

# Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose

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**Bachelor of Arts in History**  
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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the project entitled "Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose" is submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi in partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History and is a record of work done during the year 2020-2021 by the following III B.A History students.

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose" submitted to St. Mary's college (Autonomous), Thoothukudi affiliated to the Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History is our original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

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# Introduction

*“Patriot of Patriots”*

This is what Mahatma Gandhi described about Subhash Chandra Bose.<sup>1</sup> He was one of the most noted Indian revolutionary. Subhash Chandra Bose was a brilliant young man set for a glittering future in the Indian Civil Services when he chose to dedicate himself to the Indian National Movement instead. Subhash Chandra Bose, popularly known as Netaji, was an outstanding leader of the Indian National Movement. The life of Subhash reads like a thrilling saga of most dramatic events. Subhash was truly the greatest hero of India's struggle for freedom.

Subhash Chandra Bose was an Indian revolutionary who led an Indian national political and military force against Britain and the western powers during the World War II. Bose was one of the most prominent leaders in the Indian Independence Movement and is a legendary figure in India today. His stance did not change with the outbreak of the Second World War, which he saw as an opportunity to take advantage of British weakness. With Imperial Japanese assistance, he reorganised and later led the Azad Hind Fauj or Indian National Army (INA), formed with Indian prisoners-of-war and plantation workers from British Malaya, Singapore, and other parts of Southeast Asia, against British forces. He was almost hypnotized by Swami Vivekananda's teaching,

*“Seek Your Salvation in the Welfare of Humanity”.*

He had found his ideal to which he could devote his whole being. This study draws on the life of Bose and Indian National Army. This study will be useful for students and future researchers.

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<sup>1</sup>Kamal, S., Srivastava and Sangeeta Srivastava, *Subhash Chandra Bose*, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 2012, p.2.

## **Aims and Purpose**

From this project, throw flood of light on the Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, a freedom fighter who play a significant role in the freedom movement in India. It helps the present generation to know the history of this freedom fighter and his revolutionary activities. This study reveals the mystery behind the death of Netaji during the British rule and after in India.

## **Methodology**

Different research methods have been used in this project. They are analytical method and descriptive method. The source materials have been critically analysed and investigated. The descriptive method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the project understandable to the readers.

## **Review of Literature**

The present study on “Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose” is based on historical method. Primary and secondary and published sources are utilised. Biographies of freedom fighters, biographies on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose written by different authors and contemporary books available in different libraries are consulted.

## **Outline of the Chapters**

This study has four chapter excluding the introduction and conclusion. The introduction gives the relevance of the topic with the detailed account of the sources collected for writing the project. The first chapter describes the Early Life of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. The second chapter refers to the Netaji’s Escape from India. The third chapter describes Netaji and Indian National Army. The fourth chapter explains the Death Mystery of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose and the project work ended with conclusion.



# Chapter One

## Early Life

Subhash Chandra Bose was born in a Bengali Kayasth family on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1897 A.D in Cuttack, Orissa (Now Odisha), to Janakinath Bose, an advocate and Prabhavati Devi. He was the ninth child of a total of fourteen siblings. He studied in an Anglo school at Cuttack until the sixth standard and then shifted to Ravenshaw Collegiate School. From there he went to the Presidency College where he studied briefly. His nationalistic temperament came to light when he was expelled for assaulting Professor Oaten for his Anti-India comments.<sup>2</sup>

### Higher Studies

Bose later topped the matriculation examination of Calcutta province in A.D 1911 and passed his B.A. in 1918 in philosophy from the Scottish Church College under University of Calcutta. Bose went to study in Fitzwilliam Hall of the University of Cambridge and matriculated, that is formally enrolled in the Cambridge University, on 19<sup>th</sup> November 1919. He was a non-collegiate student. He studied Philosophy for Moral Sciences Tripos, as the honours B.A. was known. He was awarded a third class pass in the examinations for Part I of this tripos in 1921. He graduated B.A. by proxy on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1922.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Vikas Khatri, *Indian Freedom Fighters Who Sacrificed Their Lives for Independence*, Mannu Graphics, New Delhi, 2013, p.28.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p.29.

His high score in the Civil Service Examinations meant an almost automatic appointment.<sup>4</sup> He then took his first step as a revolutionary and resigned the appointment on the premise that the “best way to end a government is to withdraw from it”. At the time, Indian nationalists were shocked and outraged because of the Amritsar Massacre and the repressive Rowlatt Legislation of 1919.<sup>5</sup>

Returning to India, Bose wrote for the newspaper ‘*Swaraj*’ and took charge of publicity for the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. His mentor was Chittaranjan Das who was a spokesman for aggressive nationalism in Bengal. In the year 1923, he was elected the President of All India Youth Congress and also the Secretary of Bengal State Congress.<sup>6</sup> He was also Editor of the newspaper “*Forward*”, founded by Deshabandhu. Bose worked as the CEO of the municipal corporation of Calcutta for Das when the latter was elected Mayor of Calcutta in 1924. In a roundup of nationalists in 1925, Bose was arrested and sent to prison in Mandalay, where he contracted tuberculosis.

### **Netaji and Congress Party**

In 1927, after being released from prison, Bose became general secretary of the Congress Party and worked with Jawaharlal Nehru for independence. Again Bose was arrested and jailed for civil disobedience; this time he emerged to become Mayor of Calcutta in 1930. During the mid-1930s Bose travelled in Europe, visiting Indian students and European politicians, including Mussolini. He observed party organisation and saw communism and fascism in action. In 1938 Bose had become as leader of national stature and agreed to accept nomination as Congress President.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Vikas Khatri, *Op.cit.*, p.29.

<sup>5</sup> Sangeeta Thakur, *Freedom Movement in India*, Vibhavari Publication, Delhi, 2005, p.86.

<sup>6</sup> Vikas Khatri, *Op.cit.*, p.29.

<sup>7</sup> Gupta, R.C., *Indian Freedom Movement and Thought*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1983, p.147.

He stood for unqualified Swaraj (self-dependence), including the use of force against the British. This meant a confrontation with Mohandas Gandhi, who in fact opposed Bose's presidency, splitting the Indian National Congress Party. Bose attempted to maintain unity, but Gandhi advised Bose to form his own cabinet. The rift also divided Bose and Nehru.<sup>8</sup> Bose appeared at the 1939 Congress meeting on a stretcher. Though he was elected president again, over Gandhi's preferred candidate Pattabhi Sitaramayya.<sup>9</sup> U. Muthuramalingam Thevar strongly supported Bose in the intra-Congress dispute. Thevar mobilised all south India votes for Bose.

### **Netaji and Forward Bloc**

However, due to the manoeuvrings of the Gandhi-led clique in the Congress Working Committee, Bose found himself forced to resign from the Congress presidency.<sup>10</sup> His uncompromising stand finally cut him off from the mainstream of Indian nationalism. Bose then organized the Forward Bloc on 22<sup>nd</sup> June aimed at consolidating the political left, but its main strength was in his home state, Bengal.<sup>11</sup> U. Muthuramalingam Thevar, who was disillusioned by the official Congress leadership which had not revoked the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA), joined the Forward Bloc.

When Bose visited Madurai on 6<sup>th</sup> September Thevar organised a massive rally as his reception. Bose advocated the approach that the political instability of war-time Britain should be taken advantage of rather than simply wait for the British to grant independence after the end of the World War II.<sup>12</sup> In this, he was influenced by the examples of Italian statesmen Giuseppe Garibaldi and Giuseppe Mazzini.

### **Netaji's View on Politics**

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<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*,p.154.

<sup>9</sup> Sharma, L.P., *Indian National Movement*,Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Publication,Agra,1996, p.224.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*,p.154.

<sup>11</sup>Asok Ghosh, (ed.), *A Short History of All India Forward Bloc*, Bengal Lokmat Printers Pvt.Ltd,Kokatta,2001,pp.29-30.

<sup>12</sup>Mahajan,V.D., *Modern Indian History From 1707 to The Present Day*, S.Chand & Co. Ltd, New Delhi,2000,p.422.

His correspondence reveals that despite his clear dislike for British subjugation, he was deeply impressed by their methodical and systematic approach and their steadfastly disciplinarian outlook towards life. In England, he exchanged ideas on the future of India with British Labour Party leaders and political thinkers like Lord Halifax, George Lansbury, Clement Attlee, Arthur Greenwood, Harold Laski, J.B.S. Haldane, Ivor Jennings, G.D.H. Cole, Gilbert Murray and Sir Stafford Cripps.<sup>13</sup>

He came to believe that a free India needed socialist authoritarianism, on the lines of Turkey's Kemal Ataturk, for at least two decades. Bose was refused permission by the British authorities to meet Kemal Ataturk at Ankara for political reasons. During his sojourn in England, only the Labour Party and Liberal politicians agreed to meet with Bose when he tried to schedule appointments.

Conservative Party officials refused to meet Bose or show him courtesy because he was a politician coming from a colony. In the 1930s leading figures in the Conservative Party had opposed even Dominion Status for India. It was during the Labour Party government of 1945-1951, with Attlee as the Prime Minister, that India gained independence.

On the outbreak Second World War, Bose advocated a campaign of mass civil disobedience to protest against Viceroy Lord Linlithgow's decision to declare war on India's behalf without consulting the Congress leadership.

### **Protest on Removal of Hollwell Monument**

Having failing to persuade Gandhi of the necessity of this, Bose organized mass protests in Calcutta calling for the 'Holwell Monument' commemorating the Black Hole

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<sup>13</sup> Pandit, H.N., *Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, p.331.

Tragedy of Calcutta, which then stood at the corner of Dalhousie Square, to be removed.<sup>14</sup> He was thrown in jail by the British, but was released following a seven-day hunger strike. Bose's house in Calcutta was kept under surveillance by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), but their vigilance left a good deal to be desired. With two court cases pending, he felt the British would not let him leave the country before the end of the war.

### **Escape from British India to Germany and Japan**

This set the scene for Bose's escape to Germany, via Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. A few days before his escape, he sought solitude and on this pretext avoided meeting British guards and grew a beard and on the night of his escape he dressed as a Pathan to avoid being identified. Bose escaped from under British surveillance at his house in Calcutta. On 19<sup>th</sup> January 1941 accompanied by his nephew Sisir Kumar Bose in a car that is now at display at his Calcutta home.<sup>15</sup> Bose began his journey to reach Russia through India's North West frontier with Afghanistan. For this reason, he enlisted the help of Mian Akbar Shah, then a Forward Bloc leader in the North-West Frontier Province. Shah had been out of India en route to the Soviet Union and suggested a novel disguise for Bose to assume. Since Bose could not speak one word of Pashto, it would make him an easy target of Pashto speakers working for the British. For this reason, Shah suggested that Bose act deaf and dumb, and let his beard grow to mimic those of the tribesmen. Bose's guide Bhagat Ram Talwar, unknown to him was a Soviet agent.

Supporters of the Aga Khan III helped him across the border into Afghanistan where he was met by an Abwehr unit posing as a party of road construction engineers from the Organisation Todt who then aided his passage across Afghanistan via Kabul to the border with Soviet Russia.<sup>16</sup> After assuming the guise of a Pashtun insurance agent ("Ziaudddin") to

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<sup>14</sup> Firoz Alam, *Subhas Chandra Bose*, Sahni Publications, Delhi, 2011, p.90.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.93.

<sup>16</sup> Alex Von Tunzelmann, *Indian Summer*, Pocket Book Publishers, New York, 2007, p.106.

reach Afghanistan, Bose changed his guise and travelled to Moscow on the Italian passport of an Italian nobleman “Count Orlando Mazzotta”. From Moscow, he reached Rome, and from there he travelled to Germany. Thus the way Netaji escaped from India to Germany.<sup>17</sup> So the next chapter explained the escape of Netaji from India in detailed manner.

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<sup>17</sup>James L. Raj, *Making and Unmaking of British India*, Abacus Publication, 1997, p.555.

# **Chapter Two**

## **Netaji's Escape from India**

In the first half of 1939, Subhash Chandra Bose planned a visit to China and asked for a passport from the British authorities which was refused. The then Government in Chungking also did not favour his becoming a political refugee in China in view of the existing Anglo-Chinese Treaty obligations. Early in 1940, he had sounded a few close friends in Bengal and the Punjab about the possibility of his leaving the country secretly in the direction of Soviet Union and Europe.

### **Removal of Hollwell Monument and Netaji's Arrest**

Meanwhile, a civil disobedience campaign launched by the Forward Bloc in April 1940 was gathering momentum. Subhash Chandra himself organised a campaign for the removal of the Hollwell Monument in Calcutta which as a standing slur on the last independent king of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Doula. Hindu and Muslim youths unitedly rallied to his call. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> July when Subhash Chandra himself was to lead a band of volunteers for offering Satyagraha at the Hollwell monument, he was taken into custody under the Defence of India Rules and lodged in the Presidency Jail in Calcutta. Two court cases were also started against him on charges of sedition. While in prison, he was elected unopposed from a Dacca constituency in East Bengal to the Central Legislative Assembly.

### **Netaji and Presidency Jail, Calcutta**

It was in the Presidency Jail in Calcutta that Subhash Chandra made the greatest decision of his life. It was his firm conviction that the British Empire would break up as a result of the war, but the British imperialists would not handed over the power to the Indian

people without a fight. India could win independence only if she actively entered the field of international politics in the midst of the war crisis.

He felt it would be a gross political blunder to remain inactive in prison while history was being made elsewhere. He found no possibility of being released in the legal manner. He therefore sent an ultimatum to the government saying that as there was no moral or legal justification for his detention he would fast unto death if he was not released forthwith. In this connection, he wrote a number of historic letters to the government, one of which he called his political testament. He wrote therein,<sup>18</sup>

*“Though there may be no immediate, tangible gain, no suffering no sacrifice is ever futile...*

*“In this mortal world everything perishes and will perish...but ideas, ideals and dreams do not. One individual may die for an idea, but that idea, after his death incarnates itself in a thousand lives....*

*“With greater solace can there be than the feeling that one has lived and died for a principle?..... What higher consummation can life attain than peaceful self-immolation at the altar of one’s Cause?....”*

## **Release of Netaji**

Subhash Chandra started his fast at the end of November 1940, on the day of Kali Puja. Initially, the government took a very stiff attitude and did not even care to reply to his ultimatum. The Central Government in Delhi had already told the Bengal Government very firmly that Subhash Chandra must be kept in custody for the duration of the war. The Bengal Government therefore requested his brother Sarat to convey to Subhash that the attitude of the government was very hostile and that he should therefore not proceed with the fast.

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<sup>18</sup>Sisir Kumar Bose, *Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose*, National Book Trust, India, 2011, p.106.



However, after the fast had continued for about a week, the Bengal Government suddenly got frightened lest their prisoner should die in person.

At a secret meeting of high officials, it was decided to release him with the intention of re-arresting him when his health had improved. The Central Government took strong exception to this step. The Bengal Government assured the Centre that they were playing a “cat-and-mouse” policy with Subhash and that there was no cause for anxiety.

Subhash Chandra started his escape from India soon after his release. During this interlude, he had his last correspondence with Gandhi. In his letters, Subhash Chandra for the last time offered his unconditional cooperation to Gandhi in any movement launched by him on the issue of national independence even in individual Satyagraha.

He also made a plea for restoring unity in the Bengal Congress which had split as a result of indiscriminate disciplinary action against committees and individuals owing allegiance to Subhash Chandra. Gandhi said in reply that there were fundamental differences between them and till one of them was converted to the other’s view, they must sail in different boats.

### **Netaji’s Plan for Escape from India**

Soon after his release, with a view to planning the actual escape from his house in Calcutta and ultimately out of India through the tribal territories in the North-West Frontier, Subhash Chandra called two persons to his side. The first was his young nephew Sisir, Sarat Chandra’s son, and other was Mian Akbar Shah, a close associate and Forward Bloc leader of Peshawar.

The nephew was readily available and Subhash drew the young man into the plan. He started discussing in great detail with Sisir the possible methods of escaping from the house in utmost secrecy. It would be Sisir’s job to drive him out of the house one night and take him to a railhead from where he could catch a train to Peshawar. A number of

alternative plans were discussed with meticulous care by the uncle and the nephew and finally a reasonable fool-proof one emerged.

Sisir was told that one other person, Subhash's young niece Ila would know about his secret departure. A game of deception would be played at his house saying that Subhash Chandra had gone into a religious exercise in seclusion for a certain period of time. Meanwhile, in response to a telegraphic message, Mian Akbar Shah had arrived from Peshawar. Sisir was introduced to Akbar Shah and according to Subhash's instructions the two of them did some marketing for certain items of his disguise. It was decided that Subhash Chandra would travel in the guise of an upcountry Muslim with the assumed name of Mohammad Ziauddin, the travelling inspector of an insurance company.

Mian Akbar Shah would be in charge of arrangements for Subhash's journey across the tribal territories through Afghanistan. Sarat Chandra who was away from Calcutta for the better part of December, returned early in January and the two brother immediately went into a top-secret conference. Sarat Chandra made certain changes in the overall plan and gave the final touches. The date of his departure was fixed between Subhash Chandra and Mian Akbar Shah but it was kept a closely-guarded secret.

### **Netaji's Disappearance from Calcutta**

A couple of days before the scheduled date of his secret departure from Calcutta, 16<sup>th</sup> January 1941, Subhash Chandra announced to the family that he would be going into seclusion for a few days. He would not be seeing anybody or talking to anybody even on the telephone. His room was curtained off into compartments. Arrangements were made for the cook to pass his food under the curtain and remove used utensils and crockery the next day. On the fateful evening, he had a ritualistic dinner in the presence of his mother and other members of the family.

When most members of the family had retired to their rooms, Subhash Chandra made final preparations to leave. It had since been arranged that two other nephews residing in the same house would assist Ila in carrying out the deception story of seclusion. Sisir arrived around 9 p.m. He had in his car—a sturdy German vehicle wanderer-Subhash's travel cases marked prominently with 'M.Z'.

A long wait ensued as one or two members of the family had become rather suspicious about what was going on and were still around. At about 1.30 a.m. on the 17<sup>th</sup> January 1941, the coast was found to be clear and Subhash Chandra left the house in the car driven by Sisir. He was wearing a dark brown Sherwani, loose pyjamas, laced European shoes and a black Astrakhan-type cap of fur.<sup>19</sup>

After leaving the house, Sisir deliberately took a southerly direction just in case plainclothes police who were detailed to watch Subhash took notes about the movement of the car. Although, the government was compelled to release Subhash unconditionally, he was very closely watched day and night.

It is now known that the police department even planted a number of agents inside the house although their identities are yet known. On the other hand, Subhash Chandra had earlier obtained through some of his very trusted men his own dossier from the police department, read through it overnight and returned it to its place the next day. Thus, he was aware of what the police department knew about him and from what sources.

The two travellers had a thrilling drive up the Grand Trunk Road in bright moonlight. At dawn, they reached Asansol where they refuelled the car. By 9 a.m. on the 17<sup>th</sup> January 1941, they had reached an out of the way place called Barari, a few miles away from Dhanbad. Sarat Chandra's eldest son Asoke lived at Barari with his family.

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<sup>19</sup>Leonard A Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose*, Penguin Books India Limited, New Delhi, 1990,p.109.

Sisir dropped his uncle about half a mile away from Asoke's bungalow and drove nonchalantly into the house alone. He alerted his brother about the impending arrival of their uncle in disguise. Subhash Chandra arrived some time later alone and introduced himself as an insurance agent on business. A mock drama was enacted in the presence and within the hearing of Asoke's domestic servants.

All conversation was in English and Asoke even formally introduced Sisir to the stranger. Apparently, at the visitor's request he was allowed to stay in the guest-room for the day. In the evening, Subhash Chandra demonstratively bade farewell and left on foot according to plan. After a while, Sisir, Asoke and his wife drove out in Sisir's car, picked up Subhash Chandra from the roadside and took the road to Gomoh. The Delhi-Kalka Mail arrived at Gomoh well past midnight. Subhash Chandra personally purchased his ticket, boarded a first-class compartment and was on his way.<sup>20</sup>

### **Netaji at Peshawar**

The arrangement was that Subhash would take the Frontier Mail from Delhi and arrive at Peshawar on 19<sup>th</sup> January 1941. As Akbar Shah watched passengers coming through the station gate, he spotted a distinguished-looking Muslim gentleman whom he recognised. He whispered to him to get into a tonga. He asked the tongawalla to take him to the Dean's Hotel while he followed in another tonga.

On the way, they changed their mind and took him to Taj Mahal Hotel Akbar Shah was walking back through the Peshawar city when he met an old trusted friend Abad Khan whom he took into confidence. Abad Khan had long previous experience of such secret journeys.

At his suggestion, Subhash Chandra was shifted the same night from the hotel to Abad Khan's house where he stayed for six days. Akbar Shah had decided that one of two

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<sup>20</sup> Sisir Kumar Bose, *Op.cit.*, p.109.

young men, Mahammad Shah and Bhagat Ram Talwar, would act as Subhash Chandra's escort across the tribal territory on his journey to Kabul. They were informed. Eventually, it was decided to give Bhagat Ram the responsibility.

At Peshawar, a transformation took place in Subhash Chandra's disguise. From then on he was to be a Pathan. In Abad Khan's house, he was made conversant with the social habits and customs of Pathans so that his social and public behaviour was correct. He discarded his former attire and was given full-fledged Pathan dress including the headgear. The insurance agent became Bhagat Ram's deaf and dumb elder brother who was being taken to a shrine and ultimately to Kabul for treatment.

### **Netaji in Afghanistan**

On the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> January 1941, Subhash Chandra accompanied by Bhagat Ram, Mohammed Shah and a guide left for the border of Afridi tribal territory in a car arranged by Abad Khan. According to the plan, his disappearance from Calcutta was announced by the family the very day.<sup>21</sup>

The three travellers started their trek only a furlong away from the actual tribal border. The route chosen for Subhash Chandra to Afghanistan was the shortest but the stiffest and was not the traditional one used by travellers or even by revolutionaries in the past. They had to scale stiff mountains, parts of which were covered with snow. They rested for the next two nights at small villages on the way.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> January 1941 when it was well past midnight, they reached the first village in Afghan territory.

To avoid fatigue, Subhash was provided with a mule to ride on during the latter part of the trek. But while coming down a slope slippery with snow, the mule slipped and he had

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<sup>21</sup> Sisir Kumar Bose, *Op.cit.*, p.110.

a fall. After two days of cross-country walk and ride, they reached the village Gardi on the Peshawar-Kabul highway.

Abad Khan's guide had returned after reaching Afghan territory. Subhash Chandra and Bhagat Ram hitch-hike on a truck loaded with tea-chests passing along the highway to Jalalabad and reached there at 10 p.m. on 28<sup>th</sup> January 1941. On the 29<sup>th</sup> January 1941, to keep up appearances, they went to the Shrine of Adda Sharif near Jalalabad. There, they also established contact with an important political worker Hazi Mohammad Amin.

On 30<sup>th</sup> January 1941, they set out for Kabul in a tonga. Changing over a truck on the way, they reached the check post Bud Khak the next morning. From there, they reached Kabul by a tonga at 11 a.m. on 31<sup>st</sup> January 1941.

In Kabul, both of them were complete strangers. They looked for a Serai and were guided to one near the Lahori Gate. The place was scarcely fit for human habitation but there was no alternative. For food, they had bread dipped in sweet tea.

Although Subhash Chandra was out of the direct clutches of the British police, he soon discovered that his ordeal had only begun and not ended. For the next forty five days, living in most inhospitable surroundings and always in fear of being spotted by Afghan's Police or British agents, Subhash Chandra had the most trying time.

The Soviet Union lay between him and his destination-Central Europe. He had attempted through intermediaries of the Kirti Kisan Party of the Punjab who were already in Moscow to establish contacts and come to at least some tentative arrangements with the Soviet Government. But, he found that nothing had materialised. What actually happened is yet a closed book. The position was that Subhash Chandra had to start from scratch and find some means of leaving Kabul as speedily as possible to avoid capture.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Sisir Kumar Bose, *The Great Escape*, Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, 2000, p.112.

# **Chapter Three**

## **Netaji and Indian National Army**

### **Escape from British India to Germany & Japan**

This set the scene for Bose's escape to Germany, via Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. From Moscow, he reached Rome and from there he traveled to Germany. Once in Russia the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) transported Bose to Moscow where he hoped that Russia's traditional enmity to British rule in India would result in support for his plans for a popular rising in India. However, Bose found the Soviets response disappointing and was rapidly passed over to the German Ambassador in Moscow, Count von der Schulenburg. He had Bose flown on to Berlin in a special courier aircraft at the beginning of April where he was to receive a more favorable hearing from Joachim von Ribbentrop and the Foreign Ministry officials at the Wilhelmstrasse.

At Germany, he instituted the Special Bureau for India under Adam von Trott zu Solz, broadcasting on the German-sponsored Azad Hind Radio. He founded the Free India Centre in Berlin and created the Indian Legion (consisting of some 4500 soldiers) out of Indian prisoners of war who had previously fought for the British in North Africa prior to their capture by Axis forces. The Indian Legion was attached to the Wehrmacht and later transferred to the Waffen SS.

Its members swore the following allegiance to Hitler and Bose:

*"I swear by God this holy oath that I will obey the leader of the German race and state, Adolf Hitler, as the commander of the German armed forces in the fight for India, whose leader is Subhash Chandra Bose".*

This oath clearly abrogates control of the Indian legion to the German armed forces whilst stating Bose's overall leadership of India. He was also however prepared to envisage an invasion of India via the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) by Nazi troops, spearheaded by the Azad Hind Legion; many have questioned his judgment here, as it seems unlikely that the Germans could have been easily persuaded to leave after such an invasion, which might also have resulted in an Axis victory in the War.

In all 3,000 Indian prisoners of war signed up for the Free India Legion. But instead of being delighted, Bose was worried. A left-wing admirer of Russia, he was devastated when Hitler's tanks rolled across the Soviet border. Matters were worsened by the fact that the now retreating German army would be in no position to offer him help in driving the British from India. When he met Hitler in May 1942 his suspicions were confirmed and he came to believe that the Nazi leader was more interested in using his men to win propaganda victories than military ones.

So, in February 1943, Bose turned his back on his legionnaires and slipped secretly away aboard a submarine bound for Japan. This left the men he had recruited leaderless and demoralized in Germany. Bose spent almost three years in Berlin, Germany from 1941 until 1943, during which he married Emilie Schenkl and had a daughter Anita Bose Pfaff was born to them in 1942. After being disillusioned that Germany could be of any help in liberating India in 1943 he left for Japan. He travelled by the German submarine U-180 around the Cape of Good Hope to Imperial Japan (via Japanese submarine Japanese submarine I-29). This was the only civilian transfer between two submarines of two different Navies in World War II.



## **Taking Over Leadership of Azad Hind Fauj**

The Indian National Army (INA) was originally founded by Capt. Mohan Singh in Singapore in September 1942 with Japan's Indian Prisoners of War in the Far East. This was along the concept of—and with support of—what was then known as the Indian Independence League, headed by expatriate nationalist leader Rash Behari Bose. The first Indian National Army was however disbanded in December 1942 after disagreements between the Hikari Kikan and Mohan Singh, who came to believe that the Japanese High Command was using the Indian National Army as a mere pawn and propaganda tool. Mohan Singh was taken into custody and the troops returned to the prisoner-of-war camp.

However, the idea of a liberation army was revived with the arrival of Subhash Chandra Bose in the Far East in 1943. In July, at a meeting in Singapore, Rash Behari Bose handed over the control of the organisation to Subhash Chandra Bose. Bose was able to reorganize the fledgling army and organize massive support among the expatriate Indian population in South-East Asia, who lent their support by both enlisting in the Indian National Army, as well as financially in response to Bose's calls for sacrifice for the national cause. At its height it consisted of some 85,000 regular troops including a separate women's unit, the Rani of Jhansi Regiment (named after Rani Lakshmi Bai) headed by Captain Lakshmi Swaminathan, which is seen as a first of its kind in Asia.<sup>23</sup>

Even when faced with military reverses, Bose was able to maintain support for the Azad Hind Movement. Spoken as a part of a motivational speech for the Indian National Army at a rally of Indians in Burma on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1944, Bose's most famous quote was,

*"Give me blood, and I shall give you freedom!"*

In this, he urged the people of India to join him in his fight against the British Raj. Spoken in Hindi, Bose's words are highly evocative. The troops of the Indian National Army

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<sup>23</sup>Peter W. Fay, *The Forgotten Army, India's Armed Struggle for Independence 1942-1945*, Rupa & Co, New Delhi, 1994, p.129.

were under the aegis of a provisional government, the Azad Hind Government, which came to produce its own currency, postage stamps, court and civil code and was recognised by nine Axis states-Germany, Japan, Italy, the Independent State of Croatia, Wang Jingwei regime in Nanjing, China, a provisional government of Burma, Manchukuo and Japanese-controlled Philippines. Recent researches have shown that the USSR too had recognised the "Provisional Government of Free India". Of those countries, five were authorities established under Axis occupation. This government participated in the so called Greater East Asia Conference as an observer in November 1943.

The Indian National Army's first commitment was in the Japanese thrust towards Eastern Indian frontiers of Manipur. Indian National Army's special forces, the Bahadur Group, were extensively involved in operations behind enemy lines both during the diversionary attacks in Arakan as well as the Japanese thrust towards Imphal and Kohima, along with the Burmese National Army led by Ba Maw and Aung San. Japanese also took possession of Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1942 and a year later, the Provisional Government and the Indian National Army were established in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands with Lieutenant Colonel. A.D. Loganathan appointed its Governor General. The islands were renamed Shaheed (Martyr) and Swaraj (Independence). However, the Japanese Navy remained in essential control of the island's administration.

During Bose's only visit to the islands in early 1944 when he was carefully screened from the local population by the Japanese authorities, who at that time were torturing the leader of the Indian Independence League on the Islands, Diwan Singh, who later died of his injuries, in the Cellular Jail. The islanders made several attempts to alert Bose to their plight but apparently without success. Enraged with the lack of administrative control, Lt. Col Loganathan later relinquished his authority and returned to the Government's headquarters in Rangoon.

On the Indian mainland, an Indian Tricolour, modelled after that of the Indian National Congress was raised for the first time in the town in Moirang in Manipur in north-eastern India. The towns of Kohima and Imphal were placed under siege by divisions of the Japanese, Burmese and the Gandhi and Nehru Brigades of Indian National Army during the attempted invasion of India also known as Operation U-GO. However, Commonwealth forces held both positions and then counter-attacked in the process inflicting serious losses on the besieging forces, which were then forced to retreat back into Burma. When Japanese funding for the army diminished Bose was forced to raise taxes on the Indian populations of Malaysia and Singapore.

When the Japanese were defeated at the battles of Kohima and Imphal, the Provisional Government's aim of establishing a base in mainland India was lost forever. The Indian National Army was forced to pull back along with the retreating Japanese army and fought in key battles against the British Indian Army in its Burma campaign notable in Meiktila, Mandalay, Pegu, Nyangyu and Mount Popa. However, with the fall of Rangoon, Bose's government ceased to be an effective political entity. A large proportion of the Indian National Army troops retreated with Bose towards Malaya or made for Thailand. Japan's surrender at the end of the war also led to the eventual surrender of the Indian National Army when the troops of the British Indian Army were repatriated to India and some tried for treason.

Earlier, in a speech broadcast by the Azad Hind Radio from Singapore on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1944, Bose addressed Gandhi as the "Father of the Nation" and asked for his blessings and good wishes for the war he was fighting. This was the first time that Gandhi was referred to by this appellation. His famous quote or slogan was "(*'Give me blood and I will give you freedom'*).

His other famous quote were, ('Delhi Chalo'), meaning 'On to Delhi!' This was the call he used to give the Indian National Army armies to motivate them. ('*Jai Hind*'), or, "*Glory to India!*" was another slogan used by him and later adopted by the Government of India and the Indian Armed Forces. Other slogan coined by him was *Ittehad, Etemad, Qurbani*. Indian National Army also used the slogan *Inquilab Zindabad*, which was coined by Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

### **Disappearance and Alleged Death**

Bose is alleged to have died in a plane crash Taihoku (Taipei), Taiwan, on 18<sup>th</sup> August 1945 while en route to Tokyo and possibly then the Soviet Union. The Imperial Japanese Army Air Force Bomber (Mitsubishi Ki-21) he was travelling on had engine trouble and when it crashed Bose was badly burned, dying in a local hospital four hours later. His body was then cremated and a Buddhist memorial service was held at Nishi Honganji Temple in Taihoku (Taipei). This version of events is supported by the testimonies of a Captain Yoshida Taneyoshi and a spy known as "Agent 1189". The lack of a body has led to many theories have been put forward concerning his possible survival. One such claim is that Bose actually died later in Siberia, while in Soviet captivity. Several committees have been set up by the Government of India to probe into this matter. However, the Indian government did not then request assistance from the government of Taiwan in the matter citing their lack of diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

Several documents which could perhaps provide lead to the disappearance of Bose have not been declassified by the Government of India, the reason cited being publication of these documents could sour India's relations with some other countries. Bose was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award in 1992, but it was later withdrawn in response to a Supreme Court directive following a Public Interest Litigation filed in the Court against the "posthumous" nature of the award. The Award

Committee could not give conclusive evidence on Bose's death and thus the "posthumous" award was invalidated. No headway was made on this issue however. Bose's portrait hangs in the Indian Parliament, and a statue of him has been erected in front of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.

### **The Red Fort Trial**

At the conclusion of the war, the government of British India brought some of the captured Indian National Army soldiers to trial on treason charges. The prisoners would potentially face the death penalty, life imprisonment or a fine as punishment if found guilty. It was initially believed by Auchinleck that no less than twenty death penalties were likely to be confirmed. Between November 1945 and May 1946, approximately ten courts-martial were held. The first of these, and the most celebrated one, was the joint court-martial of Colonel Prem Sahgal, Colonel Gurubaksh Singh Dhillon and Major General Shah Nawaz Khan held in a public trial at the Red Fort, Delhi, British India. The then Advocate General of India, Sir Naushirwan P Engineer was appointed the counsel for the prosecution.

Nearly all the defendants in the first trial were charged with waging war against the King-Emperor (the charge of treason did not exist in the Indian Army Act, 1911) as well as torture, murder and abettment to murder. The three defendants were defended by the Indian National Army Defence Committee formed by the Congress and include legal luminaries of India of the time including Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Kailashnath Katju, (Asaf Ali) and others.

The trials covered arguments based on military law, constitutional law, international law and politics and much of the initial defence was based on the argument that they should be treated as prisoners of war as they were not paid mercenaries but bona fide soldiers of a legal government, the Provisional Government of Free India, or the Arzi Hukumate Azad Hind (Azad Hind Fauj), "however misinformed or otherwise they had been

in their notion of patriotic duty towards their country and as such they recognized the free Indian state as their sovereign and not the British sovereign. Those charged later only faced trial for torture and murder or abetment of murder.

These trials attracted much publicity and public sympathy for the defendants who were perceived as patriots in India. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League both made the release of the three defendants an important political issue during the agitation for independence of 1945-46. Beyond the concurrent campaigns of non-cooperation and non-violent protest, this spread to include mutinies and wavering support within the British Indian Army.

This movement marked the last major campaign in which the forces of the Congress and the Muslim League aligned together; the Congress tricolor and the green flag of the League were flown together at protests. In spite of this aggressive and widespread opposition, the court martial was carried out, and all three defendants were sentenced to deportation for life. This sentence, however, was never carried out as the immense public pressure of the demonstrations and riots forced Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army to release all three defendants. Within three months, 11,000 soldiers of the Indian National Army were released after cashiering and forfeiture of pay and allowance. On the recommendation of Lord Mountbatten of Burma and agreed by Nehru as a condition for independence the Indian National Army soldiers were not re-inducted into the Indian Army.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Green, L.C., *The Indian National Army Trials*, The Modern Law Review, Vol. 11, No. 1, London, 1948, pp. 47-49.

# Chapter Four

## Death Mystery of Subhash Chandra Bose

The Shah Nawaz Committee was an enquiry committee established in 1956 to investigate the controversies surrounding the supposed death of Indian war time leader Subhash Chandra Bose in August 1945. The Committee included Shah Nawaz Khan, A.C. Moitra and Suresh Chandra Bose. The committee was appointed in December 1955 and began its work in April the next year. It submitted its report in July 1956. However, the committee was notable in that two of the members Moitra and Bose submitted what has since come to be called the “*Dissident Report*” that differed from the official report of the committee submitted by Khan to the Indian Government.

### **Khosla Commission**

The Khosla Commission was a one-man commission headed by Justice G.D Khosla that was established in India in July 1970 to re-investigate the circumstances surrounding the supposed death of Indian war-time leader Subhash Chandra Bose. The commission sat for four years and submitted the G.D Khosla Report, which reached the same conclusions as those reached by the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956. However, the conclusions of these two reports have since been criticised as incorrect and questionable.

### **Mukherjee Commission**

The Mukherjee Commission refers to the one-man board of Justice Manoj Mukherjee, a retired judge of the Supreme Court of India which was instituted in 1999 to enquire into the controversy surrounding the reported death of Subhash Chandra Bose in

1945. On 30<sup>th</sup> April 1998, the High Court of Calcutta gave orders to the then Central Government of India to “launch a vigorous inquiry as a special case for the purpose of giving an end to the controversy”.

Many conspiracies abound and many contain specific details that are damaging to the Congress Party and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The Mukherjee Commission is also not the first Commission created to ascertain the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. The two previous commissions were the Shah Nawaz commission and the Khosla Commission respectively. The Khosla Commission, created by the Government of Indira Gandhi, reported that all documents relating to Prime Minister Nehru and the reports of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose were either missing or destroyed.<sup>25</sup>

### **Objectives of the Commission**

The purpose of the commission was ascertain the following:

1. Whether Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is dead or alive?
2. If he is dead whether he died in the plane crash, as alleged?
3. Whether the ashes in the Japanese temple are ashes of Netaji?
4. Whether he has died in any other manner at any other place and if so, when and how?
5. If he is alive in respect of his whereabouts.

The commission is also the first to probe into the much publicized Soviet-connection. The basics of which are that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose did indeed survive the end of the Second World War and detained in a Siberian camp in the late 1940s. A former Russian General swore under oath to the commission that he had seen a true Soviet cabinet paper detailing and discussing a “living” Subhash Chandra Bose, one year after his supposed death.

### **Findings of Commission**

The findings of the commission are following:

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<sup>25</sup> Kamal, S., Srivastava and Sangeeta Srivastava, *Op.cit.*,p.269.



1. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is dead.
2. He did not die in the plane crash as alleged, but probably flew towards the USSR.
3. The ashes in the Japanese temple are not of Netaji.
4. In the absence of any clinching evidence a positive answer cannot be given.
5. Question not Applicable.

## **Rejection of Mukherjee Commission Report by the Government of India**

The Mukherjee Commission report was tabled in the Parliament of India on 17<sup>th</sup> May 1945 and the Netaji did not die in the alleged air crash of 1945 and the ashes at the Renkoji temple are not his ashes. The report also did not comment on Netaji's alleged stay in Russia after 1945 and called for further investigation into the matter. However, the report said that Netaji could be presumed to be dead today. The Government of India has rejected the findings of the Commission, saying that it did not agree with the findings.

## **Controversies**

The Death of Netaji remains a mystery. No one cooperated in the investigation and consequently the Justice Mukherjee Commission of enquiry was forced to submit its unfinished work to the home minister Shivraj Patil. The main reason for this is the non-cooperation shown by the home ministry.

The dissatisfaction caused resulted in Justice Mukherjee sending the report through his secretary rather than submit it in person. During the whole tenure of the investigation, only one country, Taiwan has shown any real cooperation. Even the Government of India refused to share some important intelligence files under the pretext of them being sensitive. The Government of India will be tabling this report along with the ATR to the parliament. At the moment the home minister has passed on this 500 page report to the CS division of the minister for scrutiny.

Subrata Bose, who was present in all the international trips made by the Justice Mukherjee Commission, has said that apart from Taiwan, no other country has shown any cooperation. On the basis of the information available from Taiwan it is now confirmed that no air-crash took place on 18<sup>th</sup> August 1945 which could have killed Netaji as previously propagated.

The commission had tried to uncover facts from trips to Japan, Taiwan and Britain. The United Province Alliance government has permitted the commission to visit Russia. Bose said that Russia too did not cooperated in this investigation. Officials in Russia had said that files were present in the former Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (KGB) archives but the commission was not even allowed to visit the archives.

The hostile posture of the British, Japanese and Indian Governments is intriguing and seems to strongly point to an international conspiracy. In any case it is clear that Netaji Bose was seen in Russia in 1946.

Lately American state department has sent information to the commission which corroborate the fact that no air crash took place in Taiwan. The request for intelligence papers from the Government of India elicited the official response that they cannot be opened as they are of a highly sensitive nature that may jeopardize international relations between India and some of its friend nations. The Justice Mukherjee Commission was formed by the former National Democratic Alliance Government to investigate the mystery surrounding Netaji's death at the end of World War II. The only kindness shown by the United Province Alliance government was to extend the commission's tenure 6 months – from May 2005 to 14<sup>th</sup> November 2005.

But the commission has now submitted its report to the government before the end date. Also three researchers who helped find the declassified documents in the military archives of Paddolsk, Russia, Purabi Ray, Hari Vasudevan and Shobanlal Dutta Gupta; have

also reported threats from unidentified persons upon their lives, if they did not stop their research. Many files and documents by the Union Home Ministry have been deemed a risk to national security and under sections 123 and 124 of the Evidence Act and Article 74(2) of the Constitution of India, have not been disclosed to the commission.<sup>26</sup>

## **Justice Mukherjee's Revelation**

Justice Manoj Kumar Mukherjee stated in his report that the sannyasi of Faizabad (Bhagwanji) was not Bose as there was no clinching evidence to prove it. Nor did it confirm the Swamiji of Shaulmari Ashram in North Bengal was Netaji. However, the commission supports the view that Bose had not died in the plane crash in 1945 and was in fact in India after that. However, later Justice Mukherjee seems to claim that the monk is in fact Netaji: *"It is my personal feeling....But I am 100 per cent sure that he is Netaji"*.

## **Mysterious Monk**

Several People believed that the Hindu sanyasi named 'Bhagawanji' or 'Gumnami Baba', who lived in the house Ram Bhawan in Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh at least until 1985, was Subhash Chandra Bose. There had been at least four known occasions when Gumnami Baba reportedly claimed he was Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. The belongings of the sanyasi were taken into custody after his death, following a court order. These were later subjected to inspection by the Justice Mukherjee commission of Inquiry. The commission came down against this belief, in the absence of any "clinching evidence".

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<sup>26</sup>Kamal, S., Srivastava and Sangeeta Srivastava, *Op.cit.*,p.272.

The independent probe done by the Hindustan Times into the case however provided hints that monk was Bose himself. Some people believe that Gumnami Baba died on 16<sup>th</sup> September 1985, while some dispute this *The story of Gumnami Baba* came to light on this death. It is alleged that he was cremated in the dead of night just under the light of a motorcycle's headlamp at Faizabad's popular picnic spot, on the bank of River Saraju his face distorted by acid to protect his identity. Faizabad's Bengali community still pays homage at the memorial built at his cremation site on the anniversary of his birth. However, the life and activities of Bhagwanji remain a mystery even today.

## **Death Mystery of Subhash Chandra Bose**

More than six decades after his alleged death in a plane crash, the mystery over that incident and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's possible survival still haunts the Indian nation. The absence of any credible evidence and the subsequent inability of the government appointed committees to unravel the truth have spawned umpteen conspiracy theories with a large chunk of the population refusing to believe that their beloved leader indeed lost his life in a plane crash. Here the study have tried to shed light on various facets of the death mystery of Subhash Chandra Bose.

## **Government Efforts (1945 – 2005)**

The four-member Shah Nawaz Committee was the first official endeavor to examine whether Bose actually died in a plane crash in Taihoku (Taipei) on 18<sup>th</sup> August 1945. The committee went to Japan in May 1956 and a number of Japanese army surgeons testified that they actually conducted blood transfusion on a seriously injured Subhash Chandra Bose who later succumbed to his injuries. The G.D. Khosla Committee, which carried on its probe from 1974-1978, could not arrive on any definite conclusion. The Justice Mukherjee Committee set up in 1999, submitted its report in 2005 and proclaimed that Netaji did not died in the plane crash.

## **The Soviet Angle**

Many believe that Subhash Chandra breathed his last in Soviet custody years after the alleged crash in Taiwan. There are unconfirmed reports that in 1946 Russian strongman Joseph Stalin and diplomat Vyacheslav Molotov actually discussed whether Bose should remain in the Soviet Union. More startling is the alleged incident that India's ambassador to Russia, S. Radha Krishnan was permitted to meet Netaji in an undisclosed location in the Soviet Union.

## **Sole Witness**

Lieutenant. Colonel Habibur Rahman Khan, Netaji's trusted Aide-de-Camp, is widely believed to be the sole survivor of that fateful plane crash. Rahman later enshrined Bose's ashes in the Renkoji temple Tokyo. However despite repeated interrogations by British authorities, Rahman never substantiated Netaji's death and throughout his life maintained that he was bound by an oath of secrecy to his deceased leader.

## **Conspiracy Theories**

Conspiracy theories abound regarding Netaji's death. It is alleged that both the Congress leadership and the government were tense about the impact of Subhash Chandra's possible return to India. They believed that in such a circumstance, it would be impossible for the Congress or anybody to stop him from coming to power give the way he was worshipped by the common people.

# Conclusion

In the history of India's struggle for freedom, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose stands out in all distinctiveness. In physique and mental constitution, in manner and life style, in ideology and action-packed with daring and drama-in fact in his total personality and achievements, he was a unique phenomenon of twentieth century India. When he was born, the surging tide of Bengal Renaissance had reached its high water mark. The new national consciousness which had by then begun to manifest itself had its full impact on his early development. Netaji grew up in harmony with the evolution of India's national movement, responding and reacting to it positively.

Since Netaji disappeared from the scene more than five decades ago, the world political situations as well as the national situation have changed profoundly. British imperialism has been defeated in most parts of Asia. But imperialism in new forms seeks to appear in many parts of the world. Threats to human freedom remain as ever before. As the undying symbol of anti-imperialism, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, thus, remains a leader of hope and inspiration for all oppressed humanity. For India, he remains a fountainhead of faith and promise-undying faith in India's historic destiny and the promise of a new egalitarian social order based on a synthesis of all the social experiments carried out across the world over the last two centuries.

Even as a human being and thinker, Netaji was seeking a new philosophy-a new ethical conception in human affairs. A rare personality in contemporary world history, he was at once deeply involved in the great spiritual heritage of India and at the same time actively concerned with the most modern social and technological advances anywhere in the world.

He sought to inspire his countrymen with his single-minded dedication, defiant courage and reckless sacrifice and abandon for a cause which did not admit of any compromise or reservations. In this, he succeeded in a large measure and, thus, remains an example in leadership. That is why, even though he left much before his time, his legacy in thought and deed remains for the present and generations unborn. Who knows, India may in time rediscover Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and in his own words,

*"deliver to the world the message that has been her heritage through the past ages".*

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# Photos



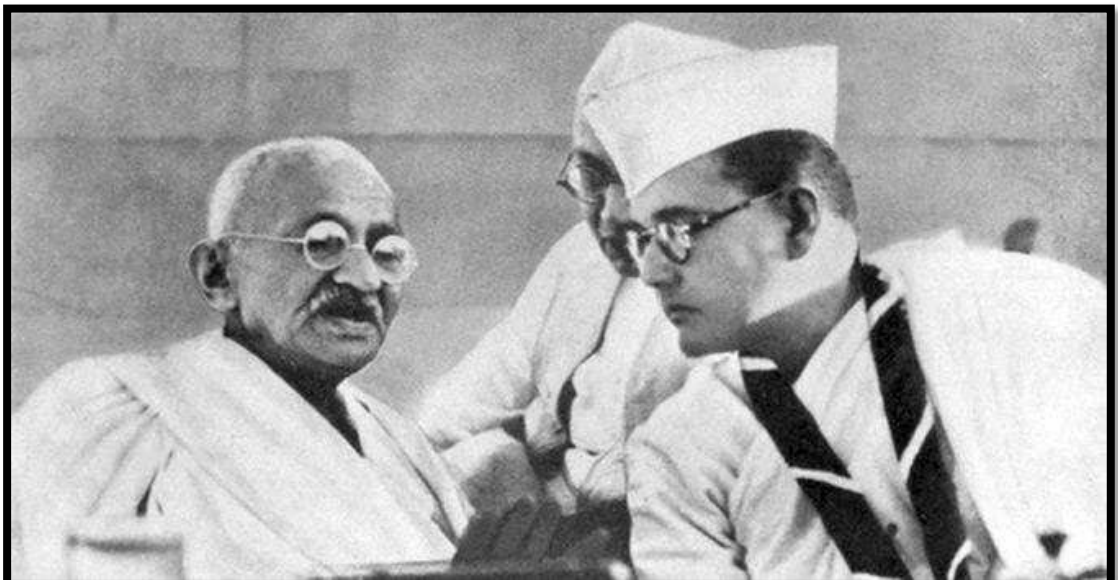
**Netaji – Subhash Chandra Bose**



**Netaji's Wife Emile Schenkl and Daughter Anita  
Bose**



**Netaji and Nehru**



**Netaji and Gandhi**



**Netaji and Hitler**



**Netaji with Japanese Army**





**Parade of Indian National Army  
(Azad Hind Fauj)**



**Netaji and Captain Lakshmi Sahgal**



**Netaji's Last Journey**





# JAWAHARLAL NEHRU – THE ARCHITECT OF MODERN INDIA

*Project in History submitted to*

*St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi*

*affiliated to*

*Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli*

*in partial fulfillment of the requirements*

*for the award of the degree of*

**Bachelor of Arts in History**

**BY**

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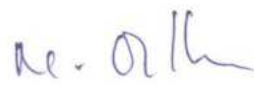
## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the project entitled "**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU – THE ARCHITECT OF MODERN INDIA**" is submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi** in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of **Bachelor of Arts in History** is a record of work done during the year 2020-2021 by the following students of III BA History.

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "JAWAHARLAL NEHRU - THE ARCHITECT OF MODERN INDIA" submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History is our original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date: 9.4.2021

Students Name

Signature of the Candidate

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S. Britta Priyatharshini

S. Britta Priyatharshini

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# INTRODUCTION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the charismatic personality of the twentieth century and the leader of the Indian masses is the dedicated champion of India's progress and prosperity. He is the architect of modern India and carved the nation in a dynamic way to beget multifarious sources of strength and hope for the progress of all fields of development. The period from 1947 to 1964 can be described as the era of Nehru, as his policies moulded modern India. As a young political functionary during the pre-Independence period, and later on as Prime Minister for nearly two decades, he strove to build political, social, economic and cultural institutions and revolutionised the policies for the advancement of socio-economic, political and scientific socialism. During his era, India not only made rapid strides in the political, social, economic, cultural and foreign policy matters, but also became one of the leading nations in the world. It can be said without any doubt that what India is today is mainly due to the vision, idealism and dedication of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The era before Nehru was an era of darkness as far as history of India is concerned. India was under the clutches of colonial rule. Company rule in India refers to the rule or dominion of the British East India Company on the Indian subcontinent. This is variously taken to have commenced in 1757, after the Battle of Plassey, when the Nawab of Bengal surrendered his dominions to the Company,<sup>1</sup> in 1765, when the Company was granted the diwani, or the right to collect revenue, in Bengal and Bihar, and in 1772, when the Company established a capital in Calcutta, appointed its first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and became directly involved in governance.<sup>2</sup> The rule lasted until 1858, when, after the Indian rebellion of 1857 and consequent of

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<sup>1</sup> Bose, Sugata; Jalal, Ayesha, *Modern South Asia: History, culture, Political Economy*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Peers, Douglas M., *India Under Colonial Rule: 1700-1885* (Pearson: Pearson Education), 2006, p. 30

the Government of India Act 1858, the British government assumed the task of directly administering India in the new British Raj.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the colonial period, that is from 1757 to 1947, the British increased the political control of India through annexations, policies like doctrine of lapse, subsidiary alliance system etc. The various colonial acts made India much more dependent. India was subjugated and ruled for the interest of Britain.

The quest of freedom for the British controlled India by the dependent people gained stupendous momentum in the first half of the twentieth century. During this period itself, after his studies, Jawaharlal Nehru returned to India in 1912 and directly entered active politics by joining Indian National Congress. In 1923, Jawaharlal Nehru became the Secretary of All India Congress and continued to be a member of the High Command in one way or other till he breathed his last. After 2nd September, 1946, he became the head of the government till 15th August, 1947, in a defacto capacity and later he was the Prime Minister till May 27, 1964.

A great man is defined as one who gives shape, thrust and substance to the human society. In this larger meaningful sense, Nehru was not only a great man but a charismatic personality with hypnotic hold on vast millions of Indians. He had carved out for himself a niche in the hearts and minds of his countrymen. He had developed a sense of communion with the vast multitude of India's population.

In 1953, Nehru declared –“I shall not rest content unless every man, woman and child in the country has a fair deal and has a minimum standard of living . . . Five or six years is too short a time for judging a nation. Wait for another ten years and you will see that our Plans will change the entire picture of the country so completely that

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<sup>3</sup> Metcalf, Barbara Daly: Metcalf, Thomas, R. *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2006, p. 56.

the world will be amazed”.<sup>4</sup> The world was amazed in every sense by seeing the growth of India and all the credit goes to the visionary Prime Minister of modern India, Jawaharlal Nehru. Through this study, an attempt was made to analyse and understand the various contributions of Nehru.

### **Methodology**

Analytical and descriptive methods of historical research are used to conduct this study. Both primary and secondary sources are used. The source materials have been critically analyzed and investigated. The descriptive method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the project understandable to the readers.

### **Aims and Purpose**

The aims and purpose of this study is to know much about the role of Jawaharlal Nehru in the making of modern India. This study throws light on various aspects of Jawaharlal Nehru, his early life, participation in Indian national movement, contributions - both internal and external as the Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister of India etc. Nehru was a great visionary who wanted to move India into the forefront of progress and modernity. The study is highly significant as the moulding of modern India can be understood from this.

The main purpose of the study is to do research in depth on socio- economic, political and administrative ideas of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the contribution which he made for building up of political, social, economic and cultural institutions in Indian political, economic and social system.

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<sup>4</sup> Nehru, SW, S.S., Vol. 22, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, general editor S. Gopal, 15 volumes, New Delhi, 1972–82, pp. 122–23.



## **Sources of Information**

Both primary and secondary sources are used for the study. Primary sources include various Government reports, books written by Nehru etc. Secondary sources comprised mainly of books, journal articles and websites. Apart from Indian sources, foreign accounts also threw light on various aspects of Nehru.

## **An Outline of the Chapters**

The topic, Jawaharlal Nehru – The Architect of Modern India is divided into four chapters apart from an Introduction and Conclusion.

The first chapter portrays a brief biography of Nehru starting from his birth till death.

The second chapter describes Nehru's entry into Indian National Movement and his contributions for India's struggle for independence.

The third chapter focuses on Nehru as the Prime Minister of India (1947-64). The various changes occurred in the socio-political realm is explained in detail.

The fourth chapter explains the foreign policy of India during the Nehruvian age.

The Conclusion, the last part of the study sums up the contributions of Nehru for the making of modern India.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was born to a family of Kashmiri Brahmans, which had migrated to Delhi early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He was the son of the eminent lawyer-politician and leader of the Indian independence movement Motilal Nehru and Swaruprani. He was born in the midst of wealth on November 14, 1889<sup>1</sup>. Jawaharlal Nehru was the eldest of four children, two of whom were girls. A sister of him, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, later became the first women president of the United Nations General Assembly and his younger sister Krishna Hutheesing became a noted writer and authored several books.<sup>2</sup>

Jawaharlal's childhood was secluded. He was an only child for eleven years, and he spent his time mostly and exclusively in the company of adults. The solitary confinement of Jawaharlal compelled him to develop a passion for reading which stayed with him till the end of his life. He became a voracious reader, devouring everything in sight. Lewis Carroll, Rudyard Kipling, Conan Doyle, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray and slightly later, H.G.Wells' romances.

Until the age of 16, Nehru was educated at home by a series of English governors. One among his tutors was a young man named F.T.Brooks, a part-Belgian theosophist.<sup>3</sup>The influence of Brooks had affected him deeply. Jawaharlal also had a venerable Indian tutor who taught him Hindi and Sanskrit. In 1905 he went to Harrow, a leading English school, where he stayed for two years.<sup>4</sup> During his years at Harrow, Nehru kept himself fully informed of what was happening in India. He got regular clippings from the Indian Press and followed political developments carefully and closely. Nehru's academic career was in no way outstanding there.

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<sup>1</sup> Tariq, Ali, *The Nehrus and the Gandhis - An Indian Dynasty*, London: Picador, 1985, p.5.

<sup>2</sup> Jain, Gagan, *Indian Prime Ministers with notable speeches*, Maanu Graphics, NewDelhi,2012, p.9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p.7.

<sup>4</sup> Nehru, Jawaharlal, *An Autobiography*, Penguin Books India, New Delhi, 2004, p.18

From Harrow, he went to Trinity College at Cambridge where in 1910 he obtained a degree in natural sciences. As a student of natural sciences in England, his mind was exposed to the expanding intellectual vistas of the day without being enslaved by any one single attachment, except the love that he retained for scientific attitude and the rapidly growing knowledge of science. On leaving Cambridge, he qualified as a barrister after two years at the Inner Temple, London, where in his own words he passed his examinations “with neither glory nor ignominy”. He was called to the bar in 1912 and enrolled himself as an advocate of the Allahabad High Court after his return.

After seven years stay in England, Nehru returned to India in 1912, at the age of twenty three. The seven years Nehru spent in England left him in a hazy half-world, at home neither in England nor in India. Some years later he wrote, “I have become a queer mixture of East and west, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere”. The contending pulls and pressures that his experiences abroad were to exert on his personality were never completely resolved.

On his return to India, Nehru was quickly drawn into the nationalist movement wherein his father was an active participant. After coming to India, he toured the country extensively to understand the problems of India and its people. Four years after his return to India, in March 1916, Nehru married Kamala Kaul, who also came from a Kashmiri family that had settled in Delhi. Their only child, Indira Priyadarshini was born in 1917<sup>5</sup>; she later (under her married name of Indira Gandhi) served (1966-77 and 1980-84) as Prime Minister of India. In addition, Indira’s son Rajiv Gandhi succeeded his mother as Prime Minister (1984-89).

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<sup>5</sup> Nehru, Jawaharlal, *Glimpses of World History*, Asia Publishing House, New York, 1975, p.2.

Jawaharlal Nehru started his political career by attending the session of the Congress at Patna in 1912.<sup>6</sup> He met Gandhiji in 1915 and soon plunged into the freedom struggle by participating in the non-cooperation movement. Throughout his life, Nehru was deeply influenced by Gandhiji. He did not agree with those who advocated violence. A committed nationalist since his teenage years, he became a rising figure in Indian politics during the upheavals of the 1920s.

Nehru was carried away by the traumatic experience of the First World War. Being a keen student of history he could sense the tragedy of the war - a crisis of Western society because of its failure to provide adequate answers to the challenges posed by advancing industrialization and capitalism. Logically, he drew more and more towards socialism and even admired the Russian Revolution of 1917.<sup>7</sup> At that time, Gandhiji was more engrossed in perfecting his ethic of non-violence and its application to practical realities in the form of noncooperation and other forms of satyagraha. He was also engrossed in the 'Khilafat Campaign'. The capstone of all these efforts was the ChauriChaura incident which made Gandhiji to withdraw the non-cooperation movement to the utter disillusionment of almost all leaders including Pandit Nehru. After this event, Gandhiji made a tactical retreat into his shell of introspection, concentrating on constructive programmes. Thus, it was in this period that Nehru hit out on his own discovery, to probe more and more into the emerging forces of the world. Nehru attended not only the Socialist Congress at Brussels but also journeyed to the Soviet Union in 1927. It was in this period that he moved very close to socialism and even to Marxism and communism. He openly expressed in his speeches that evolution of communism was an inevitability. This view-point of Nehru

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<sup>6</sup>Misra, Om Prakash. 1995. *Economic Thought of Gandhi and Nehru: A Comparative Analysis*. M.D. Publications. pp. 49–65.

<sup>7</sup>Prithwiraj Biswas (ed), *The Russian Revolution : Historical Reflections*, Ramakrishna Mission Vidya Mandira, Howrah, 2017.p.124.

was carried into the Congress fold and he became the prominent leader of the left wing factions of the Indian National Congress during the 1920s.

As Congress President in 1929, Nehru called for complete independence (PurnaSwaraaj) from the British Raj.<sup>8</sup> On 31 December 1929 on the banks of Ravi river, in Lahore, modern-day Pakistan, he raised the flag of India. Nehru, on behalf of the Congress asked the people of India to observe 26 January as Independence Day.<sup>9</sup> All these were a shift from the existed notions of Congress.

The first part of the thirties was a period of intense anxiety within the Congress organization. A large number of leaders thought that Nehru had become a communist and some of the industrialists openly challenged him. Gandhiji himself wrote a letter to Nehru expressing his fear that he was moving away from him on a different path. Also, by then, there emerged within the Congress Party a group of socialists as represented by Acharya Narendar Dev, Subhas Chandra Bose, Ram Manohar Lohia and others. But the socialist enthusiasm of Pandit Nehru wilted away because of certain developments, both world-wide and internal. After his father's death in 1931, Nehru became more embedded in the workings of the congress party and became closer to Gandhi and he actively participated in all the political movements of India.

Nehru and most of the Congress leaders were initially ambivalent about Gandhi's plan to begin civil disobedience with a *satyagraha* aimed at the British salt tax. After the protest gathered steam, they realised the power of salt as a symbol. He was arrested on 14 April 1930 while on train from Allahabad for Raipur. He had earlier, after addressing a huge meeting and leading a vast procession, ceremoniously

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<sup>8</sup>Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947* (Madras: Macmillan India Press, 1983), p. 281

<sup>9</sup> Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 4* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1972), p. 123

manufactured some salt. He was charged with breach of the salt law, tried summarily behind prison walls and sentenced to six months of imprisonment. With Nehru's arrest the civil disobedience acquired a new tempo, and arrests, firing on crowds and lathi charges grew to be ordinary occurrences. Through the decade of the 1930s he was the party's voice abroad taking the message of Indian freedom to not always receptive audiences in the west.

Within the country a major constitutional change occurred with the passing of the 1935 Act. Communalism grew into grave proportions by the end of thirties. Nehru's vision of the future became clouded with the on-rush of events within the country and the rapidly escalating developments in Western Europe leading to the outbreak of the Second World War. During the war the nationalist struggle speeded up further. Caught in the swift currents of change, Nehru sobered his enthusiasm for socialism while directing his attention more towards the immediate problems that had to be tackled. Then onwards Nehru came very close to Gandhiji.

Nehru was deeply influenced by the peasant revolt of Faizabad and Rai Bareilly areas. It was then that he personally experienced for the first time, the mute and centuries-old anguish of the peasants of India. It was this experience that forced him to initiate an active peasant association within the Congress organization. Later, he extended this idea to the workers' organizations also.

Nehru founded and for a time edited a daily newspaper, the National Herald and wrote often for other Indian and foreign periodicals. Books fascinated Jawaharlal Nehru. He sought out ideas. He was extraordinarily sensitive to literary beauty. In his writings he aimed at describing his motives and appraisals as meticulously as possible. The purpose was not self-justification or rationalization, but to show the tightness and inevitability of the actions and events in which he was a prime

participant. He was a luminous man and his writings reflected the radiance of his spirit.<sup>10</sup> He published three major books: *Glimpses of World History* (1934), *An Autobiography* (1936) and *the Discovery of India* (1946). These books are all extremely well written. They have all been continuously in print since their first publication. Nehru, the writer is known chiefly through his three books. Notably, all were published before Indian independence. They are thus for less pertinent to his statecraft than his writings and speeches after 1947.

Jawaharlal Nehru completed his “Autobiography” in Almora Jail on February 14, 1935. He had to serve a total of nine sentences, adding up to more than nine years in Jail. He described prison as the best of universities because during his several prison stints, he focused on his studies and writings on political philosophy. Always leaning to the left politically, Nehru studied Marxism while imprisoned. After release, he went to Switzerland to see his ailing wife and visited London in February – March 1936. He also visited Spain in July 1938, when the country was in the verge of civil war. Just before the outbreak of the Second World War, he visited China too and in March 1946, Nehru toured South East Asia. All these visits had moulded his international policies.

In 1947 Nehru was a witness to the greatest tragedy of India's partition and the emergence of a free country saddled with many burdens. On the eve of Indian independence, he delivered the famous *Tryst with Destiny* speech which is a landmark oration that captures the essence of the triumphant culmination of the Indian independence struggle against the British Empire in India.<sup>11</sup>

In the post-Independence era, as the first Prime Minister of modern India, he was engaged in holding the country together, installation of a full-fledged

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<sup>10</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1985, p.iii.

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/series/greatspeeches>

representative government, initiating an entirely new path in international affairs, and giving direction to the planned economic development of the country. Under Nehru's leadership, the Congress emerged as a catch-all party, dominating national and state-level politics and winning consecutive elections in 1951, 1957, and 1962.

Nehru's health began declining steadily after 1962, and he spent months recuperating in Kashmir through 1963. Some historians attribute this dramatic decline to his surprise and chagrin over the Sino-Indian War, which he perceived as a betrayal of trust.<sup>12</sup> He died on 27 May 1964 due to heart attack.

Many documentaries about Nehru's life have been produced. He has also been portrayed in fictionalised films. The canonical performance is probably that of Roshan Seth, who played him three times: in Richard Attenborough's 1982 film *Gandhi*, Shyam Benegal's 1988 television series *Bharat Ek Khoj*, based on Nehru's *The Discovery of India*, and in a 2007 TV film entitled *The Last Days of the Raj*. Benegal also directed the 1983 documentary film *Nehru*, covering his political career.<sup>13</sup> Indian film director Kiran Kumar made the 1990 Hindi film about Nehru titled *Nehru: The Jewel of India*.<sup>14</sup> In Ketan Mehta's film *Sardar*, Nehru was portrayed by Benjamin Gilani. Girish Karnad's historical play, *Tughlaq* (1962) is an allegory about the Nehruvian era. It was staged by Ebrahim Alkazi with National School of Drama Repertory at Purana Qila, Delhi in the 1970s and later at the Festival of India, London in 1982. Even after his death, Nehru dominated Indian socio-political scenario.

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<sup>12</sup>Asia Society (1988). "Jawaharlal Nehru". In Embree, Ainslie T. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Asian History*. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. pp. 98–100

<sup>13</sup> <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/entertainment/hindi/bollywood/news/shyam-benegal-on-his-film-nehru/articleshow/5651571.cms>

<sup>14</sup>*Documentary Today*. Films Division, Government of India. 2010. p. 7



## **JAWAHARLAL NEHRU & INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT**

Jawaharlal Nehru started his political career by attending the session of the Indian National Congress at Patna in 1912.<sup>1</sup> He joined the Indian National Congress, India's major political party at a time of increased nationalist activity and governmental repression. He was deeply influenced by the party's leader, Gandhi whom he met in 1915.<sup>2</sup> It was Gandhi's insistence on action to bring about change and greater autonomy from the British that sparked Nehru's interest the most. Nehru emerged from the war years as a leader whose political views were considered radical. He had spoken openly of the politics of non-cooperation, of the need of resigning from honorary positions under the government and of not continuing the futile politics of representation.<sup>3</sup> He ridiculed the Indian Civil Service for its support of British policies. Motilal Nehru, a prominent moderate leader, acknowledged the limits of constitutional agitation, but counseled his son that there was no other "practical alternative" to it. Nehru, however, was not satisfied with the pace of the national movement. He became involved with aggressive nationalists leaders who were demanding Home Rule for Indians.<sup>4</sup>

Nehru joined both leagues of Home Rule Movement but worked especially for the one of Annie Besant. Several nationalist leaders banded together in 1916 under the leadership of Annie Besant to voice a demand for self-governance, and to obtain the status of a Dominion within the British Empire as enjoyed by Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland at the time. Nehru joined the movement and rose to become secretary of Besant's Home Rule League.<sup>5</sup> In June

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<sup>1</sup>Sankar Ghose (1993). *Jawaharlal Nehru*. Allied Publishers. p.25

<sup>2</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1985, p.360.

<sup>3</sup>Sankar Ghose (1993). *Jawaharlal Nehru*. Allied Publishers. P.26

<sup>4</sup>Moraes, Frank (2007). *Jawaharlal Nehru*. Jaico Publishing House. P.56

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.jnmf.in/chrono.html>

1917, Besant was arrested and interned by the British government. The Congress and various other Indian organisations threatened to launch protests if she were not set free. The British government was subsequently forced to release Besant and make significant concessions after a period of intense protest.

Another development which brought about a radical change in Indian politics during that time was the espousal of Hindu-Muslim unity with the Lucknow Pact at the annual meeting of the Congress in December 1916.<sup>6</sup> The pact had been initiated earlier in the year at Allahabad at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee which was held at the Nehru residence at AnandBhawan. Nehru welcomed and encouraged the rapprochement between the two Indian communities.

It is said that in 1919, while traveling on a train, he overheard British Brigadier General Reginald Dyer gloating over the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. The Massacre also known as the Massacre of Amritsar, was an incident in which 379 people were killed and at least 1,200 wounded when the British military stationed there continuously fired for ten minutes on a crowd of unarmed Indians. Upon hearing Dyer's words, Nehru vowed to fight the British. The incident changed the course of his life.<sup>7</sup>

The British didn't give in easily to Indian demands for freedom, and in late 1921, The first big national involvement of Nehru came at the onset of the Non-Cooperation movement in 1920.<sup>8</sup> He led the movement in the United Provinces and was arrested on charges of anti-governmental activities in 1921, and was released a few months later. In the rift that formed within the Congress following the sudden closure of the Non-Cooperation movement after the Chauri Chaura incident, Nehru

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<sup>6</sup>Kelly, Nigel (2014). *The History and Culture of Pakistan*. Peak Publishing, Lahore. p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> B. R. Nanda, *Three Statesmen : Gokhale, Gandhi & Nehru*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2014, p.106

<sup>8</sup>Bipan Chandra et.al, *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2001, p.189.

remained loyal to Gandhi and did not join the Swaraj Party formed by his father Motilal Nehru and CR Das<sup>9</sup>.

In 1928, after years of struggle on behalf of Indian emancipation, Nehru was named president of the Indian National Congress. In 1929, Nehru led the historic session at Lahore that proclaimed complete independence (PoornaSwaraj) as India's political goal. He raised the flag of India on 31 December 1929 on the banks of Ravi river, in Lahore, modern-day Pakistan and asked the people of India to observe 26 January as Independence Day. Nehru drafted the policies of the Congress and a future Indian nation in 1929.<sup>10</sup> He declared that the aims of the congress were freedom of religion; right to form associations; freedom of expression of thought; equality before law for every individual without distinction of caste, colour, creed, or religion; protection to regional languages and cultures, safeguarding the interests of the peasants and labour; abolition of untouchability; introduction of adult franchise; imposition of prohibition, nationalisation of industries; socialism; and establishment of a secular India. All these aims formed the core of the "Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy" resolution drafted by Nehru in 1929–1931 and were ratified in 1931 by the Congress party session at Karachi chaired by Vallabhbhai Patel.<sup>11</sup>

In 1930's, when Civil Disobedience Movement was started, Nehru and most of the Congress leaders were ambivalent about Gandhi's plan to begin civil disobedience with a *satyagraha* aimed at the British salt tax. After the protest gathered steam, they realised the power of salt as a symbol. The Salt Satyagraha succeeded in drawing the attention of the world. Indian, British, and world opinion increasingly began to recognise the legitimacy of the claims by the Congress

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<sup>9</sup>[https://books.google.co.in/books?id=xMy8AgAAQBAJ&pg=PA571&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.in/books?id=xMy8AgAAQBAJ&pg=PA571&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false)

<sup>10</sup>R. Gandhi, *Patel: A Life*, Navjivan Trust, New Delhi, 2011, p.185

<sup>11</sup>BN Pandey (Editor) (2015). *The Indian Nationalist Movement 1885–1947: Select Documents*. Springer. p. 45

party for independence. Nehru considered the salt satyagraha, the high-water mark of his association with Gandhi, and felt that its lasting importance was in changing the attitudes of Indians.<sup>12</sup> After his father's death in 1931, Nehru became more embedded in the workings of the congress party and became more closer to Gandhi, attending the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March 1931 by Gandhi and the British viceroy Irwin. The British agreed to free all political prisoners and Gandhi agreed to end the Civil Disobedience Movement he had been coordinating for years.

Unfortunately, the pact did not instantly usher in a peaceful climate in British controlled India, and both Nehru and Gandhi were jailed in early 1932 on charges of attempting to mount another Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhi was jailed soon after his return as the sole Indian representative attending the Second Round Table Conference from London. No one from Congress attended the Third Round Table Conference in London. The Third and Final conference did, however, result in the government of India Act of 1935, giving the Indian provinces a system of autonomous government in which elections would be held to name provincial leaders. By the time the 1935 act was signed into law, Indians began to see Nehru as the natural heir to Gandhi who didn't designate Nehru as his political successor until the early 1940s. Gandhi said in January 1941, Jawaharlal Nehru and I had differences from the time we become co-workers and yet I have said for some years and say so now that Jawaharlal will be my successor.

Nehru was one of the first nationalist leaders to realise the sufferings of the people in the states ruled by Indian princes. The nationalist movement had been confined to the territories under direct British rule. He helped to make the struggle of the people in the princely states a part of the nationalist movement for independence.

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<sup>12</sup>Johnson, Richard L. 2005. *Gandhi's Experiments With Truth: Essential Writings By And About Mahatma Gandhi*. Lexington Books.p.37

The All India States Peoples Conference (AISPC) was formed in 1927 and Nehru, who had been supporting the cause of the people of the princely states for many years, was made the President of the organization in 1939<sup>13</sup>.

When World War II began, Viceroy Linlithgow had unilaterally declared India a belligerent on the side of the Britain, without consulting the elected Indian representatives. After much deliberation, the Congress under Nehru informed the government that it would cooperate with the British but on certain conditions. First, Britain must give an assurance of full independence for India after the war and allow the election of a constituent assembly to frame a new constitution; second, although the Indian armed forces would remain under the British Commander-in-Chief, Indians must be included immediately in the central government and given a chance to share power and responsibility. When Nehru presented Lord Linlithgow with the demands, he chose to reject them. On 23 October 1939, the Congress condemned the Viceroy's attitude and called upon the Congress ministries in the various provinces to resign in protest.<sup>14</sup> Before this crucial announcement, Nehru urged Jinnah and the Muslim League to join the protest but the latter declined.

As Nehru firmly placed India on the side of democracy and freedom during a time when the world was under the threat of fascism, he and Bose would split in the late 1930s when the latter agreed to seek the help of fascists in driving the British out of India.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, Nehru had supported the Republicans who were fighting against Francisco Franco's forces in the Spanish Civil War. Nehru along with his aide V. K. Krishna Menon visited Spain and declared support for the Republicans. He

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<sup>13</sup> Sekhara Bandyopādhyāya (2004). *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. Orient Blackswan. p. 410.

<sup>14</sup> Bandyopadhyay, Sekhara (2004). *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. India: Orient Longman. p. 412.

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/20150420-subhas-chandra-bose-jawahar-lal-nehru-spying-a-misguided-patriot-818140-2015-04-09>

refused to meet Benito Mussolini, dictator of Italy, when the latter expressed his desire to meet him<sup>16</sup>.

On October 31, 1940 Nehru was arrested for offering individual Satyagraha to protest against India's forced participation in war. He was released along with the other leaders in December 1941. On August 7, 1942 Nehru moved the historic 'Quit India' resolution at the A.I.C.C session in Bombay. On August 8, 1942 he was arrested along with other leaders and taken to Ahmednagar. After his release in January 1945, he organized legal defense for those officers and men of INA who were charged with treason. The Congress leaders including Nehru toured country wide to gain popular support. While the defense lost the case and the defendants were declared guilty, the British sensed the popular mood and set most of them free.

Nehru was elected President of the Congress for the fourth time on July 6, 1946 and again for three more terms from 1951 to 1954. In the elections of 1937 and 1946, both held under colonial auspices and under a restricted Franchise, he was the chief vote gatherer for the congress. When India became independent in August 1947, he was the natural choice for Prime Minister.

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<sup>16</sup>Moraes, Frank (2007). *Jawaharlal Nehru*. Jaico Publishing House.p.266

## NEHRU AS PRIME MINISTER

As Prime Minister for the first formative years after independence, Jawaharlal Nehru had a defining impact on the politics and society of his country. In India, the 1940s and 1950s were the age of Nehru. As head of government from 1947 to 1964, Nehru had a colossal influence on the decisions taken and not taken by this new large diverse and very conflicted nation.

In the elections to the provincial assemblies and the members of the assemblies in turn electing members of the Constituent assembly, Congress won majority of seats in the assembly and headed the interim government with Nehru as the prime minister. He took office as the Prime Minister of India on 15 August, and delivered his inaugural address titled "Tryst with Destiny".

After the adoption of the constitution on 26 November 1949, the Constituent Assembly continued to act as the interim parliament until new elections. Nehru's interim cabinet consisted of 15 members from diverse communities and parties. The first elections to Indian legislative bodies (National parliament and State assemblies) under the new constitution of India were held in 1952. Various members of the cabinet resigned from their posts and formed their own parties to contest the elections. During that period, the then Congress party president, Purushottam Das Tandon also resigned his post because of differences with Nehru and since Nehru's popularity was needed for winning elections, Nehru, while being the PM, also was elected the president of Congress for 1951 and 1952.<sup>1</sup> In the election, despite a large number of parties competing, the Congress party under Nehru's leadership won large majorities at both state and national level.

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<sup>1</sup>Myron Weiner (8 December 2015). *Party Politics in India*. Princeton University Press. pp. 78–79.

Among the several areas of progress and achievement, though marked by certain weaknesses and limitations during the Nehruvian Era, were (a) the consolidation of the nation and the solution of the language and tribal problems, (b) the initiation of the process of independent and planned economic development, (c) the evolution of an independent and innovative foreign policy, (d) the initiation of the electoral process, (e) the rooting of democracy, (f) the setting in place of an administrative structure, (g) the development of science and technology, and (h) the beginnings of the welfare state.

State reorganization was an important issue faced by Nehru from the inception. JVP committee was set up by the Congress to study the recommendations of Linguistic Provinces Commission (Dar Commission). It comprised Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and PattabhiSitaramayya. The committee gave its report on 1 April 1949 and said that time was not suitable for formation of new provinces. However, it also accepted presence of strong public sentiment towards linguistic states in the country.

In December 1953, Nehru appointed the States Reorganisation Commission to prepare for the creation of states on linguistic lines. Headed by Justice Fazal Ali, the commission itself was known as the Fazal Ali Commission. The efforts of this commission were overseen by GovindBallabh Pant, who served as Nehru's Home Minister from December 1954. The commission created a report in 1955 recommending the reorganisation of India's states.<sup>2</sup> Nehru stressed commonality among Indians and promoted pan-Indianism, refusing to reorganise states on either religious or ethnic lines irrespective of such a demand<sup>3</sup>. Western scholars have mostly

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<sup>2</sup> <http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/state-of-the-nation/307830/0>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/explainer-reorganization-states-india-and-why-it-happened-52273>



praised Nehru for the integration of the states into a modern republic, though the act was not accepted universally in India.

According to Bhikhu Parekh, Nehru can be regarded as the founder of the modern Indian state. Parekh attributes this to the national philosophy for India that Nehru formulated. For Nehru, modernization was the national philosophy, with seven goals: national unity, parliamentary democracy, industrialization, socialism, development of the scientific temper, and non-alignment. In Parekh's opinion, the philosophy and the policies that resulted from that benefited a large section of society such as the public sector workers, industrial houses, middle and upper peasantry.<sup>4</sup>

In 1951, Jawaharlal Nehru launched the country's "First Five Year Plan" emphasizing on the increase in the agriculture output. Nehru believed in planned economy for maximum utilization of resources. He did not favor nationalization of Private capital. In his scheme of economic development, by increasing business and income taxes mixed economy should play a prominent role. He believed that the both public sector and private sector must help each other in removing poverty and the other basic problems of India society.

Nehru implemented policies based on import substitution industrialization and advocated a mixed economy where the government controlled public sector would co-exist with the private sector.<sup>5</sup> He believed that the establishment of basic and heavy industry was fundamental to the development and modernisation of the Indian economy. The government, therefore, directed investment primarily into key public sector industries—steel, iron, coal, and power—promoting their development with

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<sup>4</sup>Parekh, Bhiku (1991). "Nehru and the National Philosophy of India". *Economic and Political Weekly*. 26 (5–12 Jan 1991): 35–48.

<sup>5</sup>Sankar Ghose (1993). *Jawaharlal Nehru*. Allied Publishers. P.243.

subsidies and protectionist policies.<sup>6</sup>He realized the importance of setting up mega industries and usher in industrial growth so as to transform the traditional society into a modern one.

The policy of non-alignment during the Cold War meant that Nehru received financial and technical support from both power blocs in building India's industrial base from scratch.<sup>7</sup>Steel mill complexes were built at Bokaro and Rourkela with assistance from the Soviet Union and West Germany.

There was substantial industrial development during the Nehruvian times. Industry grew 7.0% annually between 1950 and 1965—almost trebling industrial output and making India the world's seventh largest industrial country.<sup>8</sup> GDP and GNP grew 3.9 and 4.0% annually between 1950–1951 and 1964–1965.<sup>9</sup> Nehru's preference for big state controlled enterprises created a complex system of quantitative regulations, quotas and tariffs, industrial licenses and a host of other controls. This system, known in India as Permit Raj affected entrepreneurship and checked economic growth for decades.

Under Nehru's leadership, the government attempted to develop India quickly by embarking on agrarian reform and rapid industrialisation. A successful land reform was introduced that abolished giant landholdings, but efforts to redistribute land by placing limits on landownership failed in almost all states. Attempts to introduce large-scale cooperative farming were frustrated by landowning rural elites.<sup>10</sup> Agricultural production expanded until the early 1960s, as additional land

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<sup>6</sup>Jeffrey Kopstein (2005). *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order*. Cambridge University Press.p.364

<sup>7</sup>Walsh, Judith E. (2006). *A Brief History of India*. Infobase Publishing. p. 190

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>9</sup>Kapila, Uma (2009). *Indian Economic Developments Since 1947 (3Rd Ed.)*. Academic Foundation.p. 132.

<sup>10</sup>AshutoshVarshney (18 September 1998). *Democracy, Development, and the Countryside: Urban-Rural Struggles in India*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 30–31

was brought under cultivation and some irrigation projects began to have an effect. The establishment of agricultural universities, modelled after land-grant colleges in the United States, contributed to the development of the economy. These universities worked with high-yielding varieties of wheat and rice, initially developed in Mexico and Philippines, which in the 1960s began the Green Revolution, an effort to diversify and increase crop production. All these were the results of the vision of Nehru.

Nehru believed in the necessity of education for India's future progress. He always argued that it was necessary for the people to internalise the scientific spirit with emphasis on rationalism. He established a network of scientific institution like CSIR, ICAR, IIPM, National Physical Laboratories etc. His government established many institutions of higher learning, including the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, the Indian Institutes of Technology, the Indian Institutes of Management and the National Institutes of Technology.<sup>11</sup> Nehru also outlined a commitment in his five-year plans to guarantee free and compulsory primary education to all of India's children. He tried to introduce mass village enrollment programs and the construction of thousands of schools. Adult education centers, vocational and technical schools were also organised for adults, especially in the rural areas.<sup>12</sup>

Nehru was indifferent to religion. He thought that industrialization was the only solution to the endemic poverty of India; he had great faith in the powers of the modern state to uplift and reform society. Nehru also championed secularism and religious harmony, increasing the representation of minorities in government. Under him, the Indian Parliament enacted many changes to Hindu law to

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<sup>11</sup> <https://www.indiatvnews.com/politics/national/jawaharlal-nehru-facts-125th-birth-anniversary-1st-pm-congress-22288.html?page=7>

<sup>12</sup> Lion M.G. Agrawal (2008). *Freedom Fighters of India*. 2. Isha Books. p. 132.

criminalize caste discrimination and increase the legal rights and social freedoms of women.<sup>13</sup>

In 1947, on the communal lines, India was partitioned into India and Pakistan.<sup>14</sup> In the aftermath of partition, Nehru was deeply concerned with the state and place of Muslims in independent India. The creation of Pakistan as a homeland for Muslims, and the subsequent flight of Hindus and Sikhs from that country, had led to a rise of intolerance among certain sections of the Hindus, Nehru, however, insisted that Muslims be treated as equal citizens in a secular state and that they be made to feel safe and secure by the administration of the provinces they lived in.

Hindi was adopted as the official language of India in 1950 under Nehru with English continuing as an associate official language for a period of 15 years, after which Hindi would become the sole official language. This provision was made to assure equality to non-Hindi speaking states.

Throughout his long tenure as the prime minister, Nehru also held the portfolio of External Affairs. He has been credited as the sole architect of Indian foreign policy. The Non Aligned Movement, Panchsheel etc. attracted international community. But Nehruvian Era witnessed certain wars as well. The Kashmir issue of 1948 and Indo – China war of 1962 redefined Indian foreign policy.

Nehru envisioned the development of nuclear weapons and established the Atomic Energy Commission of India in 1948. He also called Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, a nuclear physicist, who was entrusted with complete authority over all nuclear-related affairs and programs and answered only to Nehru himself. Nehru was hailed by many for working to defuse global tensions and the threat of nuclear weapons after

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<sup>13</sup>Som, Reba (February 1994). "Jawaharlal Nehru and the Hindu Code: A Victory of Symbol over Substance?". *Modern Asian Studies*. 28 (1): 165–194.

<sup>14</sup> Indian Independence Act, 1947, p.A2.

the Korean War (1950–1953).<sup>15</sup>He commissioned the first study of the effects of nuclear explosions on human health, and campaigned ceaselessly for the abolition of what he called "these frightful engines of destruction". He also had pragmatic reasons for promoting de-nuclearisation, fearing that a nuclear arms race would lead to over-militarisation.

Nehru also encouraged freedom of speech and press. He allowed complete freedom to the press and expected it to make responsible and worthwhile criticism of the policies of the government. Under Nehru's leadership the Fourth Estate played a vigorous and useful role in strengthening the roots of Indian democracy.

Thus, Jawaharlal Nehru, as the Prime Minister was a man of great vision and unparalleled ability. From scratch, he created modern India.

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<sup>15</sup> Bharat Karnad, *India's Nuclear Policy*, Praeger Security International, London, 2008. P.37

## FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA: THE NEHRU ERA

India's efforts to pursue an independent foreign policy despite revolutionary changes in the international situation were highly influenced by Indian freedom movement, noble ideas and political thoughts of various leaders. Jawaharlal Nehru stands as the architect of India's Foreign policy till 1964 and is continuously influencing it even now.<sup>1</sup>

Even before independence, through his speeches and writings, Nehru influenced the Indian National Congress to pay greater attention to international affairs. In an article in *New Era* published from Madras in May 1928, Nehru wrote: "We must end the isolation of India and try to understand world currents and world happenings. We must, in addition to our nationalism, develop an internationalism which is prepared to profit by the good things of other countries and to co-operate with the progressive forces of the world."<sup>2</sup> Nehru underlined the need for a reorientation of Indian outlook on world affairs and was mainly instrumental in making the Indian National Congress take positive stance on international issues.<sup>3</sup>

Nehru's maiden venture into the international arena came quite late in life, in 1927, when he was 38 years old. His extensive reading, his visit to Europe - a fundamentally altered Europe after the first world war in 1926-27, his brief contacts with revolutionary experiments in U.S.S.R. his contacts with progressive socialist intellectuals and interactions with representatives of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America - all these enabled him to crystallise his views on foreign policy. His first, but significant, essay on "A Foreign Policy for India"

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<sup>1</sup>Rajendra Prasad Dube (1988). *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Study in Ideology and Social Change*. Mittal Publications.p. preface.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Brecher, *Nehru: A Political Biography*, (London: 1959), p.565.

<sup>3</sup> "India and the Need for International Contacts," *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol.3*, (New Delhi, Teen Murthy House, 1972), pp.379-86.

published in September 1927 sketch out his thinking on several relevant issues and is extremely important for understanding the genesis of Indian foreign policy.<sup>4</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru, who is known as the main architect of the foreign policy of India and an apostle of world peace, firmly believed that if the nations of the world accepted some code of conduct, wars could be prevented. He believed that war was obsolete and futile, irrelevant and inconsistent with the humanity. It was inhuman, ridiculous and irrelevant to talk of war. As Nehru said: "I think that the biggest idea that has gradually evolved in people's minds all over the world is the futility of war, that war does not solve any major issues and therefore all problems, however difficult and intricate, should be approached peacefully and this heralds an entirely new approach all over the world".

Nehru was hailed by many for working to defuse global tensions and the threat of nuclear weapons.<sup>5</sup> He commissioned the first study of the effects of nuclear explosions on human health, and campaigned ceaselessly for the abolition of what he called "these frightful engines of destruction". He also had pragmatic reasons for promoting de-nuclearisation, fearing that a nuclear arms race would lead to over-militarisation that would be unaffordable for developing countries such as his own.<sup>6</sup>

The underlying principles of India's Foreign Policy during the Nehruvian age :

1.Foreign policy based on national objectives and interests; 2. Non-alignment; Panchsheel; 3.Opposition to imperialism, colonialism neo-colonialism and apartheid; 4.Solidarity with third-world countries; 5.Friendly relations with neighbouring

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<sup>4</sup> A Foreign Policy for India" (September 13, 1927), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol.2, pp.348-64

<sup>5</sup>Bhatia, Vinod (1989). *Jawaharlal Nehru, as Scholars of Socialist Countries See Him*. PanchsheelPublishers.p. 131.

<sup>6</sup>Dua, B. D.; James Manor (1994). *Nehru to the Nineties: The Changing Office of Prime Minister in India*. C. Hurst & Co. Publishers. pp. 141, 261

nations; 6.Support to disarmament; 7.peaceful nuclear policy; 8. Purity of means: and  
9. Support to U.N.O and world peace.

### **Commonwealth**

After independence, Nehru wanted to maintain good relations with Britain and other British commonwealth countries and signed the London Declaration. As per the declaration, India agreed that, when it became a republic in January 1950, it would remain in the Commonwealth and accept the British Sovereign as a "symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth".<sup>7</sup> When India became a member of commonwealth, it transferred the character of commonwealth itself. As a result the powerful British Empire underwent a change in its composition, legal position, conception and formation. India became the first non white member of commonwealth along with Pakistan. It changed the whole scenario. Today it is accepted that Nehru's decision to join Commonwealth created the new commonwealth and helped to enlarge its area.

### **The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)**

It was Nehru who gave form to the idea of non-alignment and an organizational structure to it. The immediate context for the emergence of this movement was the division of the world into two hostile blocs after the Second World War, one led by the US and the Western powers and the other by the Soviet Union.

Nehru's understanding was that the newly independent, poor countries of Asia and Africa had nothing to gain and everything to lose by falling for the temptation of joining the military blocs of the big powers.<sup>8</sup> They would end up being used as pawns in contests for power of no relevance to them. Their needs were to fight poverty, and

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<sup>7</sup>K. Srinivasan (7 November 2005). *The Rise, Decline and Future of the British Commonwealth*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. p. 11

<sup>8</sup> David M Malone, *Does the elephant Dance*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2011, p.16



illiteracy and disease, and these could not be met by joining military blocs. On the contrary, India and other similarly placed countries needed peace and quiet to get on with the business of development. Their interests lay in expanding the 'area of peace', not of war, or hostility. India, therefore, neither joined nor approved the military pacts.

Nehru was quick to reject the charge of 'immoral neutrality' hurled at India by John Foster Dulles. To Nehru, Non-alignment meant having the freedom to decide each issue on its merits, to weigh what was right or wrong and then take a stand in favour of right. It also meant freedom to commend or condemn any event of international importance".

Under Nehru's leadership, India organized the Asian Relations conference in 1955 at Bandung. The conference adopted a resolution that came to be known as the 'DasaSila or The Ten principles of Bandung. It strived for world peace, respect for one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for non-interference in one another's internal affairs. The resolution also sought to uphold the human rights principles about bringing Afro-Asian unity. The Asian African conference became the embryo of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Later, 25 newly independent countries formally founded the NAM at the Belgrade summit of 1961.

India has played an active role in strengthening the NAM and making it an effective voice in representing the collective aspirations and interests of the developing countries on such vital issues as development, peace and stability. Nehru is fondly remembered for fighting long and hard for supporting the struggle against apartheid and other noble causes.

## **Panchsheel**

The five principles enunciated by Lord Buddha formed the basis of Panchsheel. Panchsheel constituted a major feature and principle of the foreign policy of India. Nehru considered it as a principle applicable to all contexts. It was formulated for conducting healthy relations among nations. It was a natural extension of India's policy of non-alignment. Panchsheel caught the attention of several countries like Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Burma, Laos, Nepal, Australia, Austria, Poland Cambodia etc and they accepted it. The first Afro-Asian conference held at Bandung endorsed Panchsheel. In 1957, Soviet premier Khrushchev evinced interest in Panchsheel.

Panchsheel implies five principles of peaceful coexistence which were first formulated in the preamble to the agreement between India and China in regard to Tibet, which was signed by Mr. Chou-en-lai, Prime Minister of China and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India on 29 April 1954. The principles, it was believed that would lay the foundation for the pattern of future world peace.

The Sanskrit term panchsheel means 'Five code of conduct'. It stands for the following five principles:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
2. Non-aggression
3. Non-interference in each other's internal affair.
4. Equality and Mutual benefit and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

The 1962 Sino – Indian war was a shock to Nehru as he dreamt of a peaceful world.<sup>9</sup>As the Prime Minister of India and also as the leader of NAM, Nehru tried his

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<sup>9</sup>RumelDahiya, Ashok K Behuria (ed), *India's Neighbourhood*, New Delhi, 2012, p.8

level best to solve international issues peacefully and Panchsheel acted as the base for it.<sup>10</sup>

In a world that was sharply divided between the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—which were determined to extend their hegemony over the rest of the world, Nehru resisted all pressures and refused to become their pawn. India's internal policies—right or wrong—developed outside the direct influence of the superpowers, and India remained in full control of her internal as well as her external policies. Nehru also successfully resisted penetration of India's political and economic structure and institutions by outside agencies. Jawaharlal Nehru can be justifiably considered as an architect of modern India's foreign policy.

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<sup>10</sup> Rajiv Sikri, *Challenge and strategy*, New Delhi, 2009, p.3

## CONCLUSION

Jawaharlal Nehru can be justifiably considered as the architect of modern India. One of the great Indians of the twentieth century, he has been variously described as a democrat, socialist, humanist and visionary. In India, the 1940s and 1950s were the age of Nehru. As head of government from 1947 to 1964, Nehru had a colossal influence on the decisions taken and not taken by this new large diverse and very conflicted nation.

Jawaharlal Nehru belonged to an upper Caste and received western education from England. After receiving his education, he returned to India in 1912 and joined Congress. Soon, he rose to the leadership and actively participated in India's struggle for freedom along with other freedom fighters.

India became independent on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 – a vast and poor country, economically in shambles, unable to feed itself, its people overwhelmingly illiterate, torn by caste and religion and partitioned on the basis of caste. This India was shaped into the modern India by Nehru, through his visions.

He was a champion of scientific secularism. Through his innovative concepts of secularism, Nehru sought to bring about communal harmony. To him, India is a multi-lingual, multi-communal and multi-religious society and only a state policy of secularism could hold the nation together. He always argued that India was a composite society and it was necessary that every section of Indian population must have a sense of participation in the developmental process. He inculcated the spirit of socialism in the minds of people of India with a view to bring about rapid economic development. He was of the firm opinion that an egalitarian society could be built only on the basis of socialist philosophy.

Nehru emphasised science and technology with a view to faster industrialisation and modernisation in India. He emphasised the inculcation of the scientific spirit among the people of India. To him, reason and rationalism were the guide posts to progress and prosperity. Hence, he was against dogmas, superstitions, customs and mores which were a great hindrance to clarity of thought and action. He also laid the infrastructure for industrialisation during his tenure as Prime Minister of India and was instrumental in conceiving multi-purpose river valley projects and establishing the relevance of heavy industry.

Another unique and significant contribution of Nehru to India and the world was his theory and practice of non-alignment. He was one of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned movement which over the world has gained international stature and recognition. Nehru's idea was to develop a community of interests with India's neighbours who belonged to an Indo-Centric Civilizational Systems. In addition to this objective, Nehru was keen to develop close relations with the Third World Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nehru was eager to develop a Third World view point on international issues of ongoing concern to mankind. Maintenance, strengthening and consolidation of India's independence were among Nehru's most pressing tasks. In a world that was sharply divided between the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—which were determined to extend their hegemony over the rest of the world, Nehru resisted all pressures and refused to become their pawn. India's internal policies —right or wrong—developed outside the direct influence of the superpowers, and India remained in full control of her internal as well as her external policies. Nehru also successfully resisted penetration of India's political and economic structure and institutions by outside agencies.

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of independent India, gave his immense support in the formation of modern India with his brilliant ideas and visionary thinking. Due to his modern ideologies, modern India was equipped with modern technologies. The first general election among the illiterate masses of a vast country was unparalleled in history, a still continuing constitution, scientific and technological developments and a superior voice in international arena are all the results of Nehru's vision. Jawaharlal Nehru actually made India, a backward newly independent state into a democratic republic which the world admires.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS



**Childhood picture of Nehru**



**Nehru with his mother**



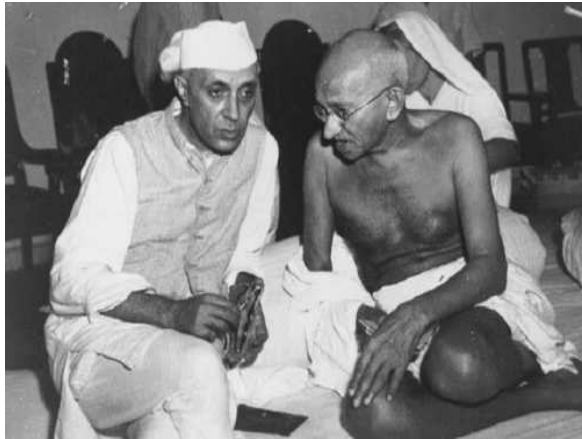
**Barrister Nehru**



**Nehru with his wife**



**Nehru with wife and daughter**



**Nehru with Gandhi**



**Nehru with Jinnah**



**Prime Minister Nehru**

# MAHATMA GANDHI – THE SAVIOUR OF MODERN INDIA

*Project in History submitted to*  
*St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi*  
*affiliated to*  
*Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli*  
*in partial fulfillment of the requirements*  
*for the award of the degree of*  
**Bachelor of Arts in History**

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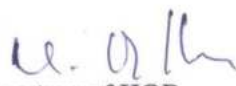
## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the project entitled "**MAHATMA GANDHI – THE SAVIOUR OF MODERN INDIA**" is submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi** in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of **Bachelor of Arts in History** is a record of work done during the year 2020-2021 by the following students of III BA History.

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "MAHATMA GANDHI – THE SAVIOUR OF MODERN INDIA" submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History is our original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

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# INTRODUCTION

Mahatma Gandhi, the charismatic personality of the twentieth century and the leader of the Indian masses is the dedicated champion of India's freedom movement. He is the architect of independent India. The period from 1919 to 1947 can be described as the era of Gandhi, as his strategies led our freedom movement.

The era before Gandhi was an era of darkness as far as history of India is concerned. India was under the clutches of colonial rule. Company rule in India refers to the rule or dominion of the British East India Company on the Indian subcontinent. This is variously taken to have commenced in 1757, after the Battle of Plassey, when the Nawab of Bengal surrendered his dominions to the Company,<sup>1</sup> in 1765, when the Company was granted the diwani, or the right to collect revenue, in Bengal and Bihar, and in 1772, when the Company established a capital in Calcutta, appointed its first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and became directly involved in governance.<sup>2</sup> The rule lasted until 1858, when, after the Indian rebellion of 1857 and consequent of the Government of India Act 1858, the British government assumed the task of directly administering India in the new British Raj.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the colonial period, that is from 1757 to 1947, the British increased the political control of India through annexations, policies like doctrine of lapse, subsidiary alliance system etc. The various colonial acts made India much more dependent. India was subjugated and ruled for the interest of Britain.

The quest of freedom for the British controlled India by the dependent people gained stupendous momentum in the first half of the twentieth century. During this

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<sup>1</sup> Bose, Sugata; Jalal, Ayesha, *Modern South Asia: History, culture, Political Economy*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Peers, Douglas M., *India Under Colonial Rule: 1700-1885* (Pearson: Pearson Education), 2006, p. 30

<sup>3</sup> Metcalf, Barbara Daly; Metcalf, Thomas, R. *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2006, p. 56.

period itself, after his studies and work in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India in 1915 and kept aloof from direct politics. He had no plans to enter active politics but was forced through Champaran Satyagraha, Kheda and Ahmedabad mill strike. In 1919, the Rowlett Act and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre brought him to the forefront of national politics and till 1947, he was the leading light of India's struggle against colonial rule.

A great man is defined as one who gives shape, thrust and substance to the human society. In this larger meaningful sense, Gandhi was not only a great man but a charismatic personality with hypnotic hold on vast millions of Indians. He had carved out for himself a niche in the hearts and minds of his countrymen. He had developed a sense of communion with the vast multitude of India's population.

### **Methodology**

Analytical and descriptive methods of historical research are used to conduct this study. Both primary and secondary sources are used. The source materials have been critically analyzed and investigated. The descriptive method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the project understandable to the readers.

### **Aims and Purpose**

The aims and purpose of this study is to know much about the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle of India. This study throws light on various aspects of Gandhiji, his early life, early struggles in India, participation in Indian national movement, contributions - both philosophical and practical as the leader of India. Gandhi was a great visionary who wanted to move India into independence from the clutches of colonial rule. The study is highly significant as the struggle of modern India for independence can be understood from this.

The main purpose of the study is to do research in depth on the philosophical ideas and struggle of Mahatma Gandhi and the contribution which he made for the building up of an independent India.

### **Sources of Information**

Both primary and secondary sources are used for the study. Primary sources include various Government reports, books written by Gandhi etc. Secondary sources comprised mainly of books, journal articles and websites. Apart from Indian sources, foreign accounts also threw light on various aspects of Gandhi.

### **An Outline of the Chapters**

The topic, Mahatma Gandhi – The Saviour of Modern India is divided into four chapters apart from an Introduction and Conclusion.

The first chapter portrays a brief biography of Gandhi starting from his birth till his struggles in South Africa.

The second chapter describes Gandhi's entry into Indian National Movement and his early struggles.

The third chapter focuses on Gandhi & Indian National Movement. The various struggles for freedom is explained in detail.

The fourth chapter explains the philosophical foundations of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Conclusion, the last part of the study sums up the contributions of Nehru for the making of modern India.

## EARLY LIFE

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born at Porbandar in Kathiawad province, Gujarat on October 2, 1869. He belonged to Modh-sub caste of the Bania community who were originally grocers by profession. They were known for industry enterprise and prudence. Dwaraka, a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus is situated in this province. The place had been tremendously influenced by Jainism and Vaishnavism with its exalted principles of non-violence and strict vegetarianism. Islam and Hinduism co-existed well in this region and Christianity also had its influence. The environment facilitated religious pluralism in Gandhi's mind even in his young days.

Uttamchand Gandhi alias Ota Gandhi, the grandfather of Mohandas was an ordinary employee of Rana of Porbandar.<sup>1</sup> By dint of his ability, he rose to the position of Dewan. Kaba Gandhi, the father of Mohandas was the fifth son of Ota Gandhi. At the age of twenty five, Kaba Gandhi succeeded to the Dewanship of Porbandar on his father's retirement. Although he studied only upto the fifth standard, his managerial and organizational capacity coupled with his uncorruptive nature earned him the post. Kaba Gandhi lost three wives and married Putli Bai who bore him a daughter and three sons, the youngest being Mohandas Kaba Gandhi. Although he visited temples some times in the early days and attended religious discourses in his later life and he recited verses during his prayer time at home, to Putli Bai religion was everything. She used to observe strict vows, religious fasts and would not miss going to temples. Her saintly character had a remarkable impact on Mohandas. From his father he got stubbornness, uncorrupt ability and pragmatism.

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<sup>1</sup> M K Gandhi, An Autobiography or the story of my experiments with truth (Translated Mahadev Desai), Navjeevan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1980. p.3

When Mohandas was seven years old, his family moved to Rajkot. At Porbandar, Mohandas had attended elementary school but he was not an outstanding student. At Rajkot, he was sent to a school. Shy and reserved, Mohandas was regular and punctual at school. Hindu civilization with its concept of rebirth and eternity often tend to ignore the time in hand, but Gandhi was quite western in this regard, with his emphasis on punctuality. He did not aim at more marks or compete with others. His lack of interest in games even brought some misunderstanding between the teacher and himself. Gandhi believed in the success of all and defeat of none. He preferred long contemplative walks and productive manual work.

The Indian classics, especially the stories of Shravana and king Harishchandra, had a great impact on Gandhi in his childhood. He enacted the story of Harichandra in his mind numerous times and he himself was transformed into Harichandra. He took to non vegetarianism secretly on the persuasion of his Muslim friend. But he could not tolerate untruthfulness and he felt very heavy with sins. So he confessed to his father in his sick bed. Gandhi refused to copy down from a student sitting nearby him in a dictation even on the persuasion of his teacher. Young Gandhi was not keen to win. He valued truth and honesty more than victory in games. To him means is more important than the end.

In May 1883, Gandhi married to Kasturibai Mathanji Kapadia. He was a victim to child marriage and he began to dominate over his young wife who was of his own age. He tried to imitate the role of a traditional husband in patriarchal society. But soon he woke up to a new consciousness. He was with his pregnant wife when his father was dying in the next room. He began to feel that he committed a double crime and this was the beginning of his change of attitude towards sex.

After matriculation, Gandhi was enrolled in Samaldas College in Bhavnagar, but he found the studies very difficult. The atmosphere too was distasteful. Gandhi wanted to become a medical doctor since he thought that was an effective way to serve people. Encouraged by his brother and a Jain monk, he decided to go to England for legal studies. His caste people opposed this move of crossing the sea and decided to ex-communicate him from his caste. But Gandhi did not pay any attention to this. At that time he was a rebel who was willing to take risks.

Timid and reserved Mohandas developed courage and confidence when he crossed the caste barrier. He promised three vows of abstinence from liquor, meat and women to his mother and kept them up till the end of his life. In London, Gandhi encountered theosophists, vegetarians and others who were disenchanted not only with industrialism but also with enlightenment thought. They themselves represented the fringe elements of English society. Gandhi was powerfully attracted to them and it was in London that Gandhi was introduced to Bhagawat Gita. Here too, Gandhi showed determinism and single minded pursuit of his purpose, and accomplished his objective of finishing his degree from the Inner Temple. He was called to the bar in 1891, and even enrolled in the High Court of London; but later that year he left for India.

In 1893, a Muslim merchant in Kathiawar named Dada Abdullah contacted Gandhi. Abdullah owned a large successful shipping business in South Africa. His distant cousin in Johannesburg needed a lawyer, and they preferred someone with Kathiawari heritage. Gandhi, after a one year of not too successful law practice accepted it and went to South Africa. He spent about 21 years in South Africa, where he developed his political views, ethics and politics.<sup>2</sup> His visit to South Africa was the

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<sup>2</sup> Power, Paul F. "Gandhi in South Africa". *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 7 (3), 1969, 441–

beginning of his political carrier. His stay in South Africa provided him the training for his future political and social work.

In South Africa, Gandhi faced discrimination because of his skin colour and heritage.<sup>3</sup> He was not allowed to sit with European passengers in the stagecoach and told to sit on the floor near the driver, then beaten when he refused; elsewhere he was kicked into a gutter for daring to walk near a house, in another instance thrown off from a train at Pietermaritzburg after refusing to leave the first-class.<sup>4</sup> Gandhi was kicked by a police officer out of the footpath onto the street without warning. The prejudice against him and his fellow Indians from British people that Gandhi experienced and observed deeply bothered him. He found it humiliating and struggling to understand how some people can feel honour or superiority or pleasure in such inhumane practices.

Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 and through this organisation, he moulded the Indian community of South Africa into a unified political force.<sup>5</sup> The Natal Congress in its early stages focused on providing equality to all races and people of all castes, genders and creeds. Gandhi's campaigns were successful in drawing attention to the grievances of Indians in South Africa.

During the Boer War, Gandhi volunteered in 1900 to form a group of stretcher-bearers as the Natal Indian Ambulance Corps. He raised eleven hundred Indian volunteers, to support British combat troops against the Boers. They were

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<sup>3</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu C. *Gandhi: a very short introduction*. Oxford University Press. (2001). p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> S. Dhiman *Gandhi and Leadership: New Horizons in Exemplary Leadership*. Springer. (2016). pp. 25–27

<sup>5</sup> Singh, Anand *Indians in Post-apartheid South Africa*. Concept Publishing Company(2005). .p.9



trained and medically certified to serve on the front lines. Gandhi and thirty-seven other Indians received the Queen's South Africa Medal for their services.<sup>6</sup>

English artist John Ruskin's book *Unto This Last* inspired Gandhi and he set up Phoenix Farm near Durban. Gandhi trained his cadres on non-violent Satyagraha or peaceful resistance in the Phoenix Farm and it is considered as the birthplace of Satyagraha. In 1906, the Transvaal government promulgated a new Act compelling registration of the colony's Indian and Chinese populations. At a mass protest meeting held in Johannesburg on 11 September that year, Gandhi adopted his still evolving methodology of *Satyagraha* (devotion to the truth), or nonviolent protest, for the first time.<sup>7</sup> Gandhi urged Indians to defy the new law and to suffer the punishments for doing so. In 1910, Gandhi established, with the help of his friend Hermann Kallenbach, an idealistic community they named Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg. There he nurtured his policy of peaceful resistance to a higher level.

Having spent twenty years in South Africa helping to fight discrimination, Gandhi decided to head back to India in July 1914 and reached India by January 1915. His South African experiences were helpful for him to lead Indian National Movement.

Hind Swaraj (1909), My Experiments with Truth (Autobiography, 1927) which reveals events of Gandhi's life upto 1922 were the important works written by him and as an Editor, he edited Indian Opinion (1903–15 - in English & Gujarati, for a short period in Hindi & Tamil), Harijan (1919–31 - in English, Gujarati and Hindi), Young India (1933–42 - in English Gujarati-named Navjeevan). Through these papers, he propagated his ideas.

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<sup>6</sup> [https://archive.pib.gov.in/archive/ArchiveSecondPhase/DEFENCE/1949-JAN-DEC-DEFENCE/PDF/DEF-1949-02-24\\_076.pdf](https://archive.pib.gov.in/archive/ArchiveSecondPhase/DEFENCE/1949-JAN-DEC-DEFENCE/PDF/DEF-1949-02-24_076.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> Rai, Ajay Shanker *Gandhian Satyagraha: An Analytical And Critical Approach*. Concept Publishing Company. (2000). p. 35

## **STRUGGLES IN THE EARLY PHASE**

In January 1915, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi returned to his homeland after two decades of residence abroad in South Africa at the request of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, conveyed to him by C. F. Andrews. He brought an international reputation as a leading Indian nationalist, theorist and community organiser. The India that Mahatma Gandhi came back to in 1915 was rather different from the one that he had left in 1893. Although still a colony of the British, it was far more active in a political sense. The Indian National Congress had branches in most major cities and towns. Through the Swadeshi movement of 1905-07, it had greatly broadened its appeal among the middle classes. That movement had thrown up some towering leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra, Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal, and Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab. These leaders advocated militant opposition to colonial rule, there was a group of “Moderates” who preferred a more gradual and persuasive approach and it included Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Dadabhai Naoroji etc.

Gandhi joined the Indian National Congress and was introduced to Indian issues, politics and the Indian people primarily by Gokhale. On Gokhale’s advice, Gandhiji spent a year travelling around British India, getting to know the land and its peoples. Gokhale was a key leader of the Congress Party best known for his restraint and moderation, and his insistence on working inside the system. Gandhi took Gokhale's liberal approach and considered him as his political Guru. Gandhi’s first major public appearance was at the opening of the Banaras Hindu University (BHU) in February 1916.

When Gandhi was in Santiniketan after returning from South Africa in 1915 at the enquiry of C.F. Andrews about whether there was any possibility for him to start

Satyagraha in India, Gandhi replied that such a possibility would not arise for another five years. But his first encounter with the British authorities in India started within two years at Champaran in Bihar. The situation in Champaran was not a creation of Gandhi but his mission there initiated a process that shaped the destiny of the nation and the destiny of his own.

### **Champaran Satyagraha**

The Champaran problem was brought to Gandhi by an unknown peasant of Champaran Rajkumar Shukla. At the Lucknow Congress, Rajkumar Shukla pleaded with Gandhi to visit Champaran to witness the tyranny and atrocities of the white indigo planters over the peasants. He was sincere and persistent in this request. Gandhi at last agreed to go to Champaran.

Champaran was a backward district and it primarily depended on indigo cultivation that too not by the choice of the people. Indigo used to be an ancient product of India in Trans – Himalayan trade. During the British rule, it was re-introduced in Bengal and Bihar. The European textile industry was importing it as a dye. Between 1782 and 1785, three factories were erected. In 1810, the number of factories rose to twenty five. Planters were mainly British, though some of them came from Portugal, Ireland, Germany and some other countries. According to the collector of Tirhut in 1810, some thirty to forty thousand people received their chief support from the factories on this district for over a century, it remained a prosperous industry.

Indigo production was started almost simultaneously in Bengal and Bihar. The notable fact was that the indigo cultivators were never happy. History has recorded three major indigo revolts in Bengal during 1855-60. Before 1833 the European planters had no right to buy and own land in India. Ram Mohan Roy and

Dwaraka Nath Tagore pleaded in a meeting at the town hall of Calcutta in December 1829 that the Europeans should get the right to purchase land in India and establish factories to produce indigo. The act of 1833 made the planters position legal and valid. After this act, some planters also became Zamindars by purchasing a large quantity of land and some of them took land on lease from the Zamindars who in turn started leasing lands to the peasants.

When Gandhi arrived there in 1917, Bihar and Orissa were taken out of Bengal and made into a separate province. Champaran had two towns Mothari and Bethiah and 2,845 villages. The indigo industry was in a state of decay mainly because Germany found out a synthetic dye which was less costly. Secondly due to war, European trade had declined. Thirdly as the industry was in a state of crisis it could not pay the price to the cultivators for the indigo crop. The exploitation of cultivators thus increased. The planters were exacting money from them in various ways like taxes, fines and enlacement of rent. The planters let out the land on a fixed render with the provision that each of them would cultivate indigo on 3/20<sup>th</sup> of the land let out to them. This was known as the Tinkathia system. That was the most prevalent tenure system.

Initially Gandhi's objective was just to make a survey of the prevailing condition of the peasants and understand their grievances against the indigo planters. He wanted to record the statement of the peasants. Since he did not know the local dialect, he called some local lawyers and asked for their services. They replied that they would willingly offer their services if they were not required to go to jail. Gandhi replied I do not expect there will be any occasion for offering Satyagraha in any event if an occasion arose I will not call upon you to break the law. Gandhi's statement showed that he did not go there to challenge the planters or the local

authority. He did not fully visualise the nature of conflict that was simmering with the local authority. In Muzaffarpur, Gandhi started widening his public contacts. He gathered a group of people who lent valuable support to him prominent among them were J.B. Kripalini, Brij Kishore Prasad, Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul Haque Krishna sahay and a group of students of GBB College.<sup>1</sup>

The government treated Gandhi very kindly when he freshly arrived in India perhaps for his unconditional support to its war effort. At the desire of the Governor of Bombay, Gandhi went to visit him. At that meeting Gandhi assured him that as a Satyagrahi, he would not do anything unless he understood the government's view point. As a gesture of goodwill the government withdrew shadowing him by intelligence and he was awarded a Kaisar-i-Hind Medal. But his speech at the Benaras Hindu University was censored and he was asked to leave Benaras. This was followed by re-introduction of surveillance on him.

Mahatma Gandhi was arrested by police on 16 April, on the charge of creating unrest and was ordered to leave the province. When asked by magistrate George Chander at Motihari district court on 18 April, to pay a security of Rs. 100, Gandhi humbly refused. Hundreds of thousands of people protested and rallied outside the court demanding his release, which the court unwillingly did. The problem which was essentially a local one at once became a national issue by his genius. He also added to it, humanistic and universal dimensions. The case was subsequently withdrawn by the British Government.

Gandhi led organised protests and strike against the landlords, who with the guidance of the British government, signed an agreement granting more compensation and control over farming for the poor farmers of the region, and cancellation of

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<sup>1</sup> Brown, Judith Margaret, *Gandhi's Rise to Power, Indian Politics 1815-2022: Indian Politics 1915-1922*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press Archive (1972). p. 384.

revenue hikes and collection until the famine ended. It was during this agitation, that first time Gandhi was called "Bapu" (Father) by Sant Raut and "Mahatma" (Great Soul). Gandhi himself did not like being addressed as "Mahatma", preferring to be called Bapu.

Champaran movement concluded with the introduction of 'Champaran Agrarian Bill' by W Maude, Member of Executive Council, Government of Bihar and Orissa, consisting of almost all recommendations Gandhi had made and it became the Champaran Agrarian Law - Bihar and Orissa Act I of 1918.<sup>2</sup> The tinkathia system which had been in existence for about a century was thus abolished and with it the planters' raj came to an end.

### **Kheda Satyagraha**

The Kheda Satyagraha of 1918, in the Kheda district of Gujarat, India during the period of the colonial rule was a Satyagraha movement organised by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. In Kheda, Gujarat, the peasants were frequently plagued by poverty, famines, scant resource, untouchability, alcoholism and British discrimination. The famine of Chhappania Akal and some subsequent famines had destroyed the agrarian economy of the region and the peasants were still dying out of starvation. The Bombay Presidency increased the taxes in 1917-18 by 23%. In 1918, Gujarat as a whole suffered a severe epidemic of Plague and in Kheda alone around 17000 people lost their lives. Further, cholera also broke out locally. This was the immediate reason of the revolt. The revolt was organized by Gujarat Sabha and Gandhi was its spiritual leader. The revolt was against the taxes and they demanded reduction of taxes for 1919. The government said that if the taxes are not paid, the property would be seized.

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.thehindu.com/archives/the-champaran-bill-planters-opposition/article22800196.ece>

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and his colleagues such as Narhari Parikh, Mohanlal Pandya and Ravi Shankar Vyas under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi organized this major tax revolt, which was able to mobilize all the castes and creeds of the region. The peasants of Kheda signed a petition in the leadership of Sardar Patel and called for tax to be scrapped. When the tax was not paid, the government sent agents to seize the property. The farmers did not resist but they simply donated their cash and invaluable to the Gujarat Sabha.

It was a united protest, outstandingly disciplined. The result was that the Government reached an agreement for both the parties. Tax for the current year and next year was suspended and all confiscated property was returned and prisoners were released.<sup>3</sup> It was also a successful movement under Gandhi.

### **Ahmedabad Mill Strike**

Gandhi used Satyagraha and hunger strike for the first time during an industrial dispute between the owners and workers of a cotton mill in Ahmedabad. Ahmedabad was the second largest city of Bombay Presidency and was a long established commercial centre. Under the British, the cotton industry grew in the city and Ahmedabad became a modern Industrial town of the 20th century.

In February-March 1918, there was a situation of conflict between the Gujarat Mill owners and workers on the question of Plague Bonus of 1917. The Mill Owners wanted to withdraw the bonus while the workers demanded a 50% wage hike. The Mill owners were willing to give only 20% wage hike. At this point, Gandhi was invited by Anasuya Ben Sarabai and her brother Ambalal Sarabhai, rich mill-owners of Ahmedabad towards the cause of the mill owners. Anasuya had just returned from England and was a socialist. She had organized the first-ever labour strike against the

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<sup>3</sup> Brown, Judith M. *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915–1922*. Cambridge University Press. (1974). pp. 94–102.

mill owners demanding fair wages. In March 1918, under the leadership of Gandhi, there was a strike in the cotton mills. In this strike, Gandhi used the weapon of Hunger strike. If Gandhi were not there as a leader of this revolt, may be the shops were picketed, but it was carried out in pure non-violent disciplined way. The result was that the strike was successful and the workers got a 35% wage increase.

Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda served as demonstrations of Gandhi's style and method of politics to the country at large. They also helped him find his feet among the people of India and study their problem at close quarters. He came to possess, as a result of these struggles, a surer understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the masses, as well as of the viability of his own political style. He also earned the respect and commitment of many political workers, especially the younger ones, who were impressed by his identification with the problems of ordinary Indians and his willingness to take up their cause.<sup>4</sup> It was this reservoir of experience, that encouraged Gandhiji, in February 1919, to call for a nation-wide protest against the unpopular legislation that the British were threatening to introduce.

### **Rowlatt Satyagraha**

Two bills, popularly known as the Rowlatt Bills after the man who chaired the committee, Sir Sydney Rowlett that suggested their introduction, aimed at severely curtailing the civil liberties of Indians in the name of curbing terrorist violence were introduced in the legislative council.<sup>5</sup> One of them was actually pushed through in indecent haste in the face of opposition from all the elected Indian members. This act of the government was treated by the whole of political India as a grievous insult, especially as it came at the end of the war when substantial constitutional concessions were expected.

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<sup>4</sup> Bipan Chandra, et.al, India's struggle for Independence, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1989, p.181.

<sup>5</sup> Vohra, Ranbir (2001). *The Making of India: A Historical Survey*, 2nd Ed. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, p.126.



Constitutional protest having failed, Gandhiji stepped in and suggested that a Satyagraha be launched. A Satyagraha Sabha was formed, and the younger members of the Home Rule Leagues who more than keen to express their disenchantment with the Government flocked to join it. The old list of the addresses of Home Rule Leagues and their members were taken out, contacts established and propaganda begun. The form of protest finally decided upon was the observance of a nation-wide hartal (strike) accompanied by fasting and prayer. In addition, it was decided that civil disobedience would be offered against specific laws.

The sixth of April was fixed as the date on which the Satyagraha would be launched. The movement that emerged was very different from the one that had been anticipated or planned. He called for a day of “hartal”, when all business was to be suspended and people were to fast and pray as a protest against the hated legislation. The idea of a “hartal” as a measure of mourning or protest was not a novel one in India but as a one-day national strike, it was a masterly stroke. Delhi observed the hartal on 30 March because of some confusion about dates, and there was considerable violence in the streets. This seemed to set the pattern in most other areas that responded to the call; protest was generally accompanied by violence and disorder. Punjab, which was suffering from the after effects of severe war time repression, forcible recruitment, and the ravages of disease, reacted particularly strongly and both in Amritsar and Lahore the situation became very dangerous for the government. Gandhiji tried to go to Punjab to help quieten the people, but the government deported him to Bombay. He found that Bombay and even his native Gujarat, including Ahmedabad, were up in flames and he decided to stay and try to pacify the people.

Events in Punjab were moving in a particularly tragic direction. In Amritsar, the arrest of two local leaders on 10 April led to an attack on the town hall and the post office; telegraph wires were cut and the city was handed over to General Dyer, who issued an order prohibiting public meetings and assemblies. On 13 April, Baisakhi day, a large crowd of people, many of whom were visitors from neighbouring villages who had come to the town to attend the Baisakhi celebration, collected in the Jallianwala Bagh to attend a public meeting. General Dyer, incensed that his orders were disobeyed, ordered his troops to fire upon the unarmed crowd. The shooting continued for ten minutes. General Dyer had not thought it necessary to issue any warning to the people nor was he deterred by the fact that the ground was totally hemmed in from all sides by high walls which left little chance for escape. The government estimate was 379 dead, other estimates were considerably higher.

The brutality at Jallianwala Bagh stunned the entire nation. The response would come, not immediately, but a little later. For the moment, repression was intensified, Punjab placed under martial law and the people of Amritsar forced into indignities such as crawling on their bellies before Europeans. Gandhiji, overwhelmed by the total atmosphere of violence, withdrew the movement on 18 April. That did not mean however that Gandhiji had lost faith either in his non-violent Satyagraha or in the capacity of the Indian people to adopt it as a method of struggle. A year later, he launched another nationwide struggle, on a scale bigger than that of the Rowlatt Satyagraha.

## **MAHATMA GANDHI & INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT**

When Indian mass was searching a way to throw away yoke of British rule, then Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came to India as a valiant and outstanding ray of hope in the political, religious, economic and cultural problems. He unified whole Indian nation to start struggle against the British Raj on the path of truth and non-violence. Unlike other contemporary politicians and practitioners of nationalism, he understood the true meaning of ‘nation’, and started binding them with a common string of ‘Swaraj’. Irrespective of all divisions of Indian mass – like caste, language, religion, region and economy – he unified all and organized three large-scale India-wide mass movement – viz. Non Co-operation Movement (1920 - 1922), Civil Disobedience Movement (1930 - 1934), and Quit India Movement (1942). These movements made Gandhi a new symbol, metaphor or myth for the whole world about how a successful movement on the path of pure non-violence and truth can be materialized.

### **Non Co-operation Movement**

The Non-cooperation Movement was launched on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1920 by Mahatma Gandhi with the aim of Self-governance and obtaining full independence. The Indian National Congress (INC) withdrew its support for British following the Rowlatt Act of 21<sup>st</sup> March 1919, and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre of 13<sup>th</sup> April 1919.<sup>1</sup>

The Rowlatt Act of March 1919, which suspended the rights of political prisoners in sedition trials, was seen as a “political awakening” by Indians and as a “threat” by the British.<sup>2</sup> Although it has never invoked and declared void just a few

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<sup>1</sup> Jim Masselos, *Indian Nationalism: A History*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 161 – 163

<sup>2</sup> Wagner, Kim. *Amritsar 1919*, Yale University Press, London, (2019) p.243

years later, the act motivated Gandhi to conceive the idea of Satyagraha, which he saw as synonymous with independence. This idea was also authorized the following month by Jawaharlal Nehru, for who the massacre also endorsed the conviction that nothing short of independence was acceptable.

The non-cooperation movement was a reaction towards the oppressive policies of the British Indian government such as the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in Amritsar. A large crowd had gathered at Jallianwala Bagh near the Golden Temple in Amritsar to protest against the arrest of Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, while others had come to attend the annual Baisakhi festival. The civilians were fired upon by soldiers under the command of Brigadier – General Reginald Dyer, resulting in killing and injuring thousands of protesters. The outcry generated by the Massacre led to thousands of unrests and more deaths by the hands of the police. The Massacre became the most infamous event of British rule in India.

Gandhi, who was a preacher of non-violence, was horrified. He lost all faith in the goodness of the British government and declared that it would be a “sin” to co-operate with the satanic government<sup>3</sup>. Indian Muslims who had participated in the Khilafat Movement to restore the status of the Khilafat gave their support to the non-cooperation Movement. In response to the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and other violence in Punjab, the movement sought to secure Swaraj, independence for India. Gandhi promised Swaraj in one year if his Non-Cooperation Programme was fully implemented. The other reason to start the non-cooperation movement was that Gandhi lost faith in constitutional methods and turned from cooperator of British rule to non-cooperator.

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<sup>3</sup> Mahatma Gandhi, Letter to Viceroy (Bardoli, February 1, 1922), The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. IV, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 2011, pp. 87 – 88

On 7th March, Gandhi explained his own ideas that : “Non-Co-operation is the only remedy left to us as it is free from all violence. It becomes a duty when cooperation means degradation on humiliation or an injury to one’s cherished religious sentiment.”<sup>4</sup> Veterans such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Annie Besant opposed the idea outright. The All India Muslim League also criticized the idea. But the younger generation of Indian nationalists was thrilled and backed Gandhi. The congress party adopted his plans and he received extensive support from Muslim leaders like Maulana Azad, Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Hakim Ajmal khan, Abbas Tyabji, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali.

Gandhi’s planning of the non-cooperation movement included persuading all Indians to withdraw their labour from any activity that sustained the British government and economy in India, including British industries and educational institutions. All offices and factories were closed. Indians were encouraged to withdrew from Raj-sponsored schools, police services, the military and the civil service and lawyers were asked to leave the Raj’s courts, public transportation and English manufactured goods, especially clothing, was boycotted. Indians returned honours and titles given by the government and resigned from various posts like teachers, lawyers, civil and military services. In addition to promoting self reliance by spinning khadi, buying Indian made goods only and boycotting British goods, Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement called for the restoration of the Khilafat in Turkey and the end to untouchability. This resulted in public meetings and strikes

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<sup>4</sup> Sitaramayya, Pattabhi , *The History of the Indian National Congress: 1885-1935*, p. 191

which led to the first arrests of both Jawaharlal Nehru and his Father, Motilal Nehru on 6<sup>th</sup> December 1921.<sup>5</sup>

The eminent Hindi writer, poet, playwright, Journalist and nationalist Rambriksh Benipuri, who spent more than eight years in prison fighting for India's independence wrote extensively on non-cooperation.<sup>6</sup>

On 4<sup>th</sup> February 1922 a Massacre took place at Chauri Chaura a small town in the district of Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh. A police officer had attacked some volunteers picketing a liquor shop. A whole crowd of peasants that had gathered there went to the police station. The mob set fire to the police station with some 22 police men inside it.

Mahatma Gandhi felt that the revolt was veering off course and was disappointed with the gradual loss of non-violent nature of the movement. He did not want the movement to degenerate into a contest of violence, with police and angry mobs attacking each other back and forth, victimizing civilians in between. Gandhi appealed to the Indian public for all resistance to end, went on a fast lasting 3 weeks and called off the non-cooperation movement. As Mridula Mukherjee argues, "The retreat that was ordered on 12 February, 1922 was only a temporary one. The battle was over, but the war would continue."<sup>7</sup>

It was one of the movements for Indian independence from British rule and ended as Nehru described in his autobiography, "suddenly" in February 1922 after the Chauri Chaura incident.

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<sup>5</sup> Tharoor, *Nehru: The Invention of India*, Penguin Viking, New York (2003) p.41-42

<sup>6</sup> Rai, Ram Bachan *Rambriksh Benipuri*. Sahitya Akademi, Delhi. (1995). p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> BipanChandra, et. al., *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin Books India (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 1997, p. 196

## Civil Disobedience Movement

Civil Disobedience Movement was the second pan-India mass movement, which Mahatma Gandhi launched to obtain 'Swaraj'. It was an important movement especially after the arrival of Simon Commission, Nehru Report and Lahore session of Congress demanding Poorna Swaraj. On 12 March 1930, Gandhi left the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmadabad on foot with 78 other members of the Ashram for Dandi, a village on the western sea-coast of India, at a distance of about 385 km from Ahmadabad. They reached Dandi on 6 April 1930. There, Gandhi broke the salt law. It was illegal for anyone to make salt as it was a government monopoly. Gandhi defied the government by picking up a handful of salt which had been formed by the evaporation of sea by calling it the most inhuman poll tax the ingenuity of man can devise.<sup>8</sup> The defiance of the salt law was followed by the spread of Civil Disobedience Movement all over the country. Making of salt spread throughout the country in the first phase of the civil disobedience movement, it became a symbol of the people's defiance of the government.<sup>9</sup>

Soon this movement gathered strength and a large number of people in and around India took part in it. 'Hartals' were once again observed and the foreign goods were boycotted. At several places the people stopped paying government taxes. In order to suppress this movement the British government resorted to repressive policy and put behind the bars as many as 60,000 people. Mahatma Gandhi was also arrested but his arrest gave a fresh momentum to the freedom Movement. When this repressive policy proved futile the British Government followed a policy of conciliation and called the first Round Table conference. But as the civil

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<sup>8</sup> Gandhi, Collected Works. Vol.43, p.3.

<sup>9</sup> Dalton, Dennis *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*. Columbia University Press, Delhi, (1993). p.100.

Disobedience Movement was going on at its full swing the Congress party did not send any representative of its own. In March, 1931 an understanding was, however, reached between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin and both of them concluded a pact which is generally known as the Gandhi-Irwin pact. Soon Mahatma Gandhi called off the Civil Disobedience Movement and agreed to attend the second Round Table conference (1931) and the English on their part set free all the political prisoners and amended the Salt law. The Second Round Table Conference was held in London in 1931 and Mahatma Gandhi participated in it as the sole representative of the Congress. As no decision could be reached regarding the joint or separate electorates and the number of seats for various communities, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India without any settlement. But hardly had he returned to India when he was arrested in 1932, and the policy of repression once again showed its ugly head. The civil disobedience movement became active once again.<sup>10</sup>

It was during these disturbed days, the British Prime Minister MacDonald announced the famous 'Communal Award' and gave separate electorates to the Harijans in August 1932. On this issue Gandhiji, then in jail undertook a fast unto death and succeeded in getting the Poona Pact of 1932, by which both the Harijans and the Hindus agreed to have joint electorates. The Indian government also amended the communal Award in the light of the above pact. When the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act of 1935, Mahatma Gandhi called off the Civil Disobedience Movement and tried to test the new reforms.

### **Quit India Movement**

The Quit India Movement also known as the August Movement was a movement launched at the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee by

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<sup>10</sup> Kundra D. N., Kundra, S.D, *A new textbook of History of India*, Navdeep Publications, New Delhi, 1968, p.375.



Mahatma Gandhi on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1942 during World War II demanding an end to British rule in India. At that time, in 1942, Japan was knocking at the very doors of India and the various Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhi felt that the presence of the English in India would naturally invite Japan to invade India. The Japanese attack, according to them, could be warded off only if the English quitted India. Consequently, Mahatma Gandhi, the leading spirit of the Congress party, started the 'Quit India movement' in May 1942 and asked the English to Quit India and to leave them alone and made a call to Do or Die in his Quit India speech delivered in Bombay on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1942 at the Gowalia Tank Maidan.<sup>11</sup> The All India Congress Committee launched a mass protest demanding what Gandhi called "An orderly British withdrawal from India. Almost the entire leadership of the movement was in prison and out of contact with the masses. The British had the support of the viceroy's council of the All India Muslim League, the Hindu Maha Sabha the princely states, the Indian imperial police, the British Indian Army and the Indian Civil service. Many Indian businessmen profiting from heavy wartime spending did not support the Quit India Movement. Many students paid more attention to Subhas Chandra Bose who was in exile and supporting the Axis powers.<sup>12</sup> The only outside support came from the Americans as president Franklin D Roosevelt pressured Prime Minister Winston Churchill to give in to some of Indian demands.<sup>13</sup> The Quit India campaign was effectively crushed. The British refused to grant immediate independence saying it could happen only after the war had ended. Sporadic small-

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<sup>11</sup> Shekhar Bandyopadhyay, (ed.) *Nationalist Movement in India*, A Reader, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> Sisir Kumar Bose, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, National Book Trust, India, New Delhi, 2001, p.120.

<sup>13</sup> Kundra D. N., Kundra, S.D, *A new textbook of History of India*, Navdeep Publications, New Delhi, 1968, p.376.

scale violence took place around the country and the British arrested tens of thousands of leaders keeping them imprisoned until 1945.

In terms of immediate objectives, Quit India failed because of heavy handed suppression, weak coordination and the lack of a clear – cut program of action. However the British government realized that India as ungovernable in the long run due to the cost of World War II and the question for post war became how to exit gracefully and peacefully.

### **Indian Independence & Partition**

In 1945, the Second World War concluded in favour of the English. So with a view to giving some more powers to the Indians, Lord Wavell, the then viceroy of India, called a conference of the different political leaders at Simla. But because of the stubborn attitude of Muslim League, the conference failed and the deadlock continued as it was before. In the mean time the Labour party came out successful in England in 1945 and the Labour Party Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, who had been every sympathetic to the Indians, sent the Cabinet Mission to India in 1946 with the aim of resolving the deadlock and to make India a free country. This Mission comprising of three members of Attlee's cabinet, viz., Sir Stafford Cripps , Lord Pathic Lawrence and A.V.Alexander, arrived in India in 1946. Among other things, this Mission recommended that (i) there should be a federation of India comprising both the Indian states and the provinces of British India:(ii) a Constituent Assembly should be elected to draw up the future constitution of India and (iii) till the constitution was ready an interim government of all the parties should be set up at the centre.

When in July the elections for the constituent Assembly were held, the Congress bagged most of the seats (211 out of 296) . This was a great humiliation for the Muslim League. So it boycotted the Constituent Assembly, and on 16th August, it

observed the Direct Action Day to achieve Pakistan. Soon communal riots broke out at different parts of the country, especially in Bengal. Everywhere the innocent people were killed. It now became quite clear that the partition of the country was quite inevitable. In the mean time, the interim government, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru was set up at the centre. In the beginning, the Muslim League refused to join the ministry, but in October 1946 it joined it of its own accord. The conflict between the Congress and the Muslim League, however, continued.

On 20th January, 1947 the British government made an important announcement. It declared that the British would leave India by a date not later than June 1948 but if the Muslim League did not join the Constituent Assembly it would decide whether to transfer the power to one central government or to provincial government. This declaration thus contained a veiled hint about the partition of the country. Soon there broke out communal riots in various parts of the country. The Muslim League deliberately followed the policy of loot, murder and arson to show to the British that the Muslims wanted a separate country of their own. In March 1947 Lord Mountbatten replaced Lord Wavell as the viceroy of India and with his assumption of office the Indian freedom movement entered the last stage of its history.<sup>14</sup> The new viceroy tried to resolve the deadlock that existed between the Muslim League and the Congress, but when he found that it was difficult to patch up the difference he made an important announcement on 3rd June, 1947 regarding the partition of the country.

On the basis of Lord Mountbatten's declaration of 3rd June 1947, the British parliament passed the Indian Independence Act in July 1947. It proposed the establishment of two dominions of India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of the

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<sup>14</sup> Bipan Chandra, et.al, *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin Books, Delhi, 1989, p.496.

British domination by 15th August 1947. Consequently, on 15th August 1947 the British authority in India came to an end and the country was partitioned into two parts i.e., India and Pakistan. In Pakistan were included the provinces of Sind, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, West Punjab, East Bengal and Sylhet district of Assam. All the remaining provinces remained within the Indian Dominion.<sup>15</sup>

Gandhi was completely against partition.<sup>16</sup> Gandhi suggested an agreement which required the Congress and the Muslim League to co-operate and attain independence under a provisional government. He was really heart broken to see the riots in India in the name of religion. He even camped in Noakhali for four months and toured the district in a mission to restore peace and communal harmony. However, the peace mission failed to restore confidence among the survivors, who could not be permanently rehabilitated in their villages.<sup>17</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi and his services for his motherland stand unrivalled in the history of India. Because of his meritorious services, he is still called as 'Bapu' by the common man. He was murdered by Nathuram Vinayak Godse, a Hindu nationalist who fired three bullets into his chest from a pistol at close range and he died instantly.<sup>18</sup> Godse who was an extremist Hindu made no excuse to escape.<sup>19</sup> When he died on 30 January 1948, Jawaharlal Nehru remarked, "The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere." Similarly Lord Mountbatten said, "India indeed the world will not see one like of him again." Again, in the words of Dr. Ishwari Prashed we can conclude that "the death of Mahatma Gandhi marks the close

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<sup>15</sup> Talbot, Ian; Singh, Gurharpal *The Partition of India*, Cambridge University Press, (2009), p.3

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/gandhi-opposed-partition/article25570495.ece>

<sup>17</sup> Sinha, Dinesh Chandra; Dasgupta, Ashok *1946: The Great Calcutta Killings and Noakhali Genocide*. Kolkata: Himangshu Maity. (2011). pp. 278–280

<sup>18</sup> Gandhi, Tushar A. *"Let's Kill Gandhi !": A Chronicle of His Last Days, the Conspiracy, Murder, Investigation, and Trial*. Rupa & Company. . (2007) p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> Hardiman, David *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas*. Columbia University Press. (2003). pp. 174–76.

of an epoch in Indian history. It was an epoch of great events when by means of truth and non violence without any battalions or armies, this frail, little man shook the mightiest empire to its foundations. He dominated Indian politics for nearly a quarter of a century. Among the political workers of the world he was unique."

## **GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES**

Mahatma Gandhi is not merely a political philosopher. His mission was to reconstruct India from below to a decentralized socio-political and economic order with India's myriad villages as its base. He was very much concerned with the nature, poor, deprived and the downtrodden and he has intended to alter the evil, political, social, and economic system of the people. Gandhi is universally known as the most renowned theorist, philosopher and also the practitioner of truth, love, non-violence, tolerance freedom and peace.<sup>1</sup> He was a leader of his people. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to realize brotherhood or identify not merely with the beings called human, but he wanted to realize and identify with all life even with such beings that crawl on earth. The two Ashrams he had established in South Africa were operated as self sufficient units combining agricultural individual and recreational activities. This style of living inspired by the writings of John Ruskin and Leo Tolstoy, acquainted Gandhiji with the problem of rural economy. His reading of Dadabhai Naoroji's Indian poverty and the British Rule of 1901, William Digby's prosperous British India, R.C. Dutt's two volumes on The Economic History of India under British Rule - all convinced Gandhiji of the subtle and sometimes not too subtle exploitation of India that had been impoverishing the country. That was the reason why he decided to dedicate himself to end colonialism and imperialistic domination of people everywhere if they are to live like human beings with dignity.

### **Satyagraha**

“Satyagraha was Gandhi's way of fighting the British Raj”. Satyagraha is a technique for solving social conflicts. Satyagraha is formed by two Sanskrit words

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<sup>1</sup> Gene Sharp *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power: Three Case Histories*. Navajivan, Delhi. (1960). p. 4

Satya which have meaning Truth and Agraaha have meaning holding firmly. The term was famous and popular during the Indian Independence Movement. To Gandhi, Satyagraha is a process of self purification, and ours is sacred fight and it seems to me to be in the fitness of things that it should be commenced with an act of self-purification.<sup>2</sup>The central concept of Gandhi's philosophy is Satyagraha. The pivotal and defining element of Gandhism is satya, it is a Sanskrit word for truth. It also refers to a virtue in Indian religions, referring to being truthful in one's thought, speech and action. Satya is also called as truth. It is itself a whole philosophy of non violence. A Satyagraha campaign is undertaken only after all other peaceful means have proven ineffective. An attempt is made to convert, perused the opponent. A Satyagraha campaign is undertaken only after all other peaceful means have proven ineffective. At its heart is non -violence. An attempt is made to convert, persuade or win over the opponent. It is a form of struggle to achieve social ends. Satyagraha is war without violence. It is non-violent direct action Satyagraha is a process of education and public opinion, such that it covers all the elements of the society and in the end makes itself irresistible. Satyagraha is purely a spiritual weapon. It does not depend on outside help it derives all its strength from within.<sup>3</sup>

### **Trusteeship**

“Trusteeship” implies property. It also means that there should be a person who creates the trust. There must be a trustee who will hold the property in trust. There will necessary be beneficiaries who will be recipients of the outcome of the trust's prosperity. Along with these the rights, duties and observations of the trustee will be inducted in the trust. “The theory of Trusteeship makes no distinction

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<sup>2</sup> Gandhi, Mahatma , An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth, pp. 428-29.

<sup>3</sup> Wiliam Stuart Nelson, Satyagraha: Ghandhian Principle of Non-Violence Non-Cooperation, Howard University Press, 1957. P.15

between private and non-private property, no matter who possesses it and what its nature or quantity is indeed, the theory of Trusteeship applies not only to tangible and transferable property but also to place of power and position and to intangible and non-transferable property such as the muscular energy of labourer and the talents of a Helen Keller. Even a cripple in an asylum for invalids is a trustee to the extent he is able to exercise his will.

### **Gandhi's Educational ideas**

Education system proposed by Mahatma Gandhi is called as “Basic Education”. He mainly aims at the education in mother tongue and asked for activity cantered education to make the children skilled and independent. Gandhiji wanted to construct small, self-reliant communities with its ideal citizens being all industrious self-respecting and generous individuals living in a small co-operative and community. He wished that some local craft should be made as medium of education for children so that they develop their mind, body and soul in a harmonious way and also meet the needs of their future life such Gandhian educational thoughts are relevant for development and providing solutions of the current problems like unemployment, poverty, corruption and many others. Gandhiji's contribution to education is unique in this sense that he made the first attempt to develop an indigenous scheme of education in British India with the advent of British Colonial rule in India, an alien system of imperial education was introduced which was in contradiction with the age-old, unique and all inclusive holistic educational system of India. It has not only caused irreparable damage to Indian education system in the long run, but also created numbers of all kinds of differences, class-consciousness ever increasing crave for western materialistic life style, etc. His philosophy of education is a harmonious blending of idealism, Naturalism and pragmatism.



## **Gandhian Economics Ideas**

Gandhian economics is a school of economics thought based on the spiritual and socio economic principles expounded by Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi. It is largely characterized by rejection of the concept of the human being as a rational actor always seeking to maximize material self interest that underlies classical economic thinking where western economic systems were based on what he called the multiplication of wants Gandhi felt that this was both unsustainable and devastating to the human spirit his model by contrast aimed at the fulfillment of needs including the need for meaning and community. Gandhi's thinking on what we would consider socio – secular issues saw little distinction between the sacred and its social was influenced by John Ruskin and the American writer Henry David Thoreau. Throughout his life Gandhi sought to develop ways to fight India's extreme poverty backwardness and socio economic challenges as a part of this wider involvement in the Indian independence movement.

Gandhian economics do not draw a distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurts the moral well being of an individual or a nation is immoral and therefore sinful. The value of an industry should be gauged less by the dividends it pays to share holder's than by its effect on the bodies, souls and spirits of the people employed in it. In short, supreme consideration is to be given to man rather than to money. The third principle of Gandhian economic thought known as trusteeship principle is that while an individual or group of individuals is free not only to make a decent living through an economic enterprise but also to accumulate their surplus wealth above what is necessary to meet basic needs and investment should be held as a trust for the warfare of all particularly of the poorest and most deprived.

The revival of the economy is made possible only when it is free from exploitation. So according to Gandhi, industrialization on a mass scale will lead to passive or active exploitation of the problem of competition and marketing comes in Gandhi believes that for an economy to be self-contained it should manufacture mainly for its use even if that necessitates the use of modern machines and tools provided it is not used as a means of exploitation of others.

### **Concept of Socialism**

Gandhian economics brings a socialist prospective of overall development and tries to redefine the outlook of socialism. Gandhi espoused the notion of trusteeship which centered on denying material pursuits and coveting of wealth with practitioners acting as trustees of other individuals and the community in their management of economic resources and property under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal greed. The path of socialism should only be through non-violence and democratic method and any recourse to class war and mutual hatred would prove to be suicidal.<sup>4</sup>

### **Underlying principles**

Sathya (truth), Ahimsa (non-violence), Aparigraha (non-possession), or the idea that no one possesses anything while Satya and Ahimsa he said were ‘as old as the hills based on these two he derived the principle of non-possession . Hence he was clear that each one would need to limit one’s needs to the basic minimums.

### **Social Justice and Equality**

Gandhi has often quoted that if mankind was to progress and to realize the ideals of equality and brotherhood, it must act on the principle of paying the highest attention to the prime needs of the weakest sections of the population. Therefore any

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<sup>4</sup> Christopher Chapple *Nonviolence to Animals, Earth, and Self in Asian Traditions*. State University of New York Press. (1993). pp. 16–18

exercise on economic planning on a national scale would be fertile without uplifting these most vulnerable sections of the society in a direct manner.

Gandhi was also a firm believer of STS (Struggle Truce Struggle). He believed that after duration of struggle there should be a resting phase by which they could recover the power and rise again more strong and powerful. Though this point is not mentioned but every movement lead by Gandhi was withdrawn by him after a year or two.

Most of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi hold relevance even in today's world Gandhian philosophy is not only simultaneously political, moral and religious, it is also traditional and modern simple and complex. The path shown or followed by Gandhiji at that time still remains a very valid one if somebody chooses to tread on it.

Gandhi influenced important leaders and political movements. Leaders of the civil rights movement in the United States, including Martin Luther King Jr., James Lawson, and James Bevel, drew from the writings of Gandhi in the development of their own theories about nonviolence. King said "Christ gave us the goals and Mahatma Gandhi the tactics." King sometimes referred to Gandhi as "the little brown saint." Anti-apartheid activist and former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, was inspired by Gandhi. Others include Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Steve Biko, and Aung San Suu Kyi.

In his early years, the former President of South Africa Nelson Mandela was a follower of the nonviolent resistance philosophy of Gandhi. Bhana and Vahed commented on these events as "Gandhi inspired succeeding generations of South

African activists seeking to end White rule. This legacy connects him to Nelson Mandela...in a sense, Mandela completed what Gandhi started."<sup>5</sup>

Gandhi's life and teachings inspired many who specifically referred to Gandhi as their mentor or who dedicated their lives to spreading Gandhi's ideas. In Europe, Romain Rolland was the first to discuss Gandhi in his 1924 book *Mahatma Gandhi*, and Brazilian anarchist and feminist Maria Lacerda de Moura wrote about Gandhi in her work on pacifism. In 1931, notable European physicist Albert Einstein exchanged written letters with Gandhi, and called him "a role model for the generations to come" in a letter writing about him.

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<sup>5</sup> Bhana, Surendra; Vahed, Goolam H. (2005). *The Making of a Political Reformer: Gandhi in South Africa, 1893–1914*. Manohar. pp. 44–45, 149.

## CONCLUSION

Mahatma Gandhi had not played any leading role in the Congress and was unknown to the masses before his arrival in India in 1915. But, surprisingly, he became the undisputed leader of the Congress and the leader of masses within a short span of 5 years, from 1915 to 1920. A major factor responsible for the emergence of Gandhi in Indian politics was the success of his resistance, namely Satyagraha, based on truth and non-violence, in South Africa. The South African experience (1893-1914) contributed in a number of ways to the foundations of Gandhi's ideology and methods as well as to his later achievements in India. Till 1906, Gandhi was a rising lawyer-politician. He followed the moderate techniques of prayers and petitions in the struggle against racial discrimination affecting Indians in Natal. In this struggle against racial discrimination, a total new departure began with three campaigns of Satyagraha during 1907-08, 1908-11 and 1913-14. The peculiar conditions of South Africa enabled Gandhi to bring together people of different religions, communities and classes.

This South African experience projected Gandhi as an all-India figure from the beginning of his work in India more than any other politician all of whom (like Tilak, Lajpat Rai or Bipin Chandra Pal) had essentially regional bases. The South African experience made him an international celebrity. Further, the connections, which many South African Indians had with their original homes in different parts of the country, helped to spread the name of Gandhi throughout India. Thirteen out of the first 25 inmates of the Sabarmati Ashram (1915) came from Tamil Nadu, something that would have been inconceivable then for any other Indian leader. The disillusionment of the people with the methods and failures of the moderates, the failure of the extremists to reach and mobilise the masses and the failure of

the revolutionary terrorists to achieve their main goal of expelling the British from India through the use of force was as much responsible as the above factors for the emergence of Gandhi. The personality of Gandhi and his simple and Sainly habits were also responsible for his emergence in Indian politics. Gandhi was thus firmly rooted in the Indian traditions and it was from that fact that he drew his immense strength.

Gandhi joined the Indian National Congress and was introduced to Indian issues, politics and the Indian people primarily by Gokhale. Gandhi, in his initial years in India after his coming back led the Champaran satyagraha, Kheda and Ahmedabad mill strike and Rowlett satyagraha.

The period from 1919 to 1948 is known as the 'Gandhian era in Indian History'. Mahatma Gandhi gave a new direction to the freedom movement with the principles of Truth, Non-violence and Satyagraha. Due to the influential leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the national movement became more comprehensive. This led to the beginning of a new era in the freedom movement of India. During this period Mahatma Gandhi had become the undisputed leader of the National Movement. He laid principles of nonviolence and Satyagraha which were employed against the British Government.

Mahatma Gandhi came to be known as Mahatma (great soul) for the courageous, selfless, and nonviolent methodologies that characterized the way Mahatma Gandhi lived as well as his attempts at instilling reform for the betterment of his fellow citizens and the world. Gandhi taught us that an individual can train himself or herself to become transparent and open and also create synergy and cooperation between education, training, employment, and the community, striving always for continuous improvement. He was a performance manager for the country

and a supremely practical leader for change. He believed that truth, tolerance, sacrifice, joy, and the nonviolent rejection of tyranny were the very substance of a successful life. Gandhi's ways of organizing people, of examining and producing ideas for bringing people together, are important lessons for reducing the present tensions created by global trade, commerce, and information technologies. Gandhi measured all decisions against truth. Truth can be translated as transparency in thought, word, and action and the courage to see limitations and possibilities against the raw material of aptitude and skill available in a person.

Gandhiji is indeed great. As Albert Einstein said, "Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth".

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## ILLUSTRATIONS



**Childhood picture of Gandhiji**

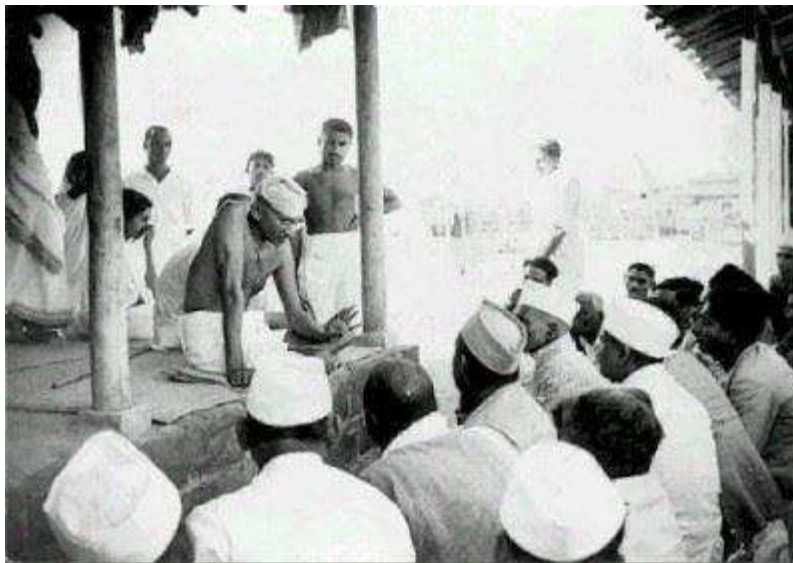


**Barrister Gandhi**





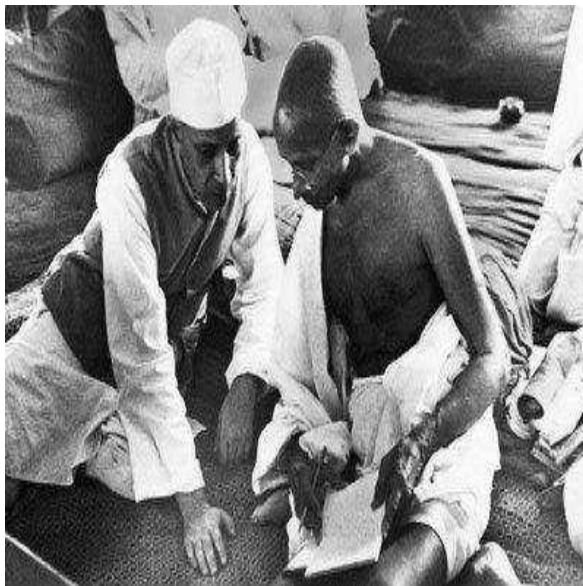
**Gandhi with wife**



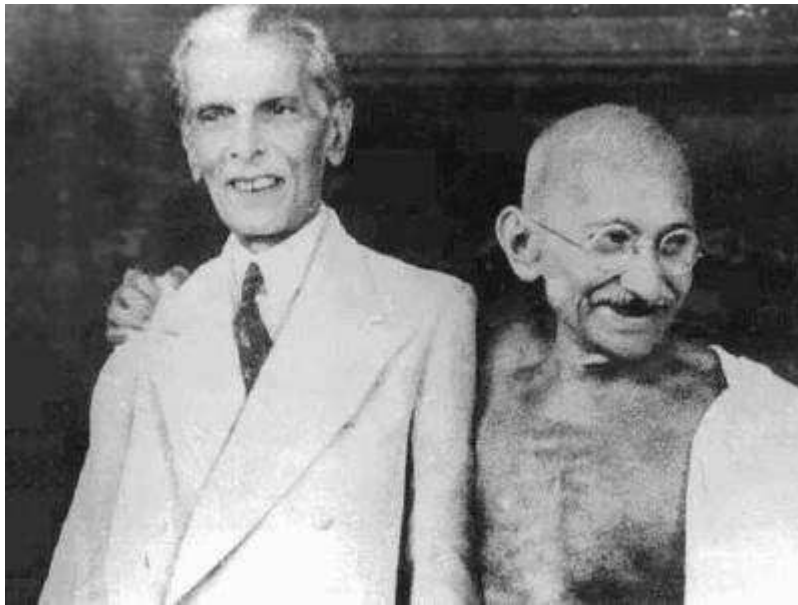
**Gandhi with disciples**



**Gandhi defying salt law**



**Gandhi with Nehru**



Gandhi with Jinnah



Last picture of Gandhi

# **POLIGARS IN SOUTH INDIA – A STUDY**

*Project in History submitted to*

*St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi*

*affiliated to*

*Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli*

*in partial fulfillment of the requirements*

*for the award of the degree of*

**Bachelor of Arts in History**

**BY**

A. MARGRAT NEVANCY	18AUHI33
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**III B.A. History**

**St. Mary's College (Autonomous)**

Reaccredited with "A+ " by NAAC

**Thoothukudi**

**2020 – 2021**

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## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the project entitled "**POLIARS IN SOUTH INDIA – A STUDY**" is submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi** in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of **Bachelor of Arts in History** is a record of work done during the year 2020-2021 by the following students of III BA History.

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Thoothukudi - 628 001.



## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "Poligars in South India – A Study" submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History is our original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date: 09.04.2021

### Students Name

A. Margrat Nevancy

S. Maria Dayana

J. Maria Esther Vinnoli

B. Maria Jenifa

M. Maria Revina

A. Maria Shamla

R. Maria Valar Snopha

### Signature of the Candidate

A. Margrat Nevancy

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## INTRODUCTION

The dawn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century A.D. was the beginning of anarchy and disorder of formidable proportions which engulfed South India. The Pandyas and Cholas who has carried the pioneering flag of imperialism far and wide by establishing peace and prosperity, ceased to be political forces. The presence of the European powers which were ready to fish in troubled waters. Only intensified the confusion. The collapse of the established law and order the constant threat of foreign invasions, the spirit of independence of assert their authority in overwhelming strength created a situation favourable for the rise of the poligars who came into existence gradually as a result of an interplay of historical and political circumstance.

This work makes an effort to highlight of the Socio-economic and political history of the palayam. The fortune of South India suffered an eclipse during the period that followed the Pandya Chola epoch. The rising tide of Afghan imperialism swept over South India during the first decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Ala-ud-din-khilji of Delhi took advantage of the succession dispute in the Pandyan country and separated Madurai and Rameswaram in 1311. The conquest of the Chola and Pandyan countries was successfully undertaken by the Tughlaqs of Delhi in 1323. However the decline of the Delhi Sultanate gave them an opportunity to assert their Independence.

Tamil Nadu, the homeland of the Tamils occupied the southernmost region of India. The ancient kingdom of Madura, had at one time included besides Madura, had at one time included besides Madura, the provinces of Trichinopoly, Dindugal, Pudukottai, Tanjore. The two Marava territories (Sivaganga and Ramnad), Tinnevely and Travancore. The sixty five miles from the banks of the river Vellar and Kollidam in the North to the borders of Kallarnadu in the South and fifty miles

from Tanjore in the east and Mysore in the west. Madurai which lay west of Ramanathapuram was bounded by the Kollar districts of Melur and Natham. On the North and by Dindugal on the west and Tinnevely in the South. Tinnevely situated South of Madurai and Ramanathapuram, had a common boundary with Travancore in the west and extended upto Kanyakumari in the South. Pudukottai, Natham and Melur together called Kallarnadu embraced a territory over grown with thorny bushes Tondaimans of Pudukottai became prominent on account of their service to the Nayakas.

The existence and greatness of a state depended upon their military strength and the place which it received in the political order. The ruler had to keep in mind that the preservation of his power depended on military strength.

Madurai was surrounded by thick forests not easily overcome by enemies, a deep moat and lofty walls with huge gates with towers over them. Inscription made references to the moat, rampart parapet bastions and breast work as important parts of the fort and they were provided with mechanical contrivances by which stones, molten metal and burning oil could be thrown on the besiegers. War trenches were also prevalent. When the siege was protracted and long, the fortress was exposed to starvation and famine.

The poligars were a heterogeneous clan of semi-independent feudal barons who played a unique role in the politics of Tamil Nadu in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Palayam was a strip of territory consisting of a few villages granted to a chieftain to render justice and the tribute that he consented to pay to the sovereign.

The poligars transformed themselves into a domestic militia, strengthened their armed establishments and gradually established themselves as independent entities. They levied land duties, taxes on ploughs, looms, had to consider this

territory not as a Nadu but as a Palayam, an encampment. Poligar or Palayakkaran was the holder of the territory called Palayam in Tamil, palamu in Telugu and Pollam in English which meant literally an armed were referred to as the southern poligars and they were concentrated in Tinnevely, Ramanthapuram, Madurai, Dindugal and Tiruchirapalli districts.

### **Scope and Purpose of the study**

The prime objective of the dissertation is to reconstruct the historical events and the administrative system of Poligars. Political their patriotic attitude in South India.

### **Relevance of the study**

The administrative system and their struggle against the britishers were also trace the history also point out this study. Therefore this title is chosen.

### **Source of Study**

Different source materials have been used to trace the Portuguese rue in Tuticorin. The sources are books written by Scholars, Journals, Literary, Sources etc.

### **Methodology**

In this study different research methods have been used. They are descriptive method and analytical method. The source materials have been critically analyzed and investigated by the scholar herself. The descriptive method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the thesis understandable to the reader.

### **An Outline of the Chapter**

This project has five chapters. The First Chapter gives the detailed account of the Origin of Poligari System. The Second Chapter explains the Duties of Poligars, The Third Chapter speaks about the achievements of Freedom Figher Pulithevar, The

Fourth Chapter deals about the opposition of Kattabomman against the British in South India. The Fifth Chapter describes the end of the Poligar system. The Conclusion sums up the findings.

## **Chapter – I**

### **ORIGIN OF POLIGARI SYSTEM**

The introduction of the Palayam system was an epoch making event which directed the course of the History of the Southern district in general and Tinnelvely in particular. On the decline of the Vijayanagar and the Nayaks the leaders established their supremacy and consolidated their position. They ruled petty kingdoms History mentioned them as polegars. The term ‘Poligar’ were derived from the word ‘Palayakkaran’ who ruled Pallayam or Zamindari. The emergence of auxiliary powers in Tamil Nadu was not the product of monarchical weakness but they simply co-existed along with major powers. The establishment of Vijayanagar rule paved the way of the emergence of alien people as chieftains in the Tinnevelly region. In the Nayak rule, these chieftains were called as poligars.<sup>1</sup>

The native chieftains, otherwise known as poligars played an auxiliary role since the days of the Pandya kingdom. The Pandyas who were defeated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Muslim invaders were again able to establish their dynastic rule with the decline of the Pandyas the establishment of the Nayak rule defined the duties and responsibilities of the chieftains. Many of the Poligars were drawn from the ranks of the Telugu Nayak military leaders. Other belonged to the Marvar Community, a traditional warrior community in the Tamil country. Viswanatha and Ariyanatha organized the whole country for effective administration. One of the important measures were taken by them, the organization of the district into Pallayams or Pollams which later under the British, played a vital role both for and against the British administration. Palayakaram (Poligars) was incharge of each Palayams. The

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<sup>1</sup> Manoranjithamoni, *History of Tamil Nadu from 1529 A.D. to 1801 A.D.*, Dave-Beryl Publications, TVL, 2012, p.589.

chronicles speak of the division of the country into seventy two bastions of the Madurai foot.<sup>2</sup> The word Palayam literally means a camp Palayakaran means the chief of a camp, and not the proprietor of a country. The important Palayams were Ramanathapuram, Sivagangai, Wodayar, Ariyalur and Panjalamkurichi. The territorial extent of these Palayams varied from one another. Ramanathapuram and Sivagangai were the largest and Maniachi and Ezhayirampannai were among the smallest. Early in the Nayak period, there were about seventy two Poligars in Madurai country alone, while a few others came into existence during the later period. In 1752, their strength was indicated as sixty. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the numbers of the Palayams in the Carnatic region was about 46. In other words there was fluctuation in the number of Poligars. It was due to the activities of annexation as well as sequestration that the number of Palayams either increased or decreased. Most of the land of South of Tiruchirapalli and river lay under the control of the Poligar.

Under a strong ruler, the Poligars knew their limitations. They were expected to send men and materials whenever the Central power demanded them for defensive and offensive campaign. The weak monarchical administration of the Nayak rule paved the way for the independent activities of the Poligars. Subsequently the chieftains began to show their disloyalty towards the Nayaks.<sup>3</sup>

### **Poligari System under the Nayaks**

The Vijayanagar rulers in the beginning did not introduce the Poligari system but accepted the already existing one due to their inability to change. The chieftains who called themselves as Pancha Pandyas, the tributaries of the Pandyas refused to

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<sup>2</sup> Rajayyan, K., *Rise and Fall of Poligars of Tamil Nadu*, Madras, 1975, pp.18-20.

<sup>3</sup> Velmani, K.S.K., *Gazetteers of India, Tamil Nadu state, Tirunelveli, Vol. I*, Chennai, 2002, p.181.

accept the Nayak governor as overlord. Vishwanatha Nayak wanted it find a solution to prevent the rise of these chieftains and wished to bring the letter under his effective control. He recognized the role and rights of the chieftains and introduced the Poligari system.

There upon then Nayak admitted the chieftains into their administrative set up and defined their rule of conduct. The chieftains into their administrative set up and required to pay one-third of the collection as tribute to the Nayaks in the Madura country, as organized by Viswanatha Nayak, the son of Nagama Nayak, and the founder of the Nayak rule of that region (cir 1529 – 1564 A.D) stretched from cape Comorin to valikondapuram on the north and from Coimbatore, Erode, and the Western Ghats Rameswaram and the sea on the east. Viswanatha was trained in the administrative system of the Vijayanagar Empire and “made his mark in applying its principles in a systematic manner”. The chronicles of the time attribute a larger share of constructive work to Ariyanatha than even to Viswanatha in the matter of the establishment of the Palaiyakar (Poligar) system.<sup>4</sup>

The number of Poligars in Tinnevely and Madura is considerable even-to-day; and the title is said by colonel M. Wilks to have been given by the Vijayanagar kings to the chiefs of the Telugu colonies planted in the neighbouring provinces for the purpose of overawing the original inhabitants. Viswanatha Nayak had brought with him to Madura a large number of his own dependents and adherents whom he had to reward; besides these there were the old hereditary Tamil chieftains and the Telugu adventures who had previously settled in the land and whose good-will it was necessary for him to secure; and above all there were the impoverished and

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<sup>4</sup> Devanesan, *History of Tamil Nadu*, Renu Publications, Marthandam, 2000, p.113.



discontented adherents of the ancient Pandyas whom he had practically abolished as well as “the bold and turbulent canaries and Telugu adventures who had seized with a strong grip the northern and western divisions of country.

Although the system was not completely new in as much as we find some Palaykarans in the southern country before the enthronement of Viswanatha never the less to him was due its institution as a permanent and efficient body for the administration of the country and for the defense of the capital. The palayam system grew up in the Mysore and Carnataka regions as well and spread even up to the ceded districts. These Poligars, predecessors of the present Zamindars of Tinnevely; Ramnad, Madura and Tricinopoly districts, still look upon Ariyanatha as a sort of patron saint.<sup>5</sup>

Tradition makes much of him and his equestrian statue in the puthu mandapam at Madura was erected by the greatest of the Nayaks and is still crowned with garlands by the hero-worshippers to today.

The Poligar system was the solution of Viswanatha and Aryanaatha of the difficult problem of reconciling the conflicting interests of all these classes; its object was to enrich and ennoble the most powerful of each class, and at the same time to secure their and their descendants' allegiance.

The details of the scheme of the institution of Poligars as given in the chronicles are thus condensed by Nelson. There were 72 bastions to the fort of Madura and each one of them was now formally placed in charge of a particular chief who was bound for himself and his heirs to keep his post at all times and under all circumstances. He had to pay a fixed annual tribute and to supply besides a Quota of

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<sup>5</sup> Revathy, G., *History of TamilNadu*, The Palayams, New Delhi, 2005, p.77.

Cavalry and troops and maintain peace over a particular tract of country. In return he was given charge of all number of villages proportioned to his rank as well as the title of Palaiyakaran (Poligar), besides other valuable gifts and privileges.<sup>6</sup>

All that can be regarded as probable is that the existence of the Poligars as a class dates from the period of the commencement of the rule of the Nayaks very few of the Zamindars (the principal exception is the Sethupathi of Ramnad) can claim that their estates or chief-ships were conferred upon them, prior to the Nayaka period by the old Pandya kings.

The term Poligars is peculiar to the Madras presidency; and “the persons so called were properly subordinate feudal chief occupying tracts more or less wild and generally of predatory habits in former days; they are now much the same as Zamindars in the highest use of the term. The word is Tamil Palaiyakaran the holder of a Palaiyamor feudal estate; Tel. Palegadu; and thence Mahr. Palegar; the English form being no doubt taken from one of the two latter”. In Tamil the word Palaiyam means the country or district of a feudal chieftain a camp, or town or village surrounded with stones; and Palaiyappattu means a town or village governed by a Poligar or his estate.

Poligars means a petty chieftains in the south of India especially in Carnatic, occupying chiefly tracts of hill and forest, subject to pay tribute and service to the paramount state, but seldom paying either, and more or less independent, subsisting in a great measure by plunder these now subsided into peaceable land –holders.

The Poligars founded by the dynasty of the Madura Nayaks are known by the name of southern Poligars many of them are of the Totier caste and preserve the

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<sup>6</sup> Rajayyan, K., *Administration and Society in the Carnatic*, Tirupati, 1996, p.2.

language of their ancestors as distinct from that of the Tamils Caldwell gives the literal meaning of Palaiyakara as the holder of a camp and secondly as the holder of a barony or military tenure.<sup>7</sup> The English seem to have taken their favourite name Poligar, not from the Tamil Palaiyakara, but from the Telugu Palegadu, or the Carnarese Palegara, the meaning of which is the same. Similarly the Anglo-Indian word Pallam (Poligar's holding) is derived rather from the Telugu palemu than from the Tamil Palayam. The Poligars were military chieftains bearing a strong affinity to the Zamindars of the Northern circars, whose origin may be traced to similar events and causes. Some were leaders of banditti or freebooters other derived their descent from ancient rajahs or from those who hold high offices of trust under the dynasties. Ramnad was founded in the year 1605 by Muthukrishnappa rather restored to the ancient line of the Sethupathis-guardians of the Sethupathis had always been dependent on the Pandya and had been in existence for centuries before sadeika Thevan Udaiyan Sethupathi was crowned as sethupathi by the Nayak; and Sivaganga was an off shoot from Ramnad; and it dates as a Zamindari only from about 1730 A.D, from which time Ramnad came to be known as the Great Marava, and Sivaganga as the lesser Marava or Nalukottai. The Tondaimans of Pudukotta got first into prominence on account of their services to the Nayaks; and Pudukotta; was given the same rank as Travancore, Ramnad, and son of the kings of Madura". While other chieftains were called Palaiyakara servants. In the time of the famous Tirumala Nayak (1623 – 59) the greater part of the lands constituting the several territories under his rule were held as military fields by the Poligars; the Sethupathi of Ramnad (the Great Marava of early Anglo-Indian historians) did him homage, but paid no

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<sup>7</sup> Baliga, B.S., *Tanjore District Hand Book*, Madras Government Press, Madras, 1957.

tribute and the ruler of Travancore paid tribute only when compelled; and the others were held under a fairly firm grip.<sup>8</sup>

Every considerable town and village in the Nayak kingdom was fortified and garrisoned with regular troops, artillery, trained elephants and horses; and a dalakartan who safety. Madura was also a dalakartan who commanded the garrison and the police of the capital and became a most powerful official before the commencement of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Poligars in order to perform their military duties effectually were to keep in perpetual readiness a kind of militia properly equipped for service and ready to take the field at a moment's notice "This militia was exceedingly numerous in fact nearly all the able-bodied youths resident in the Poligars dominions were militia men and liable to be called out whenever there was danger of invasion or a prospect of foreign service". Some of the noble other than the Poligars, who lived at the capital, held large estates subject to military service and maintained regiments of infantry and cavalry. Some of the Poligars were placed in authority over others and they were made answerable for the good conduct of their subordinates. Thus the Sethupathi of Ramnad was the head of a section of them; the Poligar of Dindugal was the chief of 18 Poligars and "occupied a most distinguished position in the time of Tirumala".<sup>9</sup> Whenever troops were required by the Nayak for military operations the Dalavay (Dalakartan) of Madura sent requisitions to such and such Poligars, to furnish so many armed men within a certain time; the Poligars immediately sent round orders to the Dalakartans and headmen of the towns and villages; and on the day named, or soon afterwards the levies were ready for service and in marching order. In times of pressing need of men in the kingdom would be called to arms and

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<sup>8</sup> Francis, W., *Madras District Gazetteer*, Tanjore, Madras.

<sup>9</sup> Rajayyan, K., *History of Madras, (1736-1801)*, Madurai University, Madurai, 1974, p.72.

swarms of troops would hurry to the king's assistance from every quarter. The soldiers of the Poligars were mostly riots supporting themselves by lands granted to them rent-free on condition of rendering military service and received only batta when on march; while the expense of maintaining them in efficiency was very trifling. The defects such an organizations.

## Chapter – II

### DUTIES OF THE POLIGARS

The Poligar's men exercised police duties not only in their own villages but presumed to protect the property of the unhabitants and travellers in the adjoining villages and roads.<sup>1</sup> This extension of authority wholly based on encroachment was converted into a pretext, "for the most severe oppressions of the people in the form of fees and ready money collections". They also claimed rights over lands in the circar villages which they presumed to hold as rent-free. This was partially caused by the fact that the Pollam lands were indiscriminately intermixed in many places with the circar villages and to some extent caused by the Poligars being allowed by the Nawah's Government to farms the lands in those villages. They frequently rejected the riots from the lands of which they themselves held the rights and acquired a permanent interest in the Kaval villages.

Apart from the lack of training and discipline characteristic of such troops "they were kept in order only so long as their leaders continued to be animated by a common hope of plunder and personal advancement, or restrained by a common fear of the enemy, or of the king's vengeance. A jealous quarrel among the leading chief's or the retirement from the scene of action of one or two Poligars who fancied themselves slighted or ill-used, would be amply sufficient to break up a force in the presence of the enemy or even in the very hour of success consequently however numerous might be the king's battalions, however brave his generals and officers, he

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<sup>1</sup> Rajayyan, K., *Rise and Fall of the Poligars of Tamil Nadu*, University of Madras, Madras, 1974, p.104.

could never for a single moment feel absolutely safe or regard even the slightest indications of disaffection with indifference.<sup>2</sup>

The power exercised by the Poligars of the Carnatic (the dominions of Nawab Muhammad Ali) in regard to police and the manner in which it was exercised either, to raise revenue or to augment their influence is described in the report of Mr. Lushington, the collector of the Poligar peshcush in the southern districts, dated 20<sup>th</sup> August 1799. The Poligars collected two sorts of fees, as district – watchers and villages-watchers. The village fees known as Tallum kaval were of a much older creation than the Poligar's influence and authority. "Being coeval with the establishment of villages and constituting the feud for the support of the tallian; or officers of police.

The Desha kaval or district watching fees originated either from a grant of the ruler or from the voluntary action of the villagers, who being unable to protect themselves submitted to such contributions. In later times these were levied by the Poligars from defenseless villagers as the price of the bearing to plunder them.<sup>3</sup>

"These contributions consisted in payments of money, grain, plough or cattle, and various other articles, and were made by armed pennons detached from the fort of the Poligars for that purpose; they were not regulated by any fixed principle but the amount, depended upon the conscience of the Poligar; and when the payment of them was resisted or not quickly submitted to it was enforced by torture and the whip; the whole village was put into confinement every occupation was interdicted the cattle pounded, and the inhabitants taken captive into the pollam, lands or murdered. The fees and collections thus made on account of the police were exclusive of other

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<sup>2</sup> Rajayyan, K., *op.cit.*, p.105.

<sup>3</sup> Ganapathy Pillay, W.E., *Ettayapuram Past and Present*, Madras, 1890, p.42.

assessments to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring circar villages were subject equally with those in the pollams, under various pretences such as hunting, batta, marriage expenses and presents". When the Poligars of the Carnatic including the southern districts were transferred to the control of the company in 1772 by a treaty concluded with the Nawab, the company regarded them as usurpers of authority but subject to the Nawab whose camp they were summoned with a military force proportioned to their power and territory.<sup>4</sup>

As a feudal baron did, the Poligar preserved part of his estate usually the best land, for his own cultivate and distributed the rest among the chief inhabitants commonly called the sherogars, on condition of military service. The followers of a sherogar cultivated the lands in times of peace and took to arms in times of conflict on the other hand those who worked in the field of the sherogars received a fixed share of the harvest.

The poligars share of the product was known as potuchilavu which literally meant expense. It was estimated at 50% of the yield, the assessment being made on the basis of soil conditions. The share of the poligar being made on the basis of soil conditions. The share of the poligar was regulated by mamool or custom, but it being an undefined term was used in reality as a plea for committing every kind of abuse.<sup>5</sup> The fluctuation of taxes, the want of an established standard in the assessment of dry grain field and the intricate details of collections were real evils in the revenue administration of poligar territories. The additional area for which the peasant paid no tax valued from 50% to 100% of the extent of the land for which he actually paid. It was by such means that the peasants survived as in often areas. The services of the

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<sup>4</sup> Kadhisvel, S., *History of Maravas*, Madurai, 1977, p.165.

<sup>5</sup> Velmani, K.S.K., *op.cit.*, p.204.



kavalkara were rewarded by a fee called statam kaval, which consisted of a portion of the crop which they protected or a monetary payment in lieu thereof

### **Poligars in warfare**

The poligars in common cherished a spirit of independence and turbulence of absence of any definitions of their privileges, since assumed power and the state setup by them led them into upholding themselves against the rulers frequently with forts a few old guns and a little equipment of stores, they armed their those who could not manage their own affairs usually put themselves under the influence of adventures whose interest was to enrich themselves. The jargon of these self seekers inflated the martial spirit of their masters. The chiefs constructed the fort in such a way as to guarantee its easy defense, when the enemy besieged their stronghold, their troops threw themselves behind the barriers for convenience of counter attack.

### **Kaval system**

Apart from the military establishments the poligars maintained police establishment called Kaval. The word kaval meant 'watch' and the person who performed the duty were called the kavalkars or kalayari. The government did not safeguard the life and prosperity of the inhabitants. Money was the only motive of the ruler. The rich people were given the freedom to kill any person when they wanted to do away with them. Because of these evil practices of the administration, the villages appealed to the poligars for protection. Readily the chieftains responded. They reappointed the old kavalkara or appointed their own servant.<sup>6</sup>

The kavalkars protected the interests of the inhabitants. In return for this service, they received from the villages a voluntary contribution called Desha Kaval.

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<sup>6</sup> Renukadevi, *Kaval System – through the Ages*, Madurai, 2003, p.51.

More villages sought protection and the kaval villages increased their rate of payment, which extended the jurisdiction of the poligars. From times immemorial every village had its kavalkara, who were posted either by village communities or by rulers for guarding the villages. Poligars and kaval complemented each other the poligars rendered military to the country against external invasions. The kavalkar on the other hand discharged police duties and preserved internal order.<sup>7</sup>

The period between 1650 and 1760 saw unprecedented growth in the influence of the poligars. The stormy political situation caused by Marath and Mughal invasion contributed to this trend. Meanwhile, the villages, which had already accepted their protection, paid enhanced rates in proportion to the increased responsibility undertaken by the poligars for holding the disorders at bay. By these means some gain, while others suffer, the poligars greatly enhanced their resources and extended the territory of their palayams. In addition to the Desha kaval the chiefs levied fees under various pretences such as hunting better marriages expenses and presents.

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<sup>7</sup> Rajayyan, K., *Poligars – The Auxiliary Powers of South India in 18<sup>th</sup> Century India*, Trivandrum, 1981, pp.6-7.

## Chapter II

### PULI TEVAR

Puli Tevar was the earlier freedom fighter in our Indian history. He was a Tamil Palayakkarar who ruled Nerkkattumseval in the Sankarankovil taluk Tirunelveli. He was born in the maravar community in the pulinadu a smaller region of the pondinadu. He was born on 1715. His father Chitraputrathevar and his mother Sivagananam Nachiyar. He took liained in horse riding archery and more. He married kayall kanhi as his wife. His real name kathappapulithevar. He was elected as a king in his 12<sup>th</sup> year. The fist size is Nelkattuseval on 1755. He refused all demands of Britishers. Then the second battle is at Kalakkadu on 1755. Puli thevar under standing fully well that the Britishers would not back down an could come back to attack so puli thevar got a support of Travancore Maharaja marthanada varma. Maharaja accept his request and sent 4000 troops to puli thevar. But Britishers had well equipped army and also support of Arcot Nawab. So puli Thevar lost this battle and loss his troops heavily.<sup>1</sup> Second seize of Nelkattumseval was on 1755-1756. Thevar assembled all his troops and guns inside his fort at Nelkattum seval. Now a confident thevar decided that he must launch an arsult to fully defeat his enemies seize of srivilliputhur is on 1759 Puli thevar started of victory march seeing this victory the rest of the palayakkars appealed to thevar to mach from Nelkattum seval to Madurai. Battle of Tirunelveli on 1756 Thevar defeated by British and Arcot Nawab army. He lost many troops at this battle. But puli thevar has not lost hope. He opened talk with agents of mysore at Dindigul for military help. But some losses here on 1758 pulithevar ready to cash with the British and Nawab for the fourth time. At this time puli thevar was supported by Poligars, Koteltava, nalukaturiel and surrandai.

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<sup>1</sup> Selvamani, A., *The Indian Puratchiyalargar (Tamil)*, Chennai, 2011, p.45.

Pulithevar camped his troop inside the settur fort on 1759. This battle was struggling for Britishers and Nawabs seize of vasudevanallur on 1759-1760. Pulithevar collected 3000 able men and led them night march from Nelkattumseval many damages for this battle for two sides. They used guns and powerful weapons for this battle. These weapons are made easy damages for humans. But vasudevanallur fort met no damage because of its strong and strength. After that on 1767 Pulithevar escaped from vasudevanallur and lived a cave in forest area. But he was caught by a spy named Aanthanarayanan. His sole mixed with god siva and he was the man for our freedom in the list of history in rank first. He made first war against British government. All of us proud of his courage.<sup>2</sup>

## **Yusuf Khan**

Pulithevar remained invincible and defeated a battalion of British and Nawab soldiers on the banks of Thamirabarani. However by 1761 Yusufkhan (Maruthuayagam) at last suppressed the revolts for good and pulithevar became a victim of a trap set by the Nawab and his agents to help British catch him.

Puli thevar or pooli Devar (1715 to 1768 the name puli in Tamil means a Tiger) was a local chieftain of Hindu Marava also known as Poligar in English or in local parlance palayakaurar. He was a devotee of Lord Shiva and ruled an area called net katumseval or Avudayapuram situated now in the Sankarankoil taluk of Tamil Nadu, S. India. He was a just but rebel ruler and strode the path of dharma. His personality was such that never had he failed to act against adharma whenever it raised its ugly head. Pulithevar has the unique distinction of being the first ever Hindu native local ruler in the entire Indian subcontinent ever to have revolted against the operative British East India Company prior to the hanging of soldier Mangal Pandey at

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<sup>2</sup> Caldwell, R., *History of Tirunelveli*, New Delhi, 1982, p.91.

meerut cantonment who first protested against the use of cow's fat in the greased rifle cartridges that triggered "sepoy" revolt of 1857.

The British company's land grabbing spree continued vigorously now they came down to the southern tip of the Indian peninsula. Thanks to the generosity of the Nawab of Arcot. After Pulithevar, who refused to pay the customary rice tribute to the Nawab the place became *helkattan serval* ("place which doesn't pay rice tribute").<sup>3</sup>

Palayakkarar, was the feudal title given for a class of territorial administrative and military governors or agents appointed by the Nayaka rulers of south India during 16<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They took one fourth of revenue and the rest would go to the treasury of the rulers. After the decline of Madurai Nayak dynasty. They first revolted against the British predating sepoy mutiny because they were forced to pay *kistiland* tax to them. The question on their mind was that they and their fore fathers had been masters of their land for centuries and not only did these British people again control on their motherland but also coerced them into paying taxes using intimidation and threats many of the revolting palayakkarar were put to death by the British.<sup>4</sup> These people had their roots in present day Andhra state. Puli thevar was not on good terms with the Nawab of Arcot Mohammed Ali a close ally of the British who in 1739 took control of Madurai and southern parts after the Nayaks became powerless. His prominent exploits were his confrontations with Marurthanayagam name of Muhammad usut Khan who later on rebelled against the British himself, he was a warrior in the Arcot troops, later commandant for the British East India Company troops and both we him to suppress the confederacy of seventy seven palayakkarars in the south of Tamil Nadu. All this happened in late 1750s and early

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<sup>3</sup> Raju Kalidas, *History and Culture of the Tamils*, Dindugal, 1996, p.73.

<sup>4</sup> Sadhasivan, S.N., *A Social History of India*, A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 2000.

1760s way before kattabomman, another great patriot who revolted against the British, appeared on the scene. According to Thirunelveli District Gazetteer, H.R. Pate, leader of the Marava confederacy was shrewd and a veritable Thorn against the side of the Nawab's agents. In the checkered history of palayakarars pulithevar carved a niche for himself and was a potential enemy of the Nawab of Arcot whose lordship the Palaiyakarars never accepted. Arcot Nawab had military alliance with the British forces to put down the rebels and gave rights to collect the land reveille in return for their military assistance a subtle diabolical trap set by the Muslim rulers regrettable when it became too late.<sup>5</sup>

Farcical trials, horrible hangings a whole budget of unfortunate occurrences lasting for but a period of four years from 1797 to 1801, we have what is indicated by the expression Palaiyagar rebellions. It will be good to remember in this context that the government of the setupati in Ramnad had been suspended in 1793 by the English East India Company. The company had disposed Muthu Ramalinga setupati and taken over the government of Ramnad and they administered the region till 1803 when they restored Mangaleswari Nachchiyar at a Zamindari to the position of Setupati. To the south of the Kaviri, in Tamilnad serious government was just non-existent.

With the attempt on the part of the English authorities in Madurai to enforce law and order and payment of arrears of Tenenue there erupted particularly in Panchalankurichi under the chieftaincy of kattabomman Nayaka risings against the English there risings occasionally spread of episodes was enacted in the tracts around sivaganga. Panchalankurichi was a small hamlet near Ettaiyapuram which it itself to

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<sup>5</sup> Srinivasa Iyengar, *History of Tamils*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1982, p.94.

the north west of Tuticorin and in the Tirunelveli District.<sup>6</sup> Kattabomman is chief was in the habit of raiding the lands of the neighbouring palaiyagars and the this had earned for him the enmity of these neighbours and particularly Ettaiyapuram. Some other chieftains who approved of Kattabomman's easy short cut to revenue imitated and joined him in similar forays. He also had failed to pay the arrears of revenue to the English company. This provoked col. Marwell, who had earlier sternly dealt with another recalcitrant chieftain i.e. of Sivagiri to order Kattabomman to pay up the revenue and to give up encouraging and ganging up with disloyal demands. In 1797 Kattabomman was involved in a rising in Ramnad. In 1798 his men coerced farmers in such distant places as Srivaikundam and Alwar Tirungari to pay money. Marwell's order went unheeded whereupon collector W.C. Jackson of Madurai whose business was to collect Palaiyagar peshkush wrote a strong letter to the Nayak to comply with the demand. Kattabomman did not respond satisfactorily. On August 18<sup>th</sup> a more promptory communication was sent to him. It seems to have had some effect since the palaiyagar agreed to meet the collector. He eventually met the collector in Ramnad the farmer who thought that the latter had planned to arrest him tried to escape and in the confusion that followed col. Clarlie who was defending the fort was fatally wounded but the Nayak and those who accompanied him escaped. Subrmania pillai, the Nayak and those who accompanied him escaped. Subramania pillai, the lawyer and general of Kattabomman, however was caught by the English troops who detained him. The returning palaiyagar and his men thoroughly looted Ramnad.<sup>7</sup>

Lushington the successor of Jackson strongly recommended to fort St. George that steps be taken to end the activities of this chieftain. In the meantime Subramania Pillai who had been released from the Trichinopoly prison had returned

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<sup>6</sup> Satyanatha Mudaliyar, *op.cit.*, p.304.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

to panchalankurichi and had organized the plunder of a large quantity of grains stored in Palaiyamkottai and belonging to the company and under the custody of one pirkett. This daring act of robbery followed by some loss of life for which Subramania pillai was responsible was therefore dispatched to attack panchalamkurichi. Bannerman sent an ultimatum to kattabomman to present himself before him and explain his conduct kattabomman sent an evasive reply. So the fort was bombarded. It became clear that the fort would fall soon. Kattabomman and a few of his followers fled from the fort and sped towards pudukottai and sivaganga. The fort which held out for some more time surrendered and kattabomman's brother of whom one oomaiyar was quite reputed as a daring fighter; were taken captives and imprisoned in palaiyamkottai subramania pillai was caught and erected. The panchalamkurichi fort was razed to the ground.

Kattabomma Nayak and a few followers of his who had escaped from panchalamkurichi were caught by the servants of the ruler of pudukottai vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman and handed over to the English. The palaiyagar was tried by Major Banner man summarily in the presence of a number of his peers and ordered to be erected. He was hanged in kayattaru on the 16<sup>th</sup> October, 1799.

The two brothers of Kattabomman who had been incarcerated in palaiyamkottai escaped from the prison in February 1801. In the meanwhile Bannerman had returned to England and been succeeded by another officer who also left after a short assignment. Then came Major Collin Macaulay as the general of the company's forces in Madura. The dumb brother had a marred sufficient resources in a very short while to reconstruct the destroyed fort of panchalankurichi. As more reinforcements and additional leadership were deemed necessary colonel Agnew came with a large force and more artistry and joined the English forces already



besieging panchalankurichi. The fort was captured for hours together but it produced to effect. Another message was sent offering that the army would retire, provided he paid Rs. 20,000 puli thevar's reply was a contemptuous one. The army had to retire to Madura without getting and payment from Puli thevar.<sup>8</sup>

Puli Thevar was the first to have successfully refused the tribute to the Nawab. He did not recognize the uzescrinty of the Nawab. He was the pioneer to openly oppose the authority of the Nawab in the Tirunelveli country. He was clear about his aims. He did not put forth any excuses such as poor crops, undue low collection of taxes owing to the uncertain political conditions etc. for his non-payment of tributes. He flatly refused to pay any tribute to anybody. Both the English and indigenous accounts agree that puli thevar was obstinate insolent and adamant and did not accept the authority of the Nawab. The former does not however speak about his desire for independence whereas the latter specifically mentions that but it is clear that he was not prepared to pay any tribute to the Nawab.<sup>9</sup>

Robert orme attributes the retreat of col. Heron to the betrayal of his interpret who according to orme told puli thevar the real strength of the force under col. Heron and the fact that it had no which made puli thevar to pay no head to the summons pay orme adds that Heron's army had to retreat to Madura because the army was much distressed for want of provisions of all kinds and the sepoys were ready to mutiny for want to pay both of which Mahfuz Khan had promised but neglected to supply. The argument of orme sound well. But he does not explain why of all the Palayagars Puli Thevar alone opposed the Nawab even when a mediation was effected by the brothers of the sethupati, puli thevar accepted it only oblige the sethupati who would be

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<sup>8</sup> Kadhivel, S., *History of the Maravas*, Madras, 1977, p.114.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p.211.

benefited by it. Ramnad's effort to come back from the isolation with the help of puli thevar failed.

### **Col. Heron and Puli Thevar**

Even though puli thevar promised pay the tribute at the intervention of the sethupati's brother, he never paid it. Matifuz Khan, the renter appointed by col. Heron wanted him to embark upon an expedition to Nerkkattumsenel. Meantime the council at madras recalled col. Heron in accordance with the peace conducted with the French in 1755 on the basis of non-interference in Indian politics. Accordingly col. Heron left Tirunelveli on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 1755 and marched with his army towards Madura. But Mahfuz Khan succeeded in persuading col. Heron to march on puli thevar. Col. Heron on reaching Nerkkattumsevel, sent his envoy to puli thevar and directed him to accept the authority of the Nawab and as a token of his acceptance to pay a handsome amount as tribute to the Nawab puli thevar who professed friendship a couple of months ago thanks to the mediation of the sethupati's brother now flatly refused to acknowledge the authority of the Nawab.

Col. Heron's summons to puli thevar was answered with insolence; upon which heron decided to open fire with a view to theater puli thevar field pieces of cannon roared of the palayagars. No plunder however is mentioned in the report. Therefore, it seems probable that the Maravas were able to coin the Europeans and at the sometime sent the treasures for safety to the woods.<sup>10</sup>

Having failed in his attempt to bring the Marava Palayagars to obedience by show of force. Col. Heron wanted to try diplomatic means again in spite of strict instructions from the madras committee against any friendship with the maravas of Ramnad col. Heron enlisted the sethupati's brother's good offices for mediation with

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<sup>10</sup> Chinnaiyan, S., *Social History of Tanjore 1532-1799 A.D.*, Trichi, 1999, P.108.

puli thevar. Heron seems to have felt that if puli thevar could be brought to terms the western palayagars as a whole could be easily won over. The mission of sethupati's brother was a success on paper, for though puli thevar agreed to the proposes of col. Heron, he did not pay any money.<sup>11</sup>

In the maintain the king of Thanjavur and the Raja of Pudukkottai of their assistance to puli thevar to throw the authority the Nawab. This was an attempt to thwart the scheme of an alliance of the Maravas of Ramnad with the British. Puli thevar at the instigation of the sethupati's brother informed col. Heron of this plot by the Marathas of Tanjavur and the Kallas of pudukkottai and requested them to take timely steps against them. In his anxiety to win over puli thevar col. Heron immediately wrote to the council to take action against the traitors. The sethupati's attempt to score a point over Tanjore king by projecting him as the enemy of the English, failed for the committee dismissed the charge of col. Heron and reiterated their stand that the Maravas should not be given any quarter.

In July 27, 1801, the British started their final concerted military operations. The combined forces of Agnew and Innes marched towards Siruvayal. The patriots resisted the mighty British forces by setting fire to Siruvayal. Agnew proclaimed Padmattur wodaya Tevan as the Rajah of Sivaganga with great display and splendor, which divided the rebels into two rival camps. Vengumperia Wodaya Tevar and Padmattur wodaya Tevar. Major Agnew launched a second offensive against Kalayarkoil, occupied Piranmalai and captured the rebel posts of Vaniamkudi and Cholapuram. On 1<sup>st</sup> October, three detachments led by Agnew from the east and Macaulay from the South marched against Kalayarkoil and won a decisive victory. In 1801, Marudhu Pandyan along with his brother Vellai Marudhu engaged in an

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<sup>11</sup> Chinnaiyan, S., *op.cit.*, p.110.

encounter against British at cholapuram. They were wounded and captured. On 24<sup>th</sup> October 1801, Marudhu Pandyan together with his brother Vella Marudhu were executed on the ruins of the fort of Tirupatore in Ramnad district. Oomaithurai and Sevatiah were beheaded on 16<sup>th</sup> November at Panjalamkurichi.

The followers of Marudhu Pandyan carried his body to Kalayarkoil and buried near the rank of great temple and erected a small tomb in his memory. The end of Marudhu Pandyan did not mark the end of the Liberation mission he espoused, but laid the foundation for a more formidable national movement to emerge. Even after the martyrdom of Marudhu brothers, the rebellion in South India continued under Dheeran Chinnamalai of Chennamalai, Khan-i-Jahan of Coimbatore, Gopal Nayak of Virupakshi and Kerala Varma.<sup>12</sup>

### **Fall of Panchalamkurichi**

Major Bannerman, the commander of English sent a message to kattabomman to meet him at Palayamkottai. It was sent through Ramalinga Mudhaliar, demanding the surrender of the fort to the company. Kattabomman refused to accept the demand. The historic fort of kattabomman at Panchalamkurichi was made of Mud. Bannerman let his forces towards Panchalamkurichi on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1799, the troops were assembled in front of the fort on 6<sup>th</sup> September more troops arrived from Palayamkottai. Ettappanayak of Ettayapuram became a spy. He informed the British that all the soldiers would be away at Tiruchendur to attend a function in the temples. That day the fort was attacked by Battalia in led by John Bannerman. Kattabomman Nayak was captured by Rajah Tondaiman in the jungle of Kaliapoor in Sivaganga Taluk and was sent to Major Bannerman by whom he was tried by court martial and hanged at Kayathar in 1799.

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<sup>12</sup> Edward Ingram, *Colonial Acquisition and Socio-economic Trends in Madras 1765-1827*, Madras, 2012, p.57.

## Chapter IV

### VEERA PANDYA KATTABOMMAN

The struggle for freedom from the British swathe emergence of many patriots who fought made sacrifice and even lost their lives defending the country. Exhibiting great courage, Tamils were among those who sowed and seeds for the freedom movement one such pioneer was Veera Pandya Kattabomman.<sup>1</sup> Panchalamkurichi village is very prominent and has inscribed its name in the history of freedom struggle, Veera Pandyan was born on January 3, 1760 to Jagaveera Kattabomman and Arumugathammal. His ancestor was Adi Kattabomman. He had two younger brother namely Dalavai Kumara Sami and Durai Singam. Durai Singam was a dumb prince, so he was called by name 'Oomaithurai' Kattabomman was the 47<sup>th</sup> chief of Panchalamkurichi on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1790. He ruled over 96 villages and it was divided into six. He became a Poligar at the age of 30.<sup>2</sup>

#### Gettibommu clan

Azhagiya Veerapadiapuram was ruled by Jagaveera Pandiyan. He had a minister namely Bommu, who had migrated from Andhra Pradesh the Tamilnadu was a brave warrior. He was known as kattabomman in Tamil, Jagaveera Pandya Kattabomman was the father of Kattabomman.

#### Kattabomman and the Britishers

In the initial stage, Kattabomman supported and obeyed the order of the British East India Company. Till the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Panchalamkurichi, Palayam was acted as an ally to the Nawab of Arcot. Hence it paid the tribute to the

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<sup>1</sup> Rajan, N.K., *Panchalamkurichi War*, 1960, p.9.

<sup>2</sup> *Information Board at Panchalamkurichi Fort.*

Nawab's. The English exercised direct authority over the Poligars during the assignment and assumption by the terms of the Carnatic treaty 1792, they won the right to administer the Poligar affairs. They humiliated the Poligars and adopted cruel methods to collect the taxes except Veera Pandya Kattabomman.

### **Confrontation with the British**

The East India Company sent William Colin Jackson as the collector of Tirunelveli with the headquarters at Ramanathapuram in the end of 1797. In September 1798 as the tribute from Panchalamkurichi fell into arrears collector Jackson in his characteristic arrogance and rashness wrote letters to Veera Pandya in a language of reprehension and remonstrance.<sup>3</sup> There is a tradition to indicate that Kattabomman declared. "In rains the land yields who should we pay to the English".

### **Kattabomman meeting with collector Jackson**

Jackson summoned Kattabomman to attend his office at Ramanathapuram within two weeks. After sending the summons the collector started on a tour of Tirunelveli on 24<sup>th</sup> August. Kattabomman with his retinue waited for him but the collector refused an interview. Kattabomman and his minister Subramania Pillai met Jackson at Ramanathapuram on 19<sup>th</sup> September 1798. Jackson proceeded to verify his accounts from which it appeared that the Poligar had already cleared most of the arrears.<sup>4</sup> They were denied seats to Kattabomman and his minister stood before the collector for three hours. Knowing the intention of Jackson Oomaidurai suddenly entered the fort with his men and helped the escape of Kattabomman. At the gate there occurred a clash with the Poligars' retinue resulting in the death of company,

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<sup>3</sup> *Information Board at Panchalamkurichi Fort.op.cit.,*

<sup>4</sup> Sinnakani, *Government of India Tamil Nadu State, Thoothukudi District, Vol. II, 2007,* p.1179.

sepoys including Lieutenant Clarke. Sivasubramania Pillai was taken prisoner but Kattabomman made his escape.

### **Enquiry steps and Committee**

The enquiry committee was appointed to deal with the problems. The committee interviewed Kattabomman on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1798 and upon enquiry acquitted him of the charge of rebellion. Kattabomman condemned the attitude of the collector and wrote a letter to the company government demanding protection and justice.

### **Kattabomman's Relation with Marudhu Pandyan**

Kattabomman established close relationship with the chieftains of Ramanathapuram, Sivaganga and Dindugal. Kattabomman organised a league which included the Palayakkars of Nagalapuram, Ezhayirampannai kdarpatti, Kadulkudi and Kulattur. He assumed the leadership of the league by virtue of the influences he commanded through the forces of his character and financial resources. He tried to bring Kattabomman who ruled southern region of Tirunelveli as a member of the confederacy. The company waited for an opportunity to suppress the Poligars. The activities of Kattabomman provoked the British knowing the intention of the British. Kattabomman made alliance with the Poligars of Nagalapuram, Mannarkuttai, Powalli, Kolarpatti, Chennulgudi, Sivagiri, Kadalkudi and Kulatoor. During this time the company wanted to take severe action against Kattabomman. An army was sent to Panjalamkurichi led by major Bannerman.

## **Chapter V**

### **END OF THE POLIGARI SYSTEM**

The suppression of the Poligar rebellion in 1799 and the South Indian Rebellion of 1801 resulted in the liquidation of the influence of the chieftains. The auxiliary powers were prevented from offering any further serious resistance in defense of their orders. The suppression of the Poligar rebellion liquidated the Poligar. A mixed government partly based on English principles and partly controlled by the Nawab's prejudices came thus to an end and was succeeded by the English government. The residents of Dindugal, Ramnad and Madurai were destroyed Ettayapuram and Pudukottai were strengthened and Gowrie Vallabha Udaya Tevar was reinstated as the Raja of Sivaganga. The English recognised him as the Nawab's of Arcot and granted him an allowance in return for the transfer of the administration of the territory. The Carnatic treaty signed on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1801 ended the Nawab's rule and started the British administration enabled by these changes in its favour the company carried into effect the much contemplated political settlement of the Poligar country.

On 1<sup>st</sup> December 1801 Edward Glive, the governor of Madras, issued a proclamation outlining the different features of the reform. It granted a general amnesty to all the surviving chieftains, who extended their support to the rebellion and promised to honour the rights of property life, usages and customs of the inhabitants. It also announced the decision of the company to abolish the Poligar system and to introduce the Zamindari system in its place. Also it indicated that the permanent assessment of revenue based upon Zamindari tenure would give due consideration to traditions and would secure for the chieftains a peaceful possession



of land under the operation of limited and definite laws, which would restrain the administrations from unnecessary interference thus the decision to do away with an attempt to conciliate the wounded feelings of the Poligar.

### **The position of Palayams**

After 1801, the Poligar were in no mood to rebel. They became the Zamindar, the renters of the land subject to the payment of a fixed revenue to the British offer. They lived taxes as per their own wishes. The riots in the Zamin led to pay taxes willy-nilly, to both the British and the Zamin, indirectly and directly. The Zamindars were more or less chieftains. The people looked the Zamin as the kings and paid respects and homage's. Many of them looked after the subjects with affection. Between 1801 and 1803 detailed investigations were instituted into the economic resources of the various Palayams. In 1803 the implementation of the Zamindari system was completed and the Poligars were transformed into a class of Zamindars. In their changed character, the chieftains were required to dispend their armed establishments and to pay enhanced amount to the government under a permanent assessment the magistrates were placed in charge of the kaval system. All the forts of the Poligars were destroyed and periodical inspections were conducted. So as to prevent the reconstruction of them as it happened in 1801. The inhabitants were forced to surrender their arms but compensation was granted unlike in 1799. Military roads were constructed to the strategic areas and postal communications were extended to Kalayarkoil, Piranmalai and Sankarahainarkoil. More troops were stationed in the centres of disaffection. These military measures were calculated to promote the consolidation of the British authority. The Poligari system that flourished for two and a half centuries came to violent end in the midst of the suppression of their struggle for survival and implementation of the Zamindari

settlement.<sup>1</sup> The Zamindars became ordinary citizens after the abolition of Zamindari system in the post independence period. Still many of the successors of Zamindars are referred to as Rayahs and they live in bungalows and enjoy respects from the people.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Velmani, K.S.K., *op.cit.*, p.225.

<sup>2</sup> Rajayyan, K., *op.cit.*, 1974, pp.215-216.

## CONCLUSION

In this project work the detailed study about the Poligars in Tirunelveli region like Kattabomman, Pulithevar and Marudhu Pandyan. Their unflinching faith in nationalism and commitment to liberation of the country is a matter of great historical significance. They transcended the barriers of parochialism for a national cause, worthy model to the people of the present day. Their sacrifices give now strength and vigor for the promotion of patriotism among the people in times of the threat to the nation.

Veera Pandya Kattabomman was a chieftain who refused to bow down to the demands of the British for agriculture tax on native land and laid down his life for the cause of independence.

The Poligars in South India stood against the supremacy of the company administration. Among them, the most famous was Mardhu Pandyan, the Poligars of Sivagangai who organized the South Indian confederacy.

Pulithevar was the Palayakkar of Nerkattum Seval. He was exceptionally Zeroic and the first Poligar to take arms against the British in the South. Pulithevar may be regarded as the first South Indian ruler who showed seed by his gallant resisted to expel the foreigners from the soil. His services to the nation is honoured in many respects and the government of Tamilnadu has erected a memorial in Nelkattumseval.

Edward Clive, the governor of Madras issued a proclamation on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1801. It granted general amnesty to all the surviving chieftains who extended their support to the rebellion and abolished the Palayam. After that, the Zamindari system was implemented which promised to honour the rights of property, life wages and customs of the inhabitants.

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## **MUGHALS ART AND ARCHITECTURE**

*Project in History submitted to  
St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi  
affiliated to  
Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of*

### **Bachelor of Arts in History**

**BY**

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**III B.A. History**

**St. Mary's College (Autonomous)**

Reaccredited with "A+ " by NAAC

**Thoothukudi**

**2020 – 2021**

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## **CERTIFICATE**


This is to certify that the project entitled **"MUGHALS ART AND ARCHITECTURE"** is submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi** in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of **Bachelor of Arts in History** is a record of work done during the year 2020-2021 by the following students of III BA History.

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**Thoothukudi - 628 001.**

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "Mughals Art and Architecture" submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History is our original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date: 9.04.2021

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## INTRODUCTION

Architecture is the art of planning buildings. The main structural and functional features of a building are the roof arches, walls, doors and windows. The name Architecture hail from the word Arch.

There are two types in Arts. They are Arts for use and Arts for sense Arts for use means objects which are made for our daily use Arts for sense means objects which are made for attract the minds of people by its beauty. Architectures, Paintings and Sculptures coming under the sense art. According to art historian E.P. Heval “Indian Architecture Indicates the belief in the Almighty who has ordained a spiritual life even after the death of the Individual”.

It goes without saying that the Mughals were great builders many of the Mughal buildings have come down to us Fergusson was of the opining that Mughal Architecture was of foreign origin have criticised this view and contended that the inspiration of the Indian Master builders was not foreign. The Mughal Emperors were more Indian than foreign and consequently there was a fusion of cultures. There were no special features of Mughal Architecture. According to Sir. John Marshall the Architecture of India could not conform to any one standard. There were bound to be variations on account of the vast size of the country. Moreover a lot depended upon the personal tastes of the Mughal emperors’ Persian influence predominated up to the end of the reign of Akbar and after that the Indian Architecture became essentially Indian and there was nothing in it which could be specifically pointed out as Persian. The pre Mughal Architecture was known for its massive and simplicity and the Mughal Architecture were known for its decoration and delicacies.

## **Abundant Sources**

The Mughal period of Indian history abounds in the availability of its original sources of study literary as well as archaeological. The literary sources comprise standard works on history biographies and chronicles travelogues and foreign accounts and a huge mass of general literature of in calculable historical value produced by a galaxy of brilliant contemporary scholars besides a rich treasure house of the official records of the imperial Mughal government while the archaeological material includes magnificent monuments extant as well as in ruins inscriptions coins and other antiquities which have enabled the modern historians to reconstruct a early comprehensive and authentic history of the times.

## **Scope and Purpose of the study**

The prime objective of the dissertation is to reconstruct the art and architectural development of Mughal period. The scholar has been interested in documenting the art and architectural impact of the Mughal period in India.

## **Relevance of the study**

After the arrival of the Mughals, India underwent many changes. But no one has made any attempt to trace the history and significance of the Mughal rule in India. Therefore this topic is chosen.

## **Source of the study**

Varies source materials have been used to trace the Mughal architecture in India. The sources are books written by historians, scholars, A Personal Interviews, Journals, literary sources etc.

## **Methodology**

In this study different research methods have been used. They are descriptive method and analytical method. The source materials have been critically analyzed and investigated by the scholar herself. The descriptive method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the thesis understandable to the reader.

## **An Outline of the Chapter**

This Project has Six Chapters. The First chapter gives the detailed account of the growth of Mughal Art and Architecture. The Second Chapter explains the Architectural development during Babur and Humayun period. The Third Chapter speaks about the Architectural development of Akbar's period. The Fourth Chapter describes the Architectural growth during Jahangir Reign. The Fifth Chapter explains the Shah Jahan period Architecture. The Sixth Chapter describes the condition of Art and Architecture under Aurangzeb.

## Chapter I

### GROWTH OF MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE

The Mughal's in their peoples of the world "series". I readily agreed and gave them an outline with a commitment to hand in the script with in a three year deadline. The outline was quite simple in its essence. The Mughal conquest of India in the sixteenth century. The organization of the state administration economy, trade and life in urban countries and in the country side, and so forth. In other words, encapsulating the existing state of knowledge on the subject, no an awesome task for one who has taught this history, in two major Indian universities for over four decades.<sup>1</sup>

Interestingly the term "Mughal" now synonymous with grandeur in almost all forms in the cultural arena might perhaps have sent a shiver of horror down the spine of the dynasty's early rulers in India came to acquire a generic meaning that broadly signified peoples of the central Asian regions, speaking the Mongol languages and dialects there were other, however also central Asians, seeking to draw distinctive lines from them ethnically and linguistically, the historical scholarship on Mughal state has swayed between two extreme positions, with some scholars perceiving it as strong and vigorous others as weak and ineffectual with focus on the state in specific functional and institutional contexts was determined by the participation of the local power holders and the support of the pre-existing it still largely primeval, civil society.

Akbar was resolved wholly to identify himself with India and to rule as an Indian sovereign not as a foreign conqueror. He was the first of the Mughal emperors

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<sup>1</sup> Vidya Dhar Mahajan, *India Since 1526*, Chand, & Company Ltd., 1608, p.261.

to be born in India and be sincerely, considered himself to be an Indian, not a stranger like his grandfather with the eyes and heart turned toward the west moreover, he had neither the fanaticism nor the intolerance for other faiths and creeds that this desert religion engendered among its followers His liberal and enlightened mind way descending enough to recognize and appreciate the good qualities in other faiths and he had the courage to honour and patronize merits irrespective of race or religion. The catholicity of his mind and views is reflected in all his works, political administrative as well as cultural.<sup>2</sup>

There was a new direction in the policy of the state, and that direction was an emphasis on the Indian point of view which the emperor himself strongly advocated this new policy was responsible for the phenomenal expansion of the Mughal empire and for its real beginning in the regime of this enlightened ruler and so also a composite type of culture, known as the Mughal culture. Akbar was inspired by the ideal of a united India and this he strove to realize throughout his life. The splendid payment of the Grand Mughals retained its substance and reality so long as this liberal policy was maintained. The disintegration of the grand empire began as a result of the narrow and bigoted policy of Aurangzeb who wanted to impose the Islamic point of view.

The great Akbar fostered a forceful Architectural style on a correct understanding and assimilation of the various traditions and ideals, indigenous as well as foreign. This style also languished when as a result of the pressure of Islamic ideals there became manifest a gradual isolation from the traditions of the soil and a greater dependence on imported (ie) foreign, ideals.

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<sup>2</sup> Munis, D., Faruqui, *The Princes of Mughal Empire, 1504-1719*, 2015, p.37.

## **The Mughal Rule**

Advent of the Mughals was a great event in the History of Medieval India Baburnama which has rightly been acclaimed as the most authentic historical narrative gives a vivid picture of the political, socio-culture and economic condition of India on the event of the establishment of the Mughal rule in Delhi. The Mughal period was marked by two centuries of freedom from external invasions and enduring peace within the empire it enabled the great Mughals to bring about political unification of India by the corporate activity of the nationalism forces including Hindu and Muslim under their benign control. Beginning with Akbar the imperial Mughals strengthened the force of national integration and soldiering through equitable treatment towards their subjects complete religious toleration and the secular state policy. The imperial Mughal played a prime role in accelerating the process at land revenue formed as in old days the most important revenue experiments of the sultans were undone; a long period of confusion and disorder following the reign of Shershah and Islam Shah three kinds of land in the country the Khalsa or crown lands the Jagir lands enjoyed by some nobles who collected the local revenue out of which they sent a portion to the central exchanges and kept the rest for themselves and the scujurgial lands granted on free tenure.<sup>3</sup>

### **Mughal's Archives records**

Akbar the great had deep interest in irrevocation of records in 1544 he created a record office at the advice of Abdul Fazl. This office was used by Abdul Fazl himself to write his book Akbarnama. In this book he given an account of this record office.

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<sup>3</sup> Luniya, B.N., *Evolution of Indian Culture*, Lakshmi Nararin Agarwal, p.375.

The building where the records were kept were called Deffer Kahana. There were several works to copy the records. The officers of the Mughal government had to keep many account and copies of correspondences so the Mughal government was called as kagazi raj meaning government of documents synthesis between the exotic Islamic traditions and ancient Indian culture. They made invaluable contribution towards the growth and development of the Indo-Muslim society and left an indelible mark on the socio-culture institution of the times.

### **Advent of Mughals**

Akbar's victory in the second battle of Panipat planted the Mughal dominion firmly on the Indian soil. It was fifteen years, Akbar become the undisputed master of a far-flung empire much larger than what his father had inherited and had done more to consolidate the various heterogeneous racial and religious elements of Hindustan.<sup>4</sup>

It was with Akbar that the Mughal Architectural styles as an individual and distinctive tradition, may be said to have began he tender took various buildings projects indifferent parts of his empire and was responsible for the initiation and direction of a vigorous programme of buildings activity that was assiduously continued by his successors.

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<sup>4</sup> Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of its History and Development (1526-1858)*, New Delhi, 1972, p.134.

## **Chapter II**

### **ART AND ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER BABUR HUMAYUN PERIOD**

#### **Mughal's Architecture**

The Mughal Emperors took been interest in the art of architecture. The architecture of the Mughal period presents of fine example of the synthesis of Persian and Indian elements. The Mughal emperors had enormous wealth. They built many beautiful buildings. According to Fergusson the Mughal style of architecture was foreign in origin especially from the point of view of decoration.

With the Mughals getting a strong foot hold at Delhi Indo-Islamic architecture entered its most fascinating phase and large number of works of unusual brilliance and splendor were produced. It was purely Indian architecture movement where in both the Hindus and Mohammedan craftsmen joined together their inventive and artistic faculties to create dreams in marble and stone.

#### **Architecture under Babur**

Babur, a man of critical taste did not much appreciate the buildings of the Turkish and Afghan rulers at Delhi and Agra. But he was impressed by the beautiful architecture at Gwalior where he saw all the Palaces of man singh and vikrama jit and pronounced the singularly beautiful though built in different patches and without regular plan. The places at Gwalior were a fine example of the Hindu Architecture and attracted Babur. He employed many hundreds of workmen on his buildings in Agra, Sikri, Bayana Dholpur, Gwalior and Aligarh.<sup>1</sup>

But ably two of his buildings have survived and these are a large Mosque at Panipat and Jama Masjidat sambhal in Rohilkand both built in 1529 the style of these

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<sup>1</sup> Anil Sexena, *Mughal Culture*, Anmol Publications Ltd, p.195.



buildings are purely Indian. The third buildings of his time was also a mosque built by Abul Baqi at his orders at Ayodhya. But these buildings have no special architectural significance.

## **Architecture under Mughals**

The buildings which were built by Babur were in Turkey Mangolien style. He built three Mosques one in the Kabooli bagh garden at panipat another one is sambal city near east Delhi. There two are built in 1526. The third one is at Agra, inner side of the Lodi dynasty fort. But the appearances of this building are low and somewhat unimpressive. Babur temperamentally was not including towards reforms his forte was the battle field and we find to traces of brilliant reforms either in pargana or Samarqand. When he came to India being no administrative genius, but a plain warrior with states man like instincts he found it necessary to carry on the administrative plan which he found already in existence, namely that of parceling the dominions subject to him amongst the great amirs with the understanding that each was responsible for the good order of the districts under his control.

After the victory of Babur in the war of Panipat in 1526, the Mughal dynasty was established. As noteworthy as their rule and might in the Indian subcontinent the interest of the rulers in developing the art, culture and architectural style that developed vigorously around that time, portraying the amalgamations of styles of the Islamic world and India. The pattern and sturcures is subject of study till date, some examples of these styles can be found in India, Pakistan Afghanistan, Nepal and Bangaladesh. Under the patronage of Mughal emperors, the architecture of forts and tombs saw a striking resemblance to Islamic architecture.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Tariqual Islam, *Mughal Art in Architecture*, 1797, p.108.

Persian and Indian style were intelligently fused to create the works of quality and precision placed in the walled garden enclosure the forts had district domes, sleek towers at corners with the magnificent halls in the center supported by pillars and broad entrances. Delicate ornamentation with arches, decorative sections with fine geometrical designs and inscriptions were major highlights. The forts had arrangements for soldier barrages, private and public halls for meetings, horse and elephant stables and gardens at the entrance. An example of which is the Red Fort by Shah Jahan use of decorated colored tiles, painted designs on walls and ceiling, profusely carved doorways show the beautiful detailing and taste of the Emperors. Extensive use of red sandstone and white marbles in seen in all the buildings of that time. The palaces that the rulers inhabited were beautiful synthesis of perfect craftsmanship and inspirations of Indo-Persian traditions. The entrance of the palaces had lush green gardens with symmertrically cut trees and small square structures for water fountains.<sup>3</sup>

The palaces stand up on an elevated platform, with staircases and passages for several directions cut in perpendicular manner. The passages of the palaces are broad with slender minarets that hold the domes and ceilings having miniature detailing and inscriptions. The semi-precious stone of varied colors were used on walls of the palaces and the windows are delicately fabricated with designing of stone.

### **Development of Mughal Painting**

Patronizing their Persian painters, the Mughals took keen interest in paintings that reflected a collaboration of Indo-Persian synthesis. Originating from the time of Turkish-Afghan Delhi Sulthanate, paintings prospered under the rule, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the Mughal rulers. The art of Mughal painting flourished with the

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<sup>3</sup> Jeyapalan, N., *Social and Cultural History of India Since 1556*, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, pp.36,41.

time and developed into realistic portraiture. Painting of the Mughal Era depict a theme from fables of Persian literature and Hindu Mythology, which gradually changed to realistic subjects like portraits of the royalty events and details of the court life, wild life and hunting scenes, and battle illustrations.

Humayun's exposure to Persian miniature painting compelled him to get along accomplished Persian artists. Akbar inherited Humayun's library and court painters; he expanded the art by paying close personal attention to its output, Akbar hired many painters to develop and spread the Mughal style painting in the years 1570 to 1585.

### **Humayun's Tomb**

The mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi supplies an important landmark in the history of the building art of the Mughals as heralding the new movement erected by his widow, Haji Begam, during the early years of Akbar's reign it is one of the most striking monuments of Indo-Muslim architecture. The work was begun in 1564 eight years after the death of Humayun and took eight years to be completed. The building itself is supported on a wide square platform, 22 feet in height with gracefully arcaded sides. The arches recall the Persian design and form and the piers are ornamented with inlays of white marble emphasizing their graceful lines. Each archway opens into a small room for the accommodation of visitations. The mausoleum building occupies the centre of this arcaded platform and represents a square of 356 feet side with each corner chamfered and the middle of each side deeply set back. This arrangement lends to the building a pleasing effect of contrasting planes and deep shadows, further variegated by white marble lacings to pick out each and every lineament of the noble structure.

The design and elevation of all the four sides are essentially identical; the dominating feature on each face consists of an enormous fronton set back in the

middle, accommodating a recessed archway, and with similar archways in the embower wings on either side. Above rises the white marble dome of a very graceful contour raised upon a substantial drum with a number of pillared kiosks, roofed by small cupolas splendor turrets surround the dome at its base and all these arrangements effectively break the skyline.<sup>4</sup>

The interior arrangements of the structure are equally pleasing. Instead of consisting of a single chamber as has been the practice hitherto, we have here a combination of rooms on a regular plan the largest one in the centre with a vaulted roof containing the cenotaph of the emperor, and a smaller one at each angle intended for those of his family all connected with one another by galleries and corridors. Every element in this complex design is balanced and seems to fit in organically with the other.<sup>5</sup>

Among Humayun's building some are very important one of them is Agra Mosque. Another one is fathibed mosque. They are in Persian style. There are only the remains lay in its vicinity. The city Din panah or 'World Refuge' was founded by Humayun in Delhi.

### **The mausoleum of the Emperor Humayun**

Just as the emperor Shahjahan raised the incomparable Tajmahal. Humayun's wife Haji Bagum created a noble memorial to her husband. It was built in 1564 A.D. The particular site for Humayun's tomb was in the middle of the city Din panah. This palace also the favorite site for monumental tombs.

This central tomb stands on a square plan of 156 feet wide and 22 feet height. It was built of sand stone. The noble marble dome raising to height of 140 feet. The interior of this tomb building has a group of compartments, towers with ornamental

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<sup>4</sup> Mohideen Badusha, *History of Indian Architecture*, Sultans Publications, pp.106-107.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

edges. The tomb stands as an example of the synthesis of the two traditions of Asia and the India. It was introduced first in India by Haji Begum.

Thus, it transpired the Humayun, despite being sufficiently groomed in kingship, and all the fineries of art and culture as a king ultimately, succumbed to the political strains of his time. Somehow, what seems fitting to his life is that whatever the misfortune that fate chose to bequeath on him he bore in a spirit both philosophy and stoic. Yet both these characteristics, however laudable in the person ability make-up of an individual, invariably prove fatal to an empire.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Catherine, B., Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 1992, pp.172-173.

## Chapter III

### ARCHITECTURAL GROWTH DURING AKBAR PERIOD

During the early years of his reign Jahangir had to take a certain personal interest in building art as the production and completion of the Mausoleum, which his father had planned as his last resting place devolved upon him. His interest and patronage as manifested here, were not such as to hope for a continuation and development of the direction which Akbar gave to the art of building.

Akbar's Mausoleum stands at Sikandra five miles west of Agra and consists of a singular design and composition not met with in any other Mughal Monument of the funerary order. It represents a unique creation and it is apparent that it owed its conception to the versatile ideas of Akbar who intended to endow it with a novel and original character, quite different from the conventional type of tombs with which were are usually familiar.<sup>1</sup>

The emperor did not live to carry his remarkable project to completion a task that had to be done by his son and successor Jahangir. The building was completed in 1613, eight years after the death of Akbar. As it now stands the Mausoleum lacks the homogeneity and balance which constitute the guiding mind of a genius like Akbar was no longer there to supervise the construction of this vast project through its different stages. It is possible therefore, that some kind of alteration and modification of the original design took place either unconsciously on the part of the builders or due to under intervention of Jahangir of which we have several instance recorded in his autobiography. This probably explains the pact Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandra

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<sup>1</sup> Ganesh, S.J., *Complete History of India*, Paradise Publishers, 1964, p.159.

in spite of its unique character fails as a unified composition and represents the least successful Monument associated with the name of that great emperor.

The Mausoleum building is situated within an extensive garden approached by an impressive gateway in the middle of the southern perimeter wall and with three other fake doorways one in the middle of each of the three other walls provided, no doubt, for the sake of symmetry. The principal entrance on the south is a noble, monument in itself because of its pleasing proportions, the variety of its carved and inlaid ornamentation and lastly the elegant white marble minarets, one at each corner of the building

### **Period of Akbar**

The dome is slightly curved and its base, but its general shape echoes that of the arches below the arches introduce a new shape to North India, as their curves are struck from four centres. The building is in red sandstone with white and grey marble inlay executed in star shaped designs at the drum below the dome well inlaid but not polished in spite. This inlay work is to be classified as opus sectile rather than as the fine polished marquetry like pietradura of later Mughal periods.

A smaller tomb of not dissimilar design is that of Akbar's foster father. Atgukham at Nizamuddu. But Humayn's tomb gains enormously in effect not only by the vast plinth but by the vaster garden in which it is set a great square subdivided into squares and squares again by paths, flower-beds, and parterres. It marks immediately the advent of a new style in India and is of great importance as the immediate Indian prototype for other monumental Mausolea. Akbar's building project many and varied reflect something of the man. They start at Agra fort, on the

trace of the previous Lodi fort, with the gateways.<sup>2</sup> A half octagon flanking tower on the each side of the four centered Arch of the gate the towers and gateway internally the arch carried a spearhead fringe of a more elaborate and conventionalized form than that of previous reigns the whole is decorated in opus sectile palaces inside the fort are in much the same style and include projecting balconies supported on richly carved corbels with much beam and bracket workmanship some of the brackets in sandstone, seem to have been borrowed directly from wood building techniques similar buildings were commenced in very similar styles at Lahore and on a smaller scale at Allahabad.

### **Recovery of the Parental Heritage**

Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar the illustrious son of Humayun from his Persian wife Hamida Banu Begam was destined to be the most celebrated national Monarch of medieval India he was born on 15<sup>th</sup> October 1542 at Amarkot in the house of its Rajput chieftain Rana who had given shelter to Humayun's family during his period of exile. At the desire expressed by the Rana and supported by a Rajput contingent 7,000 soldiers, Humayun had marched out of Amarkot on an expedition to the districts of Bhakkar and Thatta against shah Husain Argnun he was encamped in a garden on the banks of a water tank, about thirty miles south west of Amarkot when Tardi Beg Khan one of his horsemen brought him the happy news of the birth of his son. The fugitive emperor thanked the almighty for having blessed him with a son and heir and celebrated the occasion by distributing bits of music among his associates with the prayer that the fame of the child might one day spread all the world over like lites.

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<sup>2</sup> Ganesh, S.J., *op.cit.*, pp.159-163.



Humayun captured the town of Jun from shaibani khan's Foujdar however his respected attempts to conquer Thatta and Shewan were failed by tough resistance put up by the Arghun chief Hamida Banu with her infant son joined Humayun at Jun some time in December 1542 meanwhile the Rajput contingent was re called by Rana virsal to Amarkot and the Mughal ranks were also considerably thinned by ever-increasing desertions shah Husain Arghun ultimately got rid of the fugitive emperor in July 1543 by offering him some material help and a through his dominions to Afghanistan.<sup>3</sup>

### **Akbar Architecture under the Mughals**

During the period of Akbar most of the building where built with Red sandstones Marbles were also used in this buildings. The ornamentation of painted designs where used.

### **History of Indian Architecture**

On the interior walls and ceilings such where the main elements of Akbari style of Architecture some example for them are as follows:

- Fatehpur Sikri
- Agra Fort Palace
- Lagore Fort
- Alahabad Fort
- Ajmer Fort

### **Fatehpur Sikri**

Akbar decided to create a new capital city at the site 26 miles west of Agra. That is called Fatehpur Sikri. The city was founded for nobles high officials and

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<sup>3</sup> Luniya, *op.cit.*, p.375.

Royal families. The emperor had a residence for himself in this city. This city was two entrances in North and South side. There are apartment mosque Hall of public Audience (Diwan-in-am) Royal Palaces offices. Gardens stables inns and residence for offices.<sup>4</sup> The important of this city are:

1. Jodh Bai Palace
2. Mariam Palace
3. Sulthana Palace
4. Birbat Palace

### **Jodh Bai Palace**

This palace is really square as it measures 350 feet by 215 feet. These enclosing walls of 32 feet in height. There is a hanging pavilion (Hawa Mahal) and apartment in two storeys. The whole structure was designed in order to be convenient for any climate. This palace has been decorated with high technical skill.

### **Mariam and Sulthana Palace**

It has plastic technique ornaments and wooden derivations it seems like the handi work of group of workmen from Punjab.

### **Birbal Palace**

The Fourth palace was built for Akbar Prime Minister Birbal. This building is in two storeys 4 rooms and two porches forming the ground floor. The upper storey consists of domes with ornaments. There are many other buildings in Fatehpur city such as the Panch mahal (Palace of five storeys) Khwahgah (House of dreams) and Buland Darwaza.

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<sup>4</sup> Susan, *Portrait of a Woman Mughal*, 1967, p.105.

## **Buland Darwaza (Gate of Magnificance)**

Akbar returned from his victorious campaign in the Deccan. He erected a great Triumphant Archway in the southern side of Jami-Masjid and Fatehpur Sikri. The total height of this gateway is 76 feet above the roadway. Across its front measures 130 feet and the back 123 feet. The service quarters to Mosque and Salim's tomb were covered with domes. There are a range of pillars in the veranda.

## **Agra Fort Palace**

Akbar built the Agra fort on the right side of the river Yamuna. This construction was based on the style of foreign Architecture the walls of this fortress about 20 feet high and one half mile long was built with strong red sandstones within this wall there are two Gateways one is at Delhi Gate on the western side another one is at southern side for private entry it is built with white marbles.

This fortress is in the form of semi circular with its chord about 2700 feet in length. The towers of the fort are in octagonal shape also there was attractive as double storey apartment, palace, decorated borders and pavilion.<sup>5</sup>

## **Lalgarh Fort**

This fort is in parallelogram in shape it has 1200 feet length and 1050 feet width it is mainly in red sandstone with combination of beams and brackets. The pillars are very fine the walls have coloured tile decorations. The walls are painted mostly of a sporting character such as elephant combats games of polo and hunting episodes.

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<sup>5</sup> Susan, *op.cit.*, pp.107-108.

## **Alahabad Fort**

A fort was built by Akbar in 1583 A.D. at Alahabad it is the largest fort built by Akbar its widest dimension nearly 3000 feet across most of this fort was ruined. Among the remains one structure has been preserved that is a fire baradari or pavilion known as zenana palace. There are pillars designed in pairs.

## **Ajmer Fort**

A Fort was built by Akbar in 1570 A.D. at Ajmer it was in new style and new structure. There is an open court yard containing pillars. This small fort was built with thick double walls. This entire structure designed for accommodation of the emperor when on tour. This construction was in the order of Tudor dynasty style of England.<sup>6</sup>

## **Mughal Administration**

### **1. Nature of the Mughal Government**

The establishment of the Mughal administration on ideas and principles different from those of the sultans of Delhi was mainly the work of Akbar. The Mughal government was a “combination of Indian and extra Indian elements”. It was more correctly speaking the Perso-Arabic system in an Indian setting. It was also essentially military in nature and every officer of the Mughal state had to be enrolled in the army list. It was necessarily a centralized autarchy and the king’s power was unlimited.

### **2. The Nobility**

Owing to several factors the Mughal nobility was a heterogeneous body composed of diverse elements like Turk. Tartar, Persian and Indian Muslim and

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<sup>6</sup> John, F., Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, Hyderabad, 1993, p.212.

Hindu and could not therefore organize itself as a powerful baronial class some Europe and also received titles of nobility. In theory the nobility was not hereditary in his Jagir which escheated to the crown on his death and the titles or emoluments could not usually be transmitted from father to son.

### **3. Public Service and Bureaucracy**

To maintain the military strength of the empire, it was necessary for the Mughals to employ a large number of foreign adventures. Though Akbar inaugurated the policy of India for Indians and threw open official careers to the Hindus, yet the foreign elements predominated in the Mughal Public service. The general character of the Public services remained unaltered during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Every officer of the state held a mansab or official appointment of rank and profit, and as such was bound to supply a number of troops for the military service of the state. Akbar classified the office holders into thirty three graders, ranging from “commanders for 10 to commanders of 10,000”. The officers of the Mughal government received their salaries in two ways, either they received them in cash from the state or occasionally they were granted jagirs for a temporary period. They were not however given any ownership over the lands in their jagirs but were only allowed to collect and enjoy the land revenue equivalent to the amount of their salaries from the assigned tracts.

## **Chapter IV**

### **ARCHITECTURAL GROWTH UNDER JAHANGIR**

Jahangir's interest was more in miniature painting than in architecture and there are few examples of the buildings of his reign; although it is known that he extended Akbar's buildings at Agra and Lahore forts beginning at the latter a "picture wall" in mosaic tiles showing hunting polo and court scenes, and completed the building of Akbar's tomb a four-storied pyramidal building over ornamented with chhatras, with a large half-dome archway in each face opus sectile ornament and an open square with a cenotaph all in marble at the top standing in a vast charbagh garden.

The entrance gateway is imposing with a tall white marble minaret at each corner the first appearance of this feature in the north. The two most important buildings of Jahangir's reign are the tomb at Agra, begun 1031/1622 of his father-in-law Mirza, Ghiyath Beg entitled Itimad-ad-Daula, in marble inlaid in Persian motifs in true pietra dura with four short corner towers and fine marble tracery screens and the tomb of Abd-al-Rahim, Kha-i-Khanan, similar to that of Humayun's tomb but without the corner chambers. The former tomb heralds the decorative techniques of the Taj Mahal the latter is the immediate proto type of its design.

Like his father, Jahangir gave an impetus to the art of painting. He himself was a rich collector a connoisseur and art critic. Jahangir boasts of his own knowledge of painting in these words. "As regard myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought to me either of the deceased artists, of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits and faces be the work of a different master. I

can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is and who has painted the eyes and eyebrows.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Thomas Rose who visited the Mughal court in time of Jahangir testifies to the fact that Jahangir was a great lover of painting. At one place he writes that he presented to Jahangir a painting which he had specially ordered from England one night when he was summoned by the emperor, he saw six painting displayed on a table. The emperor asked him to pick out his painting. Sir Thomas Rose admits, that he was unable to distinguish his picture in the dim light of a candle. He could recognize it only after an effort lasting for some time. The great painters of Jahangir's time were Farruk Beg, Mohammad Nadir and Mohammad Murad Aqu Riza was given the title of Nadir-us-zaman by Jahangir, Ustad Mansur had that title of Nadir-ul-Asar. It is true that the Hindu painters were not favoured by Jahangir, but Bishan Das, the Keshva brothers, Manothar, Madhav and Tusli flourished at this time. It is started that Bishan Das was unequalled in his age for taking likeness. The favourite subjects of paintings were buildings, flowers, animals, birds and natural objects. The art of painting became essentially Indian in the time of Jahangir.<sup>2</sup> The Mughal school of Miniature painting reached its climax in the time of Jahangir. "Akbar laid the foundation of the Mughal Miniature painting, but it was his son Jahangir born of a Rajput princess who by his son Jahangir born of a Rajput princess who by his knowledge and artistic intuition guided the new school of Indian art to maturity and taught it by the influence of his own rare judgment to achieve success.

Under the orders of Jahangir, the court painters had prepared unique paintings and albums depicting birds and flowers. Jahangir was himself a lover of nature. He

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<sup>1</sup> Raghuvir Jalote, G.S., Rawat, *An Introduction to Indian Architecture Design and Development*, Cyber Tech Publications, 2012, pp.58-59.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p.63.

himself describes a scene from Kashmir, in these words. “Kashmir is an ever-green garden so far as the eyes can behold there is nothing but green grass running waters, roses, violets, narcissuses and other flowers of hundreds of varieties. In spring not only the gardens and plains but even the walls and the doors and the courtyards are covered with anemones, one cannot possibly count the varieties of flowers found in Kashmir. Ustad Mansur, the painter, has painted more than one hundred different flowers at my command. In the days of my later father, Akbar’s, Kashmir did not produce any plums Muhammad Quli Afshar brought them from Kabul, and prepared grafts. Thus ten or fifteen trees have been grown so far”.

There were contain characteristic features of the paintings of Jahangir’s Reign. There was the predominance of realism. Most of the subjects, including natural themes and objects like flowers, tree, hills, birds, beasts, clouds etc., were draw form real life. The portrayal to nature was extremely realistic.<sup>3</sup> There was also the depiction of real human beings rather than imaginary figures in the portrait studies of the time. The portrait painters of Jahangir’s time were not only keen observers of human features, but had a sharp eye for different moods and expressions. Their capacity for immense patience and concentration is evident from every portrait of that period very rarely, the ladies were the subjects of portraits. It is very doubtful whether the paintings of the royal ladies which actually exist, are really genuine because there was strict purdah in those days. There was also the absence of reference to sences from the life of prophet Muhammad and his companions for fear of wounding the religious feelings of the Muslims. There was also the companions isolation of the painters from the lives of ordinary people and they hesitated to depict the beauty of the human from there was also the inability of painters capable of

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<sup>3</sup> Mohideen Badusha, A.H., *History of Indian Architecture*, Sultan Publications, pp.101-102.



delineating expressions and emotions of capture life and motion with their brushes. There was a careful choice and tasteful employment of the paints and pigments used in the paintings. The pigments most commonly used were golden, blue, green, red and silvery white. There were also the mounting of pictures and their embellishment with an artistic border.<sup>4</sup>

Jahangir's artistic inclination developed the Mughal paintings further and the oil paints began being used. He encouraged the single point perspective of European artists and paintings became focused on real life events. The Jahangirnama, his autobiography had several paintings.

### **Jahangir (1605 A.D. to 1627 A.D)**

Agra was capital till the Jahangir period. After his period Delhi became as capital. This emperor's constructional works was contemplated, it more frequently took the form laying out large formal gardens and similar ornamental retreats rather than their erection of Architectural monuments. The important buildings of his period are as follows:

1. Mausoleum at Sikandra
2. Jullundur Gate way
3. Mausoleum at Shadera

#### **1. Mausoleum at Sikandra**

For the minor arts the main structure of one of the most remarkable buildings during the earlier years of Jahangir's reign was Mausoleum at Sikandra near Agra. This was his father's Mausoleum. It was completed in 1613 A.D. Its perimeter walls enclose a garden of a great size. The tomb in the centre is in plan a square of 320 feet height with a total height of over 100 feet. It is provided with 4 graceful white

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<sup>4</sup> Mohideen Badusha, A.H., *op.cit.*, p.105.

marble, minarets, one raising above each corner. Its general outline take the shape of pyramid, buildup in three storey's. This building looks beautifully with skillful ornaments.

## **2. Jullundur Gateway**

During the reign of Jahangir the western gateway to sarai at Jullundur. It is a small but attractive structure.

## **3. Mausoleum at Shadera**

It was Jahangir's own Mausoleum. It was constructed by his wife Noor Jahan. It was on the bank of Ravi river at shadera near Lahore. The tomb building stands on a square plan of 325 feet side, a structure of one storey built of marbles. There are one minaret with 5 stages of 100 feet height on each corner enclosed by the high breckwall with a Garden. It is divided up into 16 equal square by means of paved cause ways a fountain and ornamental pull where placed each intersection different flower was grown on each intersection. It was seen colorfully Jahangir acquired proficiency in Persian and Turkish and became an excellent calligraphist. He also showed considerable interest in history geography, botany, zoology and art. In the following year he was placed in nominal charge of the departments of justice and public celebrations.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Nirmala Verma, *History of India Mughal period*, ABD Publishers, 2006, p.242.

## **Chapter V**

### **ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT DURING SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN**

The Mughal age was not only a period of experiment and innovation but of continuation and culmination of the process of fine arts that had their seed sown in the later part of the Turko Afghan rule. Again the Mughal emperors being lovers of fine arts had evolved new styles and techniques which indicate a happy mingling of Persian and Indian elements. This synthesis has left a deep impression on paintings architecture embroidery, Jewellery and Metal works of the age. All the fine arts of the period breath a spirit of luxury. Shah Jahan was a great builder of religious as well as secular buildings. He had a passion for architecture and he revolutionized the mughal style of architecture.

Shah Jahan must have had extraordinary eyesight court etiquette decreed that, so long as the nobles were in view of the emperor, they were obliged to move about only on foot, not on horseback or in palanquins and to bow constantly as they walked as a mark of respect for the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Shah Jahan's Period**

The buildings of Shahjahan show the Mughal style at its height, although the earliest, the completion by Nurjahan of Jahangir's tomb at shahdara, near Lahore, continues the opus sectile traditions. It is more important for its decoration than for its structure, not only on the surface of the building but in the white marbles, calligraphy, appearing in delicate pietra dura here for the first time. Before the fort was begun however the constructions of the Mausoleum of his Queen Mumtaz-i-mahall had been started. This buildings known to everyone by its corrupted title of

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<sup>1</sup> Jeyapalan, N., *Social and Cultural History of India*, Atlantic Publishers, 1956, p.2.

Taj Mahal, is in the suburb of Agra now called Tajgani on the bank of Yamuna river. The buildings with a square Mausoleum with a tall minor at each corner of its plinth. The platform at the river end of the great oblong garden. The garden divided by paths and parterres with central crossing water channels and an imposing gateway.

## **Taj Mahal**

Taj Mahal is the one of the world wonders. A Monuments which marks the loveliness is known as Taj Mahal. This burial place on which a white marble tomb was built that is Taj Mahal. There are 20 types of gems are embedded in this buildings. This building was constructed for 22 years with more expensive. The length of this buildings is 1900 feet and width is 1000 feet. It contains the beautiful gateway octagonal pavilions and gardens. There are two gateways for the tomb. There are two buildings on either side of the tomb building one is mosque another one is guest house. Also there are 4 minarets of 137 feet height on each corner. The appearance of this buildings is in a most inspiring manner craftsman were invited from Arabia, Persia, Turkey and other European countries for the construction of Taj Mahal. A venetian Jeweler named Geronimo Veronew was the craftsman for the plan of this buildings. The garden of this building is worked out in a regular arrangements of 1600 feet length and 700 feet width. In the innerwall of this buildings the holy Quran words had been carved in white marble. The only building in India which is brightened by natural light without electricity.

## **Delhi Jumma Mosque (Jami Mosque)**

The larger Mosque of India which was built by shahjahan outside the fortress at Delhi is Delhi Jumma Mosque. This building was raised on a very high plinth. Measuring 200 feet length and 90 feet debth. It has high minarets. The floor of this buildings built of white and black marbles.

## **Agra Jumma Mosque (Jami Mosque)**

This building is in the Measurement of 130 feet length and 100 feet width. The total area of this Mosque is equal to the half of the Delhi Jumma Mosque. But it is not attractive like Delhi Jumma Mosque.

## **Lagore uzir Khan Mosque**

It is one of the Mughal building in Punjab. It was built in 1634 A.D. It has 4 minarets though the tiles of the buildings are not attractive it has the coloured tiles called Mosaic tiles. These tiles were derived from the town of Kashan in Persia.<sup>2</sup>

## **Shah Jahan**

Shah Jahan was one of the greatest of the builders among the Mughals. In his time, the arts of the Jeweller and the painter were blended into one. The important buildings of Shah Jahan were the Diwan-i-am and Diwan-i-Khas in the Fort of Delhi, the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the Taj. It is pointed out that the palace of Delhi is the most magnificent in the east. The Diwan-i-Khas is more highly ornamented than any other buildings.

The Mosques of Shah Jahan are of two kinds. The beauty of the Moti Masjid lies in its purity and simplicity. The Jama Masjid is more impressive than Moti Masjid. The main approach of the Jama Masjid is very impressive. The Masjid is situated on a very high plinth or raised platform which gives it a commanding position in the city and compels the attention of every on looker.

## **The Taj**

It was built by Shah Jahan in the memory of his beloved queen, Arjumand Banu who died in 1630. It took 22 years to complete the work of construction of the Taj. There are writers who give a different duration. It was estimated to have cost

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<sup>2</sup> Mohideen Badusha, *History of Indian Architecture*, Sulthans Publications, p.106.

about Rs.3 crores. According to Abdul Hamid Lahor, “The cost of building several edifices which are detailed above, and which were completed in nearly 12 years under the supervision of Makramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim, amounted to 50 lakhs of rupees. It may be pointed out that the inscription at the entrance of the Taj is dated 1647 A.D. This also comes to about 17 years. The period of 22 years is given by Tavernier.

We are told that Shah Jahan assigned to the Taj landed property which was expected to give an annual income of Rs. One lakh. An equal amount was to be got from the rents of the shops, inns and bazaars.

According to Percy Brown, “It may be noted that while the structural portions seem to have been principally in the hands of Muhammadans, the decoration was mainly the work of Hindu craftsmen.

Historians of Architecture called his reign as “Age of Marbles”. The style of Architecture carried to the height degree of perfection. His important buildings which were built with white marbles only. They are as follows:

Diwan-i-am, Diwan-i-Khas, Moti Mosque, Shish Mahal, Nagina Masjid, Taj Mahal, Delhi Jumma Mosque, Agra Jumma Mosque, Lahore Wazir Khan Mosque

Most important of Shah Jahan's constructions is Red Fort which is built in 1638 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

### **Delhi Red Fort**

Shah Jahan built a city “Shah Jahanabad” within the fortress. Most of the buildings are built with marbles within the foliations on the walls and arches conventional flowers were freely introduced. The back wall of the place where the

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<sup>3</sup> Mohideen Badusha, *op.cit.*, p.108.

emperor sat in state was decorated with paintings. This type of art decoration known as “Pietra Dura”.

The fort of Delhi has 3100 feet long and 1650 feet in width. There are two main gateways. The western entrance is called as Lagore Gate. Another on the South side. There are places and pavilions with finest Architecture. The Diwan-i-am or Hall of public Audience is in the palace. This fortress contains oriel windows, minarets, decorated screens and pillars open courtyards, balconies and rooms with romantic appearance. These show the interest of Shah Jahan on art.

The Rang Mahal art printed palace is in the plan of 153 feet by 69 feet. There is a main central hall with smaller compartments at each end. This central Hall is divided into 15 days each 20 feet square. It is formed of one large hall 90 feet by 67 feet. This is divided into 15 wide bays. Shah Jahan exclaimed that it is the paradise in the earth.

Nahar-i-Bahist is the building in the building in the form of boat. There is a provision of a full and contains supply of water distribution of means of conduit. The Nahar-i-Bahist means ‘canal of paradise’. Moti Mosque is one of the important Mosque which add more beauty to this fort. There is an audience Hall built of Lime stones and sand stones. The Alcova in the back wall where the emperor sat in state on the ceremonial occasions on a peacock throne.<sup>4</sup>

Shah Jahan period architecture, Indian building style that flourished under the patronage of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1628 – 58), its crowning achievement being the magnificent Mausoleum at Agra, the Taj Mahal. Among the other landmarks of the style are several mosque’s at the emperor’s first capital, Delhi. The use of the double dome, the recessed archway inside a rectangular frontier and park

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<sup>4</sup> Mohideen Badusha, *op.cit.*, pp.102-106.

like surroundings were all favourite devices of Shah Jahan period builders, symmetry and balance between the parts of a building were always stressed, as was delicate ornamental detail. White Marble was favoured building material.

The tomb of the emperor Humayun (1564) at Delhi inaugurated the new style, though it shows strong Persian influences. The first great period of building activity occurred under the emperor Akbar (1556-1605) at Agra and at the new capital city of Fatehpur Sikri, which was founded in 1569. The latter city's great Mosque, with its monumental victory gate, is one of the finest mosques of the Mughal period. The great fort at Agra and the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, near Agra are other notable structures dating from his period. Most of these early Mughal buildings use arches only sparingly, relying instead on post-and lintel construction. They are built of red sandstone or white marble. Among its notable buildings are the red-sand stone pillared Diwan-i-Am ("Hall of Public Audience") and the so called Diwan-i-Khas ("Hall of Private Audience") which housed the famous Peacock Throne. Outside the citadel is the impressive great mosque is approached by a majestic flight of steps, and has an immense courtyard in front.

The architectural monuments of Shah Jahan's successor, Aurangzeb (1658-1707), were not as numerous, though some notable mosque, including the Badshahi mosque in Lahore, were built before the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Subsequent works moved away from the balance and coherence characteristic of mature Mughal architecture.

In Shah Jahan's period the Mughal paintings developed but they were rigid with themes of lovers in intimate positions, musical parties.



## **Chapter VI**

### **CONDITION OF ART AND ARCHITECTURAL DURING AURANGZEB**

In this period, brick and rubble with stucco ornamentation replaced the squared stone and marble used in the past. Some of Aurangzeb's important monuments include Bibi Ka Madbara, a Mausoleum for his chief wife which was intended to rival the Taj Mahal (Aurangzeb's mother's tomb)

#### **Period of Decline**

Aurangzeb was more orthodox and austere than his predecessors, and his increased religiosity is reflected in the artworks produced during his reign. While Islamic calligraphy and handmade textiles continued to thrive, overall, there was a significant decline in focus and budgetary restraints and frequent skirmishes with neighbouring powers.

The royal atelier (workshop) was also disbanded during Aurangzeb's reign. Many of the royal artists sought the patronage of the nearby Rajasthani courts and European travellers in India. Alamgir believed that the Mughal leaders who had come before him were complacent hedonists who had led lives of luxury and decadence. Aurangzeb, however, was a rigid puritan with orthodox view, a serious minded young man with natural military powers. He shared an early rivalry with his eldest brother. Dara Shikoh, the rightful heir to the Mughal throne.

#### **Portraits of Aurangzeb**

During Aurangzeb's reign, there was a shift in artistic style. Instead of the lavish paintings of Shah Jahan's period. Portraiture became simplified and settings

were understood. Portraits either represent him as a fearsome warrior in his youth or as an elderly devout Muslim reading the Quran.

### **Islamic Calligraphy and Textiles**

The textile industry thrived during Aurangzeb's reign. It employed hundreds of artisans across South Asia, who created intricate works of silk and brocade. Turbans, Carpets, Shawls, and other finely embroidered textiles were highly valued. Some were even exported to Europe through trading channels. Aurangzeb also patronised Islamic calligraphy and was himself an accomplished calligraphist.

### **Architecture under Aurangzeb**

Though Mughal architecture followed the same fate as Mughal miniatures there were some noteworthy commissions under Aurangzeb's patronage. In this period, brick and rubble with stucco ornamentation replaced the squared stone and marble used in the past. Aurangzeb also commissioned the elegant Pearl Mosque in the Red Fort complex of New Delhi, the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore (the largest mosque of the Mughal Era) and the Alamgiri Gate of the Lahore Fort. This last iconic monument once featured on Pakistani currency.

### **The Disintegration of Mughal Paintings**

It is thought that the decline of Mughal paintings resulted from Aurangzeb's curtailing of state expenditure on the arts. He also discouraged music and dance. The austere Alamgir was disinterested and possibly even hostile to the extraordinary arts created under his predecessors' patronage. There was a brief revival during the reign of his descendent, Muhammad Shah who shared the more tolerant traits of his ancestors and their passionate devotion to the arts. However, the Mughal treasury

was irreparably depleted after royal atelier was completely dispersed during the reign of Shah Alam II.

### **Tomb of the Last Great Mughal**

After a long reign and an empire riddled with rebellions. Aurangzeb left the world on March 3, 1707 at the ripe old age of 88. He rejected the aplomb of his predecessors grand mausoleums and requested a simple and unmarked grave. His final wish was to be laid to rest close to the dargah or shrine of his spiritual guide, Sherkh Zainuddin in Aurangabad, central India. Instead of using funds from the imperial treasury, it is said that during his final years, the last of the powerful Mughal rulers procured his own grave. He did this by selling caps he had knitted himself and by copying the Quran in perfect calligraphy.

The Mughal buildings show a uniform patters both in structure and character. The main characteristic features of Mughal architecture are the bulbous domes, the slender minarets with cupolas at the four corners, large halls, massive vaulted gateways and delicate ornamentation. All the early Mughal Rulers except of the Mughals, Indian architecture was greatly influenced by Persian styles. The Mughals constructed excellent mausoleums, mosques, forts, gardens and cities. Mughal architecture building style that flourished in northern and central India under the patronage of the Mughal emperors from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Mughal period marked a striking revival of Islamic architecture in northern India.

Most of the early Mughal buildings use arches only sparingly, relying instead on post and lintel construction. They are built of red sandstone or white marble. Mughal architecture reached its zenith during the reign of the rulers, its crowning achievement being the magnificent one. Mughal architecture is a blend of Hindu and

Muslim elements. The Mughals borrowed the architectural styles from Persia but adopted Hindu ideas, so their style of architecture is known as the Indo-Persian style.

## **Development of Architecture**

Mughals led to Indo-Muslim architecture reaching a unity and completeness which make the story of the architectural style that developed under their August patronage particularly fascinating and instructive. The Mughal emperors were keen lovers of nature and art their personality was to a certain extent, reflected in the art and culture of their time.

The state of uncertainty in the days of Babur and Humayun was not however, favourable, for any outstanding contribution to the development of art and culture. Babur himself was a remarkably dynamic personality fearless soldier undaunted by adversity an accomplished writer and a born aesthete with a keen sense of perception for the beauties of nature and art.

He is said to have undertaken several building projects of ambitious character in India that involved the employment of numerous workmen at Agra, Dholpur, Gwalior and other places. In his memoirs she says, that “680 workmen worked daily on my buildings at Agra while 1491 stone cutters worked daily on my buildings at Agra, Sikri, Biana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Kiul”. The number of workmen employed would indicate the extensiveness of these schemes.

Like his ancestor, Aurangzeb did not show any love for fine arts. He constructed only a few buildings but they are not much splendid monuments as his ancestors had erected.

### **Lagore Badshai Mazid**

In Lagore this large mosque was erected in 1674 A.D by Aurangzeb at Lagore. It is a strong and resolute building. There are 8 minarets (4 Big and 4 Small) and there are 5Big domes, 3 domes are in buboes shape.

### **Srinagar Jami-Mazid**

Jami Mazid at Srinagar was founded by Sikandar But shikan in 1400 A.D. It was reconstructed by Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 17<sup>th</sup> century. Now it is in the same style as in the time of Aurangzeb.

### **Contribution of Aurangzeb for other buildings Sikh's building**

Ramray Singh who could not became a 8<sup>th</sup> chief, appealed the help of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb sent materials and marbles from Delhi for his construction work. The building which was built by this Ramray Singh is now called as Dehra Gururam Roy. Now this place in know as Dehra Dun. This message is confirmed by history of Sikhs Tariki-Punjab.

### **Gopinath Temple**

Nounitharay got subside from Aurangzeb and built Gobinath temple in Gopamav at Harduvay District in 1699 A.D. He also founded beautiful lake. It is confirmed by Annual report of archaeological department.

### **Sheethapur Temple**

Aurangzeb provided lands for the maintenance and for the rituals ceremonies of sheethapur temple. It is confirmed by the charter of Aurangzeb.

The late from of the Mughal style had a limited vogue under the Sikhas. Therefore architectural style of Sikhs are in the appearance of Mughal extraction.

After the period of Aurangzeb Mughal architecture got decline. But, the golden temple at Amritsar and Govinda dev temple at Brindvan are in the style of Mughal architecture. The buildings after Mughals in India were constructed under the influence of Mughal architecture.

### **Aurangzeb an ardent votary of Islam, 1658-1707**

Antecedents Aurangzeb played an important part of public affairs before his accession to the throne on two different occasions he was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. During his first term of office 1639-1644 his time was occupied in quelling local rebellions and besieging mountain forts.

#### **1. Apparent success**

Aurangzeb was apparently a most successful emperor under whose reign the Mughal Empire reached the summit of its power and glory. A brief record of the chief events of his reign lends itself singularly to misinterpretation in this respect.

#### **2. Real failure**

But in spite of the conquests which he made Aurangzeb has rightly been looked upon as the man who brought about the destruction of the Mughal Empire although the ruin did not come till after he had passed away.

#### **Causes of Failure**

Aurangzeb's failure was entirely of his own making and the source of his misfortunes was inherent in his character.

#### **a) Suspiciousness**

First of all, Aurangzeb never trusted those who surrounded him. He had a taster to taste his food his physician had to sample all prescriptions, pill for pill and dose for dose.

#### **b) Religious Policy**

What contributed more than anything else to Aurangzeb's failure was his religious fanaticism: for nothing in his life neither throne, nor love, nor ease weighed for an instant in his mind against his fealty to the principle of Islam.

#### **c) Alienation of Hindus in general**

He inaugurated a campaign of religious persecutions and ordered many Hindu temples to be razed to the ground. This led to a peasant rising, known as the satnami revolt in the Punjab.

#### **d) Alienation of the Rajputs**

Whilst the relations between the Rajputs and the Mughal Emperor were thus almost strained to breaking point, Aurangzeb tried to seize to children of the late Jaswant Singh of Udaipur either to keep them as hostages, or to convert them to Islam.

#### **e) Alienation of Deccan Hindus**

The tragedy of Rajputana was repeated on a still larger scale in the Deccan. A young Maratha chieftain called Shivaji, took advantage of Aurangzeb's short sighted policy of religious persecution to gather the discontented Hindus round him.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Mughal era had contributed the art and architectural monuments of India. Mughal were the rulers of Indian subcontinent who established their rule in India in 1526. Their root were known to be Turco-Mongols and Chagatai from the central Asia. They were the first to bring the Indo-Persian culture to India along with their Art and Architecture efficiency.

Mughals during the period of Babur and Humayun aggressively took to territorial expansion which continued up till Akbar's reign and by Shahjahans reign the reign the expansion was complete. There after shahjahan although more orthodox when compared to Akbar ruled peacefully and took up some of the best architectural project. Indian architecture flourished under the Mughals as most of them were great builders who appreciated art and creativity. Under the patronage of the Mughal emperors Persian Indian. Mughal empire was a great era which has given India a very rich and noble history to be marked with golden words.



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**E.V. RAMASAMY NAICKER, A PIONEER REFORMER OF WOMEN'S**

**EMANCIPATION IN TAMIL NADU – A STUDY**

*Project in History submitted to*

*St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi*

*affiliated to*

*Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli*

*in partial fulfillment of the requirements*

*for the award of the degree of*

**Bachelor of Arts in History**

**BY**

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**III B.A. History**

**St. Mary's College (Autonomous)**

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**Thoothukudi**

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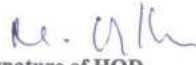
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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the project entitled "E.V. RAMASAMY NAICKER,  
A PIONEER REFORMER OF WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION IN TAMIL  
NADU - A STUDY" is submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous),  
Thoothukudi in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of Bachelor of  
Arts in History is a record of work done during the year 2020-2021 by the  
following students of III BA History.

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "E.V. RAMASAMY NAICKER, A PIONEER REFORMER OF WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION IN TAMIL NADU – A STUDY" submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli for the award of the degree of **Bachelor of Arts in History** is our original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date: 9.11.2021

### Students Name

### Signature of the Candidate

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## INTRODUCTION

A person, who has devoted his whole life to a particular cause, should have three special qualities in order to be successful in his work. Those qualities are absolute courage, self sacrifice and a clear plan of action. To a large extent Periyar possessed all those three qualities. He looked at the social situations then existed and he analyzed it and questioned it. He did not stop with questioning, but had vision for a new future and for a new Tamil Nadu.<sup>1</sup>

Long before Periyar launched his Self-Respect Movement, the Justice Party was there in existence. It was founded by those stewarts Sir.P. Thyagarayar, Dr.T.M. Nair and others, it proved itself to be a lone but effective organ to offset and fight the Brahmin assault directed against the (Non-Brahmin) communities.

E.V.R's association with the Justice Party had secured him an opportunity to think over the interest of the Non-Brahmins in South India. Besides, he had some public spirit due to his servicing the Tamil society by holding a number of public posts before joining the Justice Party. Moreover, his Non-Brahmin concern was due to his ideological clash with the Brahmin Congressites since the 1920's. Meanwhile, he entered into vortex of journalism, which widened his horizon as a social reformer.

He ran eight newspapers in order to propagate his ideologies and thoughts. They are Kudi Arasu (1924-34), The Revolt (1928-29), Puratchi (1933), Ragutharivu (1933-39), Viduthalai (1935-73), Justice (1944-45), Unmai (1970-73), and the Modern Rationalist (1970-73) to propagate his revolutionary thoughts like anti-Brhaminism, anti-caste and anti-untouchability among the Tamils. Periyar's Self Respect ideals and rationalist thoughts

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<sup>1</sup> **E.V. Ramasamy.**, *The Genesis of my Self-Respect Movement*, The Periyar Self Respect propaganda Institution, Madras, 1985. P.4.

broke fresh grounds from tradition and religion and his efforts in women's cause marked a distinct path breaking advance. He condemned religious scriptures that tranquilized women's life.

### **Objective of the Study**

The objective of the study is to analyse the contributions made by E.V.Ramasamy Naicker as a staunch reformist who initiated a major role to fight against the social taboos and clutches existed in the society.

### **Aims and Purpose of the Study**

The main aim and purpose of the study is to highlight the political and social career of E.V.R and his contributions to the Tamil society. E.V.R Naicker's period was the revolutionary age and scientific age. It was during this period the position to change the old to bring comforts to the human society. therefore, he started the Self-Respect Movement in Tamil Nadu to upgrade the lifestyle of the downtrodden people. This study focuses on the area with an aim to give a clear picture of the various contributions of E.V.R to the society and his tireless effort to the society especially that of women's emancipation. Thus, this project will be helpful and could make long lasting impression for the future study as well.

### **Methodology**

The methodology adopted in this study is descriptive method and analytical method. The source material have been critically analysed and investigated. The descriptive method is used to make the project understandable to the reader.

### **Sources of the study**

The sources used for the completion of study includes both Primary and Secondary sources. The Primary sources are the first hand informations like Government Reports, G.O's, and Government Publications etc. The Secondary sources included the books written by various authors and proceedings.

### **Outline of the Chapter**

This project consists of four chapters excluding the Introduction and Conclusion.

- ❖ The first chapter describes the early life and early career of E.V.Ramasamy Naicker.
- ❖ The second chapter elucidate the philosophical Dravidian thoughts of E.V.R along with his ideologies and workings of Self-Respect Movement.
- ❖ The third chapter dealt with the working of E.V.R's initiations for the welfare and empowerment of women folks in Tamil Nadu.
- ❖ The fourth chapter evaluates the impact of E.V.R's steps for the women emancipation and Women's involvement to the fore-front of the society.





## **Chapter 1**

### **Early Life Sketch of E.V.R Naicker**

Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy (1879-1973) was the founder of the self-respect movement. He was the son of a wealthy business in Erode, Venkatappa and Chinna Thayammal. Though possessing little formal education, he engaged in critical discussions with scholars, who used to be patronized 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).

Thanthai Periyar was natural on September 1879 in Erode here British colonial Madras Presidency. Periyar parents priest Venkatappa Naicker and tend china Thayammal. He has a single senior brother Krishnasamy and two sister Kannamma and ponnuthoy. He has a unique name Naicker in 1929 to indicate the name of his caste. He attended educate merely for five years. Afterwards he together his father in his operates. His martial Nagammai age of 19<sup>th</sup> and his death of 1933. In Nagammai after some years back he married 1948 in Maniammai.

Periyar (1879 – 1973) is seen by his supporters in south India as a rationalist the key figure of the Dravidian self respect movement, an anti-caste campaigner a champion of the social and political rights of the lawyer castes, a prate feminist and a brighter for greater autonomy for Tamil Nadu. He is however most popularly known for his atheism and controversially for his acerbic attacks on the Hindu religion and the Hindu gods. E.V.

Ramasamy promoted the principles of [rationalism](#), [self-respect](#), [women's rights](#) and eradication of [caste](#). He opposed the [exploitation](#) and [marginalisation](#) of the non-Brahmin Dravidian people of [South India](#) and the imposition of what he considered [Indo-Aryan](#) India.

### **His Early Life**

Erode Venkata Ramasamy was born on 17 September 1879 to a [Kannada Baliya](#) merchant family in [Erode](#), then a part of the [Coimbatore district](#) of the [Madras Presidency](#).<sup>1</sup> E. V. Ramasamy's father is Venkatappa Nayakar (or Venkata), and his mother was Chinnathyee, Muthammal. He had one elder brother named Krishnaswamy and two sisters named Kannamma and Ponnuthoy.<sup>2</sup> He later came to be known as "Periyar" meaning 'respected one' or 'elder' in the [Tamil](#).<sup>3</sup>

E. V. Ramasamy married when he was 19, and had a daughter who lived for only 5 months. His first wife, [Nagammai](#), died in 1933.<sup>4</sup> E.V. Ramasamy married for a second time in July 1948. His second wife, [Maniammai](#), continued E. V. Ramasamy's social work after his death in 1973, and his ideas then were advocated by Dravidar Kazhagam.<sup>5</sup>

In 1929, E. V. Ramasamy announced the deletion of his caste title *Naicker* from his name at the First Provincial Self-Respect Conference of [Chengalpattu](#). He could speak three [Dravidian languages](#): Kannada, Telugu and [Tamil](#). Periyar attended school for five years after which he joined his father's trade at the age of 12. He used to listen to Tamil [Vaishnavite gurus](#) who gave discourses in his house enjoying his father's hospitality. At a young age, he began questioning the apparent contradictions in the [Hindu](#)

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Indian History*, Volume 54, University of Allahabad, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Mahapatra, Subhasini., [Women and Politics](#). Rajat Publications. 2001, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Vicuvanātan, Ī.,. *The political career of E.V. Ramasami: a study in the politics of Tamil Nadu, 1920–1949*, 1983, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Muthukumar, R.,. *Periyar*. Tamilnadu: Kizhaku Pathipakam. 2008, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Arooran, K. Nambi., *Tamil renaissance and Dravidian nationalism, 1905–1944*. 1980, p. 152.

[mythological](#) stories. As Periyar grew, he felt that people used religion only as a mask to deceive innocent people and therefore took it as one of his duties in life to warn people against superstitions and priests.<sup>6</sup>

E.V. Ramasamy's father arranged for his wedding when he was nineteen. The bride, Nagammai, was only thirteen. Despite having an [arranged marriage](#), Periyar and Nagammai were already in love with each other. Nagammai actively supported her husband in his later public activities and [agitation](#). Two years after their marriage, a daughter was born to them. However, their daughter died when she was five months old. The couple had no more children.<sup>7</sup>

### **Kashi Pilgrimage Incident**

In 1904, E.V. Ramasamy went on a pilgrimage to [Kashi](#) to visit the revered [Shiva](#) temple of [Kashi Vishwanath](#). Though regarded as one of the holiest sites of [Hinduism](#), he witnessed immoral activities such as begging, and floating dead bodies. His frustrations extended to functional Hinduism in general when he experienced what he called [Brahmanic](#) exploitation.<sup>8</sup>

However, one particular incident in Kasi had a profound impact on E.V. Ramasamy's ideology and future work. At the worship site there were free meals offered to guests. To E.V. Ramasamy's shock, he was refused meals at choultries, which exclusively fed [Brahmins](#). Due to extreme hunger, E.V. Ramasamy felt compelled to enter one of the eateries disguised as a Brahmin with a [sacred thread](#) on his bare chest, but was betrayed by his moustache. The gatekeeper at the temple concluded that E.V. Ramasamy was not a Brahmin, as Brahmins were

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<sup>6</sup> Gopalakrishnan, G.P., *Periyar: Father of the Tamil race*, Emerald Publishers, Chennai, 1991, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14- 17.

not permitted by the Hindu [\*shastras\*](#) to have moustaches. He not only prevented Periyar's entry but also pushed him rudely into the street.<sup>9</sup>

As his hunger became intolerable, Periyar was forced to feed on leftovers from the streets. Around this time, he realised that the eatery which had refused him entry was built by a wealthy non-Brahmin from [South India](#). This discriminatory attitude dealt a blow to Periyar's regard for Hinduism, for the events he had witnessed at Kasi were completely different from the picture of [Kasi](#) he had in mind, as a holy place which welcomed all. Ramasamy was a [theist](#) until his visit to [Kasi](#), after which his views changed and he became an [atheist](#).<sup>10</sup>

### **His Early Career**

E.V. Ramasamy joined the [Indian National Congress](#) in 1919 after quitting his business and resigning from public posts. He held the chairmanship of Erode Municipality and wholeheartedly undertook constructive programs spreading the use of [Khadi](#), picketing toddy shops, boycotting shops selling foreign cloth, and eradicating [untouchability](#). In 1921, Periyar courted imprisonment for picketing toddy shops in Erode. When his wife as well as his sister joined the agitation, it gained momentum, and the administration was forced to come to a compromise. He was again arrested during the [Non-Cooperation movement](#) and the [Temperance movement](#).<sup>11</sup> In 1922, Periyar was elected the President of the [Madras Presidency](#) Congress Committee during the [Tirupur](#) session, where he advocated strongly for reservation in government jobs and education. His attempts were defeated in the

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<sup>9</sup> Arora, N.D & S.S. Awasthy., [\*Political Theory and Political Thought\*](#). Har-Anand Publications: New Delhi. 2007, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.

<sup>11</sup> Kandasamy, W.B. Vansantha & Florentin Smarandache., K. Kandasamy., [\*Fuzzy and Neutrosophic Analysis of E.V. Ramasamy's Views on Untouchability\*](#). HEXIS: Phoenix. 2005, p. 10.

Congress party due to discrimination and [indifference](#), which led to his leaving the party in 1925.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 11.



## Chapter 2

### E.V.R's Dravidian Thoughts and Self Respect Movement

In the annals of the presidency of Madras the period between 1927 and 1934 was important because of the series of social reform movements which emerged and affected the social and political life of the people of all the social reform movement in Tamil Nadu, the only movements, which was entitled non-religious and secular in its approach to social problems was the self-respect movement started by periyar. This movement was quite strong and even militant in its efforts to achieve social equality. It was described from the beginning as “dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmans a sense of pride based on their Dravidian Past”.<sup>1</sup>

The laudable social progress that has been achieved now in Tamil Nadu can be attributed to the self respect movement and the tireless propaganda conducted by periyar over the years. A Ramaswamy Mudaliar, in his tribute to periyar, said, “At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the French thinker Rousseau kindled the reasoning power of his countryman and prepared them for the French Revolution. I should say that because periyar has taught our people to employ their reasoning faculty and because he has kindled their sense of self-respect, he should be called the Rousseau of Tamil Nadu”.<sup>2</sup>

### His Dravidian Thoughts

The Dravidian-Aryan conflict was believed to be a continuous historical phenomenon that started when the Aryans first set their foot in the Dravidian lands. Even a decade before the idea of separation appeared, Periyar stated that, "as long as [Aryan religion](#),

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<sup>1</sup> **Anita Diehl.**, *Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, A Study of the Influence of a Personality in Contemporary South India*, B.I Publications, New Delhi, 1978, p.4

<sup>2</sup> **E.V Ramasamy Periyar.**, *The Genesis of My Self-Respect Movement*, trans, A.S. Venu, Periyar's Self Respect, Propaganda Institution, Madras, 1981, p.11



Indo-Aryan domination, propagation of Aryan [Vedas](#) and Aryan "Varnashrama" existed, there was need for a "Dravidian Progressive Movement" and a "Self-Respect Movement". Periyar became very concerned about the growing North Indian domination over the south which appeared to him no different from foreign domination. He wanted to secure the fruits of labour of the Dravidians to the Dravidians, and lamented that fields such as political, economic, industrial, social, art, and spiritual were dominated by the north for the benefit of the North Indians. Thus, with the approach of independence from Britain, this fear that [North India](#) would take the place of Britain to dominate [South India](#) became more and more intense.<sup>3</sup>

Periyar was clear about the concept of a separate nation, comprising [Tamil](#) areas, that is part of the then existing Madras Presidency with adjoining areas into a federation guaranteeing [protection](#) of [minorities](#), including religious, linguistic, and cultural freedom of the people. A separatist conference was held in June 1940 at Kanchipuram when Periyar released the map of the proposed *Dravida Nadu*, but failed to get British approval. On the contrary, Periyar received sympathy and support from people such as [Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar](#) and [Muhammad Ali Jinnah](#) for his views on the Congress, and for his opposition to Hindi. They then decided to convene a movement to resist the Congress.<sup>4</sup>

The concept of *Dravida Nadu* was later modified down to Tamil Nadu. This led to a proposal for a union of the Tamil people of not only [South India](#) but including those of Ceylon as well.<sup>[86]</sup> In 1953, Periyar helped to preserve Madras as the capital of Tamil Nadu, which later was the name he substituted for the more general Dravida Nadu. In 1955 Periyar

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<sup>3</sup> **Saraswathi, S.**, *Towards Self-Respect*, Madras: Institute of South Indian Studies, 2004, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> **Dirks, Nicholas B.**, [Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India](#), Princeton University Press, 2001, p. 263.

threatened to burn the national flag, but on Chief Minister Kamaraj's pledge that Hindi should not be made compulsory, he postponed the action. In his speech of 1957 called *Suthantara Tamil Nadu En?* (Why an independent Tamil Nadu?), he criticised the Central Government of India, inducing thousands of Tamilians to burn the constitution of India. The reason for this action was that Periyar held the Government responsible for maintaining the caste system. After stating reasons for separation and turning down opinions against it, he closed his speech with a "war cry" to join and burn the map of India on 5 June. Periyar was sentenced to six months imprisonment for burning the Indian constitution.

Advocacy of such a nation became illegal when [separatist](#) demands were banned by law in 1957. Regardless of these measures, a *Dravida Nadu Separation Day* was observed on 17 September 1960 resulting in numerous arrests. However, Periyar resumed his campaign in 1968. He wrote an editorial on 'Tamil Nadu for Tamilians' in which he stated, that by nationalism only Brahmins had prospered and nationalism had been developed to abolish the rights of [Tamils](#). He advocated that there was need to establish a *Tamil Nadu Freedom Organization* and that it was necessary to work towards it.<sup>5</sup>

### **Periyar and Anti-Brahmanism**

Periyar was a radical advocate of [anti-Brahmanism](#). Periyar's ideology of anti-Brahmanism is quite often confused as being anti-Brahmin. Even a non-Brahmin who supports inequality based on caste was seen as a supporter of brahmanism. Periyar called on both Brahmins and non-Brahmins to shun brahmanism.

In 1920, when the Justice Party came to power, Brahmins occupied about 70 percent of the high level posts in the government. After reservation was introduced by the Justice Party, it reversed this trend, allowing non-Brahmins to rise in the government of the

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<sup>5</sup> Saraswathi, S., *op.cit.*, p. 9.

Madras Presidency. Periyar, through the Justice Party, advocated against the imbalance of the domination of Brahmins who constituted only 3 percent of the population, over [government jobs](#), [judiciary](#) and the Madras University.<sup>6</sup> His Self-Respect Movement espoused rationalism and [atheism](#) and the movement had currents of [anti-Brahminism](#).

### **Genesis of the Self Respect Movement**

What prompted periyar to take up with missionary zeal a cause that was not easy to promote even among those who needed it most is generally known. But what sustained his interest is a mystery. It was the steadfast devotion to the cause. That was the greatness of E.V. Ramasami Naicker which made him a periyar “A Great Man”, a Tantai “Father” and a Thalaivar “Leader”.<sup>7</sup> Periyar was born and brought up in an extremely orthodox household. In his early boyhood, he was exposed to a rigid orthodox way of life strictly governed by traditional prescriptions and scrupulously attached to conventional ritual-ridden activities. Periyar, recalling his boyhood remarked that “the Hindu orthodoxy practiced by his ancestors and the theological discourses perennially conducted in his house turned him to be an agnostic”.<sup>8</sup>

Small incident of caste discriminatory treatment experience while he was yet a schoolchild seemed to have made a lasting impression so derogatory to his sense of “self respect” as to drive him to be a determined speaker after an egalitarian society. Giving his own reason for becoming a staunch opponent to religious practices, periyar had observed that in every, circumstance and in every manner he was different from his “association and surrounding” and never became a victim to his surrounding in any field. He stated that the

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<sup>6</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> **S. Saraswati.**, *Towards Self-Respect: Periyar E.V.R on a New World*, Institution of South Indian Studies, Madras, 1994, p.10

<sup>8</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 11.

general belief that association and environment mould a person's life, ideals and methods, which was also found true in experience, had been disproved in his case.<sup>9</sup> The theological lessons, did not infuse religious spirit in him, but instead helped to supply him tremendous raw material for building up a philosophy and a movement to resist and break that environment and all that it signified and patronized.

Viewed from the context in which the self respect movement originated, it seems doubtful whether periyar deliberately shifted his attention from "reform" to "social reform" on the ground that the latter should precede the former. Periyar was actively and deeply involved in national politics in 1925, when he left the Indian National Congress to organize the self-respect movement. At the time, periyar seemed to have felt that he had not been able to reform the nation through political work and realized that the reason for his was the obstruction posed by religious beliefs and that his service was essential for removing them. Periyar felt that intense work was required first for the removal of the miseries caused in the name of religion and suffering of the people living a life without self respect and only then the attainment of true freedom would be possible.<sup>10</sup>

The immediate provocation for periyar to quit the congress was said to be the discriminatory treatment given to students on caste basis at the Gurukulam (a resident school) conducted at cheran Mahadevi (Tirunelveli District) with congress funds.<sup>11</sup> Periyar objected to the provision of separate dining and living arrangements provided for Brahmin and non-Brahmin students at the hostel. Another thing was that periyar as an active member of the congress and a responsible office bearer had observed and understood the subtle ways of the Brahmins to use the congress to fortify the interest of their community. He also

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<sup>9</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> **E.V.R.**, *op.cit.*, p. 20

realized that all his efforts in the congress were being made use of by the Brahmins in the congress party. Therefore, he left the congress in 1925. Periyar bitterly remarked, “The Congress do any good to non-Brahmins here after, my chief duty will be to destroy the congress”.<sup>12</sup>

However, the organization was not registered as a society for a long time although efforts were on since 1929. It was registered in 1952 under the name “The periyar self respect propaganda institution, Tiruchirappalli”.<sup>13</sup> The self respect movement thus got a firm foundation in Tamil Nadu. It was a political movement in origin; a social movement in its goal; and apparently anti-religious movement in its methods. The intervening of religion, society and state in the progress of his movement reflects the personality of its founder leader periyar.

### **Self-Respect Movement, as Suyamariyathai Iyakkam**

The term “self respect” corresponds to the Tamilized form of the Sanskrit word suyamariyathai. It is a combination of the words suya which means “self” and mariyathai which means “respect”. The motive behind the inauguration of the movement was to instill the feeling of self respect among the people and to eradicate all kinds of birth based inequalities and discrimination. The self-respect movement was dedicated to the idea of giving the Tamils “a sense of Pride” based on their glorious past. Periyar declared that the objectives of the self respect movement were “the establishment of a casteless and classless society with equal rights, free from superstitious beliefs and the eradication of all social

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<sup>12</sup> **M.D Gopalkrishnan.,** *Periyar; Father of Tamil Race*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., Emerald Publication, Madras, 1992, p.1.

<sup>13</sup> **S. Saraswathi.,** *op.cit.*, p. 20.

evils. Its aim was also to give complete equality, to women with men including property rights, to promote women education and widow remarriages.<sup>14</sup>

### **Self-Respect Movement and its Philosophy**

No account of the freedom movement in Tamil Nadu can be complete without an account of the self respect movement that accompanied it and accomplished a silent revolution in the thinking of the people. The philosophy of self respect, which underlines periyar's image of an ideal world, was said to be an universally accepted one, a philosophy that preaches that human actions, should be based on rational thinking; conclusions drawn from reason should be respected under any circumstances.

Periyar declared that the self respect movement alone could be a genuine freedom movement and political freedom would not be fruitful without individual self respect. To periyar, self respect was as valuable as life itself. To a human being it is the protection of his *suyamariyathai* (self respect) which is his birthright and not *swaraj* (political freedom). He described the movement as *Arivu Vidutalai Iyakkam*, that is, a movement to liberate the intellect.<sup>15</sup> Human equality with stress on economic and social equality formed the central theme of the self respect philosophy. Propagation of the philosophy of self respect became the full time activity of periyar since 1925 oral and written media were used mostly in Tamil. A Tamil weekly *Kudi Arasu* started in 1925 because the principal organ of the movement

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<sup>14</sup> **The Dravida Kazhakam.**, The Dravida Kazhakam Publications, Madras, 1982, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> **S. Saraswathi.**, *op.cit.*, p.2.

## **Objectives of the self respect movement**

The aim of the self respect movement have been outlined and stated in two pamphlets Namathu Kurikkol and Tiravitalakala lateiyam.<sup>16</sup>

- This movement aims to do away with such social structure of the society where one class of people claim to be superior to others some men claim to be of higher birth than others.
- It aims to work for getting equal opportunities for all people, irrespective of their communities it will strive to secure equal status for women along with men in life and according to law.
- All people should be given equal opportunities for growth and development. Friendship and fellow feeling should be natural among all the people.
- It aims to completely eradicate untouchability and to establish a united society based on brotherhood and sisterhood.
- To establish and maintain homes for orphans and widows and to run education institutions.
- To discourage people from building new temples, mutts, chlorites or vedic schools. People should drop the caste titles in their names common funds should be utilized for educational purpose and for creating employment opportunities for the unemployed.

## **Achievements of the Self-Respect Movement**

The self respect movement was popular in its appeal. Though it began as a social reform movement, its effects were ultimately profoundly political. In the words of Irschick, “It was dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidian past, which also meant a denial of the superiority of the Brahmins and of the

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<sup>16</sup> **E. Vishwanathan.**, *The Political Career of E.V Ramasamy Naicker*, Ravi & Vasanth Publications, Madras, 1983, p. 73.

Brahmin's implicit faith in the system.<sup>17</sup> One of the important attainment of the movement is the ushering in of self respect marriages, in which there will be no priest and the marriage alliance had to be entered into by the free will of the couple after declaring that they have agreed to be life partners by the exchange of garlands and without religious rituals in a simple functions to avoid all wasteful expenses.<sup>18</sup>

After self respect movement gained momentum, all the people in the villages realized that their children should have the benefit of education. They also learned to claim that children of all communities sit together in their schools people had been waiting for year and years for such a healthy and helpful movement. This amount of progress can be attributed only to the self respect movement and the tireless propaganda conducted by Periyar over the years.

The Self Respect Movement gained momentum and the people in the villages realized that their children should have the benefit of education. People in general were coming to realize that caste distinctions should never be encouraged. The practice of having separate dining places for certain sections of society was abolished. Self-respecters were the inaugurators of the temple entry movement in Tamil Nadu. The social service rendered by periyar thus helped in the liberation and uplift of the neglected masses and brought them into the mainstream of national life. Through this movement, periyar wanted to dispel the ignorance of the people and make them enlightened. He advised them to change according to the requirements of the changing times and keep pace with the modern conditions.

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<sup>17</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> **The Dravida Kazhakam.**, *op.cit.*, p.8.





## Chapter 3

### E.V.R's Initiational steps for the Women's Emancipation

Periyar E.V.R worked for the cause of women during his seven decades of public service with the help of well disciplined supporters and followers. His journals and organizations came to his defense against vituperative attacks and brickbats. It is a well known fact that to retrieve the “marginalized section” (women) of the society from the dominant culture, E.V.R took up the cause of women as his life mission right from the day when he entered the public service. Through propaganda tour and plat form speeches and through social organizations like self respect movement and Dravidar Kazhagam,

E.V.R courageously met the forces of orthodoxy and reactionaries. In his newspapers and periodicals, many Dravidian and self respect movement leaders, both men and women, contributed articles on the modernization of the society and social reforms against the established social order. Remarkable among them were S. Gurusamy, P. Chidambaram Pillai, selvi Gnanam, Neelavathi, lakshmirathan, sathankulam Raghavan, Muthulakshmi Reddy, Indrani, R.K. Shahmugam Chetty, K.M. Balasubramiam, Viswanathan, Venkatrama Sastry, Rengachari, S.S. Bharathi. In the journal, *Revolt*, P. Chidambaram Pillai continuously wrote articles on, ‘The Right of Temple Entry’, which was later published as a book.<sup>1</sup>

### Women's Rights

E.V.R did a lot for the women's Rights. He said that each woman should term an appropriate profession for herself, so that she could also earn. If she was able to earn out a living at least for herself, no husband would treat her as a slave. Her strongly viewed that at

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<sup>1</sup> A. Iraiyan., *Italalar Periyar*, (Tamil), Chennai, 2005, pp. 129-131.

present, women in India experienced much worse suffering and humiliation and wanted such slavish situation to be changed.

E.V.R strongly opined that as long as restrictions were imposed on women folk women were subservient to men and depended on them for help. He remarked that “If women have to live on terms of equality with men, they must have the liberty, kind of education and work suitable to the knowledge, ability and taste”. He added that women should not listen to religious instructions, which preached against them. E.V.R focused on the fact that the slavish attitudes, timidity, superstitious beliefs, obstinacy in adopting traditional customs due to religion. He vehemently condemned pennadimai (slavery of women) and pen Izhivu (degradation of woman). In his work *women Enslaved*, he viewed that on account on the hassles involved in child-bearing, women were dependent on others and such dependence formed the basis for the entrenchment of male dominance. Slavery of women did not affect only women and in another way it affected badly men also.<sup>2</sup>

E.V.R advocated that women should develop their physical strength like men take exercise and get trained in the use of weapons. They should be able to protect themselves from sexual assault. They should also be militarily trained so that they could serve the nation in times of crisis. He condemned men for the low status of women. He pointed out that men were responsible for keeping women as decorated animals. He floated the idea that adorning women with costly dress and jewels was not better than giving them education, knowledge and self respect.

E.V.R a considered the women’s craze for ornaments in any way could not elevate their condition in the society. Instead it would bring them danger. Its results were pride,

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<sup>2</sup> **Aloysius. G.,** *Women Enslaved E.V Ramasamy Periyar’s Pen En Adimaiyanal*, Critical Quest, New Delhi, p. 46.

vanity, domestic quarrels and insecurity. He called upon women to discard their golden jewelry and be emancipated.<sup>3</sup>

## **Marriage**

E.V.R was vehement on marriage: “I do not accept the words, “wedding” or “marriage”. It is a contract for companionship in life. For such a contract, registration is enough proof. The other marriage ceremonies meant waste of mental effort, time, money, enthusiasm and energy. According to him, a wedding should be contracted only on the principle of equality of the sex and equality of treatment. He added that if child marriages were abolished and provisions existed for divorce, widow’s remarriage, inter caste marriage and the right to marry one’s own choice then ninety per cent of the prevailing prostitution would disappear.<sup>4</sup> In this regard, K.M. Balasubramaniam, a lawyer and a self respecter, advised the self respecters in the Kudi Arasu to register self respect marriage under the civil marriages act to gain legal recognition.<sup>5</sup>

## **Women’s Freedom**

E.V.R found out the reason behind the statement that “man can live without man”. According to him, “because of the problems of child bearing, women are unable to demonstrate that they can live without men. As men have no such burden, they are free to declare that they can live without women. Besides, the problems of maternity compel women to seek the help of others and this gives rise to male domination. Therefore, for true emancipation of women, they should be completely freed from the bothersome obligation of

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<sup>3</sup> **P. Nagoorkani.**, *Periyar E.V.R The Pioneer of Women Liberation Struggle in Tamil Nadu*, Institution of Historical Studies, Kodaikanal, 2001, pp. 6-7.

<sup>4</sup> **I. Udhayasankar.**, *Periyar E.V Ramasamy: Communal Justice and Social Recognition*, The Academy of Public Affairs, University of Madras, Chennai, 2006, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> **Kudi Arasu.**, 26<sup>th</sup> May 1929.

child bearing.<sup>6</sup> He also pleaded for the enactment of a self respect marriages validating act in the legislature.<sup>7</sup>

### **Widow Remarriage**

E.V.R also proposed changes in several aspects of marriage. The reforms of E.V.R would improve the quality of life of women in general. He took his place alongside other great Indian reformers who liberated widows from a life of perpetual misery and drudgery. In this regard, Kudi Arasu, illustrated an incident in his life. E.V.R opposed the widowhood ever since his niece, Ammayi, aged ten, lost her thirteen year old husband due to Cholera. It was a rude shock for him and thenceforth he took a vow to eradicate child marriage and popularize widow marriage.<sup>8</sup>

E.V.R gathered statistics from the 1921 census Report of India and highlighted the plight of 26,37,788 widows in the country. He viewed that widow non marriage was perpetuated by men “to make women subservient to them like slaves and to keep them under control”. He further argued that “this wicked enslavement of half of the human race is due to the fact that men are physically a little stronger than women”. True to his stand, he championed the cause of widows by arranging several widow marriages popularizing them and helping the widows in the society to attain a new lease of life.

E.V.R emphatically supported the rights of women to divorce when they could not get along with their husbands. Divorce was not allowed in the past according to the law as of the land. He argued “At present women have no right to seek divorce; when the husband is alive, no woman has the right to marry another woman while the first wife is alive”.

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<sup>6</sup> **M.D. Gopalkrishnan.**, *A Garland to Periyar*, Chennai, 1999, pp. 80-83.

<sup>7</sup> **K. Nambi Arooran.**, *Tamil Renaissance and Dravidian Nationalism 1905-1944*, Koodal Publishers, Madurai, 1980, p. 163.

<sup>8</sup> **Kudi Arasu.**, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1926.

E.V.R wished the people to think about widow's remarriage. For instance, he put a question before the people thus: "It a man can marry again at the instance of the death of his previous wife, why can not a woman remarry at the death of her husband?" E.V.R also strongly condemned polygamy. In this regard, Kudi Arasu revealed that E.V.R cited the practice of the "Namboodris among whom the eldest son alone can marry any younger brothers can keep the Nair girls as concubines. The children born to the concubines have no right to the father's property. This practice keeps the Namboodri old man with six or seven wives".<sup>9</sup> "Thus periyar in his life mission utilized his journals to ventilate his progressive views on women emancipation even though many of his journals were banned by the British Government for his extreme political views".<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> **Ibid.**, 26<sup>th</sup> October 1930.

<sup>10</sup> **M.S.S Pandian.**, *Brahmin & Non-Brahmin Permanent Black*, New Delhi, 2007, p. 211.



## Chapter 4

### Women's Involvement to the Forefront of the Society

The Dravidian Movement was successful in allowing women to express themselves in a public platform. Women were able to function as an independent group in organising their own conferences. The movement used these conferences to take up women's issues and encouraged women's participation in politics. The first provincial self-Respect Conference was held at Chengalput; near Madras in 1929.<sup>42</sup> It discussed issues including the Simon Commission and caste oppression. A deemed for equal property rights for men and women was made. The second conference was held in 1930 at Erode.<sup>43</sup> The practice of having a separate women's conference along with major self-respect conference became a permanent feature of the movement in the subsequent years. The Second Women Conference held at Virudhu Nagar in 1931 argued that women should not be recruited only for professions like teaching and medicine but that they should be inducted into the army and police. They also called for local magistrates to identify those temples which encouraged the devadasi system.<sup>44</sup>

In 1931, Indrani Balasubramanian inaugurated the third Self-Respect Conference at Virudhunagar, In 1932, T.S. Kunchitham inaugurated the Thanjavur District Self-Respect Conference. In 1933 S Neelavathi inaugurated the Third Thanjavur District Self-Respect Conference. In 1937, Meenambal Sivaraj presided over the Tirunelveli District Third Adi-Dravida Conference. In 1938, the Madurai Self-Respect Conference was inaugurated by Rajammal. In their inaugural addresses, there women speakers narrated the problems and

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<sup>42</sup> **K. Veeramani.**, *Namadhu Kurikkol*, (Tamil), Madras 1982, pp. 5-12.

<sup>43</sup> **Ibid.**, pp. 16-21

<sup>44</sup> **Kudi Arasu.**, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1931.



challenges before the women.<sup>45</sup> In the words of Singaravelu Chetty, "Women who have been confined to the kitchen are speaking today from public platforms. They are debating about public issues. They are involved in social work as equals of men. The crediting for facilitating all these goes to Periyar".<sup>46</sup>

The anti-Hindi agitations also elicited considerable participation by women. The women wore sarees with the Tamil flag printed on it and chanted anti-Hindi and pro-Tamil slogans. A meeting was organised in Madras on 11, 1938 and was addressed by Ramamirtham Ammaiyar, Narayani Ammaiyar. Va.Ba. Thamaraianni ammaiyar, Munnagara Azhagiyar among others. Activist like Dr. Dhamambal, Ramamirthammaiyar, Malar Mugathammair, Seethammal, Unnamulaimmar, Bhuvaheswari Ammaiyar, Sivasankari, Sarijini Ammaiyar, Damakoti Ammaiyar, Jayalekshmi Ammaiyar courted arrested.<sup>47</sup> A total of 73 women were arrested, of which 37 went to jail with infants.

### **Moalpur Ramamirthammaiyar**

Being a devadasi, Moalpur Ramamirthammaiyar emerged as an irresponsible activist championing the cause of women, devoting herself to the abolition of Devadasi system. She brought many devadasis to Mayawaram in 1925, and conducted marriage for many of them. She authored essays regularly in Kudi Arasu on the condition of women. In 1936 she published a voluminous novel in Tamil running into 303 pages, with the title, *Tasikalin Mosavalai Allathu Matipettra Mainer* (The Treacherous Net of the Dasis or a Minor Grown Wise).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> **S. Anandhi.**, *Women's Question in the Dravidian Movement 1925-1948*, in Sumith Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar (ed)

, *Women and Social Reform in Modern India A Reader*, Vol.II, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 123-124.

<sup>46</sup> **Kudi Arasu.**, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1940.

<sup>47</sup> **Ibid.**, 28<sup>th</sup> December 1938.

<sup>48</sup> **Moalpur Ramamirtham.**, *Tasikalin Mosavalai Allathu Matipettra Mainer*, (Tamil), *The Treacherous Net of the Dasis or a Minor Grown Wise*, Madras, 1936, p. 32.

She met Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy and conducted many meeting in support of the legislative measures initiated by the later to abolish the devadasi system. At the same tme she strongly criticized S. Sathymurthy who wanted to retain the devadasi system in the name of art and culture.<sup>49</sup> She openly criticized Periyar`s decision to marry a 20 year old woman when he was 60. She even went out of Dravida Kazhagam in 1949 to join Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam founded by C.N. Annadurai along with others. Ramamirtham does not represent an average woman activist of the Self Respect Movement, but one who marked the outer limit to which a woman activist of the movement could read out.

### **T.S. Kunjitham Guruswami**

On December 8, 1929 the marriage of Kunjitham Ammaiar with Kuthusi Guruswami was concluded in the presents of Periyar and Nagammiar. Kunjithem Ammaiar argued that Indian women were retreated as animals and only valued for reproduction purposes. She faulted parents for illiteracy among girls. She taught that women were in no way inferior in their fight for self-respect. She attended the Tamil Coferenceon 6 August 1932 a Tiruchirapally. The conference began with the musical invocation to the God Siva. Kunjigham objected it and argued that the Self-Respectors should be allowed to of their songs.<sup>50</sup>

### **Sivagami Ammaiar and S. Neelavahi Ammaiar**

Married at the age of 11, Sivagami Ammaiar list her husband just three months after the marriage. At 18, she remarried with the help of Movalur Ramamirtham Ammaiar, Her speeches condemned blind faith in palmistry and

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<sup>49</sup> **M. Valarmathy.,** *Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyaar*, (Tamil), Chennai, 2008, pp. 82-83.

<sup>50</sup> **M. Valarmathy.,** *Suya Mariyadai Iyakka Veeranganaigal*, (Tamil), *Women and Self Respect Movement*, Tamizhmathi Pathipakkam, Thanjavur, 2002, pp. 15-23.

horoscopes. Neelavathi Ammaiar married Ramasubramaniam in the presents of Periyar and Nagammaiar, without the knowledge or consent of family. She wrote prolifically on subjects like the fall of Hindu religion and growth of other religions due to untouchability and despair of widows; the future of India and Self-Respect movement, the position of girls and duties of youth; women's organisations and the position of women; and the slavery of women and male domination.<sup>51</sup>

### **Miranda Gajendran**

Miranda Gejendran an active Self- Respector, who dedicates her life for the sake of spreading self-Respect ideals in the nook and corner of Tamil Nadu. She organised self respect conferences and invited many women to participate in such conferences. She insisted that education is the only way for the women liberation. She severely criticised the existing customs and convention which she called traditional evils and that evils should be removed from the tradition based the Hindu society. In her view, the women were in life ling slavery and the reason for it the traditional practices and male dominated society. She involved in the struggle for a separate Dravida State.<sup>52</sup>

### **Neelambikai Ammaiar**

Neelambikai Ammaiar's writings survived the social criticisms of those days. he works hard the translation and incorporation of literacy works of Thiruvaasagam, Thevaram, writings of Remallinga Adigal and Periyar and was

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<sup>51</sup> **Narendra Subramanian.**, *Ethnicity and Populist Mobilisation: Political Parties, Citizens and Democracy in South India*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 16.

<sup>52</sup> **S. Anandhi & Padmini Swaminathan.**, *Making it Relevant: Mapping the Meaning of Women's Studies in Tamil Nadu*, Economic & Political Weekly, Vol.XII, No.21-27, October 2006, pp. 444-445.

thus as an amalgam of the freedom movement, Tani Thamizh Iyakkam, religious and atheist work – a wide spectrum indeed. She appreciated women whom stepped away from their traditional roles in the patriarchal society. She presided over the most momentous conference organised by women of Self-Respect Movement on 13th November 1938, which named E.V.Ramaswami and ‘Periyar’.<sup>53</sup>

Periyar’s unparalleled efforts to transform the lives of the people on Tamil Nadu, especially women, brought about a radical change in the lives and aspirations of the women. The efforts of the various women activist have played a role in alleviating the degree of suppression on women in various spheres. Powerful articulation of women leaders of the Self-Respect Movement spread wave of awareness among the mass invariably large number of women began to get associated with the freedom struggle.

Furthermore, Periyar devised his entire program of self-respect movement by giving full accommodation to women which led to mass mobilization. Periyar’s self-respect ideals and rationalist thoughts broke fresh ground from tradition and religion and his efforts in women’s cause marked a distinct path breaking advance. He condemned religious scriptures that tranquilized women’s life. Though many women had actively participated in the Dravidian movement, not much has been written about them.

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<sup>53</sup> P. Ramamurthi., *The Freedom Struggle and the Dravidian Movement*, Madras, 1987, p. 74.

Periyar E.V.R. with his self-interest of providing property rights to women linked this issue of prevention of pregnancy with the need for property to women in more logical manner. He says that in the situation of not giving any property rights to women, and at the same time making her to have more and more children, how can she lead a peaceful and prosperous life? He argued that if the government is ready and they should adopt all children born in the society for food, health, education, etc., and then they may not take interest in prevention of pregnancy and child birth.

Periyar E.V.R. as a revolutionary feminist writer and as a humanist, highly dissatisfied with the then prevailed worst condition of women based on the pressures of religion oriented cultural and social clothes. Periyar wants to improve the self-confidence of women by means of giving them education, employment, property rights, social equality, political rights etc., With regard to education, Periyar was having the opinion that it will be a moral duty on the part of the parents that they should give priority to provide education to the female children first.

In the opinion of Periyar some foolish parents wrongly believe that if girls were sent to education, they will correspond with their secret lovers. That it is a very foolish and mischievous notion. No parent need be anxious about it as the educated women cannot be easily deceived by any treacherous men. It will be a hopelessly bad thing, if parents keep their girl children uneducated for this trivial reason. At a speech delivered by Periyar at the Prize Distribution function in the Municipal School for Girls at Karungal Palayam, Erode, he stated that girl children should be taught active and energetic exercises like running, high jump, long jump, wrestling and so on and so forth. So that the women will acquire

strength and courage in par with men. Their time and energy should not be wasted in light pastimes like Kummi (groups going in a circle, clapping their hands rhythmically) and in Kolattam (striking with sticks rhythmically), and decoration of home and themselves.

## Conclusion

E.V. Ramasamy promoted the principles of [rationalism](#), [self-respect](#), [women's rights](#) and eradication of [caste](#). He opposed the [exploitation](#) and [marginalisation](#) of the non-Brahmin Dravidian people of [South India](#) and the imposition of what he considered [Indo-Aryan](#) India. He died at the age of 94 in 24<sup>th</sup> December 1973.

Naicker with a strong sense of social justice evidently differed from other leaders. After his break with the Congress, he concentrated on the backward and illiterate non-Brahmans and organized them under the banner of the Self-Respect movement for social economic and political reform. With his marked agitational skill, he rose to eminence as a leader of a section of the backward and illiterate non-Brahmans. He knew the art of public appeal and could speak to the masses in their own idiom. These abilities together with his past record as one who sacrificed much to the national cause provided him with an image in Tamilnadu politics.

Naicker's Self Respect movement was dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmans a sense of pride based on their Dravidian past and culture. This meant of course the rejection of the dogmas, the rituals in the performance of religious rites and ceremonies and the gross superstitions of Hindu religion as practiced by the community. Naicker held the Brahmins responsible for the abject condition in which a large section of non-Brahmans lived in all spheres of life. This in turn meant a denial of the Brahman supremacy and of the age-long faith in *Varnashrama Dharma*.

Periyar E.V.R. even from his early political career onwards consistently showed a full-pledged interest in the liberation, emancipation and upliftment of women. It is to be noted here that when nobody showed interest in the women empowerment issues in the 1920s and 1930s, it was Periyar who waged a war against the male dominated traditionalistic society and achieved a lot in his aim of empowering women. Any neutral researcher who compares the condition of women in the beginning of the 20th century i.e., in 1920s.

E.V.R. in 1970s, that researcher can easily identify and acknowledge the clear-cut variations in the development and empowerment of women in the socio-political and economic fields. With the result of the tireless, continuous and consistent services of Periyar E.V.R. towards women empowerment, the women of the Tamil society were awakened and began to claim their rights in all walks of life. This great achievement of Periyar E.V.R. Through his revolutionary means of leadership is totally incomparable with any leaders. It is to be noted here that Periyar E.V.R.'s services and his achievement in witnessing the results of his leadership during his own lifetime has been recognized and appreciated by many neutral indigenous researchers and also by the foreign scholars like Eugene Irschick, David Wash brook, Anita Diehl, etc. But at the same time, 'the role played by Periyar E.V.R. as a Feminist is not yet recognized by many of the so called women's movements and also by some so-called reform associations in India, because they are led and dominated by some women who belong to the upper caste and upper class, the supremacy of whom was challenged by Periyar E.V.R'.

Thus, the multi-dimensional role played by Periyar E.V.R. for the emancipation of women rights made him to call as the 'Pioneer of Feminism' in



India. The uniqueness of the leadership of Periyar E.V.R. and his feminist ideology is to be understood from his innate sense of gender equality and social justice.

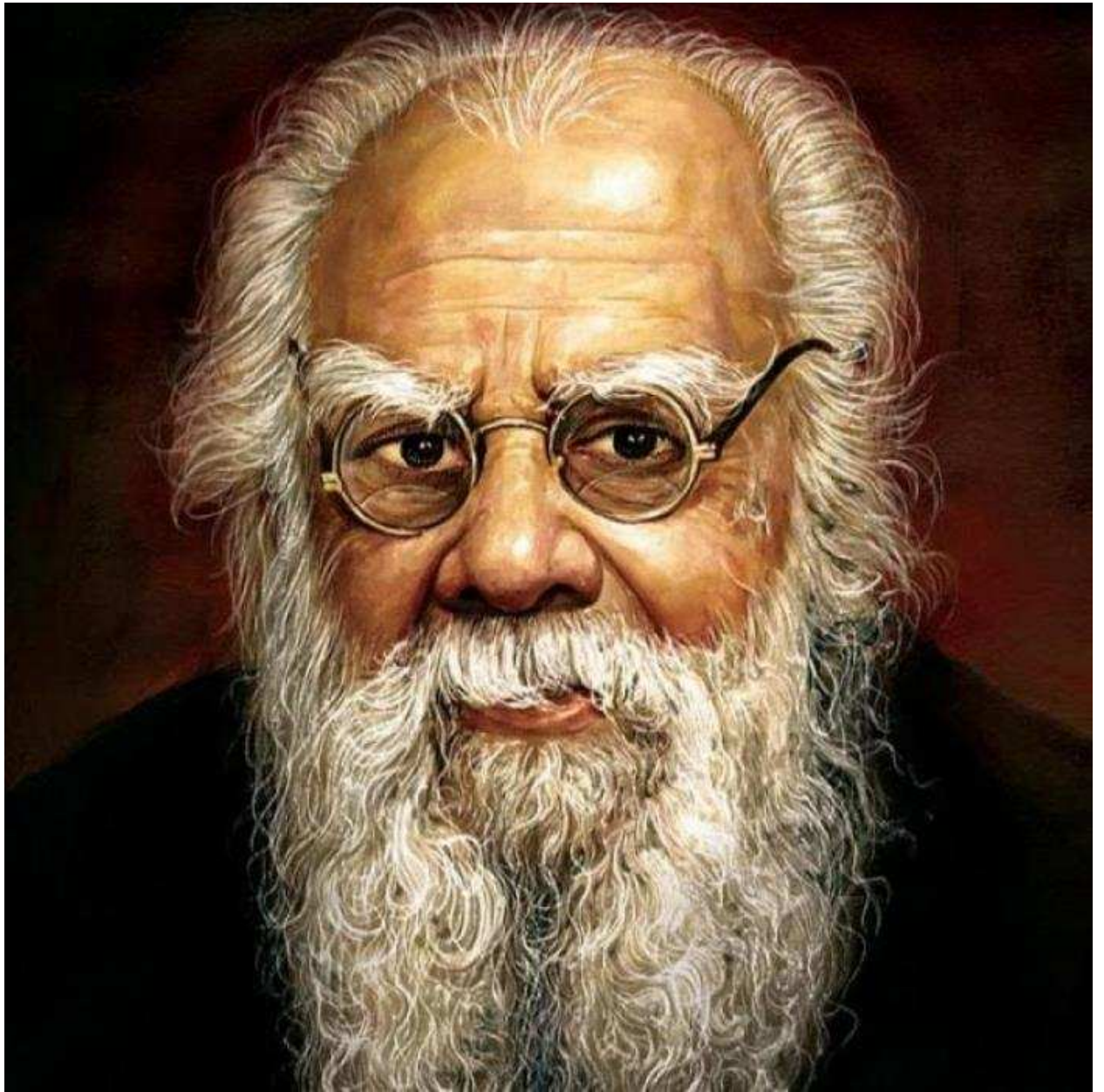
Periyar objectives on to change the freedom, impartiality, notion obliteration, and social benefits etc., oppressed people expansion and Non-Bhramins opportunities to employment, all caste people ineligible to the temple archakaras, women's development and equal rights to property, education, social and also conflicting to Hindi they are followed by Dravida Kazhagam and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu. Periyar one man such a flatten man so for change into the early slavery systems present duration at rest now most people followed the Periyar thoughts. This study thus aimed to bring out the overall role of EVR Naicker as a social reformist and a women emancipator of the early eighteenth century.

In the whole of Tamil Nadu and even far beyond, within India and without, the honorific Periyar indicates the name of a great Twentieth century Social Reformer Erode Venkata Naicker Ramasamy, popularly known as Thanthai Periyar. The UNESCO awarded him a citation on 27 January 1970, calling him the Socrates of South India. The Government of India issued a postal stamp in memory of Periyar. The Government of Malaysia issued a stamp commemorating Periyar's 137th birthday on the 19th of January 2014 in Kuala Lumpur.

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**E.V Ramasamy Naicker, the South Indian Socrates  
(1879-1973)**

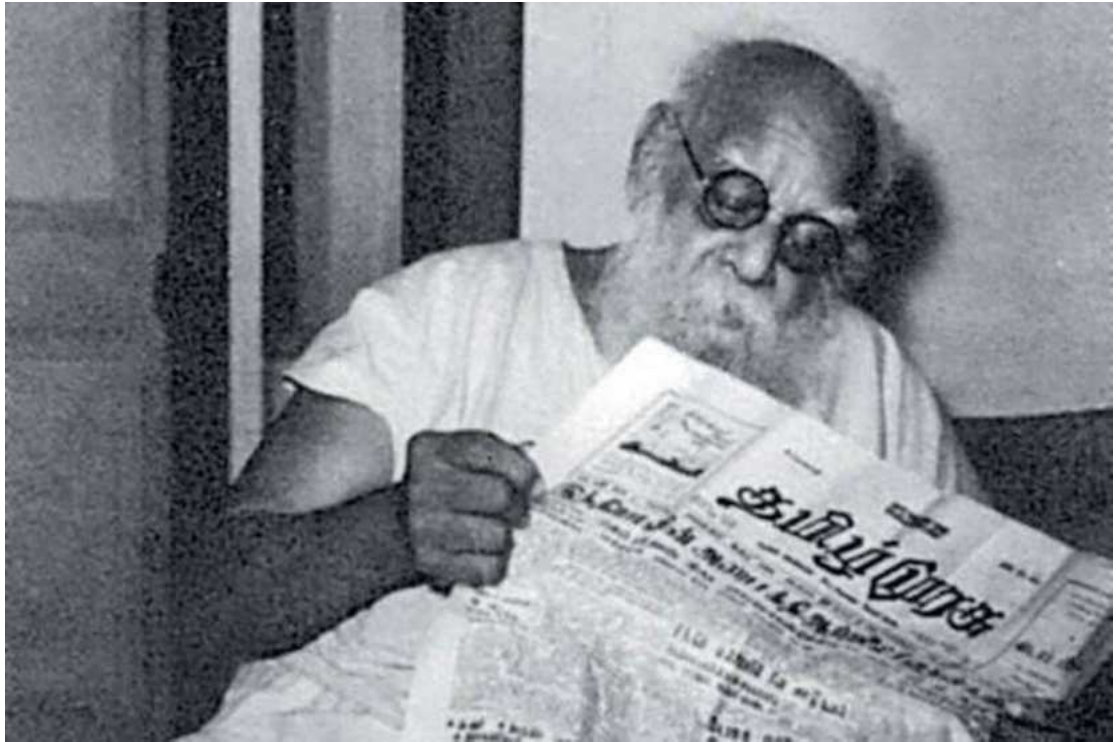


**E.V.R with his wife Maniammal**



**Anathema of the Atheist**





**His Political  
Ventures**





**In Commemoration of E.V Ramasamy Naicker**





**THE NAVIGATIONAL VENTURE AND SWADESHI MOVEMENT OF**

**V.O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI - A STUDY**

*Project in History submitted to*

*St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi*

*affiliated to*

*Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli*

*in partial fulfillment of the requirements*

*for the award of the degree of*

**Bachelor of Arts in History**

**BY**

R. SARANYA	18AUHI58
C. SIVAKANI	18AUHI60
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**III B.A. History**

**St. Mary's College (Autonomous)**

Reaccredited with "A+" by NAAC

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**2020 – 2021**

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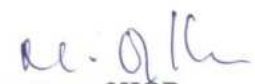
## CERTIFICATE


This is to certify that the project entitled "THE NAVIGATIONAL VENTURE AND SWADESHI MOVEMENT OF V.O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI – A STUDY" is submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History is a record of work done during the year 2020-2021 by the following students of III BA History.

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Signature of the Principal  
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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "THE NAVIGATIONAL VENTURE AND SWADESHI MOVEMENT OF V.O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI – A STUDY" submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli for the award of the degree of **Bachelor of Arts in History** is our original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date: 9/4/2021

Students Name

Signature of the Candidate

R. Saranya

R. Saranya

C. Sivakani

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M. Snega

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N. Subashini

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S. Susi Queen

S. Susi Queen

P. Theresh Anushya

P. Theresh Anushya

## INTRODUCTION

Panchalam Kuruchi in Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu, was once ruled by Katta Bomman who questioned the need for paying tribute to the British Administration. Perhaps historically he was the first person to oppose the British rule from Tamil Nadu. Popular opinion in that the rebel was born in Ottapidaram village not far away from Panchalam Kuruchi. It was eight miles away from the village is Ettayapuram, where the first National poet Mahakavi Subrahmanya Bharati was born, who became V.O. Chidambaram's inspirer and admirer in later period.

In the firmament of alien antagonism and staunch patriotism, in the same village Ottapidaram Chidambaram was born on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1872. His parents were Olaganatham Pillai and Paramayi Ammal, he had five younger brothers and two sisters.<sup>1</sup> Olaganatham Pillai, was related to Lieutenant Thanapathi Pillai, who served Katta Bomman as Minister.

V.O Chidambaram Pillai, popularly known by his initials, V.O.C, Va Voo Cee, Kappal Oottiya Tamilzhan, was an Indian freedom fighter. He was a prominent lawyer, a very good orator, scholar and a trade union leader. He gets credit for launching the first indigenous Indian shipping service between Thoothukudi and Srilanka with the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, competing against British ships. He was an Indian National Congress (INC) member, later charged with sedition by the British government license was stripped.

This project work is intended to bring out the colourful figure in Indian political life from the southern tip of Coromandel Coast. V.O.C showed the way for organised effort and sacrifice. He finished his major political work by 1908, but died in late 1936, the passion for freedom still raging in his mind till the last moment. He

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<sup>1</sup> **R.N. Sampath and Pe.Su.Mani.,** *Builders of Modern India – V.O Chidambaram Pillai*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1913, p. 20.

was an erudite scholar in Tamil, a prolific writer, a fiery speaker, a trade union leader of unique calibre and dauntless freedom fighter. All these have been discussed and detailed in the upcoming chapters that had left a milestone in the making of South Indian Freedom Struggle Movement with special reference to V.O.C.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study are to evaluate the life history of V.O Chidambaram Pillai. To study and explain the contributions of V.O.C as a rationalist leader who was the pioneer to launch the first indigenous Indian Shipping service between Thoothukudi and Srilanka. And the one who stood till last against the British monopoly by holding down the ideologies of Swadeshi.

### **Aims and Purpose of the Study**

The main aims and purpose of the study is to elucidate the political career and contributions of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai. It dealt with the tireless efforts, story of resistance, strife, struggle for independence, suffering and sacrifice for the cause to which he was committed. This project will be useful and could make long lasting impression for the future study as well.

### **Methodology**

The methodology adopted in this study is descriptive and analytical method. Both the Primary and Secondary sources are utilized for the study that has been critically analyzed. The descriptive method is used to make the project understandable to the reader.

## **Sources of the Study**

The sources used for the completion of study includes both Primary and Secondary sources. The Primary sources are G.O's, Government Reports and Newspapers. The secondary sources are the books written by various authors and gazetteer.

## **Outline of the Chapter**

This project consists of four chapters excluding the Introduction and Conclusion.

- ❖ The first chapter describes the early life and early career of V.O Chidambaram Pillai.
- ❖ The second chapter explains the political career and his role in the National Movement of India.
- ❖ The third chapter evaluates V.O.C's Navigational Venture.
- ❖ The fourth chapter analyse the Labour Uprising and Swadeshi propaganda and overall achievements of V.O.C.

## Chapter 1

### THE EARLY LIFE AND CAREER OF V.O CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI

**Valliyappan Ulaganathan Chidambaram** (5 September 1872 – 18 November 1936), popularly known by his initials, V.O.C. also known as **Kappalottiya Tamizhan** "The Tamil Helmsman", was an Indian freedom fighter and leader of Indian National Congress. The founder of Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company in 1906<sup>2</sup> to compete against the monopoly of the British India Steam Navigation Company (BISNC).<sup>3</sup> The **Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company** (SSNC) was one of the first indigenous Indian shipping companies set up during the Indian Independence Movement. It sailed ships between Thoothukudi and Colombo until it was liquidated in 1911. He launched the first indigenous Indian shipping service between Thoothukudi and Colombo with the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, competing against British ships. Thoothukudi Port Trust, one of India's thirteen major ports, is named after him. At one time a member of the Indian National Congress, he was later charged with sedition by the British government and sentenced to life imprisonment, and his barrister license was revoked.

#### His Early Life

Following the practice in the village young Chidambaram had his early education in the village itself. His teacher Veeerapperumal Annavi taught him a lot of Tamil works that were usually taught at the primary level which incidentally

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<sup>2</sup> **Ilasai Manian.**, *Swadeshi Ship on the Blue Waters of Thoothukudi*, 2014.

<sup>3</sup> **J. Arockiaraj.**, VOC's descendants found in Dire Straits, Madurai. TNN, 2011.

inculcated in the young minds of sense of morality and righteousness that stood in good stead in their later lives.<sup>4</sup> Along with the study of Tamil works, English was also taught to him through private tuition. When the tutor left the village, Olaganatham Pillai constructed a school in that village wherein provision for the teaching of English was made. Thus, an arrangement meant for the boy Chidambaram became a gift to the whole village for all the boys to be introduced to the study of English.<sup>5</sup>

### **His Higher Education**

In his thirteenth year Chidambaram migrated to Thoothukudi to continue his studies. He passed the matriculation examination through the Caldwell High School. Noteworthy feature during that period was that Chidambaram got good English foundation from Annadurai Iyer and Kasthuri Iyengar and Tamil from Savuriraya Pillai. Soon after this, young Chidambaram joined local Taluk Officer as a Clerk. With a liking for Lawyers profession, he studies Law under the legal luminaries at Trichi – Ganapathi Iyer and Harihara Iyer. Chidambaram's grandfather's paternal uncle and father were lawyers and hence legal acumen, it appears, was in his blood itself. Practicing at the local Sub-Magistrate Court, Chidambaram made mark in the criminal side rather than in the civil side even though he practices both.

### **His Early Career**

However, he was a stickler for good conduct, truth and public welfare consistent with professional ethics. When the police foisted cases on innocent and illiterate people he took their brief without even any fees and thus incurred the wrath

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<sup>4</sup> **R.N Sampath & Pe.Su. Mani.,** *Builders of Modern India*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1992, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> **S.P Sen.,** *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.III, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1974, p. 380.



of the police. He was even implicated in a murder case lest he should appear for the accused. He even exposed the corrupt officials and brought punishment for them.<sup>6</sup>

Finding his son was alienating the officials, father Olaganathan Pillai advised him to go to Thoothukudi and continue the practice there. Accordingly Chidambaram moved to Thoothukudi in August 1900 and it became a turning point in his career.

### **His Married Life**

Chidambarma got married in his 23<sup>rd</sup> year ie., 1895 to Valliammal of Tiruchentur. She was an apt match in all respects to Chidambarma, who stood by her husband in all his social and literacy activities.

Once Chidambarma brought home one Ramayya desiger of Virudhunagar. He belonged to a down trodden community. He was blind but a man of wide learning and expansive wisdom. Valliammal took a special interest in attending to him. Even when Chidambaram was worried about Calumny spread by his relatives because of law born guests, the wife consold Pillai saying “how can there be a caste and community for a Sanyasi? God is present in all; let us not bother about others opinions”. Infact Chidambaram’s admiration to her was such that on her passing away after a period of six years of married life, (1901) he was terribly shaken and took much time to overcome it he wrote an elegy on her under the title “Story of Valliammai”.<sup>7</sup>

Later he married Meenakshi Ammai- a distant relative of his first wife. She too was an understanding house wife and was a staunch supporter in his home for all his activities – to this couple four sons and four daughters were born. Chidambaram brought home Sahajananda Swami – a Sanyasi from the Harijan community. His wife

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<sup>6</sup> N. Thiraviam., *V.O.C in Indian Freedom Struggle*, Vijaya Publications, Coimbatore, 2011, p.8.

<sup>7</sup> R. Sinnakani (Ed)., *Gazettee of India*, Tamil Nadu State, Thoothukudi District, Vol.I, Govet. Of Tamil Nadu, Chennai, 2007, p. 101.

without any remonstrates hosted the guest to that satisfaction of all. Chidambaram treated the Swamiji as a member of his family and made him participate in all the household celebrations and household functions. Shajanand Swami used to say to all that Chidambaram was treating him as his own son.

### **A Religionist**

In 1905 the Madurai Tamil Sangham honoured Chidambaram by making him an honorary member. Pandi Durai Thevar who revived the Madurai Tamil Sangham wrote to Chidambaram on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1905 that by accepting to be a member, Chidambaram had done good to the Sangham in the development and expansion of activities of Sangham.<sup>8</sup>

Being an honest and sincere religionist, Chidambaram evinced keen interest in the Vedantic studies. As a Saivite, he studiously learned the two important works in Saivism in Tamil – Kaivalyam and Vichara Saragam. Swami Vallinayagam helped Chidambaram to learn thoroughly these two works.

### **Entry into Politics**

V.O Chidambaram Pillai entered into active politics in the year 1905 by becoming a member of the Indian National Congress. The agitation against the partition of Bengal marked the beginning of his political carrier. V.O.C addressed a number of meetings in which he advocated Swadeshi to replace everything that was alien.<sup>9</sup> He later presided over the Salem District session of the INC. in 1906 at the height of his popularity, he flatted a steam navigation company owing to its poor resources was running at a loss.

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<sup>8</sup> R.N Sampath & Pe.Su. Mani., *op.cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> S.P Sen., *op.cit.*, p. 380.

## **Chapter 2**

### **V.O.C'S NAVIGATIONAL VENTURE AND SWADESHI MOVEMENT**

The National scene and the people's condition influenced V.O.C. So much that V.O.C was drawn towards the Swadeshi movement. The partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905 stirred up the conscience of Freedom fighters all over India. The Anti-Partition Movement resulted in the Swadeshi Movement boycott of foreign goods and family in the scheme of national education. Several Indian leaders like Raj Narara Bose, Dadabhai Nauoroji. M.G. Ranade, and S.N. Banerjee insisted that Indians should use only Indian make goods and encourage indigenous enterprises.

#### **Surat Split in 1907 and V.O.C**

The partition of Bengal aimed at weakening the growing Indian nationalism as Bengal had become the focal point of Indian nationalism and activities of the Indian Nationalism and activities of the Indian National Congress. This led to the rise of extremism or militant nationalism under the leadership of the trio-Bal, Pal and Lal Bala Gangathara Tilak. Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpathi Rai who had earlier joined the congress. They lost faith in constitutional agitation or in passive resistance Tilak, leader of the extremist group had inflamed the tempers of younger's generation like V.O. Chidambaranar and Subramania Bharathi who attended the Surat session from Tamil Nadu. V.O.C who was influenced by the speeches of Tilak sowed the seeds of nationalism and independence with the doctrines of Swadeshi and boycott at Thoothukudi.

## **Colonial Economy**

After the Industrial Revolution and loss of the American colonies, Britain had to depend on India for raw materials and food grains to feed the rising industrial population. So the Indians were exploited indigenous industries were ruined and Indian economy was converted into a colonial economy. India became a market for manufactured British goods and a source for the supply of raw materials to her industries some Indian goods also were in good demand in European markets. The Europeans gained huge profit by trading in Indian goods which drained the wealth of India and filled the British coffers.

The impoverishment of the Indians of all sections gradually increased with the passage of years under the British rule cultivators suffered because of oppressive taxation policy of the served the interests of the British traders and manufactures. The educated Indians felt frustrated because they could not get useful employment gradually. It was realized by all sections of the Indian people that the primary cause of their economic hardships were the policies adopted by the British. The people thus lost faith in the British government.

## **His Political Glare**

V.O.C Chidambaram under Tilak a many sided struggle was going on against the British Government. It spread the Fire of patriotism in every nook and corner of Bombay presidency. He made whirl-wind tour and collected a lot of money for the various national causes. He asked his audiences to work for swaraj and get ready for suffering which alone could bring swaraj. At the same time the extremists under the leadership of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai took the lead in Madras presidency.

V.O.Chidambaram, a great leader from Tamil Nadu the disciple of Tilak boycotted not only foreign goods but also foreign's merchant ships. He was born at Ottapidaram in Tirunelveli district on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1872. He studied law and practiced in his home town. He was honest and he never appeared in the court for false cases. The people respected him and fondly called him V.O.C.

V.O. Chidambaram was not interested in his profession soon he joined in the freedom movement. All his thoughts, plans and actions now centred round India's Freedom. To cripple the shipping business of the British, V.O. Chidambaram planned with his friends to buy a ship and develop our trade the shipping company started by him in 1906 was called the "Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company". Since he was not able to pay the money for ship, he went to Bombay with his friends to get a ship on lease. He met BalGangadharTilak and got his help to buy a ship. Finally he bought a ship from France and another from Bombay. They were "SS LAVA" and "SS GALLEO". Trade went on successfully between Thoothukudi and Sri Lanka.

At this juncture Bipin Chandra Pal, a great patriot was released from prison, V.O.C and his friend Subramania Siva led a huge procession to celebrate this release. The collector of Tirunelveli prevented them from doing so. But they refused to obey the order the British arrested both the leaders and put them in prison for life. Later the period was reduced to seven years by an appeal. They were treated cruelty in prison. They had to break rocks into bits. Above all V.O.C had to work in the oil press like a bullock. He bore all this cruelty for our nations sake. He had great courage.

### **V.O.C's Swadeshi Ideologies**

In Tamilnadu, as in other parts of India. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai expressed his opposition against British colonialism for the revival of the glorious so faring

traditions of the Tamils and free India from the unwanted presence of the foreigner. Swadeshi and boycott, the twin aspects of the nationalist ideology were so appealing to V.O.C that he sought to pursue these twin objectives through his new enterprise. In the wake of the partition these twin objectives through his new enterprise. In the wake of the partition of Bengal in 1905, the extremists gained ground and started a new movement everywhere in British India. The new movement and comprised young men bound together by the ideology in opposition to the British. Tamilnadu V.O.C along with C. Subramania Bharathi, Subramaniya Arya, S. Srinivasachari, S.N. Thirumalachari, M.P. Tirumalachari and others constituted the core group of the new movement.<sup>10</sup> Vijayaragavachariyar a freedom fighter a very able advocate, a leader of the bar at Salem and one of the legal adviser of Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was the founder inspirer of V.O.C the Salem riot case of 1882 was highly punished in the Indian National media and new paper hailed him as a great champion of civil liberties. He was also called as the *Lion of South India*.<sup>11</sup> In 1899 he become a member of the Indian Congress propaganda committee and carried the message of the Congress to the people.

He visualized the country free from the fetters of foreign rule. It was during this time that Chidambaram Pillai came under the main stream to take interest in political activities and the nationalist movement. In fact, it was their identification with the ideals of Balagangathar Tilak which brought them very close to each other, a poet and the President of Madurai Tamil Sangam also influenced backer of his commercial enterprise<sup>12</sup> and he was elected as the president of the Board of Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. He donated rupees one lakh to V.O.C to start an Indian

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<sup>10</sup>R. Bishop Caldwell., *A History of Tirunelveli*, New Delhi, 1982, p.167.

<sup>11</sup>V. Sundaram., *The Roaring Lion of South India*, III, News Today, 6 May 2009.

<sup>12</sup>Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, Thoothukudi, File Public Miscellaneous, Bundle No. 35, Tamilnadu Archives, pp. 7-8.

shipping company. His remarkable services to Tami literature and Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was memorable. During one of his visits to Madras in 1906, Chidambaram met Swami Ramakrishnananda, a disciple of Swami Vivekanantha in the Ramakrishna Mutt. An ardent exponent of Swadeshi, Ramakrishnananda asked Chidambaram Pillai what efforts he had undertaken to promote Swadeshi. To his question, V.O. Chidambaram made a philosophic response by stating that any effort was in vain in a state of disillusionment, Ramakrishnanada told him that Swadeshi was the only panacea. Thus, the seed of Swadeshi has planted in the fertile mind of young Chidambaram, later on he also met Swami Abedananda and Bal Paramananda of the Ramakrishna Mutt contact with them nurtured further the feelings of Swadeshi in his heart V.O. Chidambaram stood up to colonial tyranny and oppression in his unique way of Swadeshi and Boycott of foreign goods and commodities.<sup>13</sup>

Towards the end of 1905. V.O.C was impaired by the patriotic dedication of Mandayam family and went to the residence of Thirumalaichari. This visit of V.O.C made him to visit the office of the India and exchange his views with Thirumalakhari and Bharathi. He invested his entire savings to the Indian owner Swadeshi Navigation Company with V.O. Chidambaram Pillai and lost it all when the company officially ceased on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1911.<sup>14</sup> In 1906, S.N. Thirumalachari also opened a press and published a paper *India*, edited by Bharathi. He also started a journal called *Bala Bharat* which was also edited by Bharathi. Initially sister Nivedita contributed articles to *Bala Bharat* to wake up the “Sleeping South”.

In 1906 V.O. Chidambaram Pillai went to the residence of Thirumalaichari in Madras, the publisher of the India and expressed his desire to meet Subramania

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<sup>13</sup>V. O Chidambaram Pillai., *Suyasarithai*, (Tamil), Tinnelvely, 1990, pp. 41-43.

<sup>14</sup>N. Rajendran., *The National Movement in Tamil Nadu 1905-14*, Madras, 1994, pp. 85-86.

Bharthi. He was introduced Bharathi like Chidambaram Pillai, Bharathi was also a native of Tirunelveli district and naturally became closer to each other Chidambaram Pillai. Chidambaram Pillai accompanied Bharathi to the Marina Beach where they sat hours together and shared their emotions and feelings about the subjugation of India and her degradation under the British.<sup>15</sup> It became customary for Chidambaram Pillai to visit the office of the India, exchange views with Tirumalachari and accompany Bharathi to the Marina Beach. Among the several things, they discussed were the histories of France and Italy. It was for the sake of V.O.C that Bharathi translated into Tamil Nadu the oath taken by Mazzini on the occasion of Mazzini's initiation into the organization of young Italy.

In fact Chidambaram Pillai's contact with Bharathi moulded him to become an extremist.<sup>16</sup> The partition of Bengal in July 1905 intensified feelings of extreme nationalism in India. The Indian National Congress and nationalists by Bengal firmly opposed the partition. Bal Gangadhar Tilak played a leading role in spreading the message of Swadeshi use of Indian goods and boycott of foreign goods. The spread of Swadeshi movement in Tamilnadu led to the emergence of a new group of Extremists and decided to convene a Swadeshi conference at Palayamcottai where they decided to pursue their own goal of Swadeshim.<sup>17</sup> V.O.C attended the conference both at Tirunelveli and Palayamcottai and later he gave lectures on Swadeshi in Madurai and Tirunelveli. Invited by B.C. Pal and K. Parthasarathy to strengthen their hand, the extremists of Tamilnadu went to Calcutta in December 1906 to attend the annual session of the Indian National Congress and they pledged support to the boycott resolutions.<sup>18</sup> V.O.C even went a step further and declared that not only foreign goods but everything

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<sup>15</sup>**S.P. Sen.,** *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1974, p. 381.

<sup>16</sup>**V.O.C. Subramanian.,** *VOC Kanda Bharat*, (Tamil), Madras, 1946, p.7.

<sup>17</sup>**India.,** Tamil Nadu Archives, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1906.

<sup>18</sup>**India.,** Tamil Nadu Archives, 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1906.



foreign should be boycotted vigorously, the inevitable result of which would be the attainment of Swaraj.<sup>19</sup>

In April – May 1907 Bipin Chandra Pal undertook a tour of South India with the aim of spreading the message of Swadeshi aim of spreading the message of Swadeshi and arrived on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1907. Between 1<sup>st</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> May 1907 B.C. Pal accompanied by SubramaniyaBharathi delivered as many as seven lectures about the concept of Swadeshi Boycott and Swarajto the people assembled on the Marina beach. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai's energetic speech and eloquent use of the Tamil language in translating the speeches of B.C. Pal had electric effect all over Tamilnadu. The extremist particularly Bharathi and V.O.C were recommendationmadeLalalajapatRai, as the president of India National Congress at Surat on 26<sup>th</sup> December 1907. According to Chidambaram, Tilak stood like the powerful but clam lion before a hundred frenzied elephants. After their return from Surat, Bharathi and V.O.C were engaged in active propaganda regarding the split in the congress and the establishment of the nationalist conference and its action programme. After his return to Thoothukudi, Pillai continued his political activities with a renewed vigour and was inspired for the establishment of the Swadeshi enterprise. He was not only as the severalty of the board that controlled the SwadeshiSteam Navigation Company, but also an avowed nationalist wedded to Swadeshi and boycott.<sup>20</sup>

The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, started in 1906 was a direct challenge to an established British enterprise. The fortune of the company would mirror those of the larger political movement in Tamilnadu and all over India. In

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<sup>19</sup>N. Rajendran., *op.cit*, p.38.

<sup>20</sup>Madras Secret Police Abstracts of Intelligence, Tamil Nadu Archives, 1908, Para. 528, p. 313.

1906-1908, Tirunelveli and Thoothukudi emerged as important centres of nationalist mobilization. Extremists of Tamilnadu went to Calcutta in December 1906 to attend the annual session of the Indian National Congress and they pledged support to the boycott resolutions. V.O.C even went a step further and declared that not only foreign goods but everything which are foreign should be boycotted vigorously. The inevitable result by which would be the attainment of Swaraj.

V.O.C recognized the importance of the fledgling working class to India's National Movement. However, the rise of colonial oppression and internal weakness has led to close in 1911. Even though the anti-colonial spirit that so characterized the Swadeshi movement in Tirunelveli was not so easily crushed and certainly never forgotten the images of struggle and national assertiveness left behind by V.O.C and his talented Lieutenants would continue to inspire the people of Tamilnadu. Thus V.O.C was in spread through many patriots who ultimately kindled him rigidly to complete with British rule. At the same time V.O.C and others (who were helped him) had lost their valuable life time for the sake of Indian's freedom.

## Chapter 3

### LABOUR UPRISING AND V.O.C'S ARREST

The chapter attempts to highlight the arrest of the freedom fighter V.O. Chidambaram and the public reaction in Tirunelveli which paved the way for the outbreak of the Tirunelveli Riots. V.O. Chidambaram, Subramania Siva and Padamanbha Ayyangar had evidently intensified to fan the flames of popular discontent arising out of the oppression of mail employees by their European employers. Further the keen competition between the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company and a British Steam Navigation Company estranged the relationship between the members of the ruling class and natives of the soil.<sup>1</sup> An outburst of seditious activity followed the visit of B.C. Pal to Madras which resulted in various trials during 1908.<sup>2</sup> Subramania Siva and V.O. Chidambaram addressed Swaraj meetings at Thoothukudi from 3<sup>rd</sup> February to 8<sup>th</sup> March 1908. On 9<sup>th</sup> March 1908, a meeting was held at Tirunelveli.

V.O. Chidambaram already gained popularity among the masses of Tirunelveli and Thoothukudi. Moreover, the European merchant community in Tirunelveli since the beginning of the active political agitation by V.O. Chidambaram was looking for an opportunity to curb the power of V.O. Chidambaram and his associates.<sup>3</sup> On the eve of the Tirunelveli insurrection the European merchants expressed their desire to winch District collector and Magistrate thus, that they would like to have a row as the best way of getting rid of V.O. Chidambaram and his

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Sedition Committee., Calcutta, 1918, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup>R.A Padmanabhan., *V.O. Chidambaram Pillai*, New Delhi, 1977, . 39.

<sup>3</sup>N. Rajendran., *Political Agitation and a State Coercion in Madras 1905-1914*, in *India Past and Present*, Vol.IV, 1987, p.261.

associates.<sup>4</sup> They had decided to open a public dispensary and a free reading room in honour of B.C. Pal and to conduct a public meeting on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1908.

V.O. Chidambaram and Wynch, met at the office of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. Wynch asked V.O. Chidambaram to leave Thoothukudi and stay somewhere for three months. But V.O. Chidambaram refused to take his words. The next day on 8<sup>th</sup> March notices were issued by Wynch to the collector and the District Magistrate of Tirunelveli.<sup>5</sup> V.O. Chidambaram, Subramania Siva and PadmahabhaIyengar were asked to appear before the District magistrate at Tirunelveli on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1908, the very day they had planned to celebrate as Swaraj Day. Public meetings and assembly of more than four persons were prohibited. Ignoring the ban, V.O. Chidambaram and Subramania Siva held a public meeting on 8<sup>th</sup> March 1908.

The collector proceeded with the enquiry and adjourned it until 12<sup>th</sup> of March 1908.<sup>6</sup> On 12<sup>th</sup> March, the District Magistrate took action under section 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code against V.O. Chidambaram and two others, and asked them to give securities for good behavior on the pretext that their speeches tended to create breach of peace. When they appeared before the magistrate, the police arrested them illegally and remanded them to custody.<sup>7</sup> Following the remand order the three leaders were taken into jutkas (carts) to the District jail, Tirunelveli. Their arrest excited the people, both at Thoothukudi and Tirunelveli. Their arrest excited the people, both at Thoothukudi and Tirunelveli. When they were arrested on the 12<sup>th</sup> March 1908, on 13<sup>th</sup> March a serious riot broke out in Tirunelveli.<sup>8</sup> asked to go out and all materials, i.e. records, carbines, bullets, sticks, chairs and tables were burnt along

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<sup>4</sup>G.O No. 220., Marine Department, 6<sup>th</sup> July 1908, p.15.

<sup>5</sup>R.A Padmanabhan., *op.cit.*, p.59.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup>*The Liberal.*, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1908, M.N.N.R, 1908, p.144.

<sup>8</sup>*Report of the Sedition Committee.*, Calcutta, 1918, p.163.

with the building. The additional District Munsiff's court came in for attack next and it was partially burnt. The Kerosene oil tank in the pennington market was then set on fire and it continued to be burn for two days.

### **Public Reaction and Riots**

The surprise arrest of V.O. Chidambaram and others gave a violent shock to the people of Tirunelveli and Thoothukudi.<sup>9</sup> People in large number shouted the mantra, 'BandeMataram'. The workers of Burma oil Company, the butchers and sweepers stopped work as a protest against the illegal imprisonment of the leaders.<sup>10</sup> A big crowd of people had gathered outside the court and witnessed how they had been dealt with and they followed the carriages for some distance shouting BandeMataram. The sudden arrest of the leaders left the crowd leaderless. The mass did not know what to do.<sup>11</sup>

The whole town was in uproar. Shops were closed down and all business establishments came to a stop. Students marched out of colleges and schools and swelled the streets. When the mob was parading the streets, municipal rights were broken and all business became dislocated.<sup>12</sup> Huge crowd came in front of the municipal office and rushed into the building, took out all official records and made a bonfire.<sup>13</sup> The furniture and records of these buildings were set on fire as well as portions of the building and the municipal office was gutted.<sup>14</sup> The police station was the next target of attack. Two constables, who were in charge, were courteously asked to go out and all materials, ie, records, carbines, bullets, sticks, chairs and tables

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<sup>9</sup>R.APadmanabhan., Op.cit., p. 30.

<sup>10</sup>G.O Nos. 842 & 843, Judicial Department , 18<sup>th</sup> June 1908.

<sup>11</sup>R.APadmanabhan., op.cit., p.53.

<sup>12</sup>The Liberal, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1908, M.N.N.R, 1908, p. 144.

<sup>13</sup>R.APadmanabhan., op.cit., p. 62

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

were burnt along with the building. The Additional District Munsiff's Court came in for attack next and it was partially burnt. The Kerosene oil tank in the Pennington market was then set on fire and it continued to burn for two days.<sup>15</sup>

The riot continued for three days. Processions were taken out daily, demanding the release of V.O. Chidambaram and other leaders.<sup>16</sup> For three days, the town was in the hands of rioters and the riot spread between Thoothukudi and Tachanallur. In Thoothukudi a public meeting was arranged in an open air cart stand. Educated and laboring classes attended the meeting. After the meeting started, the police suddenly charged the crowd, without giving any warning. Sub Collector Ashe took a prominent role in this action.

The press in Madras had been reporting the Tirunelveli disturbances in detail and criticized the District Magistrate who handled the riot. V.O. Chidambaram and Subramania Siva were charged under section 124A and 153 A Indian Penal Code. They were sentenced to transportation for life but on appeal this sentence was reduced to six years.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Reoirt fitge Sedutuib Cinnutteem *op.cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>16</sup>Tirunelveli Riots Conspiracy and Ashe Murder, Part I, Madras, 1982, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup>G.O No. 595., Judicial Department, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1908.

## **Chapter 4**

### **THE LATE CAREER AND LAST DAY'S OF V.O.C**

The growth of nationalism in the first half of the Twentieth Century India was closely connected to the anticolonial movement. The ideology of nationalism united the various linguistic and cultural groups of India. Further the spirit of nationalism served an effective weapon for the Indians to fight against the oppressive colonial rule. In Tamil Nadu, as in other parts of India, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai and other swadeshi extremist leaders ventilated anticolonial feelings against British colonial rule aiming at the revival of the glorious sea faring traditions of the Tamils and free India from the unwanted intervention of the British. Swadeshi and boycott were the twin weapons of the Swadeshi Nationalists .V.O. C and other Swadeshi leaders wanted to follow the footsteps of Tilak. V.O.C. pursued the swadeshi ideals through his new enterprise.

The swadeshi movement in Tamil region from 1906 to 1916 represents a significant aspect in the history of freedom struggle in Tamil Nadu This period witnessed a keen ideological tussle between the Moderates and swadeshi Extremists. The Moderate leadership trained in strict constitutionalism aspired reforms in politics but did not work to replace the British Government. The Swadeshi extremists, who regarded the conventional methods of prayer, petition and persuasion adopted by the Moderates as meaningless, offered radical alternative in the form of swadeshi, boycott and national education. Though the extremist politics had been in existence in Tamil region, an organized form of expressing the same came into being only by 1906. There were two schools of extremist thought in Tamil region .

The first school which had its sway till 1908 consisted of prominent leaders like V. O. Chidambaram Pillai. Subramania Siva and Ethiraj Surendranath Siva. The second school which made its presence felt in 1908 included in its fold V.V.S. Ajjay, Neelakanta Brahmachari and V.V.S. Iyer . The two schools cherished the same aspiration, that is, the emancipation of the nation but differed in their modus operandi, for the first school advocated.. violence without practising it, while the second school not only preached violence but also practiced it.

V.O. Chidambaram Pillai. Subramania Siva and other leaders of the first school were very much influenced by the views of Tilak, B.C. Pal. Aurobindo Ghose and Lajpat Rai. Following their example, the leaders of the first school gave a philosophical base to the freedom movement. The swadeshi nationalists of the first school wanted to lay the foundations of independent economic growth and also the attainment of swaraj. To achieve this, they adopted the weapons of swadeshi , boycott and national education. While placing these alternatives before the public, V. O. Chidambaram, Siva and other leaders of the first school exhorted them to be self reliant. For this, they wanted the public to discard foreign goods and stop sending their children to the Government schools.

The nationalists pointed out that the laws' passed by the British were intended to safeguard the privileged status of the rulers. They advised the native population to settle their disputes amicably among themselves without allowing the intervention of the officials. The second school did not confine themselves to mere ideological conceptions. They concentrated more on the establishment of an organizational structure. They formed secret societies and through which they operated their



programme of activities. The Bharatha Matha Association was a secret society which served the needs of the second school of the swadeshi nationalists.<sup>1</sup>

The partition of Bengal in 1905 strengthened the hands of the extremists in Congress and soon they started a new movement everywhere in British India. In this movement young men actively involved and pursued swadeshi ideology in opposition to the British endeavours.. In Tamil Nadu, V.O. Chidambaram along with C. Subramania Bharathi, Subramaniya Siva, V.Chakkarai Chetti, Ethira Surendranath Arya, S. Srinivasachari, S. N Thirumalachari, M.P. Tirumalachari and others formed the core group of the new Movement.<sup>2</sup> Salem C.Vijayaragavachariar, a freedom fighter, a very able advocate and one of the legal adviser of Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company inspired V.O.C. in all the ways.

The Salem riot case of 1882 was highly published in the Indian press .The nationalist newspapers praised him as a great champion of civil liberties.<sup>3</sup> He was also called as the 'Lion of South India'.<sup>4</sup> In 1899 he became a member of the Indian Congress propaganda committee and carried the message of the Congress to the people. His speeches and valiant activities much influenced V.O.Chidambaram who began to involve in anti-British activities in the Tirunelveli District . V.O.Chidambaram aspired for the liberation of the country from the yoke of the British rule. Chidambaram Pillai came under the magnetic spell of Salem Vijayaragavachariar whose ideology created much impact in the minds of the former. It was their identification with the ideals of Balagangathar Tilak which brought them

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<sup>1</sup> **Gopalakrishnan, P.B.,** 'Freedom Movement in Tamil Nadu with Special Reference to Extremism' in Souvenir on National Integration, School of Historical Studies, Madurai : Madurai Kamaraj University, 1991, pp.25-26.

<sup>2</sup> **The Hindu.,** Madras, 5 March 1908.

<sup>3</sup> **Sundarajan, Saroja.,** *Madras Presidency in Pre-Gandhian Era, A Historical Perspective, 1884-1915*, Pondicherry: Lalitha Publications, 1997, pp.162-166.

<sup>4</sup> **News Today.,** 6 May 2009.

very near in the political sphere.<sup>5</sup> Pondithurai Thevar, a patriot, an orator, a poet and the President of Madurai Tamil Sangam also inspired Chidambaram. Pandithevar supported the commercial enterprise of V.C.Chidambaram<sup>6</sup> and he was elected as the president of the Board of Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. He donated rupees one lakh to V.O. Chidambaram to start a Shipping Company.

His remarkable service to Tamil literature and Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was remarkable. During one of his visits to Madras in 1906, V.O.Chidambaram met Swami Ramakrishnananda, a disciple of Swami Vivekananda in the Ramakrishna Mutt. An ardent exponent of Swadeshi, Ramakrishnananda asked Chidambaram Pillai what efforts he had undertaken to promote Swadeshi. To his question, V.O..Chidambaram made a philosophic response by stating that any effort was in vain in a life of illusion. Realising that Chidambaram was in a state of disillusionment, Ramakrishnananda told him that Swadeshi was the only panacea to all the ills. Thus, the seed of Swadeshi ideology was cultivated in the minds of V.O. Chidambaram .

Later on, he also met Swami Abedananda and Bal Paramananda of the Ramakrishna Mutt . Constant contact with the spiritual heads nourished the spirit of Swadeshi in his heart V.O. Chidambaram .Hence V.O. Chidambaram stood up to colonial despotism and oppressive rule in his unique way of starting navigation company.<sup>7</sup> At the end of 1905, V.O.Chidambaram, inspired by the patriotic sentiments of 'Mandayam' family, approached Thirumalaichari. The meeting of V.O.Chidambaram with Thirumalaichari made him to visit the office of the India.

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<sup>5</sup> Sen, S.P., *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III, Calcutta: 1974, p.381.

<sup>6</sup> **Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company.**, Tuticorin, Rle' Public Miscellaneous, Bundle No. 35, pp. 7-8, Tamil Nadu State Archives. (TNA)

<sup>7</sup> **Chidambaram Pillai.**, V.O., *Suyasarithai*, (Tamil), Tirunelveli: 1990, p.41-43.

There he exchanged his sentiments and views with Thirumalaichari and Bharathi. He invested his entire earnings to the Indian owned Swadeshi Navigation Company with V.O.Chidambaram Pillai and lost it all when the Company officially ceased on 4th July 1911.<sup>8</sup> In 1906 , S.N Thirumalachari also opened a press and published a paper India, edited by Bharathi. He also started a journal called, Baja Bharat which was also edited by Bharathi. In the beginning Sister Nivedita wrote articles to 'Bala Bharat to awaken the people of the Tamil region.

In 1906 V.O.Chidambaram Pillai visited the residence of Thirumalaichari in Madras, the publisher of the India and expressed his desire to meet Subramania Bharathi He was introduced to Bharathi. Like Chidambaram Pillai, Bharathi was also a native of Tirunelveli District and by nature became very closer to each other. Chidambaram Pillai accompanied Bharathi to the Marina Beach where they sat hours together and shared their thoughts about the subjugation of India and her low position under the British rule.<sup>9</sup>

Very often Chidambaram Pillai to visit the office of the India, and shared his emotional feelings Tirumalachari and Bharathi. It was customary to them to visit the Marina Beach where they discussed about the ways to end the autocratic rule of the British.. They discussed about the French Revolution and the Unification of Italy and Germany For the sake of V.O.Chidambaram Bharathi translated into Tamil the oath taken by Mazzini on the occasion of Mazzini's attempt to organise 'Young Italy'. Chidambaram Pillai's contact with Bharathi moulded him to become a swadeshi extremist.<sup>10</sup> The Partition of Bengal in July 1905 strengthened feelings of extreme nationalists in India. The Indian National Congress and nationalists vehemently

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<sup>8</sup> **Rajendran, N.,** The National Movement in Tamil Nadu. 1905-14, Madras: 1994, pp.85- 102.

<sup>9</sup> **Subramanian.,** V.O.C., VOC Kanda Bharati, (Tamil), Madras, 1946, p.7.

<sup>10</sup> **Ibid.,** pp.10-11.

opposed. the partition. Bala Cangaahar Tilak played a notable role in spreading the message of Swadeshi, use of Indian goods and boycott of alien goods. The spread of Swadeshi ideals in Tamil Nadu paved the way for the rise of a new ideological group of swadeshi extremists. This group decided to convene a Swadeshi conference at Palayamcottai where they took oath to pursue their goal of Swadeshism.<sup>11</sup>

V.O.C attended the conference both at Tirunelveli and Palayamcottai and later he delivered lectures on Swadeshi in the public meetings at Madurai and Tirunelveli. Due to the call from B.C. Pal and Kaparde to strengthen the extremist activities, the swadeshi extremists of Tamil Nadu region went to Calcutta to attend the annual session of the Indian National Congress in December 1906. There they declared support to the boycott resolutions.<sup>12</sup> V.O.Chidambaram overtly declared to boycott foreign goods and everything of foreign nature. By doing so only, India could attain Swaraj, expressed by V.O. Chidambaram.<sup>13</sup>

During the months of April - May 1907, Bipin Chandra Pal undertook a tour of South India with the aim to spread the message of Swadeshi . He arrived on 30th April 1907 at Madras.. Between 1st and 9th May 1907, B.C. Pal accompanied by Subramania Bharathi delivered lectures about the concept of Swadeshi, boycott of foreign goods and Swaraj to the people gathered on 'the Marina Beach. V.O.Chidambaram Pillai's energetic speech and eloquent use of the Tamil language in translating the speeches of B.C Pal had thrilling effect' all over the Tamil region. Subsequently, the swadeshi extremists like V.O.Chidambaram and Bharathi recommended the name of Lalalajpat Rai to the post of the President of Indian National Congress session at Surat on 26th December 1907. According to

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<sup>11</sup> **India.**, 30 June 1906.

<sup>12</sup> **Ibid.**, 22 December 1906.

<sup>13</sup> **Rajendran, N.**, op.cit., pp. 36-38

Chidambaram, Tilak stood like the powerful but calm lion before a hundred frenzied elephants. After their return from Surat, Bharathi and V.O.Chidambaram were involved in active propaganda regarding the split in the Congress and the establishment of the Nationalist Conference and its action swadeshi programme.

After his return to Tuticorin, Chidambaram Pillai continued his political activities with a renewed strength and worked for the establishment of the Swadeshi enterprise. He served the secretary of the board of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. He adhered him much to the ideals of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods.<sup>14</sup> His Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company posed a direct challenge to an established British enterprise in 1906. The activities of the Company exposed the larger political involvement of the V.O.Chidambaram and other swadeshi nationalists in Tamil region. During the period of 1906-1908, Tirunelveli and Tuticorin emerged as the centers of the swadeshi nationalists and heralded hectic political activities. To conclude, V.O.C recognised the importance of the working class to India's National Movement. The increasing of colonial oppression and the rise of swadeshi nationalism paved the way for the emergence of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company.

The Swadeshi movement in Tirunelveli was much characterized with anti-colonial spirit. The legacy of the struggle and national assertiveness initiated by V.O.C and his praiseworthy companions inspire the people of Tamil region in the struggle against the British rule in the Gandhian Era. In this way, V.O.C became a symbol for patriotism, and he inspired many patriots who continued the struggle against the British rule. At the same time V.O. C and other swadeshi nationalists had

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<sup>14</sup> **Madras Secret Police Abstracts of Intelligence.**, Tamil Nadu Archives, Chennai, 1908, Para 528, pp.311-314.

lost their valuable property and dedicated their valuable lives for the sake of the liberation of the nation from the yoke of the British rule.

### **His Later Days'**

- ❖ After he was released, he had to move to Chennai with his family since he was not permitted to return to Tirunelveli. His license to practice law was cancelled and he had to run a provisions store to feed his family. His steamer company had been liquidated and the assets sold to the rival company.
- ❖ V.O.C was in regular correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi but he later cited ideological differences with Gandhi as the reason for withdrawing from the Congress Party in 1920.
- ❖ V.O.C spent a lot of his energies in setting up labour unions in the state of Madras.
- ❖ He was also a prolific writer in Tamil. Some of his works are – Meyyaram, Meyyarivu, Autobiography, commentary on the Thirukkural, compiled works of Tolkappiyam, etc.
- ❖ He moved to Coimbatore later where his pleader's license was restored by a judge. He worked as a lawyer in Kovilpatti. His last few years were spent in heavy debts. He even had to sell his law books for survival.
- ❖ He rejoined the Congress Party in 1927 but soon severed all connections with it.
- ❖ V.O.C died in the Tuticorin office of the Congress Party on 18 November 1936. He was 64.
- ❖ He is well known as 'Kappalottiya Tamilan' (The Tamil Helmsman).

## CONCLUSION

A substantial measure was needed to revitalize the nation with a spirit of nationalism and patriotic fervor with altruistic ends. All India level conference and meetings were needed to focus the points of resistance and rehabilitation of Swaraj. Surendranath Banerjee, Allan Octavian Hume and others annual conventions of Theosophical society at Adyar, Madras and activities of other sister institutions paved the way for healthy development of political awareness and its growth in a systematic manner. The emergence of National Congress under the stewardship of A.O Hume came to age and realized its responsibilities. As a consequence the status-quoist and the progressivist as otherwise called Moderates and Extremist, sprang in to the field.

The Extremist took their defiant stand firmly from the Surat Congress of 1907. Tilak, Chidambaram Pillai and Aurobindo Ghosh became the high priest of the activist group called Nationalist Party for all part of India to spread the message of freedom to India, simply called Swaraj.

V.O Chidambaram Pillai entered into active politics during 1906 to 1907 even though he was the member of National Congress from 1898. Joining hands with Bal Gangadhar Tilak as his disciple and loyal follower with firm conviction to his approach to politics, Mr. Pillai actively spread the message of Vande Matharam and the Swaraj in the Tamilnadu's southern base. For his act of vigorous patriotism and nationalistic fervor and for the keen interest to placate the Indian honour and glory of the days of as old as presented in the Asian work of land, the British administration gave him a double life sentence in 1908. Within a short period of two years, an ordinary person hailing from the extreme end of India, short into International

eminence. Condemnation and criticism called in on his being awarded double life sentence, not only from the different parts of India, but also from outside India; that the sentence was reduced to six years, after persistent accused to all possible judicial court and had the benefit of remission due to his disciplinary conduct and behavior is another story. It will be interest to note that when he applied for remission under general amnesty during the period he was denied.

That eminence was not small achievement, and its speaks volumes about the sincerity of purpose and steadfast adherence to the avowed principle undertaken. No doubt, he had his own shortfalls which were of negligible character. After return from jail in 1912, he could not study the changed atmosphere and get attuned to the norms of the then demands of time. It does not mean an unsteady character. The human being, being an organic entity, changes or revises his attitudes and behavior as per the demands of time, without compromising his basic stand and influences similarly minded persons too.

When Annie Besant vehemently criticized the path of extremism of Aurobindho Ghosh and Tilak, Chidambaram, Siva and Bharathi he suspected her to be an ally of the British. Bharathi reconciled with her political views and acts but not with her Theosphy. But Chidambaram and Siva never got over their feeling about Annie Besant till the last. Thiru, Vi. Ka. and others supported her in her activities – labour, political and cultural fields but Chidambaram arranged for condemnation meetings.

Similarly, when Gandhi came into the Indian political scene and became a focal point of attraction for all, Chidambaram could accept him only with reserved



feeling. He could not accept or compromise his stand with the creed of non-violence of Gandhi. Perhaps Chidambaram might be right in his own way.

As Jawaharlal Nehru described the freedom of India as 'Tryst with Destiny', India could have got freedom anyhow. With personalities like Chidambaram Pillai, Subash Chandra Bose and other national revolutionaries India could have gained or earned freedom from the foreign yoke a few years before and after, but the price that ought to have been given for that in terms of blood, sweat and labour might have been much more than what had been offered at the altar of freedom that we had got now. However, God's ways are always inscrutable indeed!

One thing must we said to the credit of Chidambarma Pillai, being a man of versatile tastes and manifold personality with all enviable qualities of head and heart his contribution to the nations struggle for freedom was remarkably noteworthy. But for him, the south could not have had the pride and privilege to rub shoulders with other all Indian figures of freedom fighters in the early decades of the eighteenth century. It is an undeniable fact that Subrahmania Bharathi, Chidambarma Pillai and Subrahmanya Siva have carved a niche for themselves in the temple of Indian National Congress representing the south just like the three acharyas from south had brought fame and name to the south in the field of Indian Philosophy in the modern period.

In the fast moving run of politics, many a change had taken place. The Second World War brought the realization of the freedom to India nearer the point of accomplishment and many a difference was ironed out between the Hindus and Muslims through various meetings of leaders of the two groups. Independence was at

last declared on the midnight of 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, with the partition of India as India and Pakistan.

But one thing must be noticed in the characters of winners of freedom to India, all had a sense of dedication to expoused cause. A firm conviction in the moral values and ethical standards gave them a confidence with no other external adjunct could have given. To them, this land of Bharat, India was a Devi personified. The slogan `Vandematharam` which had its appeal to all was engendered in the spiritual background of Sakthi worship of Bengal. Mahakavi Subramaniya Bharathi and Subramanya Shiva were great and ardent worshipers Sakthi Ma.Chidambharam Pillai himself was steed in Saivism and Saiva Sidhanta even though he found equal importance and influence in the Vedanta. To him Sidhanta ad Vedanta were very nearly the same leading to a common goal rather to sides of coin. The point to note in this is, the spring of his conviction was the religious faith.

In the world of political developments Chidambaram Pillai`s services to the nation were very nearly forgotten. The services he had done to the country, the sacrifices he had made for the sake of his avowed principle of swaraj, the suffering he had undergone in this behalf and the tranquil equanimity he had brone on his countenance in the face of all turmoils, are such that no one worth his name as a Tamilian should ignore much less forgot. But public memory being notoriously short and note sharp, it did happen to him.

Thanks to heavens, another member of the same tribe of patriots, who also had his share of service to the country, by entering into jails for struggle for freedom-M.P.Shivangnanam, endearingly of making the people of Tamil Nadu remember the services and sacrifices of Chidambaram Pillai. Ma.Po.Si.was in the congress for a

long time and few years after independence started his own party of “Tamilarasu Kazhagam”. Yet from platforms of both the parties, he very nearly led a Movement for the memory of Chidambaram Pillai. He organized memorial meeting on his birth days as well as the day of demise and as a consequence memorials were erected in different places of Chidambharam Pillai contact.

As a memento to the leader nonvareil a ship by name S.S.Chidambaram now floats in the waters of Indian ocean sailing towards eastern countries under the auspices of the Government of India. In 1986, the Tamilnadu Government divided the erstwhile Tirunelveli District and Carved out the Chidambaranar District which includes the places of his birth and political activity of honour him and also to perpetuate his memory.

Chidambaram Pillai strode on the Indian soil like a Colossus and no one can pay him rich enough tribute that commensurate with his suffering and sacrifice.

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**V.O Chidambaram Pillai 1872-1936**



**V.O.C with his Wife**



**V.O Chidambaram Pillai's Stamp**





### **The British Indian Steam Navigational Venture by V.O.C**



# Tuticorin port to establish museum on VOC's life

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

## FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

**Madurai:** The 146th birth anniversary of V O Chidambaram Pillai, renowned freedom fighter and founder of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, was celebrated in Tirunelveli and Tuticorin districts on Tuesday.



The VOC Port Trust in Tuticorin has announced that a museum on his life will be established on the port premises.

While Tuticorin port is named after him, there is a hall built in his memory at Otapidaram.

On Tuesday, the district news and public relations department organised a function at the hall. District revenue officer M Veerappan, holding additional charge as collector, garlanded the statue of VOC and offered floral tributes. VOC's descendants, Selvi and Appanasami were honoured during the event.

► A disciple of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, V O Chidambaram Pillai was drawn into the freedom movement, entering active politics after the Bengal partition in 1905

► VOC started Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company in 1906 with a capital of ₹ 10 lakh

► The British attempted to destroy him by slashing the shipping fare to rock bottom and after all their attempts to buy him out failed, he was arrested on sedition charges on March 12, 1908

► He was sentenced to life imprisonment, sparking widespread protests that resulted in the Tinnevely (Tirunelveli) riot of 1908

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**In Commemoration of V.O Chidambaram Pillai**