in the early years after the advent of printing technology, things began to change gradually. Works that can be described as secular were taken up for publishing.

Advent of the Printing Technology

Tamil was the first non-European language that went into print. As early as in 1578, Tamil book, Thambiran Vanakkam, was published from Goa. In 1709, a full-fledged printing press had been established thanks to in Tranquebar. Thirukkural was one of the earliest Tamil literary texts to be published in 1812. This led the resurgence of interest among Tamil scholars in publishing the more ancient Tamil classics around that period.

In the nineteenth century, Tamil scholars like C.W. Damotharanar (1832–1901), and U.V. Swaminathar (1855–1942) spent their lifetime in the rediscovery of the Tamil classics. C. W. Damotharanar collected and edited different palm-leaf manuscripts of the Tamil grammar and literature. His editions included such texts as Tolkappiyam, Viracholiyam, Iraiyanar-Akapporul, Ilakkana Vilakkam, Kaliththokai and Culamani. U.V. Swaminathar, a student of Meenakshisundaranar, took efforts to publish the classical texts such as Civakachinthamani (1887), Paththupattu (1889), Chilapathikaram (1892), Purananuru (1894), Purapporul-Venpa-Malai (1895), Manimekalai (1898), Ainkurunuru (1903) and Pathitru pathu (1904). This provided the Tamil people with a revelation about their heritage.

Therefore, the rediscovery of ancient classics and their publication is considered the foundation of Tamil renaissance.

The publication of these ancient literary texts created an awareness among the Tamil people about their historical tradition, language, literature and religion. Modern Tamils founded their social and cultural identity on the ancient Tamil classics, collectively called the Sangam literature. Linguists, historians and Tamil scholars recognised the uniqueness of Tamil culture, which had a separate and independent cultural existence before the coming of the Aryans into the Tamil land.

In 1816, F.W. Ellis (1777–1819) who founded the College of Fort St George, formulated the theory that the south Indian languages belonged to a separate family which was unrelated to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. Robert Caldwell (1814–1891) expanded this argument in a book titled, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, in 1856. He established the close affinity between the Dravidian languages in contrast with Sanskrit and also established the antiquity of Tamil.

Tamil intellectuals of this period identified the fundamental differences between Tamil / Dravidian / Egalitarian and Sanskrit / Aryan / Brahmanism. They argued that Tamil was a language of Dravidian people, who are non-Brahmin and their social life was casteless, gender-sensitised and egalitarian. Tamil renaissance contributed to the origin and growth of Dravidian consciousness in the Tamil country. These ideas are exemplified in the Tamil invocation song in the play, Manonmaniam written by P. Sundaranar (1855–1897).

Tamil renaissance questioned the cultural hegemony of Brahminism. These developments were reflected in art, literature, religion, etc. Ramalinga Adigal (1823–1874), popularly known as Vallalar, questioned the existing Hindu religious orthodoxy. Abraham Pandithar (1859–1919) gave prominence to Tamil music and published books on the history of Tamil music. C.W. Damotharanar, U.V. Swaminathar, Thiru Vi. Kaliyanasundaram (1883–1953), Parithimar Kalaignar (1870–1903), Maraimalai Adigal (1876–1950), Subramania Bharathi (1882–1921), S. Vaiyapuri (1891–1956), and the poet Bharatidasan (1891–1964), in their own ways and through their writings, contributed to the revival of Tamil literature. Meanwhile, M. Singaravelar (1860–1946) an early pioneer in Buddhist revival, promoted communism and socialism to counter the colonial power.

Pandithar Iyothethassar (1845–1914) and Periyar E.V. Ramasamy (1879–1973) held the radical philosophy to defend the rights of the socially underprivileged and marginalised section of the people. In addition, the twentieth century Tamil language movements such as Tani Tamil Iyakkam and Tamil Isaiyakkam, made a significant cultural impact increasing a pure Tamil free from the influence of Sanskrit.

V.G. Suryanarayana Sastri (Parithimar Kalaignar)

V.G. Suryanarayana Sastri (1870–1903), born near Madurai, was professor of Tamil at the Madras Christian College. He was one of the earliest scholars to identify the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil, and adopted a pure Tamil name for himself: Parithimar Kalaignar. He was the first to argue that Tamil is a classical language, and demanded that the University of Madras should not call Tamil a vernacular language. Influenced by Western literary models, he introduced the sonnet form in Tamil. He also wrote novels and plays, and a number of essays on science. Tragically, he died at the young age of only 33.

Maraimalai Adigal

Maraimalai Adigal (1876–1950) is considered the father of Tamil linguistic purism and the founder of Tani Tamil Iyakkam (Pure Tamil Movement). He wrote commentaries on the Sangam texts, Pattinappalai and Mullaipattu. As a young man, he worked in a journal, Siddhanta Deepika. Later he served as a Tamil teacher in the Madras Christian College for many years. He was inclined towards non-Brahmin movement. His teachers such as P. Sundaranar and Somasundara Nayagar were key influences in his life.

Tani Tamil Iyakkam (Pure Tamil Movement)

Maraimalai Adigal promoted the use of pure Tamil words and removal of the Sanskrit influence from the Tamil language. The movement made a great impact on Tamil culture especially in language and literature. The beginnings of the movement are usually dated to 1916 even though the process of identifying influence of foreign words in Tamil and eliminating them can be dated much earlier to the late nineteenth century. His daughter Neelambikai, played an important role in its foundation. He changed his own name Vedachalam and took on the pure Tamil name of Maraimalai Adigal. His journal Jnanasagaram was renamed Arivukkadal and his institution, Samarasa Sanmarga Sangam, was re-christened as Potu Nilai Kalakam. The movement was critical of Hindi, Sanskrit and the Brahminical hegemony in Tamil society. Neelambikai compiled a dictionary that provided pure Tamil equivalents to Sanskrit words that had crept into Tamil vocabulary. This movement paved the way for later social movements that countered Brahminical and the Sanskrit tradition in Tamil society.

Rise of the Dravidian Movement

In India, Brahmins enjoyed a high social status, based on their birth, and held great social privileges. In Madras Presidency, Brahmins dominated all the fields of society, especially politics, education and job opportunities in the government. The 1911 census

showed that Brahmins were slightly over 3 per cent of Madras Presidency's population, and non-Brahmins 90 per cent. Yet in the ten years from 1901 to 1911 Madras University turned out 4,074 Brahmin graduates compared with only 1,035 non-Brahmin graduates. Numbers for other groups, based on how the population came to be classified then, included Indian Christian 306, Mohammedan 69 and European and Eurasian 225.

In this context, the Dravidian movement emerged as a defence of the non-Brahmins against the Brahmin dominance. An organisation called The Madras Non-Brahmin Association was founded in 1909 to help the non-Brahmin students. In 1912 C. Natesanar, a medical doctor, founded the Madras United League, later renamed as Madras Dravidian Association to support Dravidian uplift. The organisation focused on educating and supporting non-Brahmin graduates and conducting regular meetings to share their grievances. Meanwhile, Natesanar founded a hostel, the Dravidian Home, at Triplicane (Madras) in July 1916 to address the lack of hostels for the non-Brahmin students which hindered their educational development. In addition, the home had a literary society for the benefit of non-Brahmin students.

South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party)

As World War I was in progress the British government was considering the introduction of representative institutions for Indians after the War. Fearing that such political reforms would further strengthen the political power of Brahmins, educated non-Brahmins decided to organise themselves politically. On 20 November 1916 around 30 prominent non-Brahmin leaders including Dr. C. Natesanar, Sir Pitti Theagarayar, T.M. Nair and Alamelu Mangai Thayammal came together to form the South Indian Liberation Federation (SILF). In the meantime, at a meeting held in the Victoria Public Hall the Non-Brahmin Manifesto was released in December 1916. The manifesto articulated the voice of the non-Brahmin communities and surveyed the general condition of the non-Brahmins in Madras Presidency.

The association started publishing three newspapers: Dravidian in Tamil, Justice in English and Andhra Prakasika in Telugu, to propagate the ideals of the Party.

The first election, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, was held in 1920 after the introduction of the Dyarchy form of government in the provinces. The Justice Party won the election and formed the first-ever Indian cabinet in Madras. A. Subbarayalu became the Chief Minister of the Madras Presidency and the party formed the government during 1920-1923 and 1923-1926. In the context of Congress Party boycotting the legislature, the Justice Party continued to remain in office till 1937 elections were held. In the 1937 elections the Indian National Congress contested the elections for the first time and trounced the Justice Party.

The Non-Brahmin Manifesto pointed out that though "Not less than 40 out of the 411/2 millions" of the Madras Presidency were non-Brahmins, "in what passes for the politics in Madras they have not taken the part to which they are entitled". Arguing that a government

conducted on “true British principles of justice and equality of opportunity” was in the best interests of India, it declared, that “we are deeply devoted and loyally attached to British rule”.

Programmes and Activities

The Justice Party is the fountain head of the non-Brahmin Movement in the country. The Justice Party government widened education and employment opportunities for the majority of the population and created space for them in the political sphere. Tamil Nadu's legacy of social justice owes its existence to the formative years of Justice Party in power.

The Justice Party removed the legal hindrances restricting inter-caste marriages and broke the barriers that prevented Depressed Classes from the use of public wells and tanks. The Justice Party government ordered that public schools accommodate the children of the Depressed Classes. Hostels were established for the students belonging to this social group in 1923. In the meantime, the Madras legislature under the Justice Party government was the first to approve participation of women in the electoral politics in 1921. This resolution created space for woman and thus facilitated Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar to become the first woman legislator in India in 1926.

The Justice Party worked towards legislating provisions for communal representation -reservations for various communities. Two Communal Government Orders (16 September 1921 and 15 August 1922) were passed to ensure equitable distribution in appointments among various castes and communities as a part of achieving social justice. The Justice Party rule established the Staff Selection Board in 1924 for the selection of government officials and encouraged all the communities to share the administrative powers. In 1929, the Government of British India adopted the pattern and established the Public Service Commission.

The Justice Party further concentrated on reforms in religious institutions. Tamil Nadu has a large number of temples and these commanded huge resources. In general, the resources were monopolised and exploited by the dominant caste in the society and led to mismanagement of public resources. The Justice Party introduced the Hindu Religious Endowment (HRE) Act in 1926 and enabled any individual, irrespective of their caste affiliation, to become a member of the temple committee and govern the resources of the religious institutions.

Self-Respect Movement (Suyamariyathai Iyakkam)

The Self-Respect movement, while critiquing the then prevailing social, political and economic relations, introduced a programme of non-Brahmin uplift in Tamil Nadu. The movement was concerned with the marginalised sections of the society and criticised Brahminism and the cultural hegemony of the Brahmin. It advocated a casteless society devoid of rituals and differences based on birth. The movement declared rationality and self-respect as the birthright of all human beings and held these as more important than self-rule. The movement declared illiteracy as a source for women's subordination and

promoted compulsory elementary education for all. It campaigned for the empowerment of women and questioned the superstitious beliefs in the society.

The movement demanded women's emancipation, deplored superstitions, and emphasised rationality. The movement also advocated self-respect marriage. Race was central to self-respect concept, which argued that the non-Brahmin Dravidian people had been systematically subjugated by Aryan-Brahmins over the course of their long history.

The Self-Respect Movement championed not only the cause of the non-Brahmin Hindus, but also that of the Muslims. The Self-Respect Movement extolled the lofty principles of Islam such as equality and brotherhood. They exhorted the Muslims to admit into their fold the depressed sections of the Hindu society, in order that they might enjoy the equality and brotherhood of Islam. Muslim elite considered the Tamil Muslims as Dravidians. Yet Periyar did not hesitate to attack certain customs like wearing of purdah by Muslim women. He wanted the Dravidian Muslims to follow Mustapha Kemal Pasha of Turkey and Amanullah of Afghanistan who initiated reforms in Islamic society.

Periyar E.V.R.

Periyar E.V. Ramasamy (1879–1973) was the founder of the Self-Respect Movement. He was the son of a wealthy businessman in Erode, Venkatappa and Chinna Thayammal. Though possessing little formal education, he engaged in critical discussions with scholars, who used to be patronised by his devout father. As a young man, he once ran away from home and spent many months in Varanasi and other religious centres. The firsthand experience of orthodox Hindu religion led to his disillusionment with religion. On his return, he took care of his family business for some years. His selfless public service and forthrightness made him a popular personality. He held different official positions of Erode that included the Chairmanship of Municipal Council (1918–1919).

In the context of the rise of the non-Brahmin Justice Party after 1917, the Congress inducted non-Brahmin leaders such as Periyar and P. Varadarajulu, at the initiative of C. Rajaji. Periyar resigned all the government positions to support the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920–1922). He gave up his profitable business and became an active member of the Congress. He promoted khadi and sold it on the streets of Tamil Nadu. He cut down 500 coconut trees in his farm to support the campaign for prohibition. He held the positions of Secretary and President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee.

As president of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, Periyar proposed a resolution regarding the rights of "Untouchables" to temple entry. In the name of "caste dharma" the "lower caste" people were denied access to the temples and the streets surrounding the temple. In Vaikom (a town in the then Princely State of Travancore and in present day Kerala), people protested against this practice. In the initial stages George Joseph of Madurai played a big role. After the local leaders were arrested Periyar led the movement and was imprisoned. People hailed him as Vaikom Virar (Hero of Vaikom). In the

meantime, he was disturbed by the castebased discrimination in the dining hall at the Cheranmadevi Gurukulam (school), which was run by V.V. Subramaniam (a Congress leader) with the financial support of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. Periyar was disappointed when, despite his objections and protests against this discrimination, the Congress continued to support the iniquitous practice in the Gurukulam.

Periyar was keen on the introduction of reservation in representative bodies such as the legislative council for non-Brahmins. He wanted to pass the resolution in the annual conference of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee in 1925 at its Kanchipuram session but in vain. The Congress's inability in addressing these concerns made him quit the Congress in 1925. Following his disillusionment, Periyar started the Self-Respect movement in 1925.

Periyar understood the relevance of mass communication in spreading rationalist thought. He started a number of newspapers and journals such as Kudi Arasu (Democracy) (1925), Revolt (1928), Puratchi (Revolution) (1933), Paguththarivu (Rationalism) (1934), and Viduthalai (Liberation) (1935). Kudi Arasu was the official newspaper of the Self-Respect Movement. It brought out the multiple voices and ideas of Non-Brahmins, women and religious minorities. Usually, Periyar wrote a column and expressed his opinion on social issues in each of its issues. He frequently wrote columns under the pseudonym of Chitraputtiran.

Over the years, Periyar visited many countries and interacted with intellectuals all over. He visited Singapore and Malaya (1929-1930, 1954), Egypt, U.S.S.R. (modern Russia), Greece, Turkey, Germany, England, Spain, France and Portugal (1931-32), and Burma (1954 to attend the 2500th birth Anniversary of the Buddha). His experience of travelling in the Soviet Union and Europe carried Periyar towards socialist ideals. Periyar had a close relationship with Singaravelar who is considered the first communist of south India and a pioneer of Buddhism. In 1936, Periyar got Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Annihilation of Caste translated into Tamil immediately after it was written. He also supported Ambedkar's demand for separate electorates for scheduled castes.

In 1937, in opposition to the Rajaji's government's move to introduce compulsory Hindi in schools, he launched a popular movement to oppose it. The anti-Hindi agitation (1937-39) had a big impact on Tamil Nadu's politics. Periyar was imprisoned for his role in the movement. When he was still in jail, Periyar was elected the president of the Justice Party. Thereafter the Justice Party merged with the Self-Respect Movement. It was rechristened as Dravidar Kazhagam (DK) in 1944.

Rajaji, the Chief Minister of Madras State (1952-54), introduced a vocational education programme that encouraged imparting school children with training in tune with their father's occupation. Periyar criticised it as Kula Kalvi Thittam (caste-based education scheme) and opposed it tooth and nail. His campaigns against it led to the resignation of Rajaji. K. Kamaraj became Chief Minister of the Madras State. Periyar died at the age of ninety four (1973). His mortal remains were buried at Periyar Thidal, Madras.

Periyar's Anti-Hindi Stance

Periyar emphasised that the caste system in south India is linked with the arrival of Brahmins from the North. Ancient Tamil society, he said, had a different stratification based on tinai (regions), determined by natural surroundings and the means of livelihood or occupation of the people. Anti-north Indian campaigns had made Periyar to take an anti-Hindi stand.

Periyar on Religion

Periyar's experiences taught him that it was necessary to eradicate religion in order to impart progress and justice. Periyar advocated atheism to deconstruct the established practices of faith, culture and custom. Periyar wanted religion to be replaced by rationalism. 'Religion means you accept superstitious beliefs', he asserted. Periyar spent his entire life campaigning against superstitions through Thinkers or Rationalists Forums he had formed. Periyar objected to the hereditary priesthood in temples. He argued that eligible individuals, who have a proper religious knowledge, should become priests rather than being based on caste. He encouraged the people to boycott the Brahmin priests and their Vedic rituals. He advocated inter-caste and Self-Respect Marriages devoid of any such rituals.

Periyar, a Feminist

Periyar was critical of patriarchy. He condemned child-marriage and the devadasi system (institution of temple girls). Right from 1929, when the Self-respect Conferences began to voice its concern over the plight of women, Periyar had been emphasising women's right to divorce and property. Periyar objected to terms like "giving in marriage". This, he said, treats woman as a thing. He wants it substituted by "valkaithunai," (companion) a word for marriage taken from the Tirukkural. Periyar's most important work on this subject is *Why the Woman is Enslaved?*

Periyar believed that property rights for women would provide them a social status and protection. He welcomed equal rights for males and females in property, guardianship and adoption. He was a strong champion of birth control and contraception, and said that motherhood was a burden to women.

In 1989, Government of Tamil Nadu fulfilled the dream of radical reformers by the introduction of the Hindu Succession Tamil Nadu Amendment Act of 1989, which ensured the equal rights to ancestral property for women in inheritance. This Act became a trendsetter and led to similar legislation at the national level.

Rettaimalai Srinivasan

Rettaimalai Srinivasan (1859–1945), popularly known as Grandpa (Thatha), was born in 1859 at Kanchipuram. He fought for social justice, equality and civil rights of the marginalised in the caste order. He was honoured with such titles as Rao Sahib (1926), Rao

Bahadur (1930) and Divan Bahadur(1936) for his selfless social services. His autobiography, *Jeeviya Saritha Surukkam* (A Brief Autobiography), published in 1939, is one of the earliest autobiographies.

Rettaimalai Srinivasan who had experienced the horrors of untouchability worked for the progress of the deprived castes. He founded the *Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabhain* 1893. He served as president of the *Scheduled Castes' Federation* and the *Madras Provincial Depressed Classes' Federation*. He constantly engaged in discussions with leaders of the *Indian National Congress* and the *Justice Party* on questions involving the depressed castes. Rettaimalai Srinivasan met Gandhi in South Africa and was closely associated with him. He became a member of the *Madras Legislative Council* in 1923 and influenced the *Justice Party* to take affirmative action to safeguard the interests of the depressed and deprived sections of the society.

A close associate of Dr B.R. Ambedkar, he participated in the first and second *Round Table Conferences* held in London (1930 and 1931) and voiced the opinions of the marginalised sections of the society. He was a signatory to the *Poona Pact* of 1932.

M.C. Rajah

Mylai Chinnathambi Raja (1883–1943), popularly known as M.C. Rajah, was one of the prominent leaders from the “depressed class”. Rajah started his career as a teacher and wrote different textbooks for schools and colleges. He was one of the founding members of the *South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party)*. He became the first elected *Legislative Council Member* (1920–26) from the depressed classes in Madras province. He functioned as the *Deputy Leader of Justice Party* in the *Madras Legislative Council*.

Later, he left the *Justice Party*. M.C. Rajah demanded abolition of untouchability and organised a number of political meetings and conferences for the “untouchable castes” to have access to public wells and pathways to burial grounds. In addition, he advocated the use of such terms, *Adi-Dravida* and *Adi-Andhra*. In 1928, he founded the *All India Depressed Classes Association* and was its long time leader. Rajah had earlier called for separate electorate; but after the *Poona Pact*, he supported the idea of joint electorates.

Labour Movements in Tamil Nadu

Labour Statue in Marina Beach The First World War (1914–18) provided stimulus to industrial growth in India. These industries, catering to wartime needs, had employed a huge number of workers. At the end of the War there were retrenchments across the industries, as the war time requirements receded. Combined with high prices, this gave a momentum to the labour movement. The nationalists realising the value of organised labour power began to support the cause of labour. B.P. Wadia, M. Singaravelar, Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram and others initiated the formation of labour unions in the *Madras Presidency*. In 1918, India's first organised trade union, the *Madras Labour Union*, was formed.

The first All India Trade Union Conference (AITUC) was held on 31 October 1920 in Bombay. The delegates discussed several resolutions. These included a demand for protection from police interference in labour disputes, the maintenance of an unemployment register, restriction on exporting foodstuffs, compensation for injuries, and health insurance. In addition, the delegates demanded that Indian workers be given some representation in the government, just as employers had representatives on legislative councils.

M. Singaravelar (1860-1946), was a pioneer in the labour movement activities in the Madras presidency. He was born in Madras and graduated from the Presidency College, University of Madras. He advocated Buddhism in his early life. He knew many languages, including Tamil, English, Urdu, Hindi, German, French and Russian and wrote about the ideas of Karl Marx, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer and Albert Einstein in Tamil. He organised the first ever celebration of May Day in 1923. He was one of the early leaders of the Communist Party of India. He published a Tamil newspaper, Thozhilalan (Worker) to address the problems of the working class. He was closely associated with Periyar and the Self-Respect Movement.

Language Agitation before Indian Independence

In general, language is a dominant symbol of identity and it is associated with culture and sentiments of any society. Tamil regained its prominence in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Maraimalai Adigal's Pure Tamil Movement, the language reforms of Periyar and Tamil Isai Movement helped to galvanise the Tamil language. Tamil renaissance that led the Dravidian consciousness made a great intervention in the development of modern Tamil language and its art forms. Agama temples did not permit rituals in Tamil. Tamil songs had a marginal place in musical concerts. Abraham Pandithar systematically studied the history of Tamil music and attempted to reconstruct the ancient Tamil musical system. He founded the Tanjore Sangitha Vidya Mahajana Sangam in 1912 and it became the kernel of the Tamil Isai Movement (Tamil Music Movement). The movement gave importance to the singing of Tamil compositions in music concerts. The first Tamil Isai Conference was held in 1943, to discuss the status of Tamil music.

The implementation of Hindi as a compulsory language in Tamil Nadu, at various points of time, was seen as a threat to Tamil language and culture. C. Rajaji, the Premier of Madras Presidency, introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools. This created a stiff opposition in Madras province. Periyar declared that the introduction of Hindi over Tamil would deny the Dravidians of their job opportunities. Maraimalai Adigal pointed out that the Tamil language would suffer with the introduction of Hindi. The anti-Hindi campaigners considered it an ideological battle against Brahminism and the hegemony of Sanskrit over Tamil. They saw Sanskrit as a vehicle for propagation of Brahmanical ideology, there by preserving the caste hierarchies and gender inequalities. The agitation was marked by massive protest meetings, demonstrations, and hunger strikes. Tens of thousands of people took part in the agitation.

Women's Movements

There were several streams of women's movements and organisations established in the early twentieth century to address the question of women empowerment in Madras Presidency. Women's India Association (WIA) and All India Women's Conference (AIWC) are the important among them in Tamil Nadu. WIA was started in 1917 by Annie Besant, Dorothy Jinarajadasa and Margaret Cousins at Adyar, Madras. The Association published pamphlets and bulletins in different languages to detail the problems of personal hygiene, marriage laws, voting rights, child care and women's role in the public. In the meantime, WIA formed the All India Women's Conference (AIWC) in 1927 to address the problem of women's education and recommended that the government implement various policies for the uplift of women.

Women's liberation was one of the important objectives of the Self-Respect Movement. Self-respecters led by Periyar E.V.R. worked for gender equality and gender sensitisation of the society. The movement provided a space for women to share their ideas. There were several women activists in the movement. Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar, Nagamma, Kannamma, Nilavathi, Muvalur Ramamirtham, Rukmani Ammal, Alarmangai Thayammal, Nilambikai, and Sivakami Chidambaranar are prominent among them.

There was a custom of dedicating young girls to the Hindu temples as a servant of God, known as devadasi. Though intended as a service to god it soon got corrupted leading to extensive immorality and abuse of the women. Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar, was in the forefront of the campaign pressing for a legislation to abolish this devadasi system. The Madras Devadasis (Prevention of Dedication)

Act 1947 was enacted by the government.

In 1930, Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar introduced in the Madras Legislative Council a Bill on the "prevention of the dedication of women to Hindu temples in the Presidency of Madras". The Bill, which later became the Devadasi Abolition Act, declared the "pottukattu ceremony" in the precincts of Hindu temples or any other place of worship unlawful, gave legal sanction to devadasi to contract marriage, and prescribed a minimum punishment of five years' imprisonment for those found guilty of aiding and abetting the devadasi system. The Bill had to wait for over 15 years to become an Act.