



GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU

**STANDARD TEN**  
**SOCIAL SCIENCE**  
**Volume - II**

A publication under Free Textbook Programme of Government of Tamil Nadu

**Department of School Education**

**Untouchability is Inhuman and a Crime**

# Government of Tamil Nadu

First Edition - 2019  
(Published under New Syllabus)

**NOT FOR SALE**

## Content Creation



State Council of Educational  
Research and Training  
© SCERT 2019

## Printing & Publishing



# Table of Contents

## History

<b>Unit 6</b>	Early Revolts against British Rule in Tamil Nadu	01
<b>Unit 7</b>	Anti-Colonial Movements and the Birth of Nationalism	14
<b>Unit 8</b>	Nationalism: Gandhian Phase	34
<b>Unit 9</b>	Freedom Struggle in Tamil Nadu	55
<b>Unit 10</b>	Social Transformation in Tamil Nadu	69

## Geography

<b>Unit 6</b>	Physical Geography of Tamil Nadu	85
<b>Unit 7</b>	Human Geography of Tamil Nadu	106

## Civics

<b>Unit 4</b>	India's Foreign Policy	130
<b>Unit 5</b>	India's International Relations	140

## Economics

<b>Unit 3</b>	Food Security and Nutrition	155
<b>Unit 4</b>	Government and Taxes	169
<b>Unit 5</b>	Industrial Clusters in Tamil Nadu	180



## HOW TO USE THE BOOK



### Learning Objectives

The scope of the lesson is presented

### Introduction

The subject to be discussed in the lesson is Introduced



### QR Code

Leads the students to animated audio, video aids for getting experiential learning

### Do You Know?

Provides additional information related to the subject in boxes to stir up the curiosity of students



### Infographs

Visual representations intended to make the complex simple and make the students grasp difficult concepts easily

### Fun with History

Activities for 'learning by doing' individually or in groups

### Summary

Describes the main points briefly in bullets for recapitulation

### Exercise

For self-study and self evaluation



### Glossary

Key words and technical terms explained at the end of the lesson for clarity

### Reference

List of books and net sources for further reading



### ICT Corner

Using technology for learning activities, which enables the students to access digital sources relevant to their lessons.

### Let's use the QR code in the text books!



- Download DIKSHA app from the Google Play Store.
- Tap the QR code icon to scan QR codes in the textbook.
- Point the device and focus on the QR code.
- On successful scan, content linked to the QR code gets listed.
- Note: For ICT corner, Digi Links QR codes use any other QR scanner.

## Unit - 6

# Early Revolts against British Rule in Tamil Nadu



### Learning Objectives

#### To acquaint ourselves with

- Palayakkarar system and the revolts of Palayakkarars against the British
- Velunachiyar, Puli Thevar, Kattabomman and Marudhu Brothers in the anti-British uprisings
- Vellore Revolt as a response to British pacification of south India



### Introduction

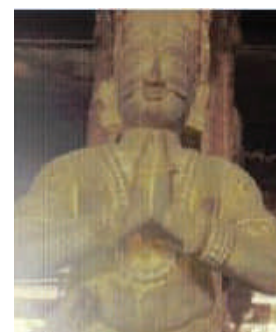
After defeating the French and their Indian allies in the three Carnatic Wars, the East India Company began to consolidate and extend its power and influence. However, local kings and feudal chieftains resisted this. The first resistance to East India Company's territorial aggrandisement was from Puli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

### 6.1 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 (Poligar is 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 Rudhra of Warangal in the Kakatiya kingdom. The system was put in place in Tamilnadu 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.



Viswanatha Nayaka

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 Palayakarars 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 Palayakkars 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 Palaykkarars which are described below.

## 6.2 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



Puli Thevar

of the Company. Puli Thevar wielded much influence over the western palyakkarars. 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 playakkarars against Arcot Nawab Mohamed Ali. Puli Thevar had established close relationships with them. Puli Thevar also formed a confederacy of the Palayakkars 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 palyakkarars 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 palyakkarars 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



**Velunachiyar** 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 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

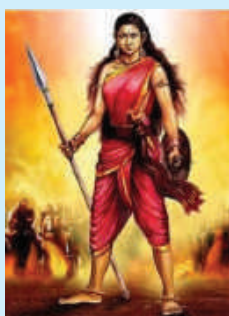
problems she had with East India Company. She conveyed her strong determination to fight the English. Impressed by her courage, Hyder Ali ordered his Commandant Syed in Dindigul fort to provide the required military assistance.

### 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 Ali she 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.



**Kuyili**

### (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



**Kattabomman**

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 Collectors 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 arrear 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.



Pagodas (coins)

### 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



Panchalamkurichi Fort

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 a 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 palayakarars 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 Palayakkars. Thus ended the life of the celebrated Palayakkarars of Panchalamkurichi. Many folk ballads on Kattabomman helped keep his memory alive among the people.

### (d) The Marudhu Brothers



#### 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 Palayakarar 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 meet 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 Krishnappa 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 Pandyars hand over the fugitives (Oomathurai and Sevathaiah). But they refused. Colonel Agnew and Colonel Innes marched on Sivagangai. In June 1801 Marudhu Pandyars issued a proclamation of Independence which is called Tiruchirappalli Proclamation.

### Proclamation of 1801

The Proclamation of 1801 was an early 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 palayakkars 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 spilt 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 Palayakarar 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 Mandradiar royal family of Palayakottai, Dheeran was well trained in silambu, archery, horse riding and modern warfare. He was involved in resolving family and



Dheeran Chinnamalai

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 river bed. 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.

### 6.3 Vellore Revolt 1806

Before reducing all palayakkarars of south Tamilnadu into submission the East India Company had acquired the revenue districts

of Salem, Dindigul at the conclusion of the war with Tipu in 1792. Coimbatore was annexed at the end of the Anglo-Mysore War in 1799. In the same year the Raja of Thanjavur whose status had been reduced to that of a vassal in 1798 gave up his sovereign rights over that region to the English. After the suppression of resistance of Kattabomman (1799) and Marudhu Brothers (1801), the British charged the 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 North Arcot, South Arcot, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai and Tirunelveli to the Company and transfer all the administrative powers to it.

### (a) Grievances of Indian Soldiers

But the resistance did not die down. The dispossessed little kings and feudal chieftains continued to deliberate on the future course of action against the Company Government. The outcome was the Vellore Revolt of 1806. The objective conditions for a last ditch fight existed on the eve of the revolt. The sepoys in the British Indian army nursed a strong sense of resentment over low salary and poor prospects of promotion. The English army officers' scant respect for the social and religious sentiments of the Indian sepoys also angered them. The state of peasantry from which class the sepoys had been recruited also bothered them much. With new experiments in land tenures causing unsettled conditions and famine breaking out in 1805 many of the sepoys' families were in dire economic straits. The most opportune situation come with the

sons and the family members of Tipu being interned in Vellore Fort. The trigger for the revolt came in the form of a new military regulation notified by the Commander-in-Chief Sir John Cradock.

According to the new regulations, the Indian soldiers were asked not to wear caste marks or ear rings when in uniform. They were to be cleanly shaven on the chin and maintain uniformity about how their moustache looked. The new turban added fuel to fire. The most objectionable addition was the leather cockade made of animal skin. The sepoys gave enough forewarning by refusing to wear the new turban. Yet the Company administration 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> regiments raised their standard of revolt. Colonel Fancourt, who commanded the garrison, was the first victim. Colonel MeKerras of the 23<sup>rd</sup> 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



Vellore Fort

# Centres of Early Revolts against British Rule in Tamil Nadu



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 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of 23<sup>rd</sup> 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.

## SUMMARY

- The Palayakkarar system is explained.
- Prominent Palayakkarars of Tamil country and their resistance to the rule of East India Company are discussed.
- The wars waged by Puli Thevar, Velunachiyar, Veerapandya Kattabomman, followed by Marudhu brothers of Sivagangai and Dheeran Chinnamalai against the British are elaborated.
- The reasons for the Vellore Revolt and the ruthless manner in which it was suppressed by Gillespie are detailed.

## A-Z GLOSSARY

<b>protege</b>	dependent, a person who receives support from a patron	பிறர் ஆதரவில் இருப்பவர்
<b>aggrandizement</b>	the act of elevating or raising one's wealth, prestige and power	செல்வாக்கை வளர்த்தல், ஆக்கிரமிப்பு செய்தல்
<b>defiant</b>	resisting, disobedient	பணிய மறுக்கும்
<b>tranquillity</b>	harmony, peace, free from disturbances	அமைதி
<b>treachery</b>	disloyalty, betrayal, breach of trust	வஞ்சித்தல்
<b>audacious</b>	daring, fearless	பயமற்ற, துணிவுமிக்க
<b>ultimatum</b>	a final dominating demand	இறுதி எச்சரிக்கை
<b>bounty</b>	payment or reward – something given liberally	கொடை
<b>cockade</b>	an ornament, especially a knot of ribbon worn on the hat	தொப்பியை அணிசெய்யும் குஞ்சம்
<b>cognizance</b>	notice, having knowledge of	கவனம்
<b>trounce</b>	crush, defeat	தோற்கடி
<b>interned</b>	imprisoned	சிறைப்படுத்தல்



## EXERCISE



6E8Z7Y

### I. Choose the correct answer

- Who was the first Palayakkarars to resist the East India Company's policy of territorial aggrandizement?
  - Marudhu brothers
  - Puli Thevar
  - Velunachiyar
  - Veerapandya Kattabomman
- Who had borrowed money from the East India Company to meet the expenses he had incurred during the Carnatic wars?
  - Velunachiyar
  - Puli Thevar
  - Nawab of Arcot
  - Raja of Travancore
- Who had established close relationship with the three agents of Chanda Sahib?
  - Velunachiyar
  - Kattabomman
  - Puli Thevar
  - Oomai thurai
- Where was Sivasubramanian executed?
  - Kayathar
  - Nagalapuram
  - Virupachi
  - Panchalamkurichi
- Who issued the Tiruchirappalli proclamation of Independence?
  - Marudhu brothers
  - Puli Thevar
  - Veerapandya Kattabomman
  - Gopala Nayak
- When did the Vellore Revolt breakout?
  - 24 May 1805
  - 10 July 1805
  - 10 July 1806
  - 10 September 1806

7. Who was the Commander-in-Chief responsible for the new military regulations in Vellore fort?
- Col. Fancourt
  - Major Armstrong
  - Sir John Cradock
  - Colonel Agnew
8. Where were the sons of Tipu Sultan sent after the Vellore Revolt?
- Calcutta
  - Mumbai
  - Delhi
  - Mysore

## II. Fill in the blanks

- The Palayakkarars system was put in place in Tamil Nadu by \_\_\_\_\_.
- Except the Palayakkarars of \_\_\_\_\_, all other western Palayakkarars supported Puli Thevar.
- Velunachiyar and her daughter were under the protection of \_\_\_\_\_ for eight years.
- Bennerman deputed \_\_\_\_\_ to convey his message, asking Kattabomman to surrender.
- Kattabomman was hanged to death at \_\_\_\_\_.
- The Rebellion of Marudhu Brothers was categorized in the British records as the \_\_\_\_\_.
- \_\_\_\_\_ was declared the new Sultan by the rebels in Vellore Fort.
- \_\_\_\_\_ suppressed the revolt in Vellore Fort.

## III. Choose the correct statement

- The Palayakkarars system was in practice in the Kakatiya Kingdom.
  - Puli Thevar recaptured Nerkattumseval in 1764 after the death of Khan Sahib.
  - Yusuf Khan who was negotiating with the Palayakkarars, without informing the Company administration was charged with treachery and hanged in 1764.
  - Ondiveeran led one of the army units of Kattabomman.

- (i), (ii) and (iv) are correct
- (i), (ii) and (iii) are correct
- (iii) and (iv) are correct
- (i) and (iv) are correct

- Under Colonel Campbell, the English Army went along with Mahfuzkhan's army.
  - After Muthu Vadugar's death in Kalaiyar Kovil battle, Marudhu Brothers assisted Velunachiyar in restoring the throne to her.
  - Gopala Nayak spearheaded the famous Dindigul League.
  - In May 1799 Cornwallis ordered the advance of Company armies to Tirunelveli.
  - (i) and (ii) are correct
  - (ii) and (iii) are correct
  - (ii), (iii) and (iv) are correct
  - (i) and (iv) are correct

- Assertion (A):** Puli Thevar tried to get the support of Hyder Ali and the French.

**Reason (R):** Hyder Ali could not help Puli Thevar as he was already in a serious conflict with the Marathas.

- Both (A) and (R) are correct, but (R) is not the correct explanation of (A)
- Both (A) and (R) are wrong
- Both (A) and (R) are correct and (R) is the correct explanation of (A)
- (A) is wrong and (R) is correct

- Assertion (A):** Apart from the new military Regulations the most objectionable was the addition of a leather cockade in the turban.

**Reason (R):** The leather cockade was made of animal skin.

- (A) is wrong and (R) is correct
- Both (A) and (R) are correct and (R) is the correct explanation of (A)



- c) Both (A) and (R) are wrong
- d) Both (A) and (R) are correct, but (R) is not the correct explanation of (A)

#### IV. Match the following

- 1. Theerthagiri - Vellore Revolt
- 2. Gopala Nayak - Ramalinganar
- 3. Bannerman - Dindigul
- 4. Subedar Sheik Adam - Vellore Fort
- 5. Col. Fancourt - Odanilai

#### V. Answer the questions briefly

1. What were the duties of the Palayakkarars?
2. Identify the Palayams based on the division of east and west.
3. Why was Heron dismissed from service?
4. What was the significance of the Battle of Kalakadu?
5. What was the bone of contention between the Company and Kottabomman?
6. Highlight the essence of the Tiruchirappalli Proclamation of 1801.
7. Point out the importance of the Treaty of 1801.

#### VI. Answer the questions given under each caption

1. Velunachiyar
  - a) Who was the military chief of Velunachiyar?
  - b) What were the martial arts in which she was trained?
  - c) Whom did she marry?
  - d) What was the name of her daughter?
2. Dheeran Chinnamalai
  - a) When was Dheeran Chinnamalai born?
  - b) How did he earn the title "Chinnamalai"?
  - c) Name the Diwan of Tipu Sultan?
  - d) Why and where was he hanged to death?

#### VII. Answer in detail

1. Attempt an essay of the heroic fight Veerapandya Kattabomman conducted against the East India Company.
2. Highlight the tragic fall of Sivagangai and its outcome.
3. Account for the outbreak of Vellore Revolt in 1806.

#### VIII. Activities

1. Teacher can ask the students to prepare an album of patriotic leaders of early revolts against the British rule in Tamil Nadu. Using their imagination they can also draw pictures of different battles in which they attained martyrdom
2. Stage play visualising the conversation between Jackson and Kattabomman be attempted by students with the help of teachers.
3. A comparative study of Vellore Revolt and 1857 Revolt by students be tried enabling them to find out to what extent Vellore Revolt had all the forebodings of the latter.



#### REFERENCE BOOKS

1. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi:Oxford University Press, 1980.
2. P.M. Lalitha, *Palayakarars as Feudatories Under the Nayaks of Madurai*, Chennai: Creative Enterprises, 2015.
3. K. Rajayyan, *South Indian Rebellion, 1800-1801*, Madurai, Ratna Publication, 2000 (Reprint).
4. K.A. Manikumar, *Vellore Revolt 1806* (Chennai: Allied Publishers, 2007).

## Unit - 7

# Anti-Colonial Movements and the Birth of Nationalism



### Learning Objectives

#### To acquaint ourselves with

- The nature of tribal and peasant revolts against the British
- Contributory factors for the outbreak of the Great Rebellion of 1857 and the subsequent changes in the British approach to governing India
- Factors leading to the formation of the Indian National Congress and the perspectives of the early nationalists
- Divide and rule policy of the British behind the Partition of Bengal (1905) and the launch of Swadeshi movement in Bengal
- Background for the launch of Home Rule Movement



### 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 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.

## 7.1 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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



**Haji Shariatullah**

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 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 Titu Mir 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.



Titu Mir

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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 Singbhum 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 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 zamindari 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.



Sidhu



Kanu

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.



Santhal Rebellion

### (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.



**Birsa Munda**

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 *Birsaité* 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.

## 7.2 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 sepoys 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).



Mangal Pandey



Revolt at Meerut

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-martialled 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.

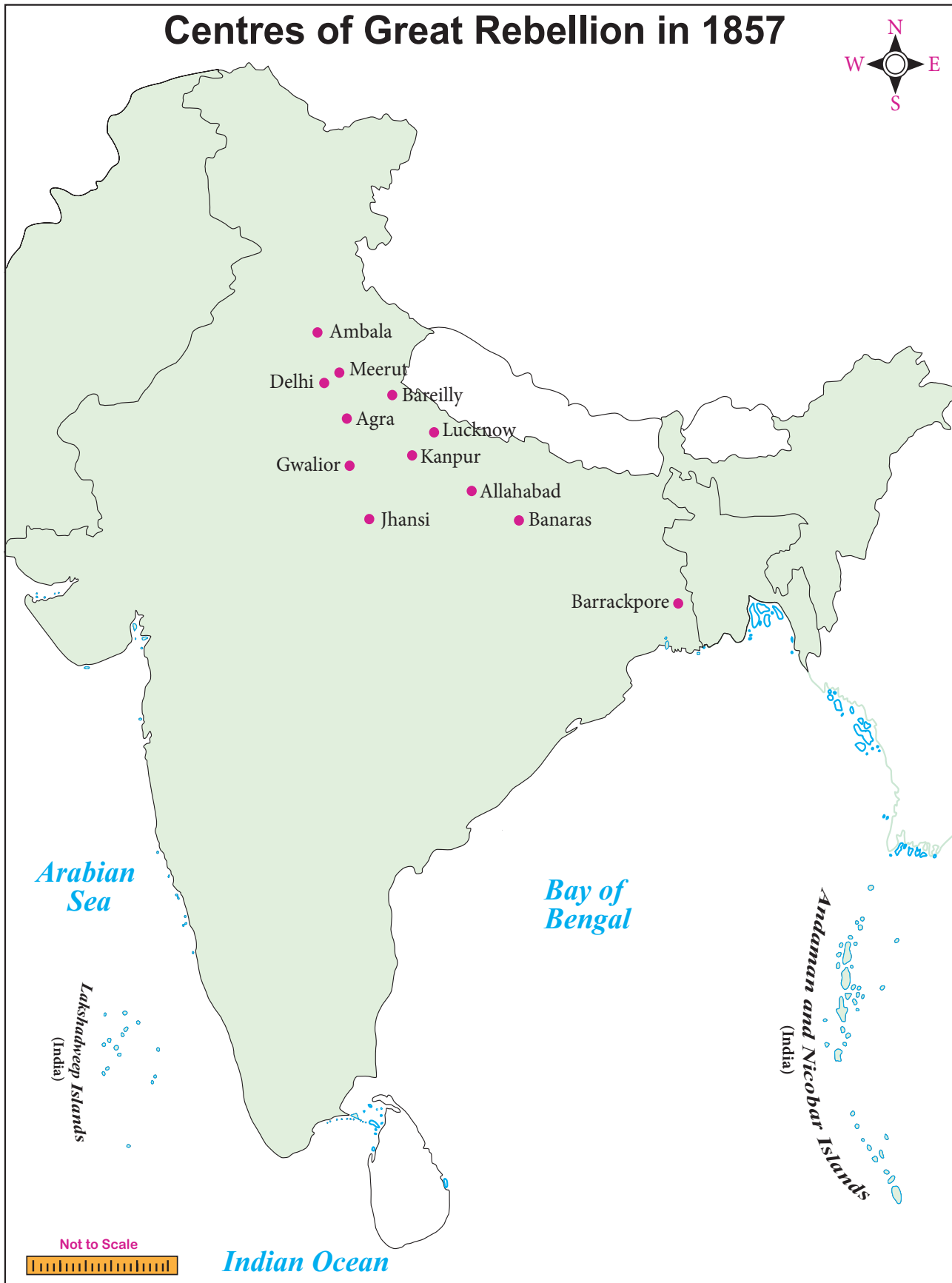


Bahadur Shah II

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.



**The Great Rebellion of 1857**

### 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.



**Nana Sahib**



**Kanpur Massacre**

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



**Hanging the rebels in a public place**



**Blowing mutinous sepoys from the guns**

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 a time 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.

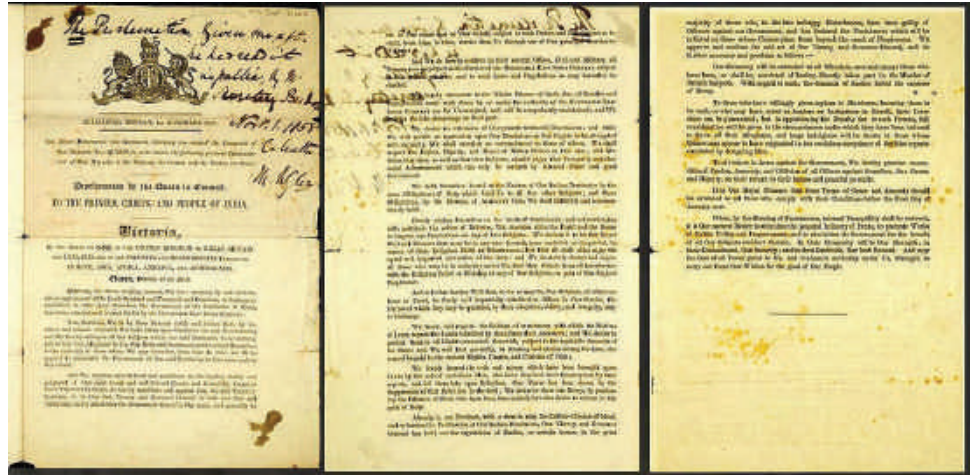
#### **Changes in the Administration**

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 position. 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





Queen Victoria



Queen Victoria's Proclamation

regional differences in the Indian society through what came to be known as “Divide and Rule” policy.

### 7.3 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 peasants 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 Dina Bandhu Mitra, did much to draw attention in India and Europe to the plight of the indigo growers.



Indigo Factory

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 a 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 Kathlene 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.'

## 7.4 The Foundation of Indian National Congress (1870 – 1885)

### (a) Rise of Nationalism

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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,



**A.O. Hume**

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.

## 7.5 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



**Lord Curzon**

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



Swadeshi Movement

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



Lal-Bal-Pal

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.

## 7.6 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 moderates 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.

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)

- 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.



Signatories of Lucknow Pact

### (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.



## SUMMARY

- The latter half of nineteenth century British India was replete with revolts of peasants and tribals against colonial political and economic domination.
- The great rebellion of 1857 was the culmination of various anti-British tendencies led by the depossessed feudal chieftains with an agenda to restore the Pre-colonial order.
- Even though the leaders of the Revolt lacked vision and were guided by local ambitions, it was a progressive act in terms of their effort to resist and challenge a despotic alien government.
- The Indian National Movement, building public opinion against the exploitative and oppressive British rule, inspired the younger generation to become part of the future militant anti-colonial struggles.
- The Swadeshi Movement helped to enhance the participation of masses in nationalist politics.
- The Home Rule Movement helped to unite the Congress party after the Surat split.
- The British mainly responded to the political activities of the nationalists in two ways. One was repression; other was reconciliation.
- The British utilised individual ambitions and personal rivalries to drive wedge between different social and religious groups to weaken the anti-colonial front.

## A-Z GLOSSARY

<b>orchestrated</b>	organized to achieve a desired effect	நினைத்ததை நிறைவேற்ற போடப்பட்ட திட்டம்
<b>clandestine</b>	secret	இரகசிய
<b>restorative</b>	re-establishing	மீட்கின்ற
<b>subletting</b>	property leased by one lessee to another	கீழ்க்குத்தகைக்கு விடுதல், உள் குத்தகைக்கு விடுதல்
<b>egalitarian</b>	equal rights for all people	அனைத்து மக்களுக்கும் சமமான
<b>coercive</b>	forcible	வலுக்கட்டாயமாக
<b>extortion</b>	the practice of taking something from an unwilling person by physical force	தாக்குதல் மூலம் பணம், பொருள் பறித்தல்
<b>disgruntled</b>	dissatisfied, frustrated	நிறைவில்லாத, திருப்தியற்ற
<b>abysmal</b>	extremely bad, deep and bottomless	மிக மோசமான, படுபாதாளமான



## EXERCISE



### I. Choose the correct answer

- Which one of the following was launched by Haji Shariatullah in 1818 in East Bengal?
  - Wahhabi Rebellion
  - Farazi Movement
  - Tribal uprising
  - Kol Revolt
- Who declared that “Land belongs to God” and collecting rent or tax on it was against divine law?
  - Titu Mir
  - Sidhu
  - Dudu Mian
  - Shariatullah
- Who were driven out of their homeland during the process of creation of Zamins under Permanent Settlement?
  - Santhals
  - Titu Mir
  - Munda
  - Kol
- Find out the militant nationalist from the following.
  - Dadabhai Naoroji
  - Justice Govind Ranade
  - Bipin Chandra pal
  - Romesh Chandra
- When did the Partition of Bengal come into effect?
  - 19 June 1905
  - 18 July 1906
  - 19 August 1907
  - 16 October 1905
- What was the context in which the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act was passed?
  - Kol Revolt
  - Indigo Revolt
  - Munda Rebellion
  - Deccan Riots

- Who set up the first Home Rule League in April 1916?
  - Annie Basant
  - Bipin Chandra Pal
  - Lala Lajpat Rai
  - Tilak
- Who drew the attention of the British to the suffering of Indigo cultivation through his play *Nil darpan*?
  - Dina Bandhu Mitra
  - Romesh Chandra Dutt
  - Dadabhai Naoroji
  - Birsa Munda

### II. Fill in the blanks

- In 1757, Robert Clive was financially supported by \_\_\_\_\_, the moneylenders of Bengal.
- \_\_\_\_\_ was an anti-imperial and anti-landlord movement which originated in and around 1827.
- The major tribal revolt which took place in Chotanagpur region was \_\_\_\_\_.
- The \_\_\_\_\_ Act, restricted the entry of non-tribal people into the tribal land.
- Around 1854 activities of social banditry were led by \_\_\_\_\_.
- The British Commander of Kanpur killed by the rebels during the 1857 Rebellion was \_\_\_\_\_.
- Chota Nagpur Act was passed in the year \_\_\_\_\_.
- W.C. Bannerjee was elected the president of Indian National Congress in the year \_\_\_\_\_.

### III. Choose the correct statement

- (i) The Company received ₹ 22.5 million from Mir Jafar and invested it to propel the industrial revolution in Britain.

(ii) Kols organized an insurrection in 1831-1832, which was directed against government officers and moneylenders.

(iii) In 1855, two Santhal brothers, Sidhu and Kanu, led the Santhal Rebellion.

(iv) In 1879, an Act was passed to regulate the territories occupied by the Santhals.

  - (i), (ii) and (iii) are correct
  - (ii) and (iii) are correct
  - (iii) and (iv) are correct
  - (i) and (iv) are correct
- (i) Dudu Mian laid emphasis on the egalitarian nature of Islam and declared that "Land belongs to God"

(ii) According to the Doctrine of Lapse, new territories under the corrupt Indian rulers were to be annexed.

(iii) The British officials after the suppression of 1857 Revolt were given power to judge and take the lives of Indians without due process of law.

(iv) One of the causes of the failure of the Revolt of 1857 was many of the Indian princes and zamindars remained loyal to the British.

  - (ii), (iii) and (iv) are correct
  - (i), (ii) and (iv) are correct
  - (i), (iii) and (iv) are correct
  - (i), (ii) and (iii) are correct
- (i) One of the most significant contributions of the early Indian Nationalists was the formulation of an economic critique of colonialism.

(ii) The early Congress leaders stated that the religious exploitation in India was the primary reason for the growing poverty.

- (iii) One of the goals of the moderate Congress leaders was to achieve Swaraj or self-rule.
- (iv) The objective of Partition of Bengal was to curtail the Bengali influence and weaken the nationalist movement.
- (i) and (iii) are correct
  - (i), (iii), and (iv) are correct
  - (ii) and (iii) are correct
  - (iii) and (iv) are correct

4. **Assertion (A):** Under colonial rule, for the first time in Indian history, government claimed a direct proprietary right over forests.

**Reason (R):** Planters used intimidation and violence to compel farmers to grow indigo.

- Both (A) and (R) are correct, but R is not the correct explanation of A
- Both (A) and (R) are wrong
- Both (A) and (R) are correct and R is the correct explanation of A
- (A) is wrong and (R) is correct

5. **Assertion (A):** The Revolt of 1857 was brutally suppressed by the British army.

**Reason (R):** The failure of the rebellion was due to the absence of Central authority.

- Both (A) and (R) are wrong
- (A) is wrong and (R) is correct
- Both (A) and (R) are correct and R is the correct explanation of A
- Both (A) and (R) are correct, but R is not the correct explanation of A

### IV. Match the following

- Wahhabi Rebellion - Lucknow
- Munda Rebellion - Peshwa Baji Rao II
- Begum Hazarat Mahal - Titu Mir
- Kunwar Singh - Ranchi
- Nana Sahib - Bihar

## V. Answer the following questions briefly

1. How are the peasant uprisings in British India classified?
2. Write about the Kanpur Massacre of 1857.
3. Name the territories annexed by the British under the Doctrine of Lapse.
4. What do you mean by drain of wealth?
5. Explain the concept of constructive swadeshi?
6. Highlight the objectives of Home Rule Movement.
7. Summarise the essence of Lucknow Pact.

## VI. Answer all the questions under each caption

1. Deccan Riots
  - a) When and where did the first recorded incident of rioting against the moneylenders in the Deccan appear?
  - b) What was the right given to moneylenders under a new law of the British?
  - c) What did it result in?
  - d) Against whom was the violence directed in the Deccan riots.
2. The Revolt of 1857
  - a) Who assaulted his officer, an incident that led to the outbreak of 1857 Revolt?
  - b) Who was proclaimed the *Sahhensha-e-Hindustan* in Delhi?
  - c) Who was the correspondent of *London Times* who reported on the brutality of the 1857 revolt?
  - d) What did the Queen's proclamation say on matters relating to religion?
3. Indian National Congress
  - a) What were the techniques adopted by the Congress to get its grievances redressed?
  - b) What do you know of Lal-Bal-Pal triumvirate?

- c) Where was the first session of Indian National Congress held?
- d) How did the British respond to the Swadeshi Movement?

## VII. Answer in detail

1. Discuss the causes and consequences of the Revolt of 1857?
2. How did the people of Bengal respond to the Partition of Bengal (1905)?
3. Attempt a narrative account of how Tilak and Annie Besant by launching Home Rule Movement sustained the Indian freedom struggle after 1916?

## VIII. Activity

1. Identify the Acts passed in British India from 1858 to 1919, with a brief note on each.
2. Mark the important centres of 1857 Revolt on an outline map.
3. Prepare an album with pictures of frontline leaders of all the anti-colonial struggles launched against the British.



## REFERENCE BOOKS

1. Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2000)
2. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004)
3. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India (1885-1947)* (New Delhi: Pearson, 2014).





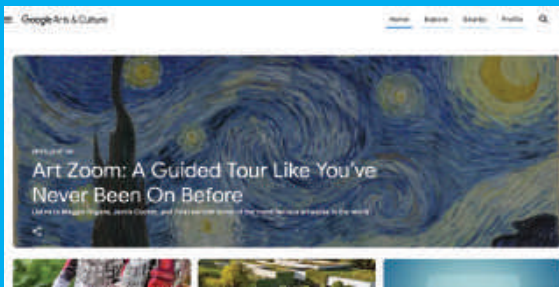
# ICT CORNER

## Anti-Colonial Movements and the Birth of Nationalism

Through this activity you will visualize the Great Rebellion of 1857



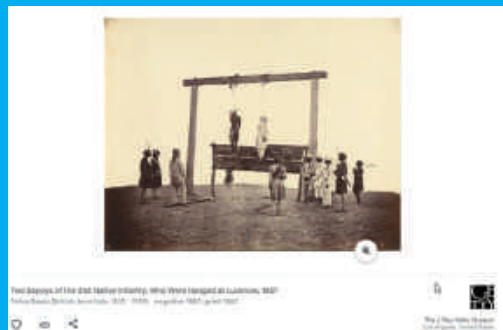
- Step-1** Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.
- Step-2** Type 'Rebellion of 1857' into search box
- Step-3** Scroll down and click explore the picture collections



Step-1



Step-2



Step-3

- \* Pictures are indicatives only.
- \* If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page



## Unit - 8

# Nationalism: Gandhian Phase



### Learning Objectives



#### To acquaint ourselves with

- Gandhian phase of India's struggle for independence
- Gandhi's policy of ahimsa and satyagraha tried and tested for mobilisation of the masses in India
- Non-violent struggles in Champaran and against the Rowlatt Act
- The Non-Cooperation Movement and its fallout
- Emergence of radicals and revolutionaries and their part in the freedom movement
- Launch of Civil Disobedience Movement
- Issue of separate electorate and the signing of Poona Pact
- First Congress Ministries in the provinces and circumstances leading to the launch of Quit India Movement
- Communalism leading to partition of sub-continent into India and Pakistan

### 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 non-

violent methods to mobilise the masses and mount pressure on the British. In this lesson we shall see how Gandhi transformed the Indian National Movement.

### 8.1 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.



**Gandhi 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 Last* and Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*. Gandhi's ideas were formed due to a blend of Indian and Western thought. Despite being deeply influenced by Western thinkers he was highly critical of Western civilisation and industrialisation. Inspired by Ruskin Gandhi established the Phoenix Settlement (1905) and the Tolstoy Farm (1910). Equality, community living and dignity of labour were inculcated in these settlements. They were training grounds for the satyagrahis.

### **Satyagraha as a Strategy in South Africa**

Gandhi developed satyagraha (devotion to the truth, truth-force) as a strategy, in which campaigners went on peaceful marches and presented themselves for arrest in protest against unjust laws. He experimented with it for fighting the issues of immigration and racial discrimination. Meetings were held and registration offices of immigrants were picketed. Even when the police let loose violence no resistance was offered by the satyagrahis. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested. Indians, mostly indentured labourers turned hawkers continued the struggle despite police brutality. Finally, by the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement the poll tax on indentured labourers was abolished. Gandhi's stay in South Africa was a learning experience for him. It was there that Gandhi realised that people of different religions, regions, linguistic groups could be welded into one to fight against exploitation. After the outbreak of the First World War, Gandhi returned to India.

## 8.2 Gandhi's Early Satyagrahas in India

Gandhi regarded Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom he had met on previous visits to India, as his political guru. On his advice, Gandhi travelled the length and breadth of the country before plunging into politics. This enabled him to understand the conditions of the people. It is on one of these journeys through Tamil Nadu that Gandhi decided to discard his following robes and wear a simple dhoti. Gandhi before returning to India visited England where he enlisted for the War to offer ambulance services. Considering himself a responsible citizen of the Empire he believed it was his duty to support England in its difficult times and even campaigned for the recruitment of Indians in the army. However, his views changed over the years.

### (a) Champaran Satyagraha



#### Champaran Satyagraha

In Champaran in Bihar the *tinkathia* system was practiced. Under this exploitative system the peasants were forced by the European planters to cultivate indigo on three-twentieths of their land holdings. Towards the end of nineteenth century German synthetic dyes had forced indigo out of the market. The European planters of Champaran, while realising the necessity of relieving the cultivators of the obligation of cultivating indigo, wanted to turn the situation to their advantage. They enhanced the rent and collected illegal dues as a price for the release of cultivators from the obligation. Resistance erupted. Rajkumar Shukla, an agriculturist

from Champaran who suffered hardships of the system, prevailed on Gandhi to visit Champaran. On reaching Champaran, Gandhi was asked by the police to leave immediately. When he refused he was summoned for trial. The news spread like wild fire and thousands swarmed the place in support of Gandhi. Gandhi pleaded guilty of disobeying the order, and the case had to be finally withdrawn. According to Gandhi, "The country thus had its first object-lesson in Civil Disobedience". He was assisted by Brajkishore Prasad, a lawyer by profession, and Rajendra Prasad, who became the first President of independent India. The Lieutenant Governor eventually formed a committee with Gandhi as a member which recommended the abolition of the *tinkathia* system, thereby ending the oppression of the peasants by the Indigo Planters.

The success of Champaran satyagraha, followed by his fruitful intervention in Ahmedabad mill strike (1918) and the Kheda Satyagraha (1918) helped Gandhi establish himself as a leader of mass struggle. Unlike earlier leaders, Gandhi demonstrated his ability 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 anti-colonial 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 on all sides by high walls was blocked, and firing took place without any warning. The firing lasted for ten minutes till the troops ran out of ammunition. According to official estimates 379 were killed and more than thousand injured. Unofficial estimates put the toll at more than a thousand. After the incident martial law was declared and many people in the Punjab especially Amritsar were flogged and forced to crawl on the streets.

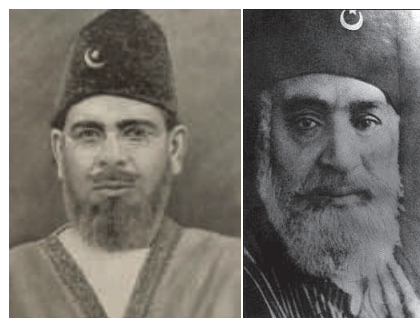


**Bullet marks on the wall and the well in the ground, Jallianwala Bagh**

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 Ali brothers, 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 Hindu-Muslimamki Jai. 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.



**Ali Brothers**

## 8.3 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.

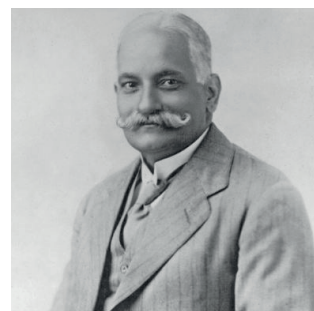
On 5 February 1922 a procession of the nationalists in Chauri Chaura, a village near Gorakhpur in present-day Uttar Pradesh provoked by the police turned violent. The police finding themselves outnumbered shut themselves inside the police station. The mob burnt the police station 22 policemen lost their 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



C.R. Das



Motilal Nehru

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 a 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 a 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.



"Go back Simon" Demonstration

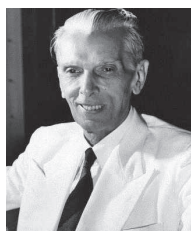
### (e) Nehru Report

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



**Jinnah**

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.

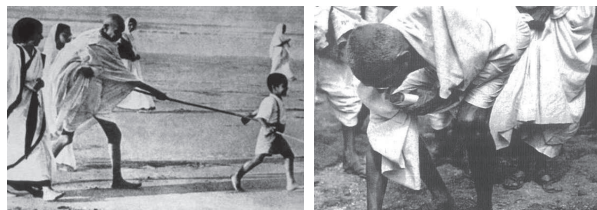
## 8.4 The Struggle for Poorna Swaraj and Launch of Civil Disobedience Movement

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.



**Gandhiji's Dandi March**

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 its 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



**Rajaji making salt in Vedaranyam**

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,

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.

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.

### (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



Gandhi

Irwin

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.



**Second Round Table Conference - London**

### **(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 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.



**Call for Civil Disobedience**

### **(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 the 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



**Dr. B.R. Ambedkar**

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.

## 8.5 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."

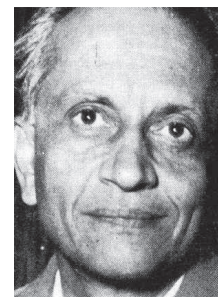
### (a) Foundation of Communist Party

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



M.N. Roy

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 Ahamed, 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.



S.A. Dange

### (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

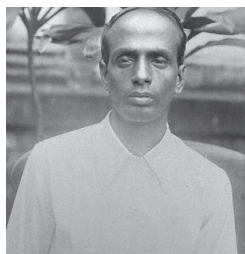
Rajguru

Sukhdev

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.

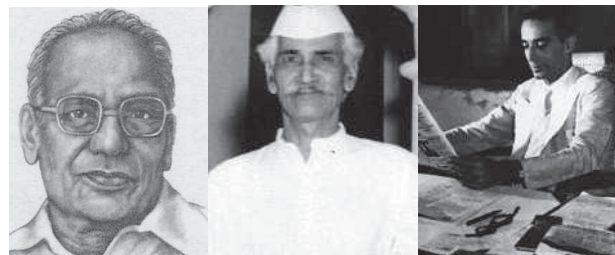
In April 1930, the Chittagong Armoury Raid was carried out by Surya Sen and his associates. They captured the armories in Chittagong and proclaimed a provisional revolutionary government. They survived for three years raiding government institutions. In 1933 Surya Sen was caught and hanged after a year.



**Surya Sen**

### (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.



**Jayaprakash Narayan**

**Acharya Narendra Dev**

**Minoo Masani**

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

## 8.6 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.



Pattabhi Sitaramayya Subhas Chandra Bose

## 8.7 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 Muslim 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.

## 8.8 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.



Vinobha Bhave

### (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:



Cripps and Gandhi

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



Quit India Movement; "Do or Die" - a 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.



**Aruna Asaf Ali**

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 the nationalists. Railway engine drivers and pilots transported bombs and other materials for the protestors.

#### (f) Subhas Chandra Bose and INA



**Subhas Chandra Bose's INA**

Subhas Chandra Bose who had left the Congress was now under house arrest. He wanted to strike British hard by joining its enemies. In March 1941, he made a dramatic escape from his house in disguise and reached Afghanistan. Initially he wanted to get the support of Soviet Union. After the Soviet Union joined the Allied Powers which included Great Britain, he went to Germany. In February 1943, he made his way to Japan on a submarine and took control of the Indian National Army. The Indian National Army Captain Lakshmi Sahgal headed it (Azad Hindu Fauj) had earlier been organized by Gen. Mohan Singh with Indian prisoners of war with the support of Japanese in Malaya and Burma. Bose reorganised it into three brigades: Gandhi Brigade, Nehru Brigade and a women's brigade named after Rani of Jhansi. Subhas Chandra Bose formed the Provisional Government of Free India in Singapore. He gave the slogan 'Dilli Chalo'. INA was deployed as part of the Japanese forces. However, the defeat of Japan stopped the advance of INA. The airplane carrying Subhas Chandra Bose crashed bringing to an end his crusade for freedom.

The British government arrested the INA officers and put them on trial in the Red Fort. The trial became a platform for nationalist propaganda. The Congress set up a defence committee comprising Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. Though the INA officers were convicted they were released due to public pressure. The INA exploits and the subsequent trials inspired the Indians.



## 8.9 Towards Freedom

### (a) Royal Indian Navy Revolt



### Royal Indian Navy Revolt

The Royal Indian Navy ratings revolted at Bombay in February 1946. It soon spread to other stations involving more than 20,000 ratings. Similar strikes occurred in the Indian Air Force and the Indian Signal Corps at Jabalpur. Thus the British hegemonic control ceased even in the armed forces. Despite the victory in the War, it left the British completely weakened. British surrender in South-East Asia to the Japanese was a big blow to imperial prestige. All the political leaders were released and the ban on Congress was lifted.

### (b) Negotiating Independence: Simla Conference

The Wavell Plan was announced on 14 June 1945. It provided for an interim government, with an equal number of Hindus

and Muslims in the Viceroy's Executive Council. All portfolios, except war portfolio, was to be held by Indian ministers. However, in the Shimla Conference, the Congress and the Muslim League could not come to an agreement. Jinnah demanded that all the Muslim members should be from the Muslim League and they should have a veto on all important 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.

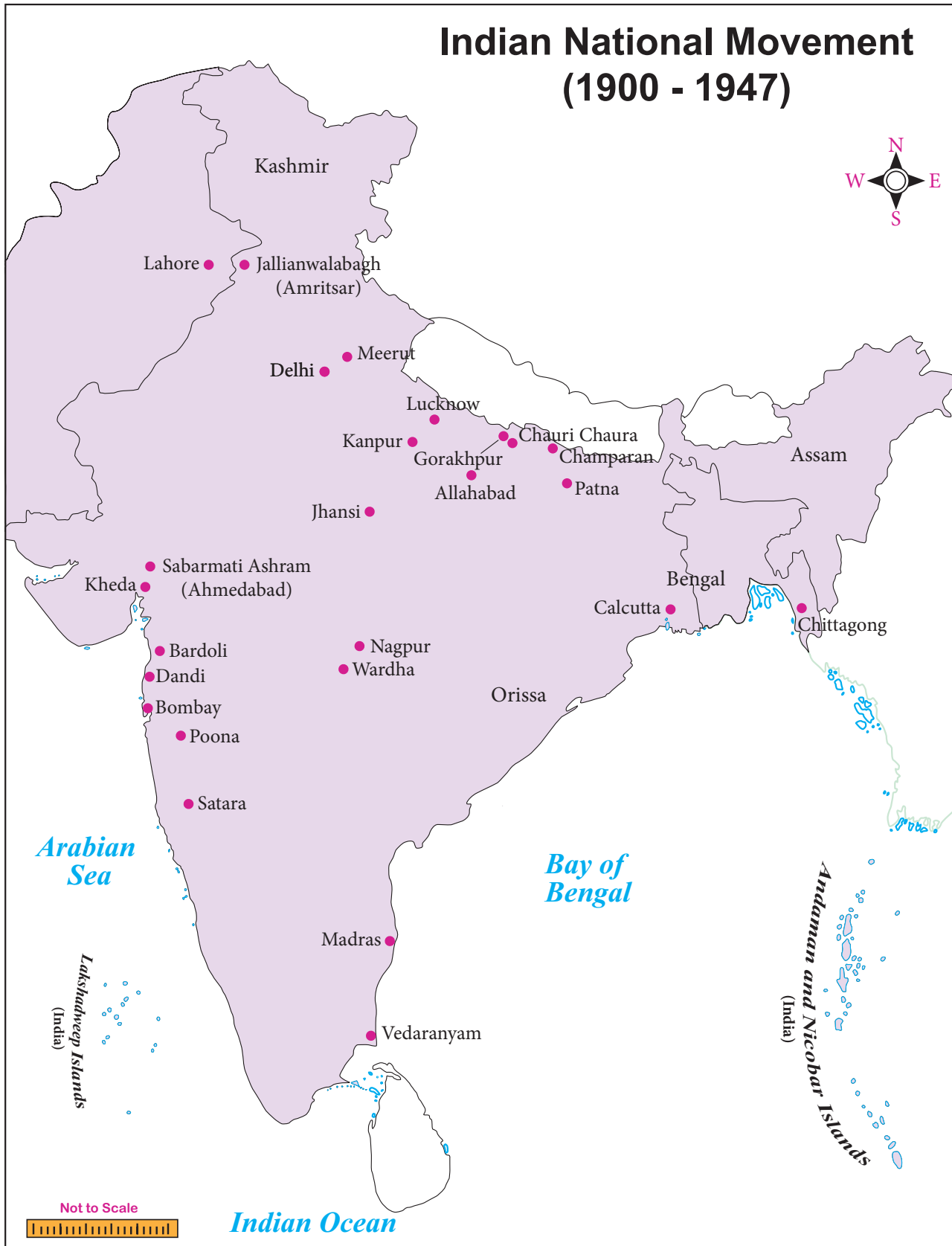
### (c) Cabinet Mission



LORD WAVELL (VICEROY) WITH MEMBERS OF CABINET MISSION [MARCH '46]  
[L. TO R.] A. V. Alexander, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Lord Wavell & Sir Stafford Cripps

### Cabinet Mission

In Britain, the Labour Party had won a landslide victory and Clement Atlee 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 non-violence.

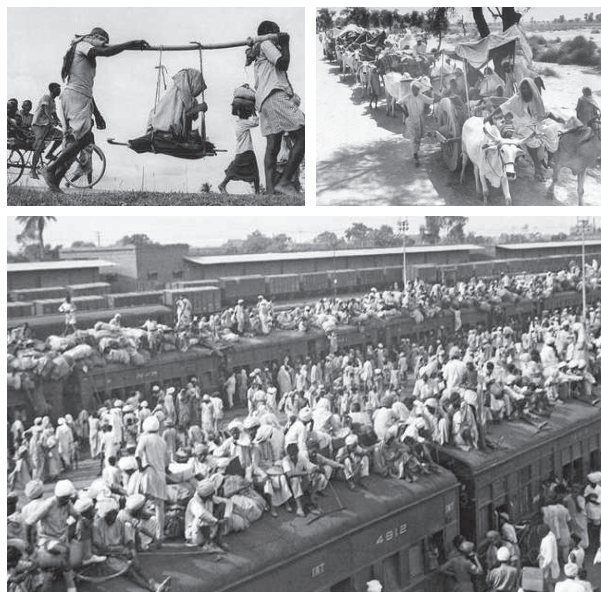
### (e) Mountbatten Plan

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 Liaquat Ali Khan was made the Finance Member. In February 1947, Clement Atlee 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.



Arrival of refugees in the wake of Partition

### SUMMARY

- Gandhiji's experiments with truth, ahimsa and satyagraha in South Africa and his evolution as a mass leader are explained.
- His call for Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movements and the fallout of these mass struggles in the form of legislation such as Government of India Act, 1919 and Government of India Act, 1935 and Independence Act, 1947 are detailed.
- Role played by Socialists and Communists and Revolutionaries represented by Bhagat Singh, Subhas Chandra Bose and outcome of their activities are highlighted.
- Use of religion for political mobilisation by Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League leading to partition is discussed.

## A-Z GLOSSARY

<b>satyagraha</b>	passive political resistance advocated by Mahatma Gandhi	அறப்போர், சத்தியாகிரகம்
<b>constitutionalist</b>	adherent of constitutional methods	அரசியல் சட்ட விதிகளைப் பின்பற்றுபவர்
<b>discrimination</b>	unjust or differential treatment of different categories of people, especially on grounds of caste, creed, etc	ஜாதி, கொள்கை போன்றவற்றின் அடிப்படையில் வேறுபாடு காட்டுகிற
<b>coolie</b>	native labourers emigrating under Indentured labour system	கூலியாள்
<b>massacre</b>	an indiscriminate and brutal slaughter of many people	படுகொலை
<b>non-cooperation</b>	failure or refusal to cooperate, especially as a form of protest	ஒத்துழையாமை
<b>exhort</b>	strongly encourage or urge to do something	வற்புறுத்து, நற்செயலுக்கேவு
<b>communalism</b>	allegiance to one's own ethnic, religious or caste group rather than to wider society	வகுப்புவாதம்
<b>dominion</b>	self-governing territory	தன்னாட்சியுரிமையுடைய குடியேற்ற நாடு
<b>electorate</b>	all the people in a country or area who are entitled to vote in an election	வாக்காளர் தொகுதி
<b>ultimatum</b>	a final demand or statement of terms	கடைசி அறிவிப்பு, இறுதி எச்சரிக்கை
<b>alienation</b>	Isolation	தனிமைப்படுத்தல்
<b>negotiation</b>	discussion aimed at reaching an agreement	ஒப்பந்தம் பேசுதல், பேச்சுவார்த்தை
<b>conspiracy</b>	a secret plan by a group to do something unlawful or harmful	கூட்டுச்சதி செய்தல், சதித்திட்டம்
<b>provincial Autonomy</b>	self-government in the provinces	மாகாண சுயாட்சி



### EXERCISE

#### I. Choose the correct answer



MZ4G94

- Who was arrested during the anti-Rowlatt protests in Amritsar?
  - Motilal Nehru
  - Saifuddin Kitchlew
  - Mohamed Ali
  - Raj Kumar Shukla
- In which session of the Indian National Congress was Non-Cooperation approved?
  - Bombay
  - Madras
  - Lucknow
  - Nagpur
- Which among the following was declared as 'Independence Day'?
  - 26th January 1930
  - 26th December 1929
  - 16th June 1946
  - 15th January 1947
- When was the first Forest Act enacted?
  - 1858
  - 1911
  - 1865
  - 1936
- On 8 January 1933 which day was observed \_\_\_\_\_?
  - Temple Entry Day
  - Day of Deliverance
  - Direct Action Day
  - Independence Day

6. Which Act introduced Provincial Autonomy?
  - a) 1858 Act
  - b) Indian Councils Act, 1909
  - c) Government of India Act, 1919
  - d) Government of India Act, 1935
7. Who defeated Pattabhi Sitaramaya, Gandhi's candidate, and became the President of the Congress in 1939?
  - a) Rajendra Prasad
  - b) Jawaharlal Nehru
  - c) Subhas Chandra Bose
  - d) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
8. Where was Gandhi when India attained independence on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947?
  - a) New Dehi
  - b) Ahmedabad
  - c) Wardha
  - d) Noakhali

## II. Fill in the blanks

1. Gandhi was thrown out of the first class compartment in \_\_\_\_\_ station.
2. Gandhi regarded \_\_\_\_\_ as his political guru.
3. Khilafat Movement was led by \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Government of India Act 1919 introduced \_\_\_\_\_ in the provinces.
5. The Civil Disobedience Movement in North West Frontier Province was led by \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Ramsay Macdonald announced \_\_\_\_\_ which provided separate electorates to the minorities and the depressed classes.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ established Congress Radio underground during the Quit India Movement.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ coined the term 'Paksitan'.

## III. Choose the correct statement

1. (i) The Communist Party of India was founded in Tashkent in 1920.
  - (ii) M. Singaravelar was tried in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case.
  - (iii) The Congress Socialist Party was formed by Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Mino Masani.
  - (iv) The Socialists did not participate in the Quit India Movement.
    - a) (i) and (ii) are correct
    - b) (ii) and (iii) are correct
    - c) (iv) is correct
    - d) (i), (ii) and (iii) are correct
2. (i) Hindustan Republican Army was formed in Kanpur in 1924.
  - (ii) Ram Prasad Bismil was tried in the Kakori Conspiracy Case.
  - (iii) Hindustan Socialist Republican Association was formed by Surya Sen.
  - (iv) Chittagong Armoury Raid was carried out by B.K. Dutt.
    - a) (i) and (ii) are correct
    - b) (i) and (iii) are correct
    - c) (iii) is correct
    - d) (iii) and (iv) are correct
3. **Assertion:** The Congress attended the First Round Table Conference.
 

**Reason:** Gandhi-Irwin Pact enabled the Congress to attend the Second Round Table Conference.

  - a) Both A and R are correct but R is not the correct explanation
  - b) A is correct but R is wrong
  - c) A is wrong but R is correct
  - d) Both A and R are correct and R is the correct explanation
4. **Assertion:** The Congress Ministries resigned in 1939.
 

**Reason:** The Colonial government of India entered the war without consulting the elected Congress ministries.



- a) Both A and R are correct but R is not the correct explanation
- b) A is correct but R is wrong
- c) Both A and R are wrong
- d) Both A and R are correct and R is the correct explanation

#### IV. Match the Following

- 1. Rowlatt Act - Surrender of titles
- 2. Non Cooperation Movement - Dyarchy
- 3. Government of India Act, 1919 - M.N. Roy
- 4. Communist Party of India - Direct Action Day
- 5. 16th August 1946 - Black Act

#### V. Answer the following briefly

- 1. Describe the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.
- 2. Write a note on the Khilafat Movement.
- 3. Why did Gandhi withdraw the Non Cooperation Movement?
- 4. What was the conflict between the Swarajists and no-changers?
- 5. Why was Simon Commission boycotted?
- 6. What is Poorna Swaraj?
- 7. Write a note on Bhagat Singh.
- 8. What are the terms of the Poona Pact?

#### VI. Answer all the questions given under each caption

- 1. Gandhi and Mass nationalism
  - a) Which incident is considered a turning point in the life of Gandhi?
  - b) Name the works that influenced Gandhi?
  - c) How did Gandhi use satyagraha as a strategy in South Africa?
  - d) What do you know about the Champaran Satyagraha?
- 2. Constructive Programme of Gandhi
  - a) What is constructive programme?
  - b) What did Gandhi exhort the Congressmen to do?
  - c) How did Gandhi try to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity?

- d) What is the contribution of Gandhi towards abolition of untouchability?

#### 3. Subhas Chandra Bose and INA

- a) How did Subhas Chandra Bose reach Japan?
- b) Who headed the women wing of Indian National Army?
- c) How did Subhas Chandra Bose reorganize the INA?
- d) Name the slogan provided by Subhas Chandra Bose.

#### VII. Answer in detail.

- 1. Examine the factors that led to the transformation of Gandhi into a mass leader.
- 2. Critically examine the Civil Disobedience Movement as the typical example of Gandhian movement.
- 3. Discuss the reasons behind the partition of India.

#### VIII. Activity

- 1. Students can be asked to mark the important places of Gandhian Movement in a map and write a sentence or two about what happened there.
- 2. Students can be divided into groups and asked to debate the views of Gandhi, Jinnah, B.R. Ambedkar, Revolutionaries and Communists.



#### REFERENCE BOOKS

- 1. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient BlackSwan, 2016.
- 2. Bipan Chandra, Amales Tripathi and Barun De, *Freedom Struggle*, NBT, 1993.
- 3. Bipan Chandra, *et al.*, *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin Books, 1989.
- 4. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947*, Pearson, 2014.
- 5. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Orient BlackSwan, 2013.
- 6. B.R. Nanda, *Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography*, Oxford University Press, 1958.



# ICT CORNER

## Nationalism Gandhian Phase

Through this activity you will learn about Highlights in the life of Mahatma Gandhi.



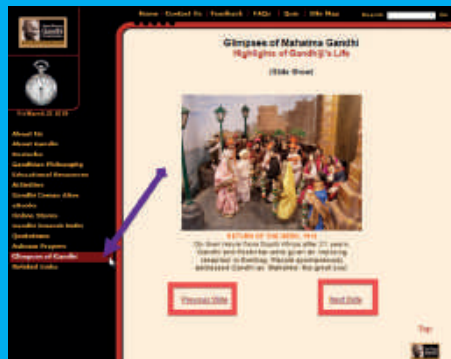
- Step-1** Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.
- Step-2** Click on 'Chronology/Time line' and Select 'Family tree of Mahatma Gandhi'
- Step-3** Click on 'Glimpses of Gandhi' in the Left side menu and click on 'Next or Previous' to see events in life of Gandhi



Step-1



Step-2



Step-3

- \* Pictures are indicatives only.
- \* If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page



B376\_10\_SOCIAL\_EM

## Unit - 9

# Freedom Struggle in Tamil Nadu



### Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with:

- Anti-colonial struggles in Tamil Nadu
- Contribution of Christian missionaries to the development of education and amelioration of the depressed classes
- Challenge of the Justicites to the Congress in Tamil Nadu
- Militant mass movement of the Congress 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.

### 9.1 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.



**Gazalu  
Lakshminarasu**

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



**T. Muthuswami**



**G. Subramaniam**

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. Anandacharlu, P. Rangaiah and few others. P. Rangaiah became its first president. P. Anandacharlu 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 services 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 Anandacharlu from Madras.



**Dadabhai Naoroji**



**Gokhale**

### 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



V.S. Srinivasa Sastri



P.S. Sivasamy



G.A. Natesan

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 **Badruddin Tyabji** 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).

## 9.2 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



V.O. Chidambaranar

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 Thoothukudi 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



**Bipin Chandra Pal**



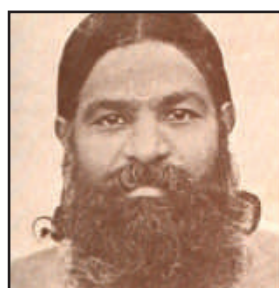
**Bharati**

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.



**V.V. Subramanianar**



**Aurobindo Ghosh**

### 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 Irish Home Rule League. She started 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 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 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 co-workers 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.

## 9.3 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



A Subbarayalu



Raja of Panagal

The Congress boycotted the elections of 1920. The Justice Party won 63 of 98 elected seats in the Legislative Council. A. Subbarayalu 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 *poromboke* 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. Satyamurty 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.



S. Satyamurty



## 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 Tamilnadu. 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.



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.



Yakub Hasan

### (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 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.

### (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.

## 9.4 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

### (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–Justicites 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



P. Subbarayan

#### 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.

Swarajists did not contest the 1930 elections leading to an easy victory for the Justice Party. The Justice Party remained in office till 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 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.

## 9.5 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 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 Lakshmipathi, Sardar Vedarathnam, C. Swaminathar and K. Santhanam were among the prominent leaders who participated in the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha.



Vedaranyam Salt March Memorial

### (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. Woman participated enthusiastically. Rukmani Lakshmipathi 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.



**Rukmani  
Lakshmipathi**

### 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.



**Tirupur Kumaran**

### (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.



**C. Rajaji**

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 reigns of administration removed Hindi as compulsory subject.

## 9.6 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 Tamilnadu 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 Suler 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.

### SUMMARY

- Contributions of Madras Native Association, Madras Mahajana Sabha and the nationalist press to the growth of nationalism in Tamil Nadu are discussed.
- Swadeshi phase of the Indian National Movement in Tamil Nadu, with focus on role played by V.O.C., Subramania Siva, Subramania Bharathi, is detailed.
- Non-Brahmin Movement throwing up challenges to nationalist politics during Dyarchy is highlighted.
- Non-cooperation Movement, E.V.R.'s differences with the Congress, the birth of Swaraj Party at the national level and the Self-Respect Movement in the Tamil region are examined.
- Tamil Nadu's participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement organised to protest the disappointment over Simon Commission and the Round Table Conferences are dealt with.
- The elections under Government of India Act, 1935 and the formation of first Congress Ministry in Madras under Rajaji are outlined.
- Resignation of Congress Ministries following the outbreak of World War II, Quit India Movement and Tamil participation in it are described.

## A-Z GLOSSARY

<b>hegemony</b>	leadership or dominance, especially by one state or social group over others	மேலாதிக்கம்
<b>obnoxious</b>	extremely unpleasant	விரும்பத்தகாத, வெறுக்கப்படுகிற
<b>propaganda</b>	biased information used to promote political cause	கருத்துப் பரப்புரை, பிரச்சாரம்
<b>consensus</b>	a general agreement	கருத்து ஒருமைப்பாடு, முழு இசைவு
<b>hypocrisy</b>	insincerity/two-facedness, dishonesty, lip service	பாசாங்கு, போலிமை
<b>mobilize</b>	prepare and organize	திரட்டு, போருக்கெனப் படைகளை ஆயத்தமாக்கு
<b>sedition</b>	inciting or causing people to rebel against the authority of a state or monarch	ஆட்சிக்கு எதிரான
<b>demonstration</b>	a protest meeting or march against something	பொது ஆர்ப்பாட்ட நிகழ்ச்சி
<b>picket</b>	a blockade of a workplace or other venue	மறியல்
<b>discrimination</b>	unjust or differential treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of caste, creed, etc.	வேறுபாடு காட்டுகிற
<b>boycott</b>	refuse to cooperate with or participate in	புறக்கணி
<b>brutal</b>	savagely violent	கொடுமைமிக்க, இரக்கமற்ற
<b>patriotic</b>	having devotion to and vigorous support for one's own country	நாட்டுப்பற்று
<b>repression</b>	action of subduing someone or something with force	அடக்குமுறை
<b>reservation</b>	assignment of electoral seats especially for some community	ஒதுக்கீடு
<b>revolution</b>	forcible overthrow of a government	புரட்சி, திடீர் ஆட்சிமாற்றம்



## EXERCISE

### I. Choose the correct answer

- Who was the first President of the Madras Mahajana Sabha?
  - T.M. Nair
  - P. Rangaiah
  - G. Subramaniam
  - G.A. Natesan



- Where was the third session of the Indian National Congress held?
  - Marina
  - Mylapore
  - Fort St. George
  - Thousand Lights
- Who said "Better bullock carts and freedom than a *train de luxe* with subjection"?
  - Annie Besant
  - M. Veeraraghavachari
  - B.P. Wadia
  - G.S. Arundale

4. Which among the following was SILF's official organ in English?
  - a) Dravidian
  - b) Andhra Prakasika
  - c) Justice
  - d) New India
5. Who among the following were Swarajists?
  - a) S. Satyamurti
  - b) Kasturirangar
  - c) P. Subbarayan
  - d) Periyar EVR
6. Who set up the satyagraha camp in *Udyavanam* near Madras?
  - a) Kamaraj
  - b) Rajaji
  - c) K. Santhanam
  - d) T. Prakasam
7. Where was the anti-Hindi Conference held?
  - a) Erode
  - b) Madras
  - c) Salem
  - d) Madurai
8. Where did the congress volunteers clash with the military during Quit India Movement?
  - a) Erode
  - b) Madras
  - c) Salem
  - d) Madurai

## II. Fill in the blanks

1. \_\_\_\_\_ was appointed the first Indian Judge of the Madras High Court.
2. The economic exploitation of India was exposed by \_\_\_\_\_ through his writings.
3. Nilakanta Brahmachari started the secret society named \_\_\_\_\_.
4. The starting of trade unions in Madras was pioneered by \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The Dravidian Association Hostel for non-Brahmin students was established by \_\_\_\_\_.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ formed the first Congress Ministry in Madras.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ was the founder of the Madras branch of the Muslim League.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ hoisted the national flag atop Fort St. George on 26 January 1932.

## III. Choose the correct statement

1. (i) Madras Native Association was founded in 1852.  
(ii) Tamil nationalist periodical *Swadesamitran* was started in 1891.

- (iii) The Madras Mahajana Sabha demanded conduct of civil services examinations only in India
  - (iv) V.S. Srinivasanar was an extremist.
    - a) (i) and (ii) are correct
    - b) (iii) is correct
    - c) (iv) is correct
    - d) All are correct
2. (i) EVR did not participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement.  
(ii) Rajaji worked closely with Yakub Hasan of the Muslim League.  
(iii) Workers did not participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement.  
(iv) Toddy shops were not picketed in Tamil Nadu.
    - a) (i) and (ii) are correct
    - b) (i) and (iii) are correct
    - c) (ii) is correct
    - d) (i), (iii) and (iv) are correct

3. **Assertion (A):** The Justice Party opposed the Home Rule Movement.  
**Reason (R):** The Justice Party feared that Home Rule would give the Brahmins more power.
  - a) Both A and R are correct but R is not the correct explanation
  - b) A is correct but R is wrong
  - c) Both A and R are wrong
  - d) Both A and R are correct and R is the correct explanation
4. **Assertion (A):** EVR raised the issue of representation for non-Brahmins in legislature.  
**Reason (R):** During the first Congress Ministry, Rajaji abolished sales tax.
  - a) Both A and R are correct but R is not the correct explanation
  - b) A is correct but R is wrong
  - c) Both A and R are wrong
  - d) Both A and R are correct and R is the correct explanation

#### IV. Match the Following

1. MNA - Anti-Hindi agitation
2. EVR Periyar - Removal of Neill Statue
3. S.N. Somayajulu - Salt Satyagraha
4. Vedaranyam - Torture Commission
5. Thalamuthu - Vaikom Hero

#### V. Answer the questions briefly

1. List out the contribution of the moderates.
2. Write a note on the Tirunelveli Uprising.
3. What is the contribution of Annie Besant to India's freedom struggle?
4. Mention the various measures introduced by the Justice Ministry.
5. Write briefly on EVR's contribution to the constructive programme?
6. What is Cheranmadevi Gurukulam controversy?
7. Why was anti-Hindi agitation popular?
8. Outline the key incidents during the Quit India Movement in Tamil Nadu.

#### VI. Answer the questions given under each caption

1. Early Nationalist Movement in Tamil Nadu
  - a) What were the objectives of Madras Native Association?
  - b) What led to the emergence of nationalist press in Tamil Nadu?
  - c) What were the demands of Madras Mahajana Sabha?
  - d) Who were the early nationalist leaders in Tamil Nadu?
2. Revolutionary Movement in Tamil Nadu
  - a) List a few revolutionaries in Tamil Nadu.
  - b) Why did Subramania Bharati moved to Pondicherry?
  - c) Name a few of the revolutionary literature?
  - d) What did Vanchinathan do?

#### 3. Non Brahmin Movement

- a) Why was the South Indian Liberal Federation formed?
- b) What is the Non-Brahmin Manifesto?
- c) Why did EVR join the Non-Brahmin Movement?
- d) What do you know about anti-Hindi agitation?

#### VII. Answer in detail

1. Discuss the response to Swadeshi Movement in Tamil Nadu.
2. Examine the origin and growth of Non-Brahmin Movement in Tamil Nadu.
3. Describe the role of Tamil Nadu in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

#### VIII. Activity

1. Students can be asked to write a sentence or two about the important places of freedom struggle in Tamil Nadu.
2. Role Play: Students can be divided into groups and asked to debate the views of the Moderates, Extremists, Revolutionaries, Annie Besant's supporters, Justice Party, and British Government.



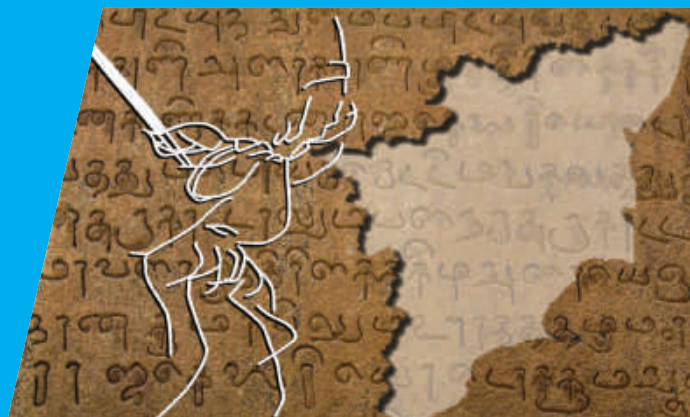
#### REFERENCE BOOKS

1. K. Rajayyan, *Tamil Nadu: A Real History*, Ratna Publications, Trivandrum, 2005.
2. Saroja Sundararajan, *March to Freedom in Madras Presidency, 1916-1947*, Lalitha Publications, Madras, 1989.
3. N. Rajendran, *National Movement in Tamil Nadu, 1905-1914: Agitational Politics and State Coercion*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1994.
4. A.R. Venkatachalapathy, *Tamil Characters: Personalities, Politics, Culture*, Pan Macmillan, 2018.



## 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.

### 10.1 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 Ziegenbalg 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.



Ziegenbalg



C.W. Damotharanar



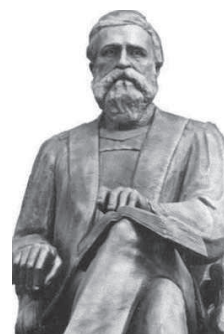
U.V. Swaminathar

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*, *Iraiyanaar-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 *Pathitrupathu* (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.



Robert Caldwell

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



P. Sundaranar

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).



**Thiru. Vi. Ka**

**Bharatidasan**

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 high 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 Isai Iyakkam*, made a significant cultural impact in creating a pure Tamil free from the influence of Sanskrit.

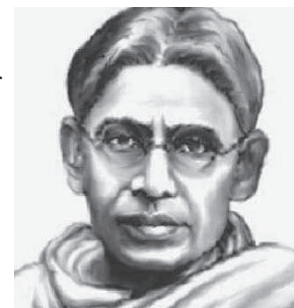
## V.G. Suryanarayana Sastri (Parithimar Kalaignar)

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 **Parithimar Kalignar** a pure Tamil name for himself: Parithimar Kalignar. 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.



**Maraimalai Adigal**

## 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.

## 10.2 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.



Dr. C. Natesanar

## 10.3 South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party)



Sir Pitti Theagarayar



T.M. Nair

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 Thayarammal 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 Non-Brahmin Manifesto pointed out that though “Not less than 40 out of the 41½ 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”.

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.

### 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 Justices 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



Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar

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.

## 10.4 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.



Periyar E.V.R.

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





**Thanthai Periyar Memorial (Vaikom, Kerala)**

“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 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 caste-based 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 2500<sup>th</sup> 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 Tamilnadu’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 *tinais* (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. Peiyar'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

Rettaimalai Srinivasan who had experienced the horrors of untouchability worked for the progress of the deprived castes. He founded the Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha in 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.



M.C. Rajah

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 as 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.

## 10.5 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 war time 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.



Singaravelar

## 10.6 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. Agamic 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.

## 10.7 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, Nagammai, Kannamma, Nilavathi, Muvalur Ramamirtham, Rukmani Ammal, Alarmelmangai Thayammal, Nilambikai, and Sivakami Chidambaranar are prominent among them.



Muvalur  
Ramamirtham

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 devadasis 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.

## SUMMARY

- Nineteenth century India encountered a process of introspection among Indian intellectuals due to the colonial intervention and the rise of rationalism. This led to the Indian renaissance.
- In Tamil Nadu, the proliferation of the printing press acted as a catalyst for the publication and spread of secular ancient Tamil literature.
- Tamil scholars in the nineteenth century worked hard to publish Tamil classics. These triggered an intellectual revolution and it was popularly known as Tamil renaissance.
- The transformation not only revived Tamil language and literature. It challenged the prevailing caste hierarchy and influenced the rise of Dravidian consciousness and established Tamil as a language of the Dravidian family.
- The Justice Party established in 1916 voiced the problems of non-Brahmin in the Madras Presidency. The party introduced significant reforms such as communal representation, women’s franchise rights, and Hindu Religious Endowment Board.
- Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, the pioneer of the Self-Respect Movement, critiqued fundamentalism and promoted rationalism among people for the better construction of human society. He reformed Tamil society, gave special attention to the women empowerment and did an extensive language reform for the betterment of Tamil language and culture.
- Concurrently, Thatha Rettaimalai Srinivasan worked for the development of depressed castes, and the labour movement addressed the problems of the working classes.
- Meanwhile, Tamil Pure Movement and Tamil Music Movement promoted and preserved Tamil language.
- Ultimately, the rational ideas of Tamil Nadu became a model for constructive developments of the modern Indian state.

## A-Z GLOSSARY

<b>evangelical</b>	Christian groups that believe that the teaching of the Bible and persuading others to join them is extremely important	சுவிசேஷர்கள், நற்செய்தியாளர்
<b>hegemony</b>	leadership or dominance, especially by one country or social group over others	மேலாதிக்கம்
<b>resurgence</b>	renewal, revival	எழுச்சி
<b>linguists</b>	a person skilled in languages	மொழியியலாளர்கள்
<b>exemplified</b>	be a typical example of	நிரூபிக்கப்படும்
<b>marginalised</b>	a person, group concept treated as insignificant or sidelined	ஒதுக்கப்பட்ட
<b>irked</b>	irritated, annoyed	எரிச்சலூட்டும்
<b>debunking</b>	expose the falseness or hollowness of (a myth, idea or belief)	ஒழித்துக்கட்டும்
<b>trounced</b>	defeat heavily in a contest	பருதோல்வியுறச் செய்தல்
<b>critiquing</b>	evaluate in a detailed and analytical way	விமர்சிப்பது
<b>iniquitous</b>	grossly unfair and morally wrong	அநீதியான
<b>pseudonym</b>	a fictitious name, especially one used by an author	புனைபெயர்
<b>rechristened</b>	give a new name to	பெயரிடப்பட்டு
<b>patriarchy</b>	A society or institution organised according to the principles or practices of male domination	ஆணாதிக்கச் சமுதாயம்
<b>masculinity</b>	possession of the qualities traditionally associated with men	ஆண்மை



## EXERCISE

### I. Choose the correct answer

- \_\_\_\_\_ was the pioneer of social Reformers in India.  
a) C.W. Damotharanar  
b) Periyar  
c) Raja Rammohan Roy  
d) Maraimalai Adigal
- \_\_\_\_\_ established a full-fledged printing press in 1709, at Tranquebar.  
a) Caldwell      b) F.W. Ellis  
c) Ziegenbalg      d) Meenakshisundaram
- \_\_\_\_\_ was the official newspaper of the Self Respect Movement.  
a) KudiArasu      b) Puratchi  
c) Viduthalai      d) Paguththarivu
- Periyar wanted religion to be replaced by \_\_\_\_\_.  
a) Nationalism      b) Iconoclasm  
c) Rationalism      d) Spiritualism



- \_\_\_\_\_ founded Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha in 1893.  
a) Rettaimalai Srinivasan  
b) B. R. Ambedkar  
c) Rajaji  
d) M. C. Rajah
- India's first organised trade union, the Madras Labour Union was formed in \_\_\_\_\_.  
a) 1918      b) 1917      c) 1916      d) 1914
- \_\_\_\_\_ was established by the Justice Party Government for the selection of Government officials.  
a) Staff Selection Board  
b) Public Service Commission  
c) Provincial Staff Recruitment Board  
d) Staff Selection Commission
- \_\_\_\_\_ was the first elected Legislative Council Member from the depressed class in Madras Province.  
a) M. C. Rajah  
b) Rettaimalai Srinivasan  
c) T.M. Nair  
d) P. Varadarajulu

## II. Fill in the blanks

- \_\_\_\_\_ was the first non-European language that went into print.
- The College of Fort St. George was founded by \_\_\_\_\_.
- \_\_\_\_\_ is considered the father of Tamil linguistic purism.
- \_\_\_\_\_ was the first to approve participation of women in the electoral politics.
- The name Suriyanarayana Sastri changed in Tamil as \_\_\_\_\_.
- \_\_\_\_\_ gave prominence to Tamil music.
- The first Woman Legislator in India was \_\_\_\_\_.

## III Choose the correct statement

- (i) Thirukkural was one of the earliest Tamil literary texts to be published in 1812.  
(ii) Maraimalai Adigal collected and edited different palm leaf manuscripts of the Tamil grammars and literature.  
(iii) Robert Caldwell established the close affinity between the Dravidian languages in contrast with Sanskrit and also established the antiquity of Tamil.  
(iv) Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram was an early pioneer in Trade union movement.  
a) (i) and (ii) are correct  
b) (i) and (iii) are correct  
d) (iv) is correct  
e) (ii) and (iii) are correct
- (i) Margret Cousin was one of the founders of Women's India Association.  
(ii) Periyar spent his entire life campaigning against superstitions through Thinkers or Rationalists Forums he had formed.  
(iii) Singaravelar was a staunch supporter of the Hindu Mahasabha  
(iv) Periyar emphasised that the caste system in South India is linked with the arrival of Brahmins from the North.

- (iii) and (iv) are correct
- (ii), (iii) and (iv) are correct
- (i), (ii) and (iv) are correct
- (ii) and (iii) are correct

- Assertion (A):** The Justice Party continued to remain in government from 1920-1937 in Madras Presidency.

**Reason (R):** The Congress Party boycotted the Madras Legislature during this period of Dyarchy.

- Both A and R are correct
- A is correct, but R is not the correct explanation
- Both A and R are wrong
- R is correct, but it has no relevance to A

- Assertion (A):** As World War I was in progress, the British Government was considering the introduction of representative institutions for Indians after the war.

**Reason (R):** In 1920, Dyarchy as a form of Government was introduced in the provinces.

- A is correct, but R is not the correct reason
- Both A and R are wrong
- Both A and R are right
- A is wrong and R has no relevance to A

## IV. Match the following

- Dravidian Home - Maraimalai Adigal
- Thozhilalan* - Rettaimalai Srinivasan
- Tani Tamil Iyakkam - Singaravelar
- Jeeviya Saritha Surukkam - Natesanar

## V. Answer briefly

- Write a note on Tamil Renaissance.
- Highlight the contribution of Caldwell for the cause of South Indian languages.
- List out the personalities who contributed to the revival of Tamil literature through their writings.

4. Discuss the importance of Hindu Religious Endowment Act passed by the Justice ministry?
5. What do you know of the Cheranmahadevi Gurukulam incident?
6. Name the newspapers published by the South Indian Liberal Foundation.
7. Estimate Periyar as a feminist
8. Explain the proceedings of All India Trade Union Congress Conference held in 1920.

### VI. Answer the questions given under each caption

1. Periyar E.V.R.
  - a) When did Periyar found Dravidar Kazhagam?
  - b) What were the Newspapers and Journals run by Periyar?
  - c) Why was Periyar known as Vaikom hero?
  - d) Which was the most important work of Periyar?
2. Labour Movement in Tamilnadu
  - a) Highlight the factors that caused the birth of Trade Union Movement in Madras.
  - b) Identify the three prominent persons associated with the Madras Labour Union.
  - c) Where was the first conference of All India Trade Union Congress held?
  - d) Who organised the first ever celebration of May Day in Madras and which year?
3. Maraimalai Adigal
  - a) Name the Sangam texts for which Maraimalai Adigal wrote commentaries.
  - b) Name the Journal where he worked as a young man.
  - c) Why did he oppose imposition of Hindi?
  - d) Who were the key influences in Maraimalai Adigal's life?

### VII. Answer in detail

1. Attempt an essay on the foundation and development of Tamil Renaissance in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.
2. Describe the background for the formation of the Justice Party and point out its contribution to the cause of social justice.
3. Estimate Periyar E.V.R's decisive contribution to the social transformation of Tamil Nadu.

### VIII. Students Activity

1. Students can be taught to distinguish between Labour Movement and Trade Union Movement. Project work on the activities of local trade union organisations may be done by students.
2. Students can compile the activities of the local writers' associations or women's collectives.



### REFERENCE BOOKS

1. K. Nambi Arooran, *Tamil Renaissance and Dravidian Nationalism 1905-1944*. Madurai: Koodal Publishers, 1980.
2. V. Geetha and S.V. Rajadurai, *Towards a Non-Brahmin Millennium: From Iyothee Thass to Periyar*. Calcutta: Samya, 1998.
3. Robert Hardgrave *The Dravidian Movement*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1965.
4. Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
5. Periyar. E.V. Ramasami, *Women Enslaved*. New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2009.
6. *Thoughts of Periyar E.V.R.: Speeches and Writings of Periyar E.V. Ramasamy*. V. Anaimuthu. Comp. Chennai: Periyar E.V. Ramasamy-Nagammai Education and Research Trust, 1974.

# TIME LINE

1 unit = 10 years

## Important Events of Indian National Movement (1900-1947)

