

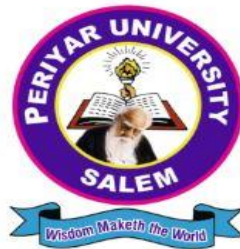
PERIYAR UNIVERSITY

**(NAAC 'A++' Grade with CGPA 3.61 (Cycle - 3) State University - NIRF Rank 56 -
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SALEM - 636 011, Tamil Nadu, India.

**CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION
(CDOE)**

**M.A HISTORY
SEMESTER - I**



**ELECTIVE I - FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN TAMIL NADU
(Candidates admitted from 2025 onwards)**

PERIYAR UNIVERSITY

CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION (CDOE)

M.A History 2025 admission onwards

ELECTIVE - I

Freedom Struggle in Tamil Nadu

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SEMESTER - I

Freedom Struggle in Tamil Nadu

UNIT I

Colonialism: European Settlements in India: Portuguese – Dutch – French – English – Anglo-French Conflict – Acquisition of Bengal – Relationship with other Indian states – British imperialism and its impact.

UNIT II

Emergence of Nationalism in India: Manifestation of Discontent against British Rule – Poligar Revolt – South Indian Rebellion – Vellore Revolt of 1806 - Revolt of 1857 - Popular Pre-nationalist movements: Peasant uprisings - Tribal Resistance Movements and the Civil Rebellions - Causes, Nature, and Impact – Socio-Religious Reform Movements: Ideological Base for the national movement - Predecessors of the Indian National Congress - Factors leading to the origin of Indian National Movement

UNIT III

From Representative politics to the idea of Self-rule: Birth of Indian National Congress - Composition, Methods of Work, Policies, Demands and Attitudes of the British – Evaluation of the Early Phase of the National Movement - Rise of Extremism - Partition of Bengal and Swadeshi Movement – Foundation of Muslim league - Revolutionary Movements - Reactions to the Morley-Minto Reforms - Home Rule Movements - Montague-Chelmsford Reforms – Government of India Act 1919

UNIT IV

Era of Mass Movements: Early political activities of Gandhi– Rowlatt Satyagraha - Non-Cooperation Movement - Swarajists - Simon Commission - Round Table Conferences - Civil Disobedience Movement and Repression - the Government of India Act, 1935 and Provincial Ministries - Growth of Socialist Ideas - Congress and World Affairs - Growth of Communalism.

Unit V

Independence and Partition: Resignation of Congress Ministries - Individual Satyagraha – Cripps' Mission – Quit India Movement - Indian National Army - Last years of Freedom Struggle (1945 – 47) - Simla Conference - Cabinet Mission Proposal - Transfer of Power and Partition.

LEARNING RESOURCES

Recommended Readings

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3. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44141769>

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UNIT- I

In Tamil Nadu, as in other parts of India, the earliest expressions of opposition to British rule took the form of localized rebellions and uprisings. Chief among these was the revolt of the palayak- karargal (poligars) against the East India Company in 1799.

The poligari system had evolved with the extension of Vijaya- nagar rule into Tamil Nadu. Each poligar was the holder of a territory or palayam (usually consisting of a few villages), granted to him in return for military service and tribute.

Where circumstances allowed, the poligars naturally tended to place less emphasis on performing their duties and more on enhancing their own powers. Given their numerical strength, extensive resources, local influence and independent attitude, the poligars came to constitute a powerful force in the political system of south India. They regarded themselves as independent, sovereign authorities within their respective palayams, arguing that their lands had been handed down to them across a span of sixty generations. Such claims, of course, were to be brushed aside by the East India Company.

Historical evidence fails to support the poligars' 'sixty generation' claim. Up to about 1340, the area claimed by the poligars as their traditional territory was in fact under Pandyan rule. Subsequently the region became part of the Muslim Sultanate of Madurai. After the conquest of Madurai by Vijayanagar in the late 15th century, a tax was forcibly collected from the inhabitants as a sort of protection money, guaranteeing that the villager paying the tax would not be plundered. In addition, the poligars collected *wumblum* from the inhabitants of every *kaval* village for the payment of *kist* to the Nawab of Arcot. Villagers

also had to pay a fixed annual amount known as *vadica vandikote* ('solicitation of the inhabitants').

In addition to their tax collecting, poligars made use of a range of stratagems to undermine circar authority and extend their control over rural life and society? The poligars, given to asserting an inalienable right to their lands and the revenue therefrom, were extremely reluctant to pay taxes to the East India Company. Company records often branded these independent poligars as 'rebels' who sought to disrupt the peace and tranquillity of the *Pax Britannica*. Lushington, the Collector of Tirunelveli, noted in a letter to the Board of Revenue 'how little respect these feudatories (poligars) have for the Company's authority, and how urgent is the necessity for bringing them to better thoughts of their condition ... they be made the first examples of the Company's just demands.'⁴ In reality, of course, the maintenance of 'law and order' by the East India Company was inseparably connected with its policy of increasing its revenues.

The early struggle between the poligars of south' and East India Company, although essentially a battle over tax collection, had a strong political dimension. The English treated the poligars, perceived as a rival power, as their inveterate enemies, allowing their hostility full expression in their accounts. Lushington, in a long report to the Board of Revenue, well captured the political necessity of bringing the poligars to heel:

When in 1799 the poligars of Tirunelveli District rose in open rebellion, the East India Company took all possible measures to check the spread of the uprising. A detachment of Company troops was speedily deployed against the Tirunelveli poligars, while dire

warnings were issued to poligars in other parts of the south not to join the rebellion. The Company, which regarded the poligars as the 'scourge of the country', determined to deprive the ringleaders of their *palayams* and punish them in an exemplary fashion. Collector Jackson singled out Kattabomma Nayak of Panchalam- kurichi as the main leader of the rebellion.

What came to be known as the First Poligari War was declared on 5 September, 1799. Although Kattabomman managed to escape from the field of battle, he was captured a month later in Pudukottai. After a summary trial, he was sentenced to death by Major Bannerman, Commander of the East India Company troops. He was publicly hanged near Kayattar Fort, close to the town of Tirunelveli, in front of fellow poligars who had been summoned to witness the execution.

Subramania Pillai, a close associate of Kattabomma Nayak, was also publicly hanged and his head was fixed on a pike at Panchalamkurichi. Soundra Pandian Nayak, another rebel leader, was brutally done to death by having his brains dashed against a village wall.¹

Despite the exemplary repression of 1799, however, rebellion broke out again in 1800, this time in a more cohesive and united manner. Although the 1800—1801 rebellion was to be categorized in British records as the Second Poligari War, it assumed a much broader character than its predecessor. It was directed by a confederacy consisting of Marudu Pandian of Sivaganga, Gopala Nayak of Dindugal, Kerala Verma of Malabar

and Krishnappa Nayak and Dhoondaji of Mysore. The insurrection, which broke out in Coimbatore in June 1800, soon spread to Ramanathapuram and Madurai. By May 1801, it had reached the northern provinces, where Marudu Pandian, Melappan and Puttur provided the leadership. Oomathurai, the brother of Kattabomma Nayak, emerged as a key leader. In February 1801, Oomathurai and two hundred men by a clever stratagem took control of Panchalamkurichi Fort, in which Oomathurai's relatives were imprisoned.

Its fort now re-occupied and reconstructed by rebel forces, Panchalamkurichi became the nerve centre of the uprising. British dismay was boundless. As one eyewitness put it, '... to our utter astonishment, we discovered that the walls, which had been entirely levelled, were now rebuilt, and fully manned by about fifteen hundred poligars.' Three thousand armed men of Madurai and Ramanathapuram, despatched by Marudu Pandian, joined up with the Panchalamkurichi forces. However, British military superiority having just destroyed the far more formidable challenge posed by Tipu Sultan in Mysore, quickly asserted itself. The poligar forces based at Panchalamkurichi were crushed and, by the orders of the colonial government, the site of the captured fort was ploughed up and sowed with castor oil and salt so that it should never again be inhabited.

The colonial forces quickly overpowered the remaining insurgents. The Marudu brothers and their sons were put to death, while Oomathurai and Sevatiah were beheaded at Panchalamkurichi on 16 November, 1801. Seventy-three of the principal rebels were sentenced to perpetual banishment. So savage and extensive was the death and destruction wrought by the English that the entire region was left in a state of

terror.

The suppression of the poligar rebellions of 1799 and 1800— 1801 resulted in the liquidation of the influence of the chieftains. Under the terms of the Carnatic Treaty (31 July, 1801), the British assumed direct control over Tamil Nadu. The poligari system, which had flourished for two and a half centuries, came to a violent end and the Company introduced a *zamindari* settlement in its place.

While it is obviously premature and misleading to attach the term 'nationalist' to the struggle of the poligars, or to portray it as some kind of mass movement, the uprising does appear to have attracted some popular support. In subsequent years, a good deal of legend and folklore would develop around Kattabomma and the Marudu brothers. Long after Kattabomma's execution, Kayattar, his place of death, remained a place of political pilgrimage. In his *Tinnevely Gazetteer* of 1917, H. R. Pate notes the presence in Kayattar of 'a great pile of stones of all sizes, which represents the accumulated offerings by wayfarers of the past hundred years'

The Poligar Revolt

Popular history of resistance to the British colonialism in Southern India during the 18th Century often tends to sideline myriad rebellions that the English East India Company had to overcome before they could establish themselves in the region, focusing solely on the Mysore Wars that ended with the defeat and slaying of Tipu Sultan. While the Mysore Army might have been the only organized military force the British had to confront, they had to spill as much or more blood in subduing a multitude of isolated

rebellions all over the South, many of them extremely fierce. The longest lasting of these was the Poligar Rebellion, which ebbed and flowed over half a century with varying intensity. The word 'Poligar' is a corrupted English version of the word 'Palayakkaran' in Tamil, meaning holder of an armed camp. They were local warlords who held sway over their respective areas by means of the 'Palayam-s' or armed camps they headed. While Thespian Sivaji Ganesan's magnum opus, Veera Pandya Kattabomman, popularized the legend of the best-known Poligar in recent times, the story of the Poligar Rebellion itself dated back half a century from the day of his martyrdom in 1799, and was to play out its final and fiercest phase in two years thence.

18th Century was a period when almost the entire region that forms the modern state of Tamil Nadu was more or less in a state of political turmoil, with no central authority exercising power. This was a legacy of the breakup of the once-powerful Vijayanagara Empire, of which the region was a part of. Established in early 14th Century by the Southern powers to ward off Islamic invasions from the north, with its capital at Vijayanagara in present-day Karnataka, its glorious reign lasted more than two centuries until it suffered a catastrophe with the defeat of its army in the Battle of Talikota in 1565 by the combined forces of the Deccan Sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda. The ruling dynasty however survived, moving its capital further south to Chandragiri, maintaining a loose sovereignty over the southern territory of its earlier domain through local chieftains called Naiks. This status quo continued until 1647, when at last the weakened dynasty was overwhelmed by external aggressions from the Deccan kingdoms as well as internal dissent among the Naiks.

This was also the period when the European trading companies were opening their establishments in the Indian subcontinent (The English East India Company had established their trading post and begun building their first fort in Asia, Fort St. George, at Madras in 1646). During the one hundred years that followed the final collapse of the Vijayanagara Empire (from mid 17th to mid 18th Century), the Indian subcontinent witnessed a dramatic transformation in its political power equations. The Mughal Empire that had dominated the scene for two centuries was being effectively challenged by the rising Maratha power, and by the first quarter of 18th Century, post the death of Aurangzeb, its last powerful emperor, it held only a token authority, with its provincial governors assuming autonomous powers, swearing only a formal allegiance to the emperor. Although the Marathas by then had become the most powerful military force of the subcontinent, they had not been able to establish absolute political authority to fill the vacuum caused by the disintegration of the Mughal power, partially for lack of coherence in their leadership after the early passing away of Chatrapathy Shivaji, their pioneering leader, in 1680.

It is in this confused scenario with no central authority that the European trading firms began making forays into the political arena of the land. The inept and selfish native rulers with their petty internecine quarrels provided these foreigners with the ideal opportunity to meddle in the native politics. The Tamil country at this period was loosely governed by the Nawab of Arcot, a vassal of the Mughal Emperor; though the Naiks, who wielded power under the Vijayanagara Empire, continued to lord over their fiefdoms pretty much autonomously. The southern provinces of the Tamil homeland was one area in particular where the authority of the Nawab was hardly pertinent. The

area comprising Ramnad, Sivaganga and Theni, which lay beyond and adjacent to the two main provinces of Madurai and Tirunelveli was inhabited by a warlike people known as the Maravas. The Maravas, who assumed the name 'Thevars' later, were a brave, free-spirited people who paid obeisance to no one. Traditional warriors, their ancestors had conquered and held the greater part of Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) for several centuries. Submissiveness was not a trait these proud people were easily given to, especially when provoked by armed aggression, that too by an alien power. Formed into a loose confederacy under the leadership of their Poligars, they waged an unequal war against the army of the East India Company for more than half a century when the Company's power was on the rise in the Carnatic. Collectively dubbed the Poligar Rebellion, it was essentially a struggle to preserve their sovereignty over Tirunelveli and adjacent provinces.

There were over thirty Poligars in the region who, together or in separate groups, kept the fight going on from early 1750s, when the Nawab of Carnatic, Muhammed Ali, allied with the British, sent the first of the expeditions to subdue them. The Nawab was one of the first in the country to play into the hands of the British, initially to ward off the challenge to his throne by a rival prince, Chanda Sahib, who was supported by the French, and in later years to lead his indulgent life in comfort, negligent of his responsibilities as a ruler and complaisant of the English Company's impudence (A popular joke among the Britons in Madras was that the best investment to get wealthy in India was to lend some money to the Nawab. The Nawab, with his extravagant lifestyle, was always broke, and will never be able to return the money. Instead, he would allot a province in return authorizing the lender to collect taxes). Not only did the Poligars beat

back the Nawab's expedition of a thousand native soldiers with an English detachment, they went on to defend Madurai under Chanda Sahib's flag and decisively repulsed a British force.

Though armed with only primitive devices like pikes twelve to eighteen feet long, the Poligar fighters were adept at constructing crude but effective barriers of mud walls and thorn hedges, and repairing breaches with readily available stuff like the trunks of palm trees that could withstand fair amount of battering by artillery. In 1755, the Nawab, after having beaten off Chanda Sahib's challenge and ousted the French from the scene with British help, launched a second and larger expedition against the Poligars, only to end up with egg on his face, with his own brother, who led it, secretly treating with Poligars and the English commander, whom he bribed off, getting courtmartialled and sacked. The confederacy of Poligars under their most popular leader of the times, Puli Tevan, maintained the upper hand, and joined by a well-trained Travancore Army, handed out one humiliating defeat after another to the Nawab's forces under his discredited brother Mahfuz Khan. Eventually, only after 1759, following the appointment of Yusuf Khan-alias-Maruthanayagam Pillai, the legendary Indian soldier who rose to fame in the service of the East India Company, who himself hailed from Ramnad, was the Poligars contained to an extent, primarily for him turning out to be an eminently capable administrator, winning their loyalty. However, the peace was short-lived, as Yusuf Khan himself turned against the British, when he fell out with them after his relations with them turned sour with their falling for insinuations against him by the Nawab. The Nawab felt terribly insecure by the rising popularity of Khan that he may usurp his crown – a paranoia shared by most Indian rulers of the times about their vassals who grew in

power – that he was willing to try any kind of intrigue to bring him down. An exasperated Khan declared his independence as the governor of Madurai and raised his own army, mostly of local inhabitants, along with some French mercenaries. The Poligar fighters were back in action, once more to defend Madurai, this time around under Yusuf Khan's flag.

Yusuf Khan's defiance of the British onslaught saw the fiercest battling the British had to do anywhere in India, prior to the Mysore and Maratha Wars. For almost two years, he gallantly held out against the British might, inflicting one defeat after another on them, until at last, under siege, he was betrayed by his own officers who were misled to believe that he was planning to escape leaving them to their fate, through a rumour spread by a disaffected French mercenary. Cornered in his quarters and made prisoner, he was handed over to the Nawab, who delightedly had him hanged.

The Anglo-Poligar strife continued unabated for the remaining part of the century, with the British occasionally succeeding to put down the rebellious Poligars, only to face yet another insurrection within a few years, assisted for some time by the Dutch at Tuticorin. So, it was inevitable that the British would run into trouble with their inglorious tax collection drive in the southern provinces beyond Madurai. In fact, trouble was brewing up even as they were engaged in the 4th – also the last – Mysore War in the closing years of the 1790s. The final drama of this struggle would be played out in the small hamlet of Panjalamkurichi deep south, at the dawn of the 19th Century.

Panjalamkurichi, located about 75 miles south of Madurai, had for its Poligar, Kattabomman Nayak, a brave man and a sworn enemy of the British, who had been in the forefront of the fight against them for more than three decades by then. While the other Poligars of the area, most of whom were also rebellious, submitted to the British authority towards the end of the century, Kattabomman led an uprising in Ramnad in 1797. In August 1798, W. C. Jackson, the British collector at Madurai, persuaded the defiant Poligar to meet him at Ramnad. Either Jackson attempted, or Kattabomman suspected a trap, and the latter's escape bid turned violent; the fort commander of the place, Colonel Clarke, getting fatally wounded in the fracas. Kattabomman extricated himself with his party. The British, much as they wished to go after him, could do little, tied up as they were with the war with Tipu.

Soon after the fall of Seringapatam, a force of some 400 Europeans and two battalions of sepoy with a detachment of the Bengal artillery, commanded by Major Bannerman, moved against the fort at Panjalamkurichi. Overconfident of his superiority, Bannerman attempted to storm the fort before his artillery had taken up their posts, and was thrashed soundly; his attack repulsed with terrible losses. But he was reinforced soon, and better prepared, he opened up with his guns the next day. That night, with the fall of the fort imminent under intense bombardment, Kattabomman escaped with a few followers to Pudukotta while his two brothers and a general and confidant, Subramania Pillai, held out with the remaining men before surrendering after a while. The two brothers were taken captives; and Pillai, with whom the British had a score to settle (his having raided and plundered their post at Palamcottah nearby, not long ago), was executed. Perhaps they all had hoped to gain some time for their escaped leader, so

that he lived to fight another day. But that was not to be; Kattabomman was caught by the Tondaman ruler of Pudukotta who was friendly with the British, and handed over to them. He was hanged as a rebel on 16 October 1799 at Kayattaru, and his fort razed to the ground.

But the flame that Kattabomman lit was not about to be put off easily. Two of his brothers, who were incarcerated at Palamcottah, managed to escape in February 1801. One of them, born dumb (and hence known variously as Oomaiyan or Oomadurai), was a ferocious fighter reputed for his daring exploits; and the people of Panjalamkurichi rallied under him to renew the fight. In a remarkably short period of time they rebuilt the fort and formed a 1500-strong garrison to man it. By the time the British field commander in the province, Major Macaulay, was able to put together a force of about 1000 men and move against the hamlet, the garrison had swelled to a strength of nearly 5000, the people of the surrounding country having enthusiastically assembled under Oomadurai; prepared for a showdown. Outnumbered, Macaulay beat a hasty retreat, fighting off a night sortie by the rebels. Positioning himself at Palamcottah, he sent a desperate plea for reinforcements to Madras. Meanwhile the insurrection spread like wild fire, and the rebelling Poligars soon took many of the forts including that of Tuticorin.

The British reinforcements arrived on 27 March; and Macaulay, now commanding a 3000-strong force, marched to Panjalamkurichi, to appear before the hamlet on the morning of the 31st. The fort was built in an oblong form some 500 feet long and 300 feet broad, a strong, well-fortified structure surrounded by a thick thorny hedge. The

British guns started a bombardment, and by 3 in the afternoon an operative breach had been made in the northwest bastion. An assault was launched immediately.

The storming party, covered by a barrage and musketry from the rest of the force, broke through the hedge and made it to the top of the breach. That was as far as they got; every man who showed himself further fell dead or maimed in an instant. The defenders had played an ingenious trick. The bastions were made hollow, and the attackers, once on top, suddenly found themselves with no footing; and right when they tottered, the defenders, closely packed inside the bastions and armed with their traditional 18-foot pikes, played merry hell into them. The dead and the dying rolled back in a heap. There was no way the assault was going to succeed, and at the end of the day Macaulay's men were left licking their wounds, having lost 4 officers and 49 men killed, and 13 officers and 254 men wounded. Only at the hands of Yusuf Khan had the English Company's Madras Army suffered a drubbing of that severity in the past.

Macaulay set up camp about a mile away from the fort and awaited further reinforcements. They arrived after about two months, on 21 May – a massive force this time, with a large train of artillery, commanded by Colonel Agnew who now took charge of the operation. A well-planned assault was launched on the 24th. There was delay crossing the hedge again, but once on top the attackers were better prepared. In a hot contest that lasted over twenty minutes, they countered the pike men in the bastions by throwing in grenades. At the end of it almost the entire lot of defenders within the bastions was killed, and the attackers began bludgeoning their way into the fort. For the

gallant Poligars, it was the end of the road; but they chose to die fighting like men rather than surrender. About 3000 of them who were within the fort rushed out in battle order to meet the enemy head on in a suicidal charge. And that is what it turned out to be, because they ran right into the enemy cavalry charging at them. It was mayhem all over, the Poligars adding a bit of innovation even in that last desperate bid as they unleashed their famed dogs of the Rajapalalyam breed into the fight. These ferocious canines, every bit as brave as their masters, gave the cavalymen a run for their money as they sprang fearlessly at the riders and their mounts, biting and tearing.

The Madras Army's casualties in the battle were estimated to be nearly 200. The Poligar losses were of course much more. But the rebellion did not die off still. Oomadurai and his brother survived, and withdrawing into the nearby jungles with many of the rebels, carried on with the struggle. It took a fair bit of intense fighting for the British to quell the rebellion ultimately by October that year, when Oomadurai and his brother, captured at Sivaganga, were brought to Panjalamkurichi and hanged. The fort was once again razed to the ground; and the site ploughed over and sown with castor seeds.

The operations to put down the Poligar Rebellion cost the Madras Army nearly a 1000 men killed and wounded, including 40 or so officers. In the pages of history, this rebellion often finds itself relegated to the status of a localized conflict born of frustration among the traditionally recalcitrant Poligars, whose power and influence the East India Company tried to curtail. Nevertheless, it stands out unique in that it was the first

popular insurrection of the kind in the South, in which the participation of the people, and not the diktats of any sovereign that became instrumental. The immense mass following enjoyed by Kattabomman and his brothers was definitely indicative of the overwhelming popular resentment to the crude imposition of British authority at that time.

The British themselves admired the dogged courage of the Maravas who, poorly armed, with no formal training and with no artillery worth the name, held out against the might of the Madras Army for more than a year. No wonder in later years, heartily encouraged by the British, many of these brave fighters and their descendants found themselves in the ranks of the Madras Regiment and the Madras Sappers & Miners.

The Poligar Rebellion was also unique for being the first insurrection in the country to have displayed a degree of trans-national ethos. Marudu Pandyan, the chief exponent of the rebellion in Sivaganga, had tried to expand its scope by forging a grand alliance of the disaffected groups all across the peninsula. Besides all the Southern Poligars, the alliance generally included the Poligars of Dindigul, the Kurichias of Malabar, Dhoondiah Wagh of Bidnur, some Sardars of the Nizam of Hyderabad and even some of the Maratha chiefs including Daulat Rao Scindia. Unfortunately this popular initiative that came to be often referred to as the South Indian Rebellion, could only bring about widespread but isolated peasant uprisings lacking cohesiveness, all of which collapsed within a year in the face of the sustained military onslaught by the British. But the resentment to alien rule continued to prevail with sporadic disturbances like the Chittoor

Poligar Revolt of 1804, and major insurgencies like the Pazhassi revolt of Malabar. The Poligar Rebellion found its echo one last time, when the sentiments it evoked proved partially instrumental in inciting the sepoys to mutiny at Vellore in 1806. Sometime later, the East India Company is believed to have assembled some 23 surviving Poligars on the pretext of peace talks and, deceptively making prisoners of them en masse, deported all of them to Andamans. Not one of them ever returned to their homeland. Thus, in one stroke, the British had put paid to the one rebellious movement in the South that had the potential to destabilize them.

The Poligar Rebellion was the last flicker of defiance by the people of the Tamil homeland against the inexorable slide of the region into the ignominy of colonialism. A memorial hall for Kattabomman adorns the hamlet of Panjalamkurichi. The Puli Tevan Palace at Tirunelveli, revered as a historic monument now, was the headquarters of the first great Poligar, Puli Tevan.

Puli Thevar

A legendary fighter who was the first Indian to resist British imperialism in India, Puli Thevar lived from 1715 to 1761. He was the Palayakkaran (corrupted to „Poligar“ in English) or the local chieftain of a place called Nelkattumsevval in Sankarankoil Taluk of the present-day Tirunelveli District of Tamil Nadu State. „Palayakkaran“ literally meant „keeper of armed camp“ or „Palayam“, and by virtue of his armed might, wielded governing power in his locality. There were 77 or so such Palayams through which the Tamil Country was essentially being governed during the 18th Century, while the

English East Company was making its forays into the political arena of South India. This system of governance through the Poligars resulted from the break-up of the once-powerful Vijayanagar Empire of South India in late 16th Century. The Tamil Country, which was part of the empire, thence came to be governed by the provincial governors of the empire called Nayaks. The Nayaks divided their provinces into various Palayams and entrusted the ground-level governance to the Poligars who headed these Palayams. Although the Mughals, after putting down the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda whose conquest of Vijayanagar had caused the breakup of the empire, had appointed one of their vassals as Nawab of Arcot to exercise their authority over the Tamil Country, neither the Nayaks, nor the Poligars recognized his authority and ruled their domains more or less autonomously. Nawab of Arcot was the earliest of the scores of India's namby-pamby native rulers who chose to toe the line of the English East India Company (EEC), with utter disregard to the welfare of their subjects or states. The Nawab's self-indulgent lifestyle found him perpetually short of funds and borrowing from the Company. The Company, with its ulterior motives, was willing to oblige him, and when he failed to repay his debts, which invariably he did, extracted compensation from him in the form of authorization for it to collect taxes from one province of his state after another. A popular joke among the Englishmen arriving in India, most of whom were vagabonding quick-money-seekers of the Robert Clive model, was that if one wanted to get rich overnight in India, the best means was to lend some money to the Nawab; he would never be able repay it and to make good, give away vast tracts of land for the lender to lord over. The Poligars who ruled their respective fiefdoms pretty much as independent sovereigns collected taxes from their subjects themselves, but had not

been paying any to the Nawab in defiance of his authority. The weak-kneed Nawab neither had the capability nor the resolve to make the Poligars fall in line. In such a scenario, as far as the Poligars were concerned, the authorization by the Nawab for the alien Company to collect taxes hardly made any difference. This naturally brought the Poligars into confrontation with the EEC, when the latter tried to enforce collection of taxes through force of arms. Such confrontations between the EEC and different Poligars for nearly half a century, which are historically dubbed as „Poligar Rebellion“, form one of the bloodiest chapters of native resistance against British imperialism anywhere in India. It was no rebellion however, but a prolonged war, marked by sporadic but fierce battles, wherein the Poligar forces, diehard fighters to a man, matched the superior weaponry and manpower of the enemy by their sheer pluck and courage. The first of a galaxy of brave Poligar leaders who waged war against EEC over that period during the 18th Century was Puli Thevar. Puli Thevar belonged to a community of warlike inhabitants of southern parts of the Tamil Country, comprising the provinces of Madurai and Tirunelveli and adjacent regions of Ramnad and Sivaganga, known as Maravas. The Maravas – who assumed the name „Thevars“ later – were a brave, free-spirited people who paid obeisance to no one. Traditional warriors, their ancestors had conquered and held the greater part of Ceylon for several centuries. They formed the main military muscle of the southern provinces. Mainly armed with pikes twelve to eighteen feet long, they were adept at constructing crude but effective barriers of mud walls and thorn hedges, and repairing breaches with readily available stuff like the trunks of the palm trees that withstood fair amount of battering by artillery. S. C. Hill, a British historian, who is noted for his factual writings of colonial history of the

South, refers to an interesting quote from an unpublished manuscript of the times, which summarizes what the Kallars (mentioned as Kallans in the book) – a sub-caste of the Maravas who lived in the hilly and woody parts of the country, and proved an exceptionally tough and cunning lot with their intimate knowledge of secret paths and ambush sites – thought of the payment of taxes in general: “The Heaven supplies the earth with rain, cattle plough for us, and we labour to improve and cultivate the land. Whilst such is the case, we alone ought to enjoy the fruit thereof. What reason is there to be obedient and pay tribute to a person like ourselves?” And much to the consternation of the animal rights activists and moralists, the men of the Marava territory continue to be passionate about holding their robust if highly dangerous game of „Jallikat“, in which participants, like gladiators, try to take on a powerfully built bull let loose amongst them and tame it, many of them invariably getting gored in the act. The British themselves, finding them such formidable foes, came to admire their fighting qualities so much that in later years, after their dominating South India, went on to recruit men from the region in large numbers to the ranks of the Madras Regiment and the Madras Sappers. Their free spirit and martial disposition came to the fore once again years later, towards the end of India’s colonial history, when the men and women of their stock working in plantations of Malaya and Burma, whose forefathers had long migrated to those countries in search of livelihood, rallied to the call to arms by Nethaji Subhas Chandra Bose and enlisted in the Indian National Army (INA) in large numbers to fight the British for freedom of their „Motherland“, although none of them had ever set foot on the Indian soil. Also, in recent times, notwithstanding the unfortunate turn of events, the hardcore fighters of the Liberation Tigers of the Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which

the Indian Army was pitted against for two long years and was described by one of its senior commanders as „the most determined and dedicated guerilla force in the world“, came from their stock. Puli Thevar"s was a comparatively smaller domain in the Marava Country, but he was imbued with such exceptional leadership qualities that he commanded tremendous respect, not only among his men but among the various other Poligars of Tirunelveli and adjoining regions, who were collectively called the Western Poligars for their geographical orientation to the southwest of Tamil Country; vis a vis the Eastern Poligars who hailed from the coastal provinces of Ramnad and Sivagangai to the southeast. His run-in with the EEC began in 1755, when the latter sent its first-ever military expedition against the Poligars, under the command of Colonel Alexander Heron, with the elder brother of Nawab Mohammed Ali of Arcot, Mahfuz Khan, for his sidekick. Heron"s army marched through the Poligar territory more or less successfully to begin with, intimidating most of the Eastern Poligars to pay „Kisthi" (tax) by his superiority of manpower and weaponry, including the most powerful among them, Kattabomma Nayak of Panjalamkuruchi (not the legendary „Veerapandya Kattabomman" revered for his heroic fight against the British, but his grandfather), who gave in conditionally, handing over a couple of hostages, pending payment. The force further drew the wrath of the populace by going beyond their objective of collecting taxes and indulging in largescale looting, more so because they carried away the idols of worship from temples. Its winning and plundering streak however came to an abrupt halt when confronted by Puli Thevar"s stout defence of his fort at Nelkattumseval. Heron"s artillery proved not very effective against the thick stone walls of the fort. He was also facing a severe shortage of supplies, his column having been ambushed and

plundered over and over again all along their route by locals, who were out en masse to avenge the looting his troops did, and to recover the idols that were sacrosanct to them, which they successfully did. An ineffectual commander not up to overcoming the odds, Heron found his troops demoralized and in total disarray. Puli Thevar, on the other hand, was a shrewd strategist and had planted spies in the English camp, who gave him constant updates, which helped boost the morale of his garrison, a highly motivated lot as they were. Repeated attempts by Heron's troops to storm the fort met with no success against the dogged defence by the garrison. Eventually, his army plagued by indiscipline and desertion, a number of his men, including three high-ranking officers, even switching sides to join the Thevar, Heron had to beat an ignominious retreat, to end his military career in disgrace afterwards, when he was court-martialled and sacked by the EEC. Mahfuz Khan would go on to lead some unsuccessful campaigns against Puli Thevar with his Arcot troops, forging alliances here and there, for a while, but cowardly by disposition, would in the course of time switch his alliance to the Thevar; but that was later. In the aftermath of Heron's retreat, Puli Thevar's reputation skyrocketed for his heroic defence of his fort and the entire lot of Western Poligars rallied under his leadership forming a confederacy to wage war against the British and the Nawab. Grabbing the opportunity, Puli Thevar unleashed a campaign capturing one fort after another, ousting the Nawab's troops from wherever they had a foothold and took control of the entire countryside and their main power centre of Tirunelveli itself. Dedicated to cleanse his native soil of the foreigners once and for all, he used his exceptional diplomatic skills to forge an allegiance with the Maharaja of the neighbouring kingdom of Travancore, who possessed an army trained on European

model, which had the fierce reputation of having driven out the Dutch colonialists from Indian shores during the previous decade. The next six years would witness a most turbulent period in the history of the southern provinces of the Tamil Homeland, wherein the Poligar Confederacy, joined by the Travancore Army, effectively fought off the forces of the Nawab and EEC in a series of fierce seesaw battles stemming the tide of imposition of colonialism in the region. At one stage, Puli Thevar even came close to retaking Madurai, the kingdom the Maravas traditionally swore allegiance to, but had been seized by the Nawab with EEC's help. Unfortunately, a crucial alliance he tried to forge with the Eastern Poligars fell through, with the latter remaining neutral, constrained by the EEC holding their men hostage. By the time they came around following a change of their leadership, and were willing to join the Confederacy, the Travancore Army had withdrawn from the fray, consequent to the shrewd diplomacy of a new „renter" (practically the governor) by the name of Yusuf Khan, appointed by the EEC. An intrepid adventurer who hailed from the same region (born a lower-class Hindu with the name, Maruthanayagam Pillai, he had converted to Islam to escape caste discrimination), he had risen to fame as a legendary soldier serving the EEC, after switching over to them from the French camp, where he had obtained training in modern warfare. Khan would be successful in containing the defiant Poligars; but ironically, within four years of his appointment, he himself would revolt against EEC and lead a historic struggle. That would however be too late for Puli Thevar who had been successfully fighting off the Nawab and his English cronies for four long years by 1759 when Yusuf appeared on the scene. An eminent soldier and a brilliant strategist, Yusuf would go on to successfully exercise his authority in the region, more by efficient

administration and strategic foresight than by military muscle. Faced by such a formidable foe whom he could match only in courage and fighting spirit, but not in his armed might and resources, and betrayed by his own people, who chose to ally with Yusuf for the greater part, Puli Thevar fought a losing war for two years, never giving up his zeal. Meanwhile, Yusuf Khan was expanding his army, recruiting locals to his ranks and consolidating his power in the region. Many of the Poligar fighters thus enlisting in Yusuf's army effectively sabotaged a temporary advantage Puli Thevar gained when Kattabomman joined forces with him. Even their combined might did not prove adequate to take on Yusuf. Mahfuz Khan, the rank opportunist who had allied with the Thevar, once again switched sides, seeking a pardon from Yusuf, which the latter gladly obliged him with. Not that he would have been of any great value to a diehard fighter like Puli Thevar fighting with his back to the wall. Mahfuz had the dubious military distinction of having commanded a 10,000-man Mughal Army that was routed by a puny Franco-Indian force of 1000 men at the Battle of Adyar during the previous decade. Puli Thevar lost his holdings one after another to Yusuf Khan's forces, which outnumbered him by a huge margin. Nevertheless, the gritty, unrelenting fighter that he was, the Thevar never gave up, making the enemy pay heavily for every battle won, often using brilliant hit-and-run tactics. By now, Yusuf Khan had successfully won over the Maharaja of Travancore and Puli Thevar found himself pitted against an overwhelmingly strong, combined armies of Yusuf and Travancore. His gallant resistance had to come to an end and it happened in his own home turf, Nelkattumseval. Rich in paddy cultivation, the place derived its name for its tradition of paying taxes in rice; „Nel-Kattum-Seval" literally meaning „Rice-Taxpaying-Locality". With Puli Thevar's declared defiance not to

pay tax, the place had assumed the name „Nel-KattanSevval“, which meant „Rice-Tax-Not-Paying-Locality“. With the fall of his last bastion at Nelkattumsevval after colossal pounding of the place by Yusuf Khan"s artillery, Puli Thevar vanishes into history. The Thevar and some of his troops are known to have survived the attack on the fort and abandoned it to disperse in the jungles nearby to fight another day. What happened to him later remains a mystery. Some accounts suggest that he was forced into exile in Ramnad where he died later. Other, more popular version, suggests that he was taken prisoner by Yusuf"s troops, but escaped, was caught again, taken to a nearby hill called Kalugumalai (Vulture"s Mountain) and hanged. There is also a legend that he expressed a last wish on his way to execution, to be permitted to pray at a Parvathi Shrine en route. Left to pray in solitude in chains in the sanctum sanctorum, his guards waiting outside heard the sound of chains rattling and rushing inside, found the Thevar gone, leaving the chains behind; never to be seen again. It seems plausible that he was indeed taken to the remote hill in the wilderness and secretly executed. Well aware of Puli Thevar"s tremendous popularity among the people of the region, Yusuf Khan would have preferred not to antagonize them by a public hanging. In spite of the failure of his epic struggle, Puli Thevar remains a much-revered hero of the Tamils, especially among the people of Tirunelveli and adjoining regions. The Pulithevan Palace in Tirunelveli, which was his headquarters while he reigned as the leader of the Western Poligars, is a national monument today. A statue of his adorns Nelkattumsevval, where he was born and fought his last battle. The people of Tirunelveli commemorate his birth anniversary every year with absolute devotion. Sadly, the monumental saga of this great Indian who was the earliest to resist the British imperialism in India is little known beyond the Tamil

homeland, thanks to a lot of Indian historians for whom colonialism in India began with Plassey and no India existed south of the Vindhyas.

Veerapandiya Kattabomman

Veerapandiya Kattabomman also known as Kattabomman was an 18 century Indian Paalaiyakaarar Chieftain from Panchalankurichi and who was one of the earliest to oppose British rule. He waged a war with the British six decades before the Indian War of Independence, which occurred in 1857 in Northern parts of India.

Kattabomman refused to pay his dues and for a long time refused to meet Jackson, the Collector of the East India Company. Finally, he met Jackson at Ramalinga Vilasam, the palace of Sethupathi of Ramanathapuram. The meeting turned violent and ended in a skirmish in which the Deputy Commandant of the Company's forces, Clarke was slain. Kattabomman and his men fought their way to freedom and safety, but Thanapathi Pillai, Kattabomman's secretary was taken, as a Prisoner. The Commission of Enquiry that went into the incident fixed the blame on Jackson and relieved him of his post, thinking the Company's plan to take over the entire country gradually could be marred by Jackson's fight with Veerapandiya Kattabomman.

The new Collector of Tirunelveli wrote to Kattabomman calling him for a meeting on 16 March 1799. Kattabomman wrote back citing the extreme drought conditions for the delay in the payment of dues and demanded that all that was robbed of him at Ramanathapuram be restored to him. The Collector wanted the ruling house of Sethupathis to prevent Kattabomman from aligning himself with the enemies of the Company and decided to attack Kattabomman. The British also instigated his long-time

feuding neighbour, Ettayapuram Poligar to make provocative wars over Kattabomman on their long-pending territorial disputes.

Kattabomman refused to meet the Collector and a fight broke out. Under Major Bannerman, the army stood at all four entrances of Panchalankurichi's fort. At the southern end, Lieutenant Collins was on the attack. When the fort's southern doors opened, Kattabomman and his forces audaciously attacked the corps stationed at the back of his fort, and slew their commander Lt. Collins. The British after suffering heavy losses decided to wait for reinforcements and heavy artillery from Palayamkottai. Sensing that his fort could not survive a barrage from heavy cannons, Kattabomman left the fort that night. A price was set on Kattabomman's head. Thanapathi Pillai and 16 others were taken as prisoners. Thanapathi Pillai was executed and his head perched on a bamboo pole was displayed at Panchalankurichi to demoralise the resisters. Soundra Pandian Nayak, another rebel leader, was brutally done to death by having his brains dashed against a village wall. Veerapandiya Kattabomman hid in so many places including Thirumayam, Virachilai and finally stayed at Kolarpatti at Rajagopala Naicker's house where the forces surrounded the house. Kattabomman and his aides fled from there and took refuge in the Thirukalambur forests close to Pudukkottai. Bannerman ordered the Raja of Pudukkottai to arrest Kattabomman. After a bloody war, he was captured by the British and hanged to death at Kayattar on 17 October 1799.

Kattabomman became, thus, the pivot of the emerging feeling of Tamil nationhood. His story is celebrated in many legends and epic poetry in Tamil. Kattabomman is today recognised by the Government as one of the earliest independence fighters opposing the British and has been hailed as the inspiration behind the first battle of independence

of 1857, which the British called the Sepoy Mutiny. In 1974, the Government of Tamil Nadu constructed a new Memorial fort. The Memorial Hall has beautiful paintings on the walls depicting the heroic deeds of the saga, which gives a good idea about the history of the period.

Velu Nachiyar

Rani Velu Nachiyar was a queen of Sivaganga estate in South India. She is regarded as the first queen who fought against the British colonial power in India. Born as princess of Ramanathapuram she took training in handling different weapons, in martial arts, horse riding and archery, and was also proficient in languages like English, French and Urdu. She was married to King of Sivagangai, Muthuvaduganathaperiya Udaiyathevar. After the British soldiers and son of Nawab of Arcot conquered Sivaganga and killed her husband, she fled with her daughter and lived at Virupachi under the protection of Palayakaarar Kopaala Naayakkar, build her army and joined hands with Gopala Nayaker and Sultan Hyder Ali to wage war against the British and regained her kingdom. She is also credited as the first person to apply human bomb. Early Life Velu Nachiyar was born on January 3, 1730, in Ramanathapuram, Tamil Nadu, India, in the family of Raja Chellamuthu Vijayaragunatha Sethupathy of the Ramnad kingdom and his wife, Rani Sakandhimuthal, as their only child. Sans any male heir, the royal couple raised the princess as a boy, who was trained in using war match weapons. She was also well-trained in archery, horse riding, Silambam (fighting with stick) and in martial arts such as Valari. A scholar in her own right, Nachiyar also had command over several languages, including English, French and Urdu. At the age of 16, she was married to Muthuvadugananthur Udaiyathevar, son of the King of Sivagangai, Sasivarna

Periya Udaya. Since 1730, Muthuvadugananthur Udaiyathevar was in charge of the administration of Sivagangai, the first independent state from Ramnad, while his father ruled as the King. Muthuvadugananthur Udaiyathevar became the King of Sivagangai in 1750 and emerged as the only ruler of Sivangangi to rule the state for the longest period of time, for over two decades till his death in 1772. Nachiyar and Muthuvadugananthur Udaiyathevar had a daughter together named Vellachi. Struggle against the British Rule Sivagangai was invaded by the troops of the East India Company in association with the son of the Nawab of Arcot in 1772. Muthuvadugananthur Udaiyathevar was killed in a subsequent battle (the Kalaiyar Koil war) with Col.Smith. The war didn't even spare women and children, many of whom were killed mercilessly marking one of the most ruthless incidents of those times. Some of the notable people including the trustworthy Marudhu brothers and Thandavaraya Pillai managed to escape the war. Nachiyar was in Kollangudi at that time.

Following the death of her husband in the battle, she fled with her daughter to Virupachi near Dindigul, where she took refuge for eight years under the protection of Palayakaarar Kopaala Naayakkar. During her stay in Virupachi, she gradually built a powerful army to fight against the British. In her mission she garnered considerable support from Gopala Nayaker and Hyder Ali, the Sultan and the de facto ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore in southern India. Seeking his help, she met the latter in Dindugal. As she conversed with him in Urdu, the queen highly impressed Sultan Hyder Ali with her resolute and courageousness. The Sultan gave his word to support the queen in her crusade to retrieve her kingdom. She was also allowed to stay at Virupakshi or Dindugal Fort by the Sultan where she was revered and treated as a Royal Queen. A monthly

financial support of 400 pound (Gold) was also sent to her by the Sultan. She sought 5000 infantry and 5000 cavalry from the Sultan to fight the British, and kept on confusing her enemy by frequently changing her base. Sultan Hyder Ali also equipped her with necessary weapons so that she could put up a tough fight against the British. In 1780, she came face-to-face with the British, and with this became the first queen in India to fight for freedom against the British. She came to know about the ammunition store of the British. With this information, the gallant queen, known by Tamils as Veeramangai, ("brave woman") then plotted and arranged a suicide attack into the ammunition store. An army commander and a loyal follower of the queen, Kuyili, came forward to carry out the mission. Kuyili drenched herself with ghee and then set herself on fire before jumping into armoury and blowing it up, thereby procuring a victory for the queen. Kuyili, who many consider as an adoptive daughter of Nachiyar, is regarded as the first woman suicide bomber. Nachiyar also had an adopted daughter, Udaiyaal, who gave her life detonating a British arsenal. The queen built up a woman's army and named it „udaiyaal" after her adopted daughter. After recapturing the Sivaganga estate, Nachiyar ruled the kingdom for the next decade while making her daughter Vellacci the heir to the throne. In 1780, she also bestowed powers to the Marudu brothers to administer the country. Following the restoration of her kingdom, Nachiyar expressed her deep gratitude for the support given by Sultan Hyder Ali by constructing a Mosque and Church at Saragani. The Sultan earlier conveyed his true friendship by building a temple inside his palace. Nachiyar also maintained good relation with Tipu Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali, whom she considered as a brother. She sent Tipu Sultan a golden tiger as a gift. Nachiyar's daughter Vellacci succeeded her to the throne in 1790 as the

second queen of Sivaganga estate and ruled till 1793. Nachiyar, the valiant queen breathed her last on December 25, 1796, at the age of 66 years in Sivaganga, Tamil Nadu, and India. According to sources, the queen was suffering from heart ailments in the last few years of her life and also underwent treatment in France. Her last rites were performed by her son-in-law. In Popular Culture A commemorative stamp was released in her name on December 31, 2008. A Grand Dance Ballet presented by OVM Dance Academy of Chennai titled „VELU NACHIYAR“ narrates the epic story of Nachiyar. Former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, late Jayaram Jayalalithaa on July 18, 2014, inaugurated the Veeramangai Velu Nachiyar Memorial in Sivagangai through video conferencing. A six-foot bronze statue of the queen was also unveiled by Jayalalithaa, who also announced that January 3 will be commemorated annually as the birth anniversary of the courageous queen. Tamil-American hip-hop artist Professor A.L.I. dedicated a song titled „Our Queen“ to her as part of the artist's album called „Tamilmatic“. The life of Nachiyar, the first queen of India who fought the British decades before the celebrated Rani of Jhansi, Lakshmibai, was depicted in a grand dance ballet. The director of the ballet Sriram Sharma researched on the epic life of this brave queen for about a decade. It was performed in Naradha Gana Sabha in Chennai on August 21, 2017, and then in Mumbai on September 9 and in Delhi on September 21, 2017.

Marudu Brothers

Introduction Sivaganga district was within the composite district of Ramanathapuram until 1984. This district was initially named as Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar district with Sivaganga as its headquarters. The Sivagangai seemai is historically an important

territory. The Kingdom of Ramnathapuram comprised of the territories of Ramnathapuram, Sivagangai and Pudukottai of today. Sivagangai region was ruled by brave and valour leaders like, Sasivarna Thevar, Raja Muthu Vaduganatha Peria Oodayar Thevar, Rani Velu Nachiar and Marudhu Brothers. Early Life Marudhu Brothers were born in Narikudi Mukkulam village eight miles distance from a tiny village of Aruppukottai Taluk in Ramanathapuram district. Peria Marudhu was born in 1748 and after five years in 1753 Chinna Marudhu was born. The residence had the traditional name “Muthu Karuppan Servai villa”. Peria Marudhu was fair in colour and so he was otherwise called as Vellai Marudhu. Younger Marudhu was shorter than Peria Marudhu and hence Younger Marudhu was called Chinna Marudhu. The family with Mokka Palaniappan Servaikarar joined in the service and assumed as commander in Ramanathapuram which was ruled by Sella Muthu Sethupathy (1749- 1762). As he is in the service of Governments Mokka Palaniappan arranged his sons to have warfront training in like soldiers. Hence after Marudhu Brothers have been well trained in war field exercises. At present this training centre is situated Surankottai in Ramanathapuram and training is being conducted in the centre. “Marudhu Pandiars” Peria Marudhu was called as wild king as he had very kick in hunting wild animals like tiger. Those who dared and achieved in adventures would be called Pandian during their period. So they were called as “Marudhu Pandiars” as they had the above qualities. Chinna Marudhu had some special characters. He could understand the weakness of foe – and used those weakness for his own benefit. He thought it was correct thing, then he accomplished it. Every deeds of Chinna Marudhu made the British as fearful. His foes thought the people were disagreed and they got fear when they saw his

activities. Ramanathapuram forts under the in-charge of Colonel Martins was attacked by ChinnaMarudhu's brave deeds and he became his friend.

Colonel Wesley learnt to handle well, Valari Sword as Tamils war weapon. It was mentioned in his diary. "When they were young they entered to the place without knowing its importance and they touched those weapons and return home and play with kitchen utensils as in battle". They could attack and kill even running rabbits and English Kumbini army commander in his service period James Weilds wrote in the book "My Military Remniscenes" that Chinna Marudhu had given him well training in Boomerang weapon handling.

Boomerang weapon was used as well as in hunting and also in war field. The weapon had middle power that would return again to the user after attacking opponent or wild animal. Marudhu Brothers got well trained in Boomerang attack in war front and poaching wild animals. Marudhu Pandiars had executed and rendered divine services to many temple.

Sivaganga Administration

The King MuthuVadukanather ruled Sivagangai Seemai. Velu Nachiyar was his spouse. Marudhu Brothers joined in the kingdom with the excellent and splendor services they had been elevated as commandar of armies quickly.⁵ Marudhu Brothers looked after all government activities during the Queen Velu Nachiyars period. They fought aggressively and bravely with English Army.

Marudhu Brothers were the sons of Sivagangai District. In 1801 B.C the brother renders shelter for Oomathurai, brother of Veerapandia Kattabomman and so for that course English army got fury and organized war with Marudhu Brothers continuously. But they obtained great mass influence from the people. The story of Marudu Brothers from 1795-1801, captured the pulse of the every human struggle from freedom and belonging in pre-Independent India. He organized a league of patriots from Sivaganga, Ramnad, Madurai and Tirunelveli by sending emissaries with the message of rebellion.

Remit the Tax

They denied remitting tax for Arcot Nawab and Nawab made complaints against Marudhu Brothers. It was sent to East India Company of English as Marudhu Brothers denied to remit the tax. In 1783 Karnal Bullarton invaded Sivagangai with the support of Pudukottai Thondaiman Marudhu Brothers wanted to avert the war and remitted Rs. 40,000 as tax.

In 1801 Oomathurai escaped from Palayamkottai jail with the assistance of revolts and they arrived Sivagangai Seemai.⁸ Marudhu Brothers favoured them. Marudhu Brothers captured Kamuthi castle during the war period. Hence Marudhu Brothers got enmity with English Army as there was great loss and damage including the death of Major Graham.

1801 War

Marudhu Brothers splendor services were propagated during the war between Mana Madurai and Parthiban in 10th July 1801. On 30th July 1801 the war occurred in

Sivagangai led by KarnalAgrid. Marudhu Brothers retreated back and the English army captured Siruvayal.

English Army made arrangements to capture KalaiyarKoil. Ruining the forests in the middle and laid roads made in advance. The road lead to KalaiyarKoil. On August 19th 1801 Marudhu Brothers army picketed an English army. A secret underground road which leads to KalaiyarKoil was destroyed by a disloyalty man and hence Kalaiyarkoil was captured on 1st October 1801 Kumbini army captured Kalaiyarkoil.

So many Palayakkars made counter resistance against English army and participated in the battles. But Marudhu Brothers had peculiar stem war promulgation. Before the war they declared and formed aorganisation and they conducted war against Englishman.

War Declaration

The declaration was “JamputhDeepeba” promulgation a testimony for their bravery. The promulgation is given to the public and it was remarkable one. Marudhu Brothers invited in our nation to fight against Nawab and British.

Once Englishmen were astonished while hearing the name of Marudhu Brothers. Marudhu Brothers started their life mourning going in the service of Sivagangai palace and became day by day elevated as confidential servants to the king and also they had been appointed as prime relevant servants.

English men wrote a threatening letter addressed to Marudhu Brothers “Declaration of sentence to death” for Servaikarars who were taken under the custody of Englishmen.

They organised slaughter office for hanging in the western side of Thirupattur castle and trees for hanging were ready. At this time Marudhu Brothers were sharing the responsibilities Sivagangai Queen Administration

There is a peculiar place for Marudhu Brothers because they dedicated their whole life times and their lives for struggling against Englishmen to attain freedom for our nation. Marudhu Brothers alias Marudhu Pandiars are remarkable personalities in freedom struggle who fought against Englishmen. From the year 1785 to 1801 holding and handling the weapons of Marudhu Brothers struggled to fight against Englishmen in Tamil Nadu.

Attack on British

English army attacked Marudhu brothers in the midnight. They would not surrender into the hands of British and escaped to the forest. British government informed that to pay 4000/- Rs to the person who would capture the brothers. However nobody betrayed them. Once they saw the three persons passing in the woods, and they attacked them. Peria Marudhu got injured in the leg and other two men lifted him.

Marudhu Brothers who were living in forest was attacked and arrested them in to the custody of English army. At that time British captured and imprisoned in Thirupathur fort. Then they were hanged to death. Their bodies were divided in Thirupathur and their heads alone were buried in front of Kalaiyarkoil.

Hang to Death

Oomathurai was taken to Panchalamkurichi and hanged. Relatives of Marudhu brothers, friends were taken to the prison and given punishments. After the war Marudhu Brothers were arrested by English Army. On 25th October 1801 Chinna Marudhu was hanged and Peria Marudhu was hanged to death on 27th October 1801 and attained martyrdom.

Vellor Mutiny

Introduction:

To start our discussion we should need to discuss about the various kingdoms who ruled over Vellore Fort. Is a large 16th-century fort situated in Vellore city near Chennai, in the state of Tamil Nadu, India. The Fort was at one point of time the headquarters of the Vijayanagara Empire. The fort is known for its grand ramparts, wide moat and robust masonry.

The Fort's ownership passed from Vijayanagara Kings,(1566-1656 A.D)[1] to the Bijapur Sultans,(1656-1678 A.D)[2] to Marathas, (1678-1707 A.D)[3] to the Carnatic Nawabs(1707- 1760 A.D) [4] and finally to the British, (1760-1947 A.D) who held the fort until India gained independence. During British rule, the Tippu Sultan's family and the last king of Sri Lanka, Sri Vikrama Rajasinha[5] were held in as royal prisoners in the fort. The fort houses a Christian church, a Muslim mosque and a Hindu temple, the latter of which is famous for its magnificent carvings. The first rebellion against British

rule erupted at this fort in 1806, and so a witness to the tragic massacre of the Vijayanagara royal family of Emperor Sriranga Raya .

Under control of British (1760–1947)

Following the decline of Madurai Nayaks[6] and coinciding with the emergence of the British on the Madras coast, the Nawab and his sons-in-law broke out into a feud over the title of Nawab. The Nawab was supported by the British and the rival claimants by the French resulting in the Carnatic Wars. The British Nawab's victory in the 1760s in the Battle of Plassey finally sealed the fate of the French in India and launched Britain's dominance of the Indian subcontinent. In addition, the British took possession of Vellore fort with relative ease and used the Fort as a major garrison until the Indian independence.

In 1780, the fort was besieged by Hyder Ali in the Second Anglo-Mysore War[7], but the English garrison held out against Hyder Ali for over two years after which the siege was lifted.

At the time of the revolt, the fort -- a late 14th century Vijayanagara construction of European design encased by a crocodiles-infested moat, captured by Sivaji in 1677, and garrisoned by the East India Company in 1768 -- comprised four companies of His Majesty's 69th Regiment, six companies of the 1st Battalion, 1st Regiment, and the whole of the 2nd Battalion, 23rd Regiment, accounting for 1500 Indian sepoys and 370 Englishmen. Though discontent had been brewing among the Indian soldiers drawn from various parts of the Deccan over poor treatment, loss of erstwhile status, and poor pay, the immediate provocation for the unbridled outburst of aggression was apparently

the introduction of a controversial new turban, viewed by Indians as a firangi topi (hat), and the implementation of new regulations over the sporting of caste marks on foreheads, earrings and facial hair. This Code of Military Regulations was given approbation on 13 March 1806 by Sir John Cradock, commander-in-chief of the Madras Army.

Cause of Mutiny

Lending political and historical weight to the cause of the rebels was the presence of a huge contingent of Tipu Sultan's family -- twelve sons and eight daughters -- stationed in various mahals within the fort precincts since the fall of Srirangapatnam in 1799. The entire retinue, with servants and followers numbering a few hundreds, lived in privacy and palatial comfort though stripped of their former princely glory. According to S.S. Furnell, the first historian to document the mutiny in his *The Mutiny of Vellore*, whose fragments survive in the Madras Archives, more than 3,000 Mysoreans (mostly Mohammedans) had settled in Vellore and its vicinity after it became the abode of the princes. After the English drubbed the French in the Carnatic wars, several 'native soldiers' were employed by the East India Company. Of these, a sizeable number were Tipu's former soldiers, especially of officer rank. They had reason to make common cause with their former masters -- Tipu's legatees stationed in the Vellore fort.

A few months prior to the mutiny, Mohammedan fakirs from Mysore were spotted roaming the streets and bazaars of Vellore raising slogans against the firangis. The nomadic fakirs have had a historical association with various Indian armies-the

Holkars, the Scindias, the kings of Jaipur -- since the 18th century, sometimes acting as mercenaries, joining forces with whoever hired them.

But in the regulations-driven English army they had little place and were seen as troublemakers. Sighted in Vellore since 1805, they acted as agent provocateurs. Under the leadership of Abdullah Khan and Peerzada, former associates of Tipu, the fakirs staged puppet shows in Vellore lampooning the English and proclaiming their impending doom.

Mocking the Hindus and Muslims in the army for accepting the new regulations, for sporting the turban which comprised a leather cockade -- thus inviting caste and religious 'pollution and a turn screw resembling a cross to be worn next to the heart, the fakirs proclaimed that these would lead to the eventual conversion of all sepoys to Christianity. Ostensibly, the Mohammedan soldiers, being the erstwhile ruling class, resented the idea of conversion more than their Hindu counterparts.

According to Maya Gupta's research based largely on sources in the India Office library, London, on 6 May 1806, 29 sepoys of the second battalion of the 4th Regiment who were ordered to wear the new turban refused. Continuing their defiance the following day, placing handkerchiefs on their bare heads, they abused the English officers as 'dogs'. The insubordinate sepoys were confined to Madras and court-martialed. While punishment was spared to sepoys who regretted and relented, two

defiant havildars -- one Muslim, one Hindu were subjected to 90 lashes. In June, a similar anti-turban agitation rocked Wallajahabad in the vicinity of Vellore.

On 17 June, Mustafa Beg, a sepoy of the 1st Regiment, leaked news of the brewing conspiracy to his commanding officer Lt. Col. Forbes. The officer sought the opinion of the native officers who dismissed the plot and declared Beg to be insane. Beg was transferred and placed in confinement only to be later rewarded with 7,000 rupees and a subedar's pension.

Volumes of Secret Sundries (British military records), believed, in hindsight, that the mutineers, especially those of officer rank, seeking to reinstate the rule of Mysore, were in touch with the Poligars (feudal chieftains in the Deccan), the Holkars, the Marathas, the deposed rulers of Hyderabad and even the French in Pondicherry. They had set July 14 as the common date for mutiny, but Beg's treachery had hastened them. Fattah Hyder, Tipu's first son, was perceived to be one of the key architects of the rebellion, besides Mohiuddin and Moizuddin, the third and fourth sons. Soon after the rebels took control of the Vellore fort on 10 July, they hoisted the flag of Tipu Sultan on the fort and Moizuddin promised to double the salary of the sepoys when the rebellion was completed.

While Colonel Fancourt, commanding officer of the Vellore garrison, and Lieutenant Kerras, commanding officer of the 23rd Regiment, were shot at pointblank range,

several officers escaped and hid themselves and passed word to the nearest British military station at Arcot.

Once the massacre ended and the fort was taken, the sepoys indulged in plunder -- ransacking the English quarters and paymaster's office losing focus of their larger goal. By 7 a.m., several civilians had also entered the fort. According to one British estimate, 5,48,429 pagodas were plundered in the mutiny. As the sepoys and civilians pillaged, Col. Gillespie from Arcot led the 19th Dragoons and the 7th cavalry quite easily since three of the four outer gates of the fort were left unattended. With Col. Kennedy arriving with more reinforcements and the Indian sepoys running out of ammunition, the fort was as easily taken back as had been won by the mutineers. In under eight hours, the entire drama was over.

Gillespie and his men spared the princes and others of Tipu's family; the entire princely

retinue was shifted to far away Calcutta by January 1807. British military records say that 787 soldiers escaped and 446 were recaptured largely from areas such as Salem, Madurai and Tirunelveli. According to Secret Despatches, Vol 33, "Six convicted mutineers were blown away from guns [canons], five were shot with musketry, eight were hung." These executions took place in the western part of the fort. In the Manual of the North Arcot District (1898) magistrate Arthur C. Fox notes with unrestrained glee that the execution by blowing away from the guns "produced the profoundest impression. A spectator describes how numbers of kites accompanied the

party to the place of execution, flapping their wings and screeching as if in anticipation of the bloody feast, till the fatal flash which scattered their fragments of bodies in air, when, pouncing on their prey, they caught in their talons many pieces of quivering flesh before they could reach the ground. At sight of this the native troops employed on duty, together with the crowd assembled to witness the execution, set up a yell of horror." Such horrors perhaps left a devastating impression on the south for it to bypass 1857.

UNIT-II

1857 Revolt

INTRODUCTION

The Rebellion of 1857 (also known as the Indian Mutiny) was a watershed event in the history of British India. It was by far the largest, most widespread, and dangerous threat to British rule in India in the nineteenth century following the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and Battle of Buxar in 1764. British Empire, being economically exploitative and destructive in the social fabric, encountered resistance right from the beginning. There were innumerable peasant revolts which broke out in different parts of the country. But the most important of all the revolts was the Revolt of 1857. British historians called it a "Sepoy Mutiny" and the Indian historians called it "The First war of Independence". Jawaharlal Nehru, in his book "*Discovery of India*" has described it as the "Great revolt of 1857" and added that "it was much more than a military mutiny and it rapidly spread and assumed the character of a popular rebellion and a war of Indian Independence". V.D. Sarvakar in his book "*The Indian War of Independence, 1857*" has also described this incident as "First war of Independence" which has been supported by people like Dr. S.N.Sen, Tarachand and Ashok Mehta. The Revolt has also been described as a "religious war against the Christians", "racial struggle for supremacy between the

Black and White", "a struggle between Oriental and Occidental civilisation and culture" and a "Hindu- Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British rule". The *History of the Indian Mutiny* and its subtitle is significant 'giving detailed account of the sepoy insurrection in India; and a concise history of the great military events which have tendend to consolidate British Empire in Hindostan'

In this project, I will be examining the various causes of the Revolt of 1857. Then I will proceed to examine the various reasons for the failure of the Revolt. And finally, I will conclude the project by providing an insight on the consequences of this Revolt.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLT

It was earlier believed that the main reason for the Revolt was the discontent of the Sepoys. But this is no more accepted reason. The Indian public had been suffering under an oppressive foreign rule for almost a century and the revolt of 1857 which broke out in a sudden and spontaneous manner had deeper reasons which are considered to be equally important. They are:

i. ECONOMIC CAUSES:

The most important cause of popular discontent was the British policy of economically exploiting India. This affected all sections of the society. The main economic reasons for the Revolt were:

- During 16th and 17th centuries, the activities of East India Company were confined to trade and commerce and had no political intentions. The Indian goods became very popular in Britain and British Government had to pass a law in 1720, forbidding the use of Indian textiles in Britain. But the whole scenario changed after the Industrial revolution. Because of the reduction in demand of Indian textiles, the local handloom industry suffered heavy loss and suffered badly. The poor Indian weavers could not compete with the machine made goods imported from England. Moreover, the Company bought all the best quality cotton from Indian markets through their political resources and left no scope for the Indian weavers to produce good quality products. Gradually the

Indian handicraft industries died. Annexation of Indian states by the company led to cut off of the major source of patronage from the native Princes. Cruel exploitation of the economic resources caused periodic famines which added to the misery of the people. Naturally, a kind of hatred and therefore, a rebel attitude towards the British developed.

- Heavy taxation and highly unpopular revenue settlement pauperized the conditions of the peasantry class of the Indian society. As a result, peasants started taking loans from moneylenders/traders at very high rates which often resulted in eviction of the former on non-payment of the debt dues. These moneylenders and traders emerged as the new landlords, while the curse of indebtedness plagued the Indian peasantry. So, revenue policies of the British East India Company destroyed the traditional economic fabric of the Indian society. E.g. Permanent Settlement (1793); Ryotwari Settlement (1820). . The precedent for this system of conquer-and-tax had been set by the infamous duo of Clive and Hastings in the late eighteenth century, and had persisted into the early nineteenth century under the name 'Home Charges'—essentially the drain of wealth from India to Britain in the form of bullion and bills to cover trade deficits to India and China. Marxist historian (Eric Stokes, in *The Peasant Armed, the Indian Revolt of 1857*) saw the uprising as a popular peasant revolt, almost inevitable in fact as the British had destroyed the 'social organism' of Indian Society by the introduction of steam engine and free trade.
- The British Land revenue settlements increased commercialization of agriculture i.e. peasants being forced to cultivate cash or commercial crops such as cotton, jute, indigo, opium, sugarcane etc. It is often referred to as coercive cultivation also.
- Zamindars, the traditional landed aristocracy, were often forfeited of their land rights with frequent use of quo warranto by the administration. Having lost their status, these dispossessed Taluqdars, in order to regain their land rights,

grabbed the opportunity presented by the Sepoy revolt to oppose the British.

- Gradual disappearance of many states also deprived those Indians who held civil and judicial posts in the states, of their jobs. Even religious preachers were divested of their livelihood with the extinction of their native kingdoms. The people who were affected rose against British.

ii. POLITICAL CAUSES:

The main political causes for the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857 were:

- Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation caused an uproar among the people of India. The last Peshwa, Baji Rao's adopted son Nana Sahib was deprived of the pension his father was receiving. Rani Laxmi Bai's adopted son was not given the throne after the death of his father. To make matters worse Lord Dalhousie announced in 1849 that Bahadur Shah Zafar will not be allowed to stay in the Red Fort anymore and they were compelled to move to a place near Qutub Minar. To further worsen the situation Lord Canning announced in 1856 that with the demise of Bahadur Shah Zafar, his successor will not be allowed to use the title "king".
- The annexation of Oudh without a reason led to a huge uprising. The proposal of taking away the title from the Mughal emperor shocked the Muslims. The annexation of Jhansi and Nagpur shocked Hindus as they were predominantly Hindu states. The remaining Hindus and Muslims who were unaffected became insecure; lest they meet the same fate.
- The myth about the superiority of the British was shattered when they were badly beaten in the first Afghan War. They were again humbled in 1855-56, when they had to face the rebellion of the Santhal tribe of Bengal and Bihar. This proved that the Indian army was quite powerful.

- There was a rumour floated around that with the end of the Revolt of 1857 the British Raj would come to an end. This rumour emanated from the fact that the battle of Plassey in 1757 brought about British power and with 1857 a century would be completed which will mark the end of British rule.

iii. ADMINISTRATIVE CAUSES:

- Racial overtones and a superiority complex characterized the British administrative attitude towards the native Indian population. British actively followed the policy of discrimination against the Indians. All high posts in the company's government were reserved for the Europeans.
- Rampant corruption in the company's administration, especially among the police, petty officials and lower law courts, and the absentee sovereignty character of British rule imparted a foreign and alien look to it in the eyes of Indians.
- The administrative machinery of the East India Company was highly inefficient and inadequate. This is clear from the fact that their revenue policies were widely resented.

iv. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CAUSES:

The social and religious causes also played a very important role in the outbreak of the revolt. The main social and religious causes were:

- From the early decades of 19th century, British had abandoned its policy of non-interference in the socio-religious life of the Indians. Abolition of Sati in 1829 under Lord Bentinck, the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act of 1856, and women education all led to disruption in the social world of the people of Indian society.
- The construction of the railway and telegraph lines was also resented by the people. The introduction of railways was resented on the grounds that people of all castes will have to travel on same compartments.

- Indian people had a fear that the British government was determined to destroy their religion and convert Indians to Christianity under the new regime. The increasing activities of the Christian missionaries and the actual conversions made by them were taken as a proof of this fear. Their vulgar attacks on Hinduism and Islam and centuries old tradition and customs under police protection angered the people. Britishers also established Chapels and Churches for propagating Christianity at the expense of the government. Even the civil and military officers were asked to propagate to gospel. They looked upon foreign innovations as something designed to break down the social order to which they were accustomed and which they considered sacred.
- The fear of interference in the social and religious domains of Indian society by outsiders were further compounded by the government's decision to tax mosque and temple lands and legislative measures such as Religious Disabilities Act (1856), which modified Hindu customs, for instance declaring that a change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his heathen father.
- The educated Indians were also denied High Posts. The highest office open to an Indian in Civil Services was that of a Sadar or an Amim with an annual salary of Rs. 500 only. In the military service the highest office that an Indian could secure is that of a Subedar. This racial discrimination hurt Indian sentiments tremendously.

v. **MILITARY CAUSES:**

- Bengal Army had high proportions of high caste men recruited from North-West provinces and Awadh, Bhumihar Brahmins and Rajputs of the Ganges Valley. In the early years of the Company rule, the British tolerated the caste privileges and customs within the Bengal Army. But by 1820s, these customs and privileges were threatened by the modernizing forces and thus, the conditions of service in

the company's army and cantonments increasingly came into conflict with the religious beliefs and prejudices of the sepoys. For e.g. Restrictions were on Caste and sectarian marks, growing of beard, Wearing turbans etc.

- To the religious Hindu of the time, crossing the sea meant loss of caste. This clashed with the need to defend the growing British Empire outside India. In 1856 Lord Canning's Government passed the General Service Enlistment Act (1856) which compelled the sepoys to serve abroad if required by the company.
- The Indian sepoy was equally unhappy with his emoluments compared to his British counterparts. A more immediate cause of the sepoy's dissatisfaction was the order that they would not be given the Foreign Service allowance (bhatta) when serving outside their own regions. This affected the extra pay of the sepoys. But the English soldiers in the Indian Army continued to receive this allowance. Also, the Indian sepoys were discriminated against in terms of promotion and salary. While the sepoys outnumbered the European soldiers, the former were not promoted to higher posts in the Army. The Indian sepoy was made to feel subordinates at every step and was discriminated against racially and in matters of promotion and privileges.
- The reports about mixing of bone dust in 'atta' and the introduction of the Enfield rifle enhanced the sepoy's growing disaffection with the Government. The new rifles used cartridges greased with cow and pig fat that would sully the Hindu and Muslim sepoys if they were required to bite the cartridge to load their guns. The Sahibs at Calcutta [the Governor General and Council] issued an order to the effect that the main aim behind the distribution of the cartridges was to Christianise the Indian Army, for once the soldiers convert to Christianity, it will not take long to convert the common people, and the fat of pigs and cows was rubbed on the cartridges. This became known through one of the Bengali who was employed in the cartridge- making establishment.

- The 1857 Revolt began on 29th March 1857 when Mangal Pandey of the 34th infantry in Barrackpore became the first martyr. The mutiny spread rapidly in eastern and northern India. Dehri, Patna, Arrah, Azamgarh, Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Faizabad, Fatehpur, Jhansi, Lucknow, Kanpur, Etawah, Fategarh, Gwalior, Shahjahanpur, Agra, Bharatpur, Rohilkhand, Mathura, Agra, Hatras, Delhi, Meerut, Bareilly and Roorki –these emerged as storm-centres of the Revolt. On 11th May 1857 the sepoys of the Meerut regiment captured Delhi and proclaimed the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar as their undisputed leader. As a matter of fact, despite their class contradictions the zamindars, the peasants and artisans joined hands with the sepoys to fight their common enemy – the English. According to one estimate one-fifth of the Indian population in 1857 directly or indirectly participated in the Revolt.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE REVOLT

In spite of being a popular revolt, the revolt failed to achieve its objective. The main reasons were:

i. **WEAK LEADERSHIP:**

The revolt of 1857 failed because it suffered from weak leadership and was hardly organized. Most of the leaders lacked a national perspective and were motivated by narrow, personal gains. They fought to liberate only their own territories. No national leaders emerged to coordinate the movement and give it a purpose and direction. This proved a major handicap when dealing with the well trained and trained and equipped British troops.

ii. **LACK OF UNITY:**

The revolt was supported and led by a few discontented rulers of India. The majority of the Indian rulers remained aloof. These included the Sindhia of Gwalior, the Holkar of Indore, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Raja of Jodhpur, the Nawab of

Bhopal, the Sikh chieftains of Punjab, the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Ranas of Nepal and so on. The Sikh princes of Nabhya, Patiala and Kapurthala and the rulers of Hyderabad and Gwalior very openly helped the British suppress the war with men and money. Holka and Scindia remained loyal to the British. Canning referred to these chieftains as having "acted as breakwaters to the storm, which would have otherwise swept us in one great wave".

iii. **LACK OF SUPPORT:**

The revolt did not spread to all parts of the country. Nor was it supported by all groups and sections of the Indian society. South and West India remained largely outside the fold of the revolt. Many Indian rulers refused to help the rebels and some were openly hostile to the rebels and helped the British in suppressing the revolt. The British military was supported by the loyal Indian soldiers of Bombay, Madras, and Punjab, suppressed the short-sighted rebellion, and reasserted their military dominance over mutinous regions. The middle and upper classes and the modern educated Indians also did not support the revolt as they falsely believed that the English rule was essential for modernising India. They were also alarmed by the rebel's appeals to superstitions and their staunch opposition to progressive social measures

iv. **POOR EQUIPMENT:**

The Indian soldiers were poorly equipped materially, fighting generally with swords and spears and very few guns and muskets. On the other hand, the European soldiers were equipped with the latest weapons of war like the Enfield rifle. The electric telegraph kept the commander-in-chief informed about the movements and strategy of the rebels.

v. **LACK OF ALTERNATIVE PLAN:**

The rebels had no alternative to British administration. This point has been highlighted by Bipin Chandra. According to him "It lacked a forward-looking programme, coherent ideology, a political perspective or a vision of the future society and economy". Moreover the also mutineers lacked a clear

understanding of colonial rule.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

i. END OF COMPANY'S RULE:

The British Parliament passed an "Act for the Better Government of India" in 1858, whereby the administration responsibility was passed into the hands of the British Queen and her Parliament. With this, the rule of the Company came to an end. The Board of Control was abolished and the Board of Directors had no power left. A secretary of State for India was to take the place of the President of the Board of Control. He was advised by a board of fifteen members. The designation of the Governor-General was changed. While he remained Governor-General for the provinces under his rule, he came to be known as Viceroy while dealing with Nawabs, Rajas and native princes.

ii. CHANGE IN THE BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN STATES:

Queen Victoria's first act after the suppression of rebellion was to issue a Proclamation to the Indian public telling them—through the various tongues and dialects in the amalgamation of public utility and improvement' and respect the religious beliefs of the people and the titles of some Indian princes who had been deposed in recent years. Further, Doctrine of Lapse was abandoned and the right to adoption recognized. The Indian princes were assured that their territories would never be annexed. Henceforth, the continual existence of Native States was guaranteed. However, there were clearly defined restrictions and limitations to them. The military prowess was greatly reduced.

iii. END OF PESHWANSHIP AND THE MUGHAL RULE:

Nana Sahib escaped after the Revolt as he had actively taken part in it. He could not be traced after that. With his escape the Peshwaship came to an end. The title of Mughal emperor was also abolished as the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar who also took part in the Revolt died in 1862. Thus, came the end of the glorious Mughal dynasty founded by Babur in 1526 in the first battle of Panipath.

iv. REORGANISATION OF THE ARMY:

The British soldiers realized that the numerical inferiority of the British Indian army was one of the causes of the Revolt. Resentful of the rebels of Benares and Oudh, the mutineers were shot, hung, or blown from cannons by the tens of thousands, and preference was shifted to loyal areas for recruiting grounds for the army. The British soldiers were increased in number which means, the expenditure also increased. Artillery and other advanced means of warfare were in the care of British hands. In order to break down the unity of the Indian soldiers, they were divided and separated.

v. ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF INDIA:

Economic exploitation of the country was an inevitable situation after the Revolt. India now became a dumping ground of British manufacturers and an almost inexhaustible field for investment of capital for it offered unlimited scope for commercial and industrial enterprises like railways, steamers, tea, and coffee plantations. The British henceforth started abusing political power for the enhancement of their commercial and economic interest.

vi. RISE OF NATIONALISM:

The sacrifices of some great Indian rulers during the Revolt of 1857 aroused feelings of Nationalism among men. Nana Sahib, Rani of Jhansi and Bahadur Shah became National heroes. The revolt became a symbol of challenge to the mighty British power in India.

vii. POLICY OF DIVIDE AND RULE:

During the Revolt of 1857 the Hindus and Muslims had unity and fought together for the welfare of the country. The British government realized that the unity of the Hindus and Muslims was posing a serious threat and therefore the best thing would be to create a wall between the two communities. Thus, they adopted the "Divide and Rule" that

completely destroyed the relationship. The Survey of India and Census of India, founded in 1878 and 1872 respectively, are examples of the pseudo-scientific ways that the British tried to racially categorize and control their subjects. This policy of the British developed so much unrest between the two communities, that it has still not been resolved. As the Muslims had taken a prominent role in the Revolt, they were deprived of patronage in education, business and services and Hindus were given preferential treatment. At a later stage the Policy was reversed. The British used this disharmony to their advantage and widened the gulf between the two major communities. It was on this ground that India had to be partitioned on the event of her independence in 1947.

CONCLUSION

Though the revolt was started by the Indian soldiers in the service of the East India Company, it soon proliferated all over the country. Millions of peasants, artisans and soldiers fought heroically for over a year and sacrificed their life so that others might live. Hindus and Muslims kept their religious differences aside and fought together in order to free themselves from foreign subjugation. The British tried to dismiss this Revolt by merely calling it a "Sepoy Mutiny", but this Revolt clearly shows the suppressed hatred that the Indians had for the foreigners. The Revolt did not take place overnight. There were many economic causes: the British were exploiting the Indian economy and thus leaving many people jobless, helpless and homeless. Many social and religious causes: the British started imposing their religion on the Indians by building churches and by forcing people to convert to Christianity. Furthermore, the Doctrine of Lapse, whereby adopted children were refused recognition and deprived of pension, instigated the political causes of the Revolt. The British did not even spare the Indian soldiers. Rough treatment was meted out to the soldiers and they lived in squalor. The British left no stone unturned to create an eternal wall between Hindus and Muslims. The introduction of the greased cartridges took the situation to its highest point and thus in addition to economic, social and political causes there were military causes added to the Revolt of 1857.

The Revolt of 1857 was clearly not a success but it is unfair to dismiss it as a mere mutiny. This was the first time when Indians got together to fight against an invincible power. The Revolt failed due to lack of planning, organization and leadership. The unfortunate part however was that there were some Indians who helped the British suppress the Revolt. Had they cooperated, the Revolt might have been a success. Even though the Revolt was a failure, the consequences of the Revolt were very important in the Indian history. The Revolt brought the end of Company's rule, along with changes in the British policy towards Indian States. With the escape of Nana Sahib and the death of Bahadur Shah Zafar came the end of Peshwaship and the Mughal Rule. The end of the Revolt also led to the reorganization of the army and India was completely ruined from economic point of view. One of the most important outcomes of the Revolt was that it gave rise to Nationalism. Indian people became more aware of the heroes, who sacrificed their lives so that others might live. The Revolt however, scarred the relationship between Hindus and Muslims with the Divide and Rule Policy. In the words of K.M. Pannikar, "On the Indian side also the Mutiny loomed large. The rebels had been put down with a heavy hand. The atrocities of the white terror rankled long in Indian minds and poisoned the relation of the two races for decades".

The Impact of the 1857 Revolt in Tamilnadu

IN historical writing on the colonial period large tracts of anti-colonial struggles in south India remain unexplored. Consequently the resistance to colonial domination in the vast Madras Presidency, especially during the early phases of colonial rule, has often been ignored. Moreover there is a general perception that the Madras Presidency was untouched by the events of 1857. It is necessary to emphasise that colonial consolidation had taken place in large parts of Madras Presidency, particularly in Tamilnadu, much earlier than in northern and eastern India. Therefore the timing of the struggles was also different. The last quarter of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed widespread resistance to the East India Company's attempts to establish its supremacy in south India--the most notable being the Anglo-Mysore wars; the poligari uprisings; and the Vellore mutiny of 1806. This

tradition of resistance at various levels continued throughout the nineteenth century, and was visible in several episodes of rebellion in 1857 as well.

REVOLT OF POLIGARS

In Tamilnadu, as in other parts of India, the earliest expressions of opposition to British rule took the form of localised rebellions and uprisings. Chief among these was the revolt of the Palayakkarars (poligars) against the East India Company in 1799. This uprising continued till 1801. The poligari system had evolved with the extension of Vijayanagar rule into Tamilnadu. Each poligar was the holder of a territory or palayam (usually consisting of a few villages), granted to him in return for military service and tribute. They regarded themselves as independent, sovereign authorities within their respective palayams and this brought them into conflict with the East India Company when it attempted to encroach upon their authority. The notable poligars who raised the banner of revolt in the deep south of Tamilnadu were: Puli Thevar, Vira Pandiya Kattaboman and the Marudu Brothers of Sivaganga. The issue of taxation, more specifically who was to collect it—whether the traditional rulers or the rapacious new collectors from overseas—lay at the root of the uprising. A report submitted to the Board of Revenue spelt out the political necessity of bringing the poligars to heel: “The immediate reduction of their (poligar) power and their increase of inadequate tribute are objects of equal importance to the preservation of the people, the prosperity of the country and the permanent safety of our Government [emphasis added]”. . In all two major poligari wars were fought. The second poligari war of 1800-1801 is termed as the “South Indian Rebellion” considering the vast area it engulfed. The suppression of the poligars gave to the East India Company effective control over Tamilnadu.

Discontent with British rule did not end with the suppression of the poligari uprisings. In 1806, Indian sepoys in the British army stationed at Vellore staged an uprising that has come to be seen as the precursor of the Great Rebellion of 1857. Tipu Sultan’s sons were imprisoned in the Vellore fort after the Battle of Srirangapatnam (1799) in which Tipu Sultan was killed and the whole kingdom of Mysore was annexed by the British.

After the mutineers captured the Vellore fort they declared Tipu's son Fateh Hyder as the king. This has a parallel to the 1857 Revolt.

INFLUENCE OF THE REVOLT GALVANISES

The view held by quite a few scholars is that unlike the north, the southern part of the country remained calm and peaceful during the tumultuous days of 1857-58. This view is typically expressed by Surendra Nath Sen in his *Eighteen Fifty Seven* (which may be regarded almost as an official nationalist account of the Revolt) where he says: "The Presidency of Madras remained unaffected all through, though some slight signs of restlessness were perceived in the army. The educated community unreservedly ranged itself on the side of law and order and condemned the rising in unambiguous terms".

However, the records available in the Tamilnadu archives at Chennai have a different story to tell. Significantly, according to one government report as many as 1044 sepoys of the Madras army were court-martialled for their sympathy or support to the 1857 Revolt.

The outbreak of the revolt in May 1857 considerably influenced the army, intelligentsia and the common people in Tamilnadu. Subsequently the 1857 Revolt was an important symbol for nationalist mobilisation in the region. As for the contemporary response of the 'educated community', the pro-British memorials published in government gazettes, or resolutions passed in meetings held under the aegis of the establishment, cannot be considered as representing the views held by the entire community. In this regard, it would be apt to quote from a document of Government of Madras (Judicial Department, 3rd September 1857):

" ... Prominent notice was drawn to the Native Community by the press. The proceedings of Government in its General Administration, as well as in Military and Political matters, and the supposed discontent caused thereby, especially among our

Native Soldiery, were largely descanted upon, --our want of strength--was pointed out and most injudicious subjects were discussed. Thus one newspaper entered into lengthened arguments to prove that greased cartridges of objectionable materials had really been issued ... another turned into derision Sir H. Lawrence's [Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Avadh/Oudh] address to the Troops at Lucknow, and published a supposed speech from the mouth of a Sepoy in refutation of it. These publications, unfortunately, do not reach English readers only. They are republished in Vernacular newspapers and thus have a deleterious effect on the Native Community. The policy of annexing Native States on the failure of lineal male heirs may in particular be noticed as having been discussed in very inflammatory language."

In the light of the situation described in this official document it would be incorrect to maintain "the educated community unreservedly ranged itself on the side of law and order and condemned the rising in unambiguous terms". It is apparent that there was considerable awareness about the revolt and even sympathy with the cause of the rebels. This became a matter of concern for the colonial officials.

According to a report on the conditions in Madras, within the city itself the sentiments in the Triplicane area caused the authorities to become so 'suspicious' that on June 29, 1857 military posts were established in different parts of the town. Europeans were enrolled for the Volunteer Corps and other precautions were taken. Triplicane had a large Muslim population with many families being associated with the Nawab of the Carnatic.

Madras had revolutionary links also with other centres in the south, as for instance Belgaum, Kolhapur, etc. Munshi Mahommed Hussain, writing in July 1857 from Belgaum to Subhedar Abdul Reheman of the 27th N. I. Regiment at Kolhapur stated in his letter: "I also sent to you letters which had been received from Madras. I have not heard whether they have reached you and I am anxious on this account. Tell me also quickly what intelligence you have received from this direction." On the British side, the Political Agent at Belgaum in his intelligence report of July 28, 1857, mentioned the

discovery of a serious conspiracy, the ramifications of which extended to Mysore, Kurnool and Madras generally.

In September 1857 the Madras government had received from the governor-general copies of two different 'seditious proclamations', with instructions to the civil and military authorities in the Madras Presidency to prevent dissemination of any such material amongst the troops or the population generally, and to punish with summary and exemplary severity all persons who might be found distributing or exhibiting them. These instructions were not without reason. There were reports of attempts being made to incite rebellion in the city. The Madras Judicial Proceedings of February 9, 1858 mention the case of two activists in Madras city, namely, Ghulam Ghouse and Sheikh Mannu, who were arrested in the city for sticking up wall placards "of a highly treasonable character", that is, in favour of the 1857 Revolt, and urging the people of Madras to rise against the British.

From the available records, it is obvious that coastal regions like Madras and Chingleput or interior areas like Coimbatore were disturbed during the Great Revolt of 1857. It may be mentioned that in the southern part of Tamilnadu, in the coastal area of Thanjavur, a revolutionary named Sheikh Ibrahim was apprehended in March 1858, and convicted on charges of committing sedition. Similarly, there is evidence to that in North Arcot secret meetings had been held and plans prepared from as early as January 1857 for organising a war against the British. It is on record that one Syed Kussa Mahomed Augurzah Hussain held talks in this connection with the Zamindars of Punganur (in Chittoor district) and Vellore. Syed Kussa was apprehended by the British in March 1857 and a security was demanded of him.

At the time of the Revolt, the 18th Regiment of the British Army was quartered at Vellore. Some sepoy of the Regiment revolted in the month of November 1858. In the armed struggle, Capt. Hart and Jailor Stafford were killed. The Sessions Judge of Chittoor (now in Andhra Pradesh) under the Commission under Act 14 of 1857, tried a

Sepoy of the 18th Regiment on charges of the wilful killing of Hart and Stafford. The Sepoy was sentenced to death.

Southward, in the town of Salem, there arose a great commotion as the news of the commencement of the 1857 Revolt spread to the area. It was rumoured that the patriotic army would be marching down to the area soon. On the evening of Saturday, the 1st of August 1857, a crowd consisting of a large number of weavers assembled on the Putnol Street, near the house of one Ayyam Permala Chary, saying that the Indian soldiers would soon be coming and that the British flag would be taken down. One Hyder, working as a thana peon, told the assembled people that, 'about this time of the day, a flag (of India) will have been hoisted at Madras'.

At Bhavani, an industrial town near Coimbatore, a Sanyasi called Mulbagalu Swamy who was the Chief of a Mutt began to preach that the British rule should be brought to an end. As news of the Revolt reached the area, he declared to his followers assembled for the daily Puja that 'let all the Europeans be destroyed' and 'let the rule of Nanasahib Peshwa prevail'. At last, with great caution and sufficient strength, the British apprehended Mulabagalu Swamy at Bhavani and brought him to Coimbatore.

Chingleput is a coastal district to the south of, and adjacent to, Madras. In the very early days of the 1857 Revolt, it became a hot-bed of secret gatherings and revolutionary activities. A rebel by the name of Sultan Bakhsh went from Madras to Chingleput in July 1857 to help in organising the anti-British uprising there, in cooperation with local associates, Aruanagiry and Krishna. Aruanagiry and Krishna were rebel leaders who were already leading a revolt in Chingleput area. On July 31, an uprising took place in the Chingleput area. Soon this movement spread to other areas as well. Writing from Saidapet on August 8, 1857, the Magistrate of Chingleput informed the Government of Madras about the seriousness which the insurgency had assumed. Eventually Sultan Bakhsh and four of his followers were apprehended.

Although more research is required to put together a detailed history of the anti-colonial struggle in Tamil Nadu during 1857-58, we can be certain that there were several spontaneous attempts to challenge colonial rule which must be seen as part of the larger history of the Revolt. It is for this reason that popular memory of the Revolt could be invoked at the beginning of the twentieth century for nationalist mobilisation in Tamilnadu during 1905-1910 and in 1927. Mention may be made of Subramania Bharati's articles on 1857 published in the weekly Independent (Independent was published from Pondicherry in French and English). Independent caught the attention of the colonial authorities through an article entitled 'The Wanderer in the Jungle', which highlighted the events of 1857, in particular the methods employed by the British to quell the Revolt.

During the 1920s the nationalist demand for the removal of a statue of the notorious British military officer James Neill--the 1857 'butcher of Allahabad'--, which was located in Madras city, became an emotive issue. The Tamilnadu Volunteer Corps, an independent body of local inhabitants, spearheaded the movement for the removal of the statue. When Gandhiji toured Madras in the first week of September 1927 he lent his support to the volunteers to continue the movement on the condition that the movement should conform to the conditions for a proper satyagraha and that the movement should be independent and self-supporting. In the Madras Legislative Council, thirteen notices were given to pass a Resolution for the removal of the Neill's statue. Eventually the statue was removed through a Corporation Resolution in 1937, during the first Congress ministry, and is now placed in the Madras Museum.

The events of 1857-58 in Tamilnadu indicate that the Revolt had an all-India character and was not just confined to the Gangetic heartland and parts of central India. This is not surprising in view of the ruthless nature of colonial exploitation that was experienced by all regions of the subcontinent. It was this common experience of exploitation that gave an all-India character to the anti-colonial struggle of 1857.

Formation of Indian National Congress

Indian National Congress—Its Origin and Growth

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 as a result of the initiative and efforts of A. O. Hume, a retired British officer from Poona (Pune). Sir W. C. Bonnerjee presided over the first session of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay (Mumbai). “The history of the Congress is really the history of India’s struggle for freedom,” said Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the veteran Congress leader and one of its presidents. In fact, long before the Congress came into being, there were several other organisations that wrested concessions from the British.

Forerunners of the Congress

The people of India did not reconcile to the British rule. As early as in 1829, Raja Rammohun Roy, Father of the Indian Renaissance and Nationalism, protested against the Jury Act and organised a petition signed by the Hindus and Muslims. This Act had made a clear-cut distinction between Europeans and Indians. It denied the Hindu and Muslim judges the right to try Europeans and Indian Christians.

In 1833, Devendranath Tagore organised the Landholders’ Society. The landholders of Bengal, Assam and Bihar came together to protect their interests through this Society. In 1843, the Bengal British India Society was formed to promote the interests of the natives by peaceful means. In 1851, the Bengal Society and the Landholders’ Society were merged to form the British Indian Association. It owned the Hindu Patriot, the first Indian paper. It was joined by many eminent Indians. It has been described as “pioneer in political agitation”.

In Madras (Chennai), the Madras Native Association was established in 1852. It submitted a petition to the British Parliament protesting against excessive taxation, demanding cheap and speedy justice, a better system of education, irrigation and public works, proposed economy in expenditure and grant of local self-government working for the welfare of people. If the Hindu Patriot was giving expression to the grievances of the people of Bengal, the Crescent did the same in Madras. The Crescent took up a crusade against the conversion of Hindus to Christianity, among other matters. In Poona, the public welfare work was carried on by eminent persons like S. H. Chiplonkar and K. L. Nulkar through Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

In Bombay, the Bombay Association was formed on the initiative of Jagannath Sankarsett in January 1885. It was later replaced by the Bombay Presidency Association. It was led by eminent persons like Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha, Badruddin Tyabji, K. T. Telang and others.

In December 1885, after the Annual Conference of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, 17 prominent Indians from all parts of the country met “to find ways and means of bringing together Indian politicians to inaugurate a political movement—to promote a future advance towards Swaraj”. They formed themselves into a provisional committee as a potential forum for further consultations.

Prominent political leaders felt that an all-India organisation was necessary. Consequently, the India League came into being in 1875. This was soon replaced by the Indian Association, founded in 1876 by Surendranath Bannerjee, who could rightly be called ‘Father of the Nationalist Movement in India’. He was the first Indian to pass the Indian Civil Service Examination. The objects of the Indian Association included unification of the Indian people upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations, and creation of strong public opinion. It led the agitation against reduction in age requirements for competitions in England. The age was reduced to 19 years, which made it more difficult for Indians to go abroad and compete. It demanded raising the age for competition, a simultaneous competition to be held in India and greater association of Indians in administration. Surendranath Bannerjee toured the country and developed the movement into an all-India agitation. The Association also carried on agitations against the Vernacular Press Act.

Reaction against the

Ilbert Bill

The agitation carried on by the Anglo-Indians against the Ilbert Bill and its success taught a lesson to the natives. It was a lesson of struggle. Indians felt assured that the only way to get concessions from the British Government was by organising agitations. The Association took up the question of a representative government and campaigned for reform of the Councils. In December 1883, the Association held its first National Conference in Calcutta (Kolkata). Attended by delegates from all over the country, it

was described as “the first stage towards a National Parliament”. In 1884, the Association welcomed Lord Dufferin, the then Governor-General of India, and presented to him a memorandum demanding reform of Councils and extension of their rights and powers, particularly the control of budget and the right of members to ask questions. The Second National Conference was held in Bombay in December 1885, on the eve of the Congress session. Its demands were the same as those of the Congress. These included Reform of Councils, modification of Arms Act with a view to giving Indians the right to bear arms, separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, reform of police administration, etc. The Association, thus, represented the political consciousness of that time. It would have become the premier political organisation of the country had the Congress not been founded at this time.

Formation of the Congress

The initiative for the formation of the Congress was taken by Allen Octavian Hume (1829-1912). He retired from the Civil Service in 1880 and settled in Simla. In 1883, he sent a letter to the ‘Graduates’ of Calcutta University to serve their motherland and work for the moral, material, social and political progress of the country. He made an appeal to find 50 men who could form a union for the task. Consequently, the Indian National Union was founded. This Union was changed into the Indian National Congress in 1885. The first session of the Congress was held in December 1885 in Bombay. It was presided over by Sir W. C. Bonnerjee. This session expressed loyalty of the Indian people towards the British Government in clear and unequivocal terms. In a way, the Indian National Congress was formed to establish close cooperation between the British administration and the Indian people, and stabilise the relations between the two.

There are different viewpoints as to why A. O. Hume, a retired British bureaucrat, founded the Congress. One view is that he founded it with the blessings of Lord Dufferin to save the Empire from violent overthrow. It was to act as ‘His Majesty’s Opposition in the House of Commons’. The middle class intelligentsia was sought to be brought under it so that their agitation could be directed on constitutional lines, lest they should become revolutionary or radical. Lala Lajpat Rai and Sir W. Wedderburn held this view strongly. Hume himself considered the Congress as a “safety valve for revolutionary

discontent". According to Wedderburn, the repressive legislation denying political liberties like the freedom of the press, freedom of association and local self-government, independence of the universities and police repression brought India within a measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak and Hume intervened to save the British rule from an imminent revolution.

Whatever might have been the reasons of Hume, there was an idea of some sort of an all-India organisation to coordinate the activities of different organisations functioning in various provinces. The Congress soon became the medium for political aspirations of the Indian people. Lord Dufferin, who had blessed the foundation of the Congress, described it as a revolutionary body. It soon became the "platform of anti-imperialism" and was described by bureaucrats as the "factory of sedition".

Aims and Objectives of Indian National Congress

The Congress started as an organisation of the educated middle class in India, consisting of businessmen, professional lawyers, medical men, teachers, professors, etc. In the initial stages, its main aim was to secure the right of recruitment of Indians in the higher civil services under the British administration. Thus, to begin with, the Congress was just a non-political association of Indian intelligentsia who simply wanted to get some concessions from the British authorities through appeals, memoranda and petitions. During the period between 1897 and 1908, people of India became very restless on account of the oppressive and thoughtless policy of British bureaucracy in India. In 1906, the Congress adopted the resolution of "self-government". The extremist movement led by Lal-Bal-Pal (Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal) and the Home Rule Movement of Dr. Annie Besant became very strong. From 1919 onwards, began the Gandhi era in Congress. The Congress became a mass movement and a united platform for the struggle for independence.

The First Phase :

Era of Cooperation

The first session of the Congress was held in Bombay in December 1885 under the presidentship of W. C. Bonnerjee. It was attended by 72 delegates which included Dadabhai Naoroji, K. T. Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta, D. E. Wacha, P. Rangia Naidu, P. Ananda Charlu, M. Viraraghav Achariar, amongst professors, lawyers, editors, writers and scholars. The main demands put forward at this session included: (1) Reform of Legislative Councils and acceptance of election in place of nomination as a principle to constitute them; (2) A simultaneous examination for the ICS to be held in India and England; (3) Reduction of military expenditure; (4) Opposition to the annexation of Upper Burma with India.

Thus, the demands were very moderate and limited. The Congress was then just a forum for the expression of minor demands of the educated community of India.

At the second session, attended by 434 delegates, the Congress demanded reform of Councils with 50 percent elected and 50 percent nominated members. They conceded indirect election and the right of the Government to override the Councils. This demand was repeated at the subsequent sessions till the Councils Act of 1892 was passed. It loyally accepted the Act and, in 1893, it thanked the Government for its liberal spirit in giving effect to the Act, though it recommended some minor amendments.

The Congress went on becoming more popular year after year. The third session held in Madras was attended by 607 delegates; the fourth and fifth sessions (in Allahabad and Bombay) by 1,248 and 1,889 delegates, respectively. However, it remained a middle class-dominated and loyalist organisation. In 1895, Surendranath Bannerjee called it an organisation of “educated community”. Presiding over the Congress in 1890, Pherozeshah Mehta said that the Congress was not the “voice of the masses”; it was the duty of the “educated compatriots” to interpret their demands. In 1886, Dadabhai Naoroji assessed the loyalty of the Congress to the British in the following words: “We are loyal to the backbone.” He appealed to the Government not to drive the Congress into opposition. Ananda Mohan Bose, President of the Congress in 1898, said that the educated classes of India “are the friends and not the foes of England—her natural and necessary allies in the great work that lies before her.” The Congress, thus, did not represent masses, nor had it the representatives of the peasants, the workers and the common masses. Its demands were limited to have the greater association of educated

Indians in the Councils and services. It was, by and large, an organisation of newly arising middle class in the Indian society which consisted of enterprising industrialists, progressive businessmen, and aspiring intellectuals like professors, lawyers and doctors.

It may be further pointed out that the Indian National Congress was predominantly a Hindu organisation, even though the sixth session was attended by 156 Muslims out of 702 delegates (22 percent), as compared to two Muslims in the first session and 33 in the second. The nature of its demands could not and, did not, attract Muslims who were backward in education at that time. The first phase of the Congress ended with the passage of the Act of 1892 and its loyal acceptance by the Congress.

Regional Organisation

The earliest modern political organisation in Madras was the Madras Native Association (MNA). Founded in July 1852, the MNA was an outgrowth of the Hindu Literary Society, begun in Madras in 1830. Most members of the Madras Native Association came from an affluent commercial background; Lakshmanarasu Chetty and Srinivasa Pillai were two such examples. Members also included the rich *mirasdar* C. Yagambaram Mudaliar, and graduates such as V. Sadagopah Charlu and V. Ramanuja Chari.'

The Madras Native Association was quite sharply critical of East India Company rule, highlighting the shortcomings of the revenue and judicial systems in the Madras Presidency. It also did not spare the Company's religious policy, taking strong exception to government patronage of missionary activity as well as to laws that represented an 'insult and outrage' to Indians and their religions.

By late 1853, the Madras Native Association had begun to extend its influence

beyond the city of Madras. It persuaded local leaders in Cuddalore, Tiruchirapalli, Salem and Tirunelveli to start branches in order to help the parent Association with funds and information. The MNA would continue to function, if on a fluctuating basis, until the inception of the Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1884. Thereafter it gradually faded out of political existence.

Although the causes for the demise of the MNA are not easily determined, the nature of its membership appears to have contributed to its relatively short life.

As we have seen, most members came from affluent, advantaged sections of society and were disinclined to confront the British authorities in any forthright way. A number of government officials also belonged to the MNA, perhaps hindering the free functioning of the organization through their inability to criticize the government beyond a certain limit.

Differences within the MNA eventually led to an impasse in its working, encouraging some of its members to break away and form a parallel organization, the Madras Mahajana Sabha, on 16 May, 1884

The Madras Mahajana Sabha

P Rangiah Naidu's comments at the inaugural session of the Madras Mahajana Sabha focussed on the need for a new organization distinct from the MNA: Many might wonder what was the need for a new sabha when Madras Native Association existed. The Madras Native Association consisted of officials and non-officials, but the new Sabha would consist of non-officials alone so that the grievances of the public would be represented fearlessly to the government

The Madras Mahajana Sabha (MMS) was founded not abruptly but as the result of prolonged discussions and of feedback received from important places in the Presidency. The Sabha aimed to bring to the notice of the British Government the views of Madras citizens and to represent the people's needs correctly to the authorities. The hope was that such measures would ultimately improve the condition of the people.

The emergence of the MMS marked the real start of organized political activity in Tamil Nadu. The Sabha in its infant stage drew its sustenance mainly from the metropolitan city of Madras. However, it soon succeeded in bringing *mofussil* members into its fold. The ability to mobilize *mofussil* support was reflected in the composition of the Madras Presidency contingent at the first Indian National Congress, held at Bombay in December 1885; among the twenty-one delegates were *mofussil* leaders from as far away as Tirunelveli and Coimbatore.' The districts, it seems, did not lag much behind Madras in organized political activity.

The MMS, a year older than the Indian National Congress, made it a point to work closely with the all-India organization. Sabha leaders kept up the political tempo of Madras by holding annual conferences of the MMS besides attending the annual conferences of the Indian National Congress. At the fifth annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay in 1889, Madras contributed a substantial contingent of 366 members ; this was larger than the number of delegates from Madras present at the third annual session of the Congress held at Madras in 1887.

The generous representation of Madras at Congress annual sessions did not, however, last very long. The next four sessions, at Calcutta (1890), Nagpur (1891), Allahabad (1892), and Lahore (1893), witnessed a much depleted attendance 58, 61, 38 and 31, respectively, from the Madras Presidency. This was perhaps a reflection of the bleak picture within the MMS in the years following the 1889 Congress session. In fact, no significant activity was undertaken by the Sabha for several years; even its annual conferences were suspended for a while.

In 1895, a well-wisher of the Sabha wrote to *Swadesamitran*, describing the maladies afflicting the organization.¹⁷ In contrast to the situation in Bombay and Calcutta, the writer noted, the merchant community and *zamindars* of Madras had shown little active interest in politics. It was the professional elite, particularly lawyers and journalists, who were playing the major role in Madras politics. Since the law degree was the cheapest to obtain and appealed most to the native intellect, the courts had been flooded with a large number of graduates, few of whom could earn a decent livelihood. For most young lawyers, the struggle for existence had become very acute, as another commentator noted.¹⁸ This frustration had, in turn, found expression in the forums of the Mahajana Sabha as well as in the District Associations. The author of the 1895 letter to *Swadesamitran* also noted that the MMS was plagued by a shortage of funds. A third factor limiting the effectiveness of the Sabha was, the writer alleged, the emergence in Madras of anti-Brahmin sentiment. Confronting its declining influence, the MMS made fairly energetic efforts during the 1890s to attract broader public support and a wider membership; G. Subramaniya Iyer's *Swadesamitran* during these years constantly

appealed to the public to achieve these goals.²⁰ In 1894, a committee was formed for the purpose of raising funds and improving the organization's image. And from 1892 onwards, the Sabha resumed its practice of convening annual conferences.

The strength of the Sabha's membership fluctuated constantly during these troubled years. From a total membership of roughly 200, the Sabha shrank to just 100 members in 1892. By 1900, membership had risen to 267. Six years later, membership had fallen marginally to 257; 145 of these members were from Madras city and the remaining 112 from the *mofussil*. The very next year, city membership increased to 199, helped, perhaps, by the visit of Bipin Chandra Pal to Madras and the growing spirit of nationalism. Simultaneously, *mofussil* membership also increased, albeit marginally.

The Madras Provincial Conference

The 1892 annual conference of the Mahajana Sabha also saw the inaugural session of the Madras Provincial Conference. As the name suggests, its participants were drawn from the various districts of the province. The Madras Provincial Conference therefore linked the district-level leadership with that of the city and helped the districts gain a stronger voice in MMS forums. In turn, the Sabha was now able to extend its organizational arm to even the most far-flung district.

The first five Madras Provincial Conferences were held in the city of Madras, but the venue was subsequently shifted to the districts; for instance, the Seventh Madras Provincial Conference in 1898 was held at Kumbakonam, while the eighth, ninth and

tenth Conferences were held at Coimbatore, Calicut and Madurai, respectively. By the close of the nineteenth century, district level politics in Tamil Nadu had therefore broadened quite considerably. While Congress Committees had been established in Coimbatore in 1890 and in Tiruchirapalli in 1894 to popularize the national movement, they had met with limited success. In contrast, the District Associations at Thanjavur (formed in 1894), North Arcot (1899) Chengalpattu (1902) and Madurai (1904) were functioning quite successfully. At Salem, political activity was conducted under the banner of the Young Men's Hindu Association (formed in 1903) and the Salem Reading Room (1905); these two political associations were to become very popular during the swadeshi movement.

The District Association held periodic annual conferences to draw the government's attention to specific local grievances. At the same time, these associations encouraged political mobilization and cultivated leadership at the district level. The first District Conference organized by the North Arcot District Association was held in 1899. The North Arcot District Association, which had about 300 members, advanced the cause of nationalism and promoted the welfare of the people by constantly knocking at the doors of the government to redress grievances. In course of time branches of the North Arcot District Associations were founded at Vellore, Ranipet and Sholingar.

The total membership of the district associations varied but never crossed the 600 mark. The Thanjavur District Association had the highest total membership of 544. In Chengalpattu and Madurai the membership was around 200 and at North Arcot about 300. The remaining district associations had fewer than 100 members each.

Despite their weaknesses and limitations, the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the district associations formed in the 1890s would provide a strong base for nationalist politics in Tamil Nadu from the start of the new century.

Impact of Gandhi Visit Tamil Nadu

Mahatma Gandhi had a unique relationship with Tamil people. In South Africa, when he was barely beginning his career in public service as well as in law, a Tamil labourer named Balasundaram sought his help against his master. Gandhi succeeded in securing justice for him, and started taking interest in the lives of indentured labourers in the Colony, many of whom were Tamils. Soon, he was learning the Tamil language too.

So, in 1896, when he made a trip to India, he made it a point to visit Tamil Nadu (then called Madras State). On returning home for good in 1915, again he visited the state. In India, he would spend significant time on trips to various places, from what is now Pakistan to what is now Bangladesh. As for Tamil Nadu, he made 30-odd visits, by one count, in about as many years.

When Gandhi's birth centenary was nearing, a journalist named A. Ramasamy (whose birth centenary is being celebrated in Chennai on June 23, 2023) had an idea of compiling a documentary work on all of Gandhi's visits to Tamil Nadu. With extraordinary research in the archives of leading newspapers apart from poring over Gandhi's works and correspondence over three years, he brought out this book, *Thamizhnaattil Gandhi*, in Tamil, in 1969.

Ramasamy later moved on, focusing on journalism. He served as news editor of the

dailies *ThamilNadu*, *Gramarajyam-Weekly* and *Dinamani*. A staunch Gandhian, he was secretary of the Gandhi Manram and the Harijan Seva Sangam, Madurai, and also translated works of Gandhian literature.

‘Gandhi’s Travels in Tamil Nadu’ highlights the deep and abiding connection and friendship Gandhi had with Tamil Nadu and its people, from the time that he, as a young lawyer, led the struggle of Indian contractual labourers, many of them Tamilians, against the colonial government in South Africa, to when he returned to India to lead the Congress and the freedom movement. It covers the period from his very first visit to (what was then) Madras State/Province in 1896, to his last visit to the state in 1946, a year before Independence.

Painstakingly retracing Gandhi’s footsteps in the land of Valluvar, Ramasamy travelled across the country, met and corresponded with people associated with Gandhi, pored through government archives, letters, books and newspapers of the period, collecting important and interesting details. We learn it was in Tamil Nadu that the British Parliamentary delegation held discussions recognising that India’s freedom was inevitable. We learn about fearless young martyrs like Valliammal, and of the publicised argument between Annie Besant and Gandhi over his 1916 speech in Benares. It was also the Tamil student fraternity that first gave Gandhi the title ‘Father of the Nation’.

As evident from Gandhi’s numerous speeches included herein, the volume also underscores the vital contribution of the Tamil people to the Indian freedom struggle,

and draws our attention to the many Tamilian heirs to the Gandhian legacy who continued his work well after him. Rich in anecdotal and historical detail, carefully compiled, this book would interest anyone who wishes to know about Gandhi's evolution as a leader, his unique relationship with Tamil Nadu, and the larger history of the freedom movement.

More than half a century later, this unique documentary work appears in English, translated by P. C. Ramakrishna, a theatre actor and member of The Madras Players, India's oldest English theatre group. He has translated, dramatised and staged the Tamil novel 'Karunai Kolai' by Sivasankari as 'Mercy' in English.

This book is published in association with the Tamil Nadu Textbook and Educational Services Corporation, an unusual initiative for any state government. While this organization runs a 'Tamil Literature in English Translation Series', it can consider other gems of Gandhiana, rare research works compiled in Tamil, for a larger readership.

Mahatma Gandhi's visits to Tamil Nadu had a profound impact, primarily by fueling the Indian independence movement and promoting social reforms. His presence and speeches inspired large crowds and encouraged participation in the nationalist movement. He also actively promoted social reforms like the removal of untouchability and the abolition of liquor, which resonated with the people of the region.

Here's a more detailed look at the impact:

1. Boost to the Nationalist Movement:

- Gandhi's visits, especially in 1921, significantly energized the freedom struggle, particularly in areas like Ramanathapuram and the present-day Erode district.
- His speeches at large gatherings, like the one at the beach in Madras, motivated people and inspired them to join the movement.
- The encouragement of Swadeshi products and the boycott of foreign goods, along with the promotion of Khadi, also fueled the movement.

2. Promotion of Social Reforms:

- Gandhi's "Harijan Tour" (1934) in Tamil Nadu, which included visits to places like Devakottai, focused on uplifting Dalits and addressing issues like temple entry.
- He actively worked to bridge the divide between Nattars (Kallars) and Dalits, encouraging them to treat each other with kindness and justice.
- He also campaigned against leprosy eradication and actively promoted social reforms like the removal of untouchability.

3. Increased Awareness and Participation:

- Gandhi's visits and speeches, often reported in local newspapers, increased awareness among the masses about the nationalist movement and social reforms.
- This led to increased participation in public meetings, demonstrations, and other activities related to the freedom struggle and social change.
- He also emphasized the importance of Swadeshi products and encouraged people to use locally made goods, promoting economic self-reliance.

4. Brokering Peace and Unity:

- Gandhi's visit to Devakottai is particularly notable for his role in mediating between Nattars and Dalits, demonstrating his commitment to social harmony and justice.
- He urged both communities to respect each other and to treat each other with kindness, contributing to a sense of unity and understanding.

5. Influence on Tamil Culture and Language:

- Gandhi's visits and his interactions with the people of Tamil Nadu fostered a greater understanding and appreciation for the region's culture and language.
- He also demonstrated his commitment to learning and appreciating the Tamil language, as evidenced by his study of Tirukkural and his interactions with local intellectuals.

UNIT-III

Press, Nationalism and India's Freedom Struggle

As the title of the topic suggests the discussion will focus on the evolution of the Press in India and its relations with nationalism and freedom struggle. This is planned to have two parts: the evolution of Press in the first part and its relations with nationalism and freedom struggle in the second part. As the nationalism and the freedom struggle have a long history the discussion will focus on the developments till the close of the 19th century. In other words, the discussion will centre around the evolution of the Press and its relations with nationalism and freedom struggle till the end of the 19th century. Prof. Pritish Acharya The Indian National Congress (INC) was founded in 1885 and the mass agitation began with the Non-Cooperation Movement (NCM) in 1920 followed by the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) in 1930 and the Quit India Movement in 1942. There were long intervening periods between the different phases of mass agitation. However, it is a fact that the freedom struggle did not halt during the intervening periods. Nor did it begin suddenly at the time of the mass agitation. Here comes the role of Press. The Press grew alongside the nationalism and took the lead role in the political propaganda, political education and formation and propagation of nationalist

ideology. Arousing training, mobilizing and consolidating nationalist opinion became the main task of Indian Press. The significance of the Press lies with the fact that it was there to awaken the public for a mass agitation. It was also there when the agitation was active and intense. This also means that without the Press the mass agitation phase either would have been delayed or had occurred in a dis-jointed manner, as in the Revolt of 1857. Chronologically speaking, the Press precedes the growth of nationalism and freedom struggle in India. It is their harbinger and trend setter. It nurtured them and got them ready for active movement. Further, its support and nurturing was never uncritical, which strengthened the nationalist struggle. Nationalism and Freedom Struggle In public parlance nationalism and freedom struggle are synonymous. But, they are not. Nationalism is a broader concept that justifies the transformation of a modern state into a nation. Freedom struggle refers to a specific agitation for the attainment of freedom of a nation that is unfree and under bondage by another nation. In case of India, England held her under colonial bondage from 1757 onwards. While fighting against colonial bondage or British colonialism for achieving freedom India continuously strove for a nation and a national identity. While nationalism is generic to every nation, freedom struggle is specific to those emerging nations which had been restrained from such generic growth by another powerful nation or colonial power. Further, India's nation-hood at the end of the freedom struggle was neither replicating the British notion of nation-hood, nor even a going back to the pre-British era, but building up of a new nation based on modern, scientific and universal values. While fighting the British colonialism, the nationalists also struggled against those obscurantist and dogmatic views which had stumbled India's rise as a modern nation. Critiquing the Sati system or

child marriage system or untouchability or asking for mass literacy and woman education was as much a nationalist act as the anti-British activities. At the same time, Indian nationalism also did not mean an outright rejection of all Indian traditions, rather the focus was on a synthesis of both traditions and modernity in view of their practicality in contemporary times. People and Nation gets integrated to it. Recognition of the Press as the 'Fourth Pillar' of democracy could be viewed in this context. Nationalism emerged as a modern idea in Europe after the Renaissance and Reformation in the 15th and 16th centuries. The countries which had been experiencing these new developments set out for geographical explorations. It fetched them rich dividends in the form of colonial possessions. The new possessions or colonies were politically subjugated and the colonial relationship, which was never based on any mutuality, was legitimized for perpetuating it. Colonialism was the new ideology that legitimized the unequal relationship between the colony and the mother country. The interests of the colony remained subservient to the interests of the mother country. Colonialism also meant an ideological hegemony of the mother country over the colony. People and nation are inseparable. Unlike in a Pre-nation State, where the people are subjects, the people in a nation or in a nation in the making, as in India, are actively concerned about the nation, its up keeping and defence. In fact, the people are the nation. However, their evolution into a modern nation does not happen suddenly. It is a process and the people's going through the process is nationalism and nationalist struggle. The Press comes as a link between the people within the nation and between the people of different nations. It is because of this, the Press is seen as one of the main founding pillars of a modern nation. Since nationalism or coming together of people is set as an

agenda, the Press Gradually the people in the colony began to realize it and strongly reacted to it. They also strove for a nation and national identity. They fought the colonial ideological hegemony. Their reaction and crusade against the colonial hegemony could be explained as the anti-colonial movement or the national movement. It evolved over a long period and the Press as a modern idea remained alongside throughout. It needs a mention here that all countries in Europe were not colonial powers having colonies under them and all countries outside Europe were not colonies under any colonial power during the period, i.e., the last two centuries and a half. Cyprus in Europe was a colony of England and Japan in Asia had Korea and Manchuria as her colonies. PRESS and Printing Press The noun Press means newspapers and the journalists who work for the newspapers. It is also known as media. However, the word press in verb form does not have any apparent relation with media. It means to push something firmly in order to get a new output. For example, weight is put on a fruit to get juice out of it. This means, what is apparent may not be real and true. Weight is to be put to get the real and truth. The Press does it and gets the real. In other words, quest for truth becomes the meaning and objective of the Press or media. With the passage of time today whether the Press is committed to it or deviates from its basic objective and meaning could be a question for the Press to ponder over. The Press in the sense of media is not un-related to printing press, which multiplies the text or an image for the purpose of disseminating it. But, simple printing in the printing press does not signify Press. Machination of printing that facilitated quick multiplying of the text may be nearer to the meaning of media. Printing existed long before. China had developed it in the 3rd century A.D. After the unification of China by the Qin or Chin rulers in 221 BC, there developed a huge

bureaucracy. Official documents were required to be multiplied for dissemination in the bureaucracy. Regularly examinations were held for recruiting the qualified people from the gentry into the bureaucracy. This necessitated the multiplying of study materials based on Confucian philosophy. Paper and printing developed in China as 'child' of such necessity before the 8th century CE. Korea and Japan, two adjacent countries, adopted it later. The technology travelled to Europe through the Silk route. Since the early 14th century the Italians began producing books with woodblocks. The rest of Europe adopted it. The Odisha Review printed books were cheaper and affordable than the hand written luxury editions of manuscripts. In the beginning the aristocracy looked down upon the printed books as cheap vulgarities. Printed books were associated with people of lesser means. The dissemination of knowledge was something scornful to the affluent aristocratic class. With the onset of Renaissance and Enlightenment in Europe, more and more people were ready for reading and writing. Growth in the economy was giving them more leisure time to spare for reading. The demand for printed texts grew. The need for their quicker and cheaper reproduction led to further innovations in the Print technology. Finally Johann Gutenberg of Mainz in Germany invented printing with movable type and oil based ink in Strasburg, a Franco-German border town, in 1440. The Protestant reformation movement and the printing technology gave a major boost to each other in the 16th century Europe, because the Bible and the contrasting interpretations of Bible and Christianity by different Protestant and Catholic trends were printed in large numbers and read widely. Ignatius of Loyola (1491 – 1556) had founded the Society of Jesus in the 1530's to counter the Protestants and to win them back to the Catholic faith. Known as Jesuits, the members of the society, who are known even

today for their well managed educational and management institutes, travelled to difficult places to spread their message. It is they who brought the first printing press to Goa in India in 1556. However, the coming of printing press did not seem to have much impact in the Indian subcontinent. The Mughal bureaucracy was big like that in China, but could not adopt the new printing press, for reasons best known to it. Like the Christianity, the new printing press remained limited to a microscopic minority. Medieval India remained contented with its manual copying of manuscripts. Had the printing technology been adopted and spread, probably knowledge and formal education would have percolated faster to the mass level and checked colonialism in India in later times! Even the dynastic rules, including the Mughal rules, would have felt its ramifications! However, such 'astrological predictions' do not come under the purview of scientific historical studies. The printing, which was limited to the spread of missionary literature in the 16th century, was introduced as a commercial venture in Bombay more than a century later in 1674-75. Bhimji Parekh, a Gujarati merchant, requested the English East India Company for the service of a printer to set up a printing press. There was a growing market for Hindu religions texts among the inquisitive Europeans and the Gujarati merchant wanted to start a printing press to cater to it. Henry Hills was the printer with a press, movable types and paper, etc., in the press of Bhimji Parekh (English Records of Shivaji, Poona, Vol.-I, P – 137, in Shodhganga, History of Printing Press in India, P.311). Beginning of the Press as Media 1620. The Oxford Gazettee was first published in 1665. Later on it was renamed as the London Gazettee and published as the official journals of record of the Government. But, its journey to India was delayed by a century and a half. The man who started the Press in India was an English man.

This, however, did not immediately lead to the coming of the Press in the sense of media. It came only after a century later in 1780, when James Augustus Hicky brought out the Bengal Gazettee from the Company's capital town Calcutta. (Reba Chaudhury, The Story of the Indian Press in The Economic Weekly, Bombay, 26 February 1995, P.291) The first newspaper had been published in Europe in 1609. The first newspaper in English was printed in Rome around The late start of the Press or newspapers in India had several reasons. Until 1757 the East Indian Company had no political authority and the Mughals and their successor regional states had no inclination for modern Press in India. Further, a State run Press could not have good future perspective without a large public demand. Hence, spread of education with a growing reading public was a precondition for a Press to begin. Further, the Press had to have a critical attitude towards the state and its politics for becoming successful as a public and commercial venture. After 1757, when the company gained political authority in Bengal and elsewhere, the officials, who largely came from the British aristocracy, had a scornful attitude towards the Press, which was an off spring of the print culture, and lampooned them. The powerful Mughals and their successors and later the East India Company during the Monopoly Trade stage of colonialism could hardly tolerate public criticism, while the intrinsic nature of Press was to be critical of the people in authority for its survival. Public interest in a loyalist Press or state owned Press is an unthinkable proposition! Though Hicky was the first person to start the Press in India, his Bengal Gazettee was not Indian in any sense. Hicky, the editor and publisher, was an Irish man; the language was English and the target audience of the Gazettee was the British public. It was the monopoly trade stage of colonialism, as pointed out earlier, and the

company officials illegally indulged in private trade. They also took bribes from the native princes and zamindars. Corruption was rampant among the Company officials. The disgruntled company employees lampooned their higher authorities. The criticism and gossips had a large audience at home as well as among the Europeans working or temporarily living in the colony. Hicky's Bengal Gazettee soon turned out to be a forum for such lampooning. Nearly a year after the publication of the Gazettee, the criticism was so intolerable. In the absence of any Press law, he continued to bring out the Gazettee from the jail. Finally fresh law suits were framed against him; the printing press and the types were sized and the publication stopped in 1782. Thus, Hicky also became the first editor to go to jail and to bear the Press censorship in India. Despite the official hostility towards the Press, there were four weekly newspapers and one monthly magazine published from Calcutta within six years of Hicky's maiden effort. They were Indian Gazettee, Calcutta Gazettee, Bengal Journal and the Calcutta Chronicle. The monthly journal was Oriental Magazine of Calcutta Amusements (Reba Choudhury, op. cit., p.291). Similarly in Madras, the Madras Courier (1785), the Madras Gazettee (1795) and the India Herald (1795) had been brought out. Like Hicky, the Editor of the India Herald one Humphrey had also been arrested and deported to England for unauthorized publication. Odisha Review publish a newspaper would be suspected by the Company at the first instance. Denial of postal privileges was common to a newspaper, if it offended and was unrepentant. Pre-censorship and deportation of an 'incorrigible' editor were other methods of suppression. The circulation of a newspaper hardly exceeded a few hundred copies. The Indian middle class remained largely untouched by it. Neither it was the target audience nor did it own the Press. Still

the hostility was growing largely because of the feeling that these journals were “filled with indecorous attacks upon private life and ignorant censures of public measures and run by those who had neither literary pretention nor their circulation exceeded a hundred or two hundred copies.” (Media in India: Raj to Swaraj, p.46, in Shodhganga)

The official contempt for the Press shows the class divide. The higher officials of the Company represented the British aristocracy and the Press was seen as a weapon in the hands of the non-aristocratic lower class people. This also brings the Press closure to the idea of nation, which means a mass of common people in a given territory. Since the Company had been succeeding dynastic rules in India such hostilities towards the Press was not surprising.

The Press in a Liberal Era (1813-1857)

In the beginning years of the 19th century the journalism in India, which was still in the hands of the British nationals, had to face more hostilities and more restrictions. This began with the coming of Lord Wellesley, who had an aristocratic parentage, as Governor General in 1798. There were no press laws and any person intending to The Company’s rule in India witnessed a major change in the colonial policy since the second decade of the 19th century. The Company’s monopoly trade was almost replaced by free trade after the passing of the Charter Act of 1813. Restrictions on Press were considered ‘unnecessary’ leading to the removal of Press censorship. Lord Hastings as Governor General (1813-1823) inaugurated this liberal phase, which was carried forward by Lord Bentinck(1828-1835), Lord Metcalf (1835-36)and Lord Auckland(1836-1842) in India. Publication of the Calcutta Journal (1818) by Sir James Buckingham, the emergence of vernacular Press and the rise of a native class of journalists were some significant developments of the period. Sir James Buckingham (1786-1855) was an author,

journalist and a traveller. He was not 'semi-literate' unlike many of his predecessors. As a journalist "he believed it was his duty to admonish Governors of their duties to upbraid them furiously for their faults, to uncover the truth, though it was disagreeable to some people. He considered the Press to be a very necessary check on an irresponsible Government, especially in the absence of a legislature. Buckingham's contribution to the struggle for freedom of the Press in India was monumental, and he occupies an outstanding place in the history of Indian journalism." (Sharad Karkhanis, *Indian Politics and the Role of the Press*, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 27-28) Sir Buckingham edited the *Calcutta Journal* fearlessly from 1818 to 1823. Lord Hastings tolerated him with grace. However, after the departure of Wellesley, Buckingham's criticism was not tolerated, he was deported to England and his journal ceased its publication in 1823. One could see a visible integration of the Press with nationalism and freedom struggle. He published *Sambad Kaumudi* (1821) in Bengali and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* (1822) in Persian and infused a clear nationalist fervor to the Indian Press. In India the Press had evolved from anti-Company into anti-colonialism and strove for uncovering the truth and reality of the colonial rule and Indian society. With some ups and downs the liberal phase of Press continued till the Revolt of 1857. Many newspapers in vernacular languages appeared during the period, though most of them were not political, but missionary in nature. In 1818, Gangadhar Bhattacharya published the *Bengal Gazette*. It lived only for a year. Gangadhar was the first Indian to edit a newspaper. Raja Rammohan Roy was probably one of the greatest gifts to Indian journalism. With him Raja Rammohan Roy was born in a conservative Brahmin family in the village Radhanagar in West Bengal. He had proficiency in several oriental languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic,

Persian besides Hindi and Bengali. He had also studied English, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Because of such wide exposure to the World of knowledge, he could overcome the conservatism and represented a synthesis of the ideas of East and West. It was neither aping of nor blind criticism of either the West or the East. He had studied Koran. He was well acquainted with Jainism and the Hindu religious texts of India. He had learnt Greek and Hebrew to study the Bible in the original. The synthesis he talked of was an effort to develop nationalism as a modern and dynamic idea. It would be rooted in the social and cultural setting of India without ignoring the universal, rational and humane values. The synthesis became the hallmark of Indian nationalism throughout the period. Moved by deep love for his people and country Rammohan worked hard for their regeneration in all spheres. Pained by the stagnation and social corruption dominated by caste and tradition he criticized the prevailing superstitions and the rituals which had no rational basis. He defended Hindu religion and philosophy against the ignorant attacks of the missionaries. On the other hand, he criticized idolatry and led a lifelong crusade against the inhuman Sati system and child marriage system. He laid the foundation of nationalism, though the freedom struggle in its mass agitation form did not occur in his life time. Raja Rammohan Roy fought for the freedom of the Press, because, like Buckingham, he believed it to be the key for the building up of a modern nation. When John Adam, the successor of Lord Wellesley, brought the press Regulation Act of 1823 against the liberal tradition of the time, he protested against it. The Act considered the publication of newspapers without license to be an offence. The restriction was directed to mainly Indian language papers or those newspapers which were edited by the Indians. The Press in India had been discriminated at a time when

the Press in England enjoyed freedom. Rammohan not only petitioned to the Government against it, but also shut down his publications as a protest. The Supreme Court rejected his petition. Instead of being silenced by this, Rammohan appealed to the monarch to reconsider. Rammohun had exposed the British of their discriminatory attitude towards the people of the colony at a time, when the British rule was being commended as 'god gift' to the colony. Probably it would be apt to say that the term nationalist press owes its origin to Raja Rammohan Roy in India. Raja Rammohan Roy fought for the freedom of the Press, because, like Buckingham, he believed it to be the key for the building up of a modern nation. the tone of all printed matter. This, however, could not check the nationalist Press, which emerged in different parts of the country during the period following the Revolt. The production of books, pamphlets and newspapers by Indians both in English and Indian languages grew many folds. In the late 19th century preceding the foundation of the Congress their influence also grew to a great extent. The vernacular journals outnumbered the journals in English. By 1870, it was estimated that, out of 644 papers in British India more than 400 were in vernaculars. In 1865-66 Orissa saw the publication of the Utkal Dipika (Cuttack) under the care of Gouri Shankar Ray. It was followed by the Sambad Bahika (Balasore) which came under the care of Fakirmohun Senapati in 1868. These two vernacular newspapers along with their compatriots became the chief instruments nationalist growth outside Bengal in eastern India. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 The Indian people could not distinguish between the Government and the missionaries, it was alleged. On 13th June, 1857, Lord Canning brought the infamous Gagging Act to regulate the establishment of printing presses and to restrain. The period witnessed the

publication of the Bengalee (1862) in English by Surendranath Banerjee from Calcutta. Harish Chandra Mukherjee and Girish Chandra Ghosh brought out the Hindu Patriot (1853); Keshab Chandra Sen started the Indian Mirror (1862), Sishir Kumar Ghosh brought out the noted Ananda Bazar Patrika (1868). The Hindu (1878) was published in English from Madras and carried the nationalist fervor further. As the nationalist Press both in English and vernacular languages greatly impacted the newly emerging educated class, the Times of India (1861) the Pioneer (1867) and the Statesman (1875) were published. The influence of vernacular Press had grown so much so that the Government perceived a threat. The perceived threat multiplied because the British did not have many efficient and trustworthy translators. The result was the enactment of the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 during the viceroyship of Lord Lytton (1876-80). The Act intended to suppress the Vernacular Press and excluded the English language publications. However, the protests from a wide spectrum of the Indian public compelled Lord Lytton's successor Lord Ripon (1880-84) to repeal the Act. The success of the agitation for Press freedom became one of the catalysts of the rise of nationalism in the last quarter of the 19th century. Thus, the Press in India started by James Augustus Hicky in the form of the Bengal Gazette in 1780 had turned out to be the nationalists Press in a century's time by 1881. The newly educated nationalist intelligentsia was its mentor and driver. The Press was now the most reliable vehicle for the spread of nationalism to the nook and corner of the country. It remained by the side of the underdogs of the society. Though its clientele was the educated class, the deprived and the disadvantaged section of the public also got influenced by it. The nationalist Press did not necessarily get confined to the exclusive domain of the bourgeoisie, rather it

stood beside all classes of Indian people, because the success of a national and anti-colonial movement lies in its inclusiveness. The Press even at its nascent stage ISSN 0970-8669 dared to challenge the authoritarian colonial rule. With the growing maturity of the nationalist agitation the nationalists Press became sharper and stronger in its criticism of the Government. This made the nationalists and the Press dearer to the people. It is because of such umbilical relationship between the Press, nationalism and freedom struggle, most of the first rung leaders, such as Surendranath Banerjee, Balgangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Ray, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, had taken to active journalism during the period. Both Tilak and Gandhi had been sentenced to jail on charges of sedition for their writings in the Press. The Kesari (1881) in Marathi and Maratha in English were brought by Tilak, while Gandhi edited the Indian Opinion (1903) in South Africa, Harijan (1933) and Young India (1919) in India. Their priority to journalism is a testimony to the fact that the Press had been intrinsic to the growth of nationalism and freedom struggle in India.

Press and Nationalism in Tamil Nadu

1. INTRODUCTION

There was a change in the functions of press in 1813 the Religions Trust Society in the end of 18th century S.A. Humphreys an unlicensed settler published, the Indian Herald on April 2, 1795 at Fort St. George without the permission of the government. In which he had accused the government. The paper also expressed its observation on the probability of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Brunswick. This was viewed as character assassination. Lord Hobart, the then Governor of Madras arrested Humphreys. But he mysteriously escaped from the custody on April 19, 1795.

Censorship was established in 1799 over the newspapers that were published in the country. It was laid down that the names of the editors and proprietor should be published in the newspaper². Thomas Munroe, the then Governor of Madras was commissioned to report on the freedom of press in India in 1820. He also finally warned the court of Directors that the press of uncontrolled would be dangerous in the highest degree to the existence of British power in this country³. His recommendations were accepted and placed new regulations before the Supreme Court in March 1823. These regulations provided that no press was to be established nor was any paper or book to be printed without obtaining a license for that purpose from the government. They should be submitted to the government for inspection. It got the authority to stop the circulation of any books and papers⁴. In 1813 the Religions Trust Society published the first Tamil monthly magazine, Tamil Patrika which enjoyed the support of the government. But it ceased to exist from 1833 due to the lack of patronage among the people. 'Madras Spectator' was established in 1836 by D.Ochterlong and published every Wednesday and Saturday. It was really a spectator press. It was eventually swallowed by the 'Madras Times' in turn it was taken over by 'The Mail'⁵. In 1844 Gazulu Lakhmananrasu Chetty, a Telugu Merchant launched 'The Crescent' a newspaper to defend the rights and the privileges of the Hindu. It fought for the abolition of commercial, concession granted to the East India Company.

The Madras Times (1860) and the Madras Mail (1867) were started with the object of criticizing the economic exploitation and social discrimination of Indians⁶. In 1867 provisions of the Act XI of 1835 were reenacted. In 1870, the well known section 124 A was inserted as the Indian Penal Code. It imposed fine and imprisonment of the press

owner if it writes things objectionable. After 1858 the press which were owned and edited by the Indians was increased. Most of the press published their edition in English. All of them played important role in the political education of the people and helped in the growth of patriotic and National sentiments⁷. 'Native Public Opinion' established by three leaders namely T. Madhav Rao, the then Dewan of Travancore, Indore and Baroda, R. Raghunath Rao, the then Reverence Minister of Indore and Ranganath Mudaliar, a Professor of Presidency College. Another paper was 'Madrasee' started by A. Ramachandra Iyer. It was followed by 'Madras Standard', an Anglo-Indian paper founded in 1877 and later it was Indianised by G. Parameswaran Pillai⁸. Press in Madras took a sudden lee forward with the arrival of G. Subramania Iyer (1855-1916) into the public life of Madras at the close of 1870's. He along with M. Veera Raghavachari and four other law students publishing 'The Hindu' a weekly in English on September 20th 1878. The other causes for the starting of the Hindu were the absence of political association or a newspaper in Madras to protest against the Government vehemently

ROLE OF NEWSPAPERS IN GANDHIAN ERA

Although the emergence of 'Swadesamitran' in 1881 marks beginning of Tamil political press, the period 1905-39 is given a close focus in this study owing to its significance in the course of journalism in Tamilnadu against the backdrop of the struggle for freedom.

At its beginning the movement under Tilak's leadership turned militant with swadeshi as its symbol, boycott as its weapon and swaraj as its goal In the struggle for Indian

Independence, Tamilnadu played a conspicuous role. It participated with varying degrees of success at all the stages of the movement. During the Swadeshi movement a number of public meetings were held to spread swadeshim at important towns where bonfires of foreign clothes were made. Funds were collected to encourage indigenous manufacture. Shops were opened to sell Indian goods. An ambitious effort was made to compete with British shipping between Tuticorin and Colombo. Also, a clear leaning towards extremism was manifest in the attitude of the people. A good number of delegates from Tamilnadu attended the surat session of the congress in 1907 in support of Tilak. Extremism gained greater momentum in Tamilnadu after this historic session. A serious riot occurred at Trinelvely on the occasion of the celebration of Bipin Chandra Pal's release in 1908. Even after severe reprisals, political activities were secretly carried on at Pondicherry and Trinelvely district leading to the murder of a British Magistrate.

GANDHIAN ERA, on the constructive side of the Freedom Movement, Tamilnadu achieved impressive result in Khadar work. These leaders and associations employed traditional and modern media to reach the people. Besides the Tamil press, newspapers in English like the Hindu, the New India, the Swarajya and the Indian Express, books and pamphlets published by G.A. Natesan, S. Ganesan, M.S. Subramania Iyer, and Dhunskodi, public speeches by Subramania Bharathi, Panditha Asalmbikai, Sudhananda Bharathi, Ramalingam Pillar, ballads of R.B.S. Mani, Baskara Doss and Veluchami Kaviruyar, dramas and novels of Saminatha Sharma, Venkataramani, and Kalki Krishnamoorthy, and the stage plays enacted by T.P. krishnasamy Pavalar and

Viswantha Doss-all formed these media which kindled the flames of nationalism and intensified at various times the struggle for freedom.

During phase of Swadeshi movement 1905-08 Tamilandu was without the Swadesamitran of G.Suburamania Iyer, the father of public opinion in Madras and the India of the great poet Subramania Bharathi, the Home Rule Movement (1916-18) and the Rowlatt Satyagraha (1919) without the Desabhaktan of the renowned Tamil Scholar Thiru.Vika, the Swarajist phase without the Kudi Arasu of E.V.R. and the Tamilnadu of Varadarajalu Naidu, the civil disobedience Movement (1930-33) without the 'Twin Thunders' the Sutandira Sangu and the Gandhi, and the election campaign (1934, 1937) without the Dinamani of T.S. Chokkalingam, the doyen of Tamil Journalism.

The Madras Mail absorbed the Madras Times in October 1920. The latter's editor R.W. Brock launched his own Daily Express on March 9, 1921 in which features and columns of popular interest dominated. The partition of Bengal was affected at a time when India's political climate was changing. Among these, the educated middle class national and international events had caused a perceptible change of outlook. The administrative measures of Viceroy, Lord Curzon further aggravated the bitterness and resentment of the people against the British. A provincial agitation, backed up by a programme of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods, now developed into a national movement with the ultimate goal of Swaraj or self-rule. When the Extremist movement began, the only potential newspaper in Tamil was the 'Swadesamitran'. The first one, linking point calemerare on the coromandal coast of India with Jaffna in Northern Ceylon was planned by one Appadurai Pillai and Somasundaram Mudaliar of Vadapthimangalam in Tanjore district. The other one, linking Tuticorin with Colombo was promoted by V.O.

Chidambaram Pillai. (April 11, 1906) the later materialized and received much support from the Swadesamitran.

HOME RULE MOVEMENT

The Swadesamitran continued a vigorous campaign of swadesi and boycott throughout 1907 and 1908. By publishing detailed reports and fervent appeals, it secured the sympathy and cooperation of the people for the successful working of the Swadeshi shipping against British shipping, between Tuticorin and Colombo. The aspirations and legitimate share of other communities of political and social advancement they visualized a Home Rule. The probable expansion of franchise based on property and educational qualifications, it was presumed by the non-Brahman elite, the Sat Sudhras, that Home Rule would give the Brahmans an edge over other communities. They dreaded such a consequence in 1916. In 1916 Annie Besant and Tilak opened a new chapter in the history of India's freedom struggle. At the Lucknow session of the congress held at the end of the year. The main battle was fought in Madras where Mrs. Besant's eloquence and zeal attracted thousands to the movement. The agitation reached a fever pitch in the early months of 1917. The Madras Moderates were the principal aids of the Annie Besant in the cause of Home Rule. In this changed condition, the Tamil press had to play a new role in the conflict of energizing identities. The contesting forces of nationalism and communalism called into existence at least three important Tamil Newspapers namely the Prapanchamitran, the Dravidan and the Desabhaktan. Publication of newspapers and journals was a difficult undertaking in those days. Thiru Vi.Ka. by then had taken an active role in the provincial politics. He

had become one of the secretaries of the Madras presidency association. He resigned his teaching job in November, and on December 7, 1917, the Desabhaktan (Patriot) began as a daily under his editorship.

Against Rowlatt, the leader of these nationalists S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, as the president of the Anti-Rowlatt committee of Madras, invited Gandhi to Madras for mobilizing public support for the Satyagraha pledge. Gandhi came to Madras on March 17, 1919 and addressed a public meeting the next day at the Triplicane beach. The grand success of Rowlatt Satyagraha in Madras was not without its consequences on the press. The Hindu, the Swadesamitran and the Hindunesan were penalized for their participation. The Hindunesan edited by L. Ananda Iyer had published on March 12, 1919 a Satyagraha message of S. Subramania Iyer, an elder congress man. The printing press of the Swadesamitran turned out two leaflets, namely the Satyagraha Day' in English and the Satyagraha Upavasadhinam' in Tamil.

NON CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

The main and the defiant aspects of the Non cooperation programme were the boycott of law courts, educational institutions and elections to the new legislative councils In Madras, the launching of Non Cooperation Movement caused a split among the Extremists or the Nationalists. The nationalist under Kasturiranga Iyerengar had ousted Annie Besant from leadership and had also ousted the Moderates from the Madras provincial congress committee.¹² The Nationalists were now divided into two groups. Kasturiranga Iyengar, A. Rangasami Iyengar. S. Satyamurthy and few others agreed with the principle behind non cooperation but disagreed in its details The group led by

C. Rajagopalachari which included S. Ramanathan, S.N. Varadachari, G.V. Kirupanidhi and few others accepted Gandhi's plan as it was. The Gandhians under the leadership of Rajagopalachari contributed much in securing the approval of the congress for non cooperation at Calcutta. Thus the leading Tamil daily 'Swadesamitran' and two other long standing papers namely, the 'Hindunesan' and the 'Lokopakari' turned against non cooperation.

In these circumstances, the Desabhaktan of Thiru. Vi.Ka and Varadarajulu Naidu commenced publication of a weekly newspaper at Salem and named it as 'Tamilnadu', Just when the congress high command was about to restructure the provincial congress committees on linguistic basis, the Tamilnadu was the first important newspaper to be published from a mofussil town and was also the first newspaper that adopted a popular and easy literary style in Tamil Journalism.¹³ The third and a new entrant in the camp of the Non-cooperation press was the Navasakthi of Thiru. Vi.Ka. The Navasakthi was the first and one of the best voices of Gandhi in the Tamil region. Thiru. Vi.Ka. who was also as the editor of Desabhaktan had made an indelible mark in the history of Tamil Journalism.¹⁴ Thus three journalists, Thiru Ka. V.V.S. Iyer and P. Varadarajul Naidu, by lending support to non co-operation through their papers Navasakthi, Desabhaktan and the Tamilnadu respectively, effected the transition of the Tamil press from the era of Tilak to the era of Gandhi. Sandanand was the son of a Tamil Journalsit C.V. Swaminatha Iyer. He served the 'Reuters' before he took part in the Non cooperation Movement. Having observed that the foreign based and government blessed news agencies were giving inadequate and slanted coverage to the struggle for freedom.

Sadananda who planned in 1923 and founded two years later an independent national news agency, Free Press News Agency.

The Dravidian of the Justice Party and the Kudi Arasu of E.V. Ramasami Naicker accused the Tamilnadu as attempting to appease the Brahmans and to prostrate before the Swadesamitran with business motives. The Kudi Arasu questioned in what way the non-Brahmans would be benefited, if the Tamilnadu was to follow the policy of the Swadesamitran which had always opposed non-Brahman advancement. The Kudi Arasu gave a call to the non-Brahman leaders belonging to all political parties to discuss this demand at Kanchipuram where the Tamilnadu Provincial political conference was scheduled to meet on November, 21, 1925. The Kudi Arasu condemned social segregation and protested against allocation of rooms exclusive to the Brahmans at public countries and railway stations. It incited the untouchables to rise against Hindu caste system and to establish their rights. In addition to propaganda through the Kudi Arasu, E.V. Ramasami Naicker undertook tours in the districts during November – December 1926, and organized the self-respect movement.

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

Ganesan in association with and on instruction from Rajagopalachari set out to popularize the Congress resolution on Complete Independence and Civil Disobedience'. When the congress committees all over India celebrated January 26, 1930 as the 'Independence Day', Ganesan and his friend K. Sadagopan brought to the public meeting held at the Madras beach, for free distribution, two thousand copies of Tamil pamphlet bearing the title. 'Sutandira Sangu' (Clarion of Independence). The rush to

grab a copy of the pamphlet was so much that they stopped free distribution and fixed a meager quarter Anna as its price. Ganesan and his colleagues continued to publish a series of pamphlets of the same name for few more weeks. On February 12, 1930, the pamphlets blossomed into a registered biweekly newspaper, the *Sutandira Sangu*. Since regularization, one Subramaniam, a sub-editor in Prakasam's Tamil weekly *Swarajya* was made its editor.¹⁵ The very first issue of the *Sutandira Sangu* dated January 26, 1930 breathed revolutionary favor.

The Government of India which realized the need to secure the cooperation of the congress for the next round of talks in London lifted the ban on the congress working committee and released Gandhi and other congress leaders. After much delay and anxiety the peace negotiation ended in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on March 5, 1931. At the end of March 1931, the congress met at Karachi, ratified the pact and appointed Gandhi as its delegate for the second Round Table conference. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Tamilandu* played a peculiar role the total effect of which was adverse to congress cause in Tamilnadu. Both the dailies strongly objected to the vindictive attitude of the Government. At the same time they criticized the congress leaders for stipulating conditions for calling off the movement. In urging the congress leaders to sue for peace they gave an impression to the people that the congress plunged into a vain struggle unmindful of consequences and that nothing short of an immediate suspension of Civil Disobedience would alone bring about peace. The first paper that marked the end of Civil Disobedience was the *Jayabharathi* (Victorious India). Its founder S. Venkataraman, a Brahman youth from Trichinopoly district, was a paid manager of the

Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Tamilnadu Congress Committee. He took part in Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha and suffered imprisonment

The second feature of the journalism that marked the end of civil disobedience was the blending of literary and nationalistic fervor. Its chief exponent was the Manikodi. It was jointly founded by three great journalists, namely Va.Ra., T.S. Chokkalingam and K. Srinivasan¹⁷ The third trend of the Tamil press during the political lull was the rise of comic journalism. Though journals of that sort existed before, it was the Anandavikatan of 1930's which first explored and succeeded in discussing and depicting Indian Political, social and cultural developments in a style that was humorous and thought-provoking. In October 1932, Sadanand acquired the Indian express a small English paper started month earlier in Madras by Varadarajulu Naidu. (Gandhi, October 26, 1932) the Indian Express was published by K. Santhanam and S.V. Swamy on behalf of Sadanand as its editor and publisher respectively and also in the capacity of the directors of the Free Press (Madras) limited.¹⁸ In 1942 Act the time of Quit India Movement at Dina Thandhi. 'This news paper against II World War for having include India Army in support of England.

CONCLUSION

Nationalism began to spread in the last half of the 18th century. Many organs like educated youth, social reformers, neglected and unemployed section of the society, politically avenged rulers and zamindars and press played vital role in this task. Among them, press had played a pivot role in kindling the nationalism. They developed nationalism slowly and effectively in Madras. These need to the formation of many

organizations including Indian National Congress and finally resulted in the freedom struggle

The role of Tamil magazines in the freedom struggle

The role of magazines published in indigenous languages in the freedom struggle was immense. The role played by Tamil magazines in the freedom struggle was very wide, deep and concentrated. Since there is no time to describe all the magazines, let us take a closer look at the important magazines that had a great impact.

Thiru.V.K. founded the magazines 'Deshapakthan' and 'Navashakthi' india-vijaya-old-magazine. Although he was a spiritualist and a comrade of the workers, his writings gave encouragement and nourishment to the freedom struggle. Apart from that, Thiru.V.K. brought the magazine 'Vandemadharam' run by Aurobindo to Chennai. He read it to the people and made it possible to spread the ideas of freedom.

Mahakavi Bharathi

Bharathiyar was not only a great poet but also an incomparable journalist. Bharathiyar has the honor of being the first to introduce the cartoon known as Kelichitram in Tamil. Bharathi's fiery articles in Swadesamithran were a dream come true for the British rulers. Bharathi also made magazines like 'India' and 'Vijaya' popular among the people with his writing skills.

Subramania Siva and V.V.S. Iyer also ignited the freedom struggle through magazines. V.V.S. Iyer is also considered the father of the short story. The magazine he ran under

the name 'Bhakiya Lakshmi' was unique. Subramania Siva ran magazines like 'Indian Desanthri', 'Prabhanja Mithran' and 'Gnanabanu'.

Sadanand, a native of Thanjavur, who started the daily 'Dinamani', also ran a news agency called 'The Piri Press News Agency' to challenge the British. He also ran an English daily called 'Piri Press Journal'.

A.N. Sivaraman

Sokkalingam was the first editor of Dinamani. He is considered the father of the world of journalism maposi-aens-thiruvika. No one can deny that Sokkalingam was the one who laid the foundation for the early development of Dinamani. After the economic crisis, the Indian Express and Dinamani were taken over by Ramnath Goenka. After Sokkalingam, A.N. Sivaraman became the editor of Dinamani. A multilingual scholar, he also participated in the freedom struggle. A.N. Sivaraman has the distinction of being the editor of Dinamani for a long time.

Sokkalingam ran the newspaper under the name 'Gandhi'. There are records that there was even confusion in Tamil Nadu as to whether Gandhi refers to Mahatma Gandhi or the newspaper run by Sokkalingam.

V.O.C

V.O.C. Chidambaranar did not run a newspaper, but he occasionally wrote critical opinions in newspapers. V.O.C. arranged for the publication of a magazine called 'Swarajyam'. His desire was to bring out a magazine that would instill patriotic feelings in all the indigenous languages of India. He made efforts for this. But unfortunately, he was arrested in a conspiracy case before the magazine was published. kalgi-sudhesa-mithran

Sage Rajaji was multifaceted. He has done a great service to Tamil Nadu by writing the Ramayana in a concise and interesting manner. Rajaji was the first person to run a magazine for prohibition in India. Rajaji ran a magazine called 'Vimosanam' from the Gandhi Ashram in Tiruchengode. Kalki Krishnamurthy served as its assistant editor.

S.S. Vasan spread the ideas of the freedom struggle through 'Ananda Vikatan'. Although it was a popular magazine, works related to the freedom movement also flourished. Works like Kalki Krishnamurthy's Tyagabhoomi were published in Ananda Vikatan. Paranitharan wrote the biography of Mahatma Gandhi's wife Kasturibai Gandhi under the name 'Kasturi Tilakam' in Ananda Vikatan.

Kalki, who left Ananda Vikatan, started a magazine under his own name 'Kalki'. Kalki's sales increased rapidly due to the influence of historical novels. Kalki published the thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi and Rajaji in each issue. When Mahatma Gandhi undertook the Navakali Yatra, writer Savi went directly to Navakali and participated in the Yatra with Mahatma Gandhi and wrote a book in Kalki under the name Navakali Yatra.

M.O.C

M.O.C. Sivagnanam is an unparalleled scholar in the field of Silappadhikaram. M.O.C., who started his career as a typist, directly participated in the freedom struggle. M.O.C. has written articles reflecting the feelings of the freedom struggle in magazines like 'Gramini Kulam' and 'Tamil Murasu'. It was M.O.C. who introduced the shipwrecked Tamilan V.O.C. and Veerapandia Kattabomman to the Tamil people.

C. Subramaniam, who was then a student of the state college, continued to write in the magazine 'Pitthan' published from Chennai before independence.

T.O.C. Meenakshi Sundaranar's brother T.O.C. Krishnasamy Pavalar ran a weekly magazine 'Deshabandhu'. The magazine had a picture of Mahatma Gandhi spinning a book as its logo.

Many more people are contributing to the freedom struggle without coming to the limelight.

The Hindu

The Hindu newspaper played a significant role in the Indian freedom movement, starting as a weekly in 1878 and becoming a daily in 1889. It emerged as a platform for expressing Indian perspectives and advocating for self-governance, even though it initially maintained a moderate stance on the British Raj. The Hindu's role was crucial in raising awareness about the injustices of British rule and mobilizing public opinion in favor of independence.

Journalism also plays an important role in the Indian freedom struggle. When India became free, there was no longer any antagonism between the government and the people, and the press was free to play a completely new role. The Indian press catalysing India's development measures, national integration, and the fight for justice in independent India. Newspaper publishing started in Chennai with the launch of a weekly, The Madras Courier, in 1785.¹ The Spectator, founded in 1836, was the first English newspaper in Chennai to be owned by an Indian and became the city's first daily newspaper in 1853. The Hindu was founded on September 20, 1878, by six young nationalists led by radical social reformer and school teacher G. SubramaniaAiyer of Tiruvaiyar near Thanjavur. The others were: his school teacher friend M. Veeraraghavachariar of Chengalpattu and law students T.T. Rangachariar, P.V. Rangachariar, D. Kesava Rao Pant, and N. Subba Rau Pantulu. The 'Triplicane Six', as they were called, were angry that the Anglo-Indian press - newspapers owned and edited by the British - had panned the appointment of T. MuthuswamiAiyer, as a Judge of the Madras High Court, the first Indian to be so appointed. They borrowed one rupee and 12 annas and started The Hindu as a weekly - published every Wednesday - to counter the campaign against MuthuswamiAiyer's appointment.

In the first editorial titled "Ourselves", published on September 20, 1878, the founders flagged two guiding principles: fairness and justice. The editorial starts with these lines; "In accordance with the long-standing etiquette obtaining among the journalistic community, we, seeking admission into it as a new member, herald our first appearance before the public by a leader rather ostentatiously styled "Ourselves", in which we will

presently set forth the circumstances that justify the appearance of a new paper, its professed intentions and aims, the line of policy it proposes to pursue and the principles by which it is to be guided. It is with great diffidence that we usher this paper into existence presuming that the indulgent public will give us a warm reception by supporting and encouraging us despite our shortcomings.” ³

From October 1, 1883, The Hindu became a tri-weekly - published on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday - to provide a timely discussion of topics of current interest. It became an evening daily from April 1, 1889. From November 11, 1940, it became a morning paper, dictated by the coverage demands of the Second World War and the difference in time zones.

Initial Years

During its initial years, the paper was printed at Srinidhi Press, Mint Street, Black Town, and Madras. Soon the students, who became lawyers, parted ways with SubramaniaAiyer and Veeraraghavachariar, the Managing Editor. Later, the two former school teachers had differences over the issue of social reform. Writing in the special supplement issued along with The Hindu on September 13 to mark the 125th anniversary, Historian S.Muthiah said: “The Hindu was SubramaniaAiyer's vehicle for social reform crusades. In a conservative society, it was inevitable that such zeal would encounter a hostile backlash. Veeraraghavachariar, in charge of the business side, found the repercussions squeezing the paper's finances... There was an inevitable parting of ways and the partnership was dissolved in October 1898... Within days of the break, SubramaniaAiyer took over full-time the editorship of the Swadesamitran while Veeraraghavachariar took over the entire business of the struggling newspaper.”⁴

Kasturiranga Iyengar could be termed The Hindu's first moderniser. According to Muthiah, between 1921 and 1923 he installed “the first rotary printing press in south India and modern linotype composing machines, setting the trend the paper follows to this day of being first with modern newspaper technology in India”. When he died in December 1923, the paper had stabilised with a circulation of 17,000 copies and considerable advertising revenue.

G. Subramania Iyer: The forerunner of the new awakening

G. Subramaniam Iyer was a pioneer in the field of independence of the country, in social reforms, and in entering the field of journalism and introducing large-scale newspapers. He is the only one who started the newspapers ‘The Hindu’ and ‘Swadesamithiran’ and sowed the seeds of liberation struggle and heroism in the hearts of the people in the war of independence. Above all, he is the one who showed MahakaviBhartiyar to the world. He was born in 1855 in Thiruvaiyar, Tanjore district to Ganapathy Iyer and Dharmambal. Ganapati Iyer was a lawyer in the AwurMunicipal Court. Subramaniam Iyer was born with six brothers and one sister. He completed his primary education in Thiruvaiyar and his higher education in Thanjavur and matriculated in 1869. In 1871 he passed the FA (Intermediate) examination. The same year the wedding took place. He then completed his teacher training at Saidapet. Following that he worked as a teacher in some places including Pachaiyappa’s College. He served as the headmaster of Tiruvallikeni Hindu High School for ten years. He later founded and ran a school called The Aryan School.

Founding and as editor of The Hindu 1878-1898

G. Subramaniam Iyer was not only the founder of the early days of the Congress movement but also started newspapers to help the Congress movement grow in Tamil Nadu and to make local people aware of indigenous news. He established his name and fame till the All India Congress. He was a great social revolutionary who carried out social reforms not only in speech but also in his actions a hundred years ago.

He joined the then-functioning Literary Society at Tiruvallikeni, Chennai, and got in touch with some of the scholars there. It was then that Sir D. Muthusamy Iyer, an Indian, was appointed Judge of the Chennai High Court for the first time. The Anglo-Indian press at the time wrote critically about the appointment and R. Raveenthara 1936 caste differences. G. Subramaniam Iyer and his friends realized that they needed a newspaper to condemn this. They immediately printed 80 copies of the one-and-a-half-rupee donation and published a magazine. The 'Hindu' magazine was published on September 20, 1878. 'Hindu' has been the loudest newspaper ever since. The six who started the 'Hindu' magazine along with G. Subramaniam Iyer were M. Veeraragavachariyar, D.D. Rangachariyar, P.V. Rangachariyar, D.K. Kesava Rao Bandh and n. Subbarao Bandulu. Among them, G. Subramaniam Iyer and Veeraragavacharya worked as tutors in Pachaiyappa's College. The other four are law students. It was then announced that the 'Hindu' newspaper would be printed at the Srinidhi Press on Mint Street in Georgetown and would be published every Wednesday evening at a quarter price of the current Hindu newspaper, eight pages at Nalana (25 paise) prices, for the present twenty-five coins.

The launch of the Hindu newspaper was opposed by the pro-British newspapers, especially The Madras Mail, which mocked the Indians. Therefore, when the English press wrote against the appointment of Judge Muthusamy Iyer, it supported the 'Hindu' appointment and shattered the opinion of the English newspaper. The next major impact of the Hindu press was on the Chengalpattu riots in 1881. The Hindu press has strongly argued against the Governor of Chennai in connection with this case. Three years later, during the Salem riots of 1884, the Hindu press declared war on the British government. It is a case involving C.Vijayaragavachariyar, a senior Congress leader from Salem. Here is the Hindu argument about it: -

"The prosecution of the so-called Salem Rioters and their convictions were the result of a premeditated design, hastily formed and executed in a vindictive spirit, not very honourable and utterly unworthy of a civilized Government".

In 1880 the Hindu press was taken to Mylapore. 'The Hindu Press' was started by Rangunada Row. It has been published three times a week since 1883. In 1897 the Hindus chanted against the arrest of Tilak. Then, on December 3, 1883, the Hindu newspaper switched to Mount Road for its own printing press, The National Press. Norton, a well-known criminal lawyer in Chennai, ran for the Chennai Legislative Assembly; He was actively supported by the Hindu C. G.S., who vehemently opposed English imperialism. It is unknown at this time what he did to cause the fire.

This 'ThiruvallikkeniAruvar' (The Triplicane Six) had to be separated. Law students have gone on to practice law. G. Subramaniam Iyer and Veeragavacharya were the only ones to run the newspaper. Twenty years after the publication of the Hindu newspaper in 1898, G.Subramaniam Iyer sold the paper to a friend. Since then, it has belonged to

the Kasturi Iyengar family. The Hindu press was seven years older before the Congress party started.

He was a co-founder and a member of the Chennai Mahajana Sabha. When the Congress Party was formed in Bombay in 1885, G. Subramaniam Iyer became its early member. When Lord Curzon divided Bengal in 1906, he wrote strongly against it. He nominated a moderate leader for the presidency at the Surat Congress Conference in 1907 and later succeeded Bala Gangadhar Tilak.

In 1882 he started the weekly “Swadesamithiran” magazine. Since 1889 it has blossomed into a daily magazine. Bharathiyar, who was a Tamil teacher at Sethupathi High School in Madurai, was brought to Chennai and was instrumental in becoming a journalist and thereby an active politician. He was the one who introduced Mahakavi to the world.

The national movement was built around a very sophisticated ideological discourse, most of which was developed by the first generation of nationalists, erroneously called Moderates, who were towering intellectuals. Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt, Ranade, Gokhale, and G. Subramania Iyer, were among those who grounded Indian nationalism firmly on the foundation of anti-imperialism by fashioning the world's first economic critique of colonialism, before Hobson and Lenin.

He was the first to stage Tamil in the political arena 1937

He was the first to introduce the practice of distributing leaflets in Tamil at the end of stage speeches. The names of the publications issued as mentioned above have been mentioned in the report of the British Intelligence Service.

The first political campaign trip

The first political organization of the state of Chennai was formed in the city of Chennai in 1852. The 'Madras Native Association' campaigned in 1882 for the establishment of Lord Ribbon's Spatial Autonomy Project go to major cities and propagate the project. Subramanian Iyer was elected. The tour was called the first political campaign tour.

The following comment made by the Tamil scholar Kurumalai Sundarampillai, the assistant editor of 'Sudesamithiran' in the biographical book Subramania Iyer (1907) is noteworthy here.

"Our Iyer was the first to establish the custom of public leaders to campaign for diplomatic matters in the province of Chennai, just as the clergy makes a pilgrimage to propagate their religion".

SubramaniaBhartiyar:

Let's see what Bharatiyar has to say about Iyer, who recognized EttayapuramSubramaniaBharatiyar, who was working as a Tamil teacher in Sethupathi High School, Madurai, and took him as an assistant editor to his Swadeshamithran.

While writing about the emergence of the Congress in 1885 in the book "History of Bharatha Jana Sabha" (1918), Bharatiyar's eulogy for 'G. Subramanialyer is as follows:

"Tamil Nadu is penance. Because in the first meeting of the Congress Mahasabha, the privilege of bringing and passing the first resolution was Sudesamithran Sri, the President of Tamil Nadu. Subramania Iyer got it."

In an article titled 'Awakening of Tamil Nadu' by Bharatiyar under the pen name 'Shaktidasan' in Sudeshamithran, the famous historical role of 'G. Subramania Iyer.'

"Ramalinga Swami, SudeshamithranSubramanialyer, and some other sages like them were the progenitors of the new awakening in Tamil Nadu."

“I have been closely acquainted with the late ‘Sudesamithran’ Subramanialyer. I know very well what he considered to be the main instruments for the upliftment of Tamil Nadu. I am writing here the original dharmas from his heart as far as I can remember:

1. Tamilians should always speak and write in Tamil unless there is a special emergency. All learning arts should be learned through Tamil.
2. We should not appreciate caste differences and teach ourselves meaningless ups and downs.
3. Do not harass women. They should be given more knowledge and improved.
4. It is not fair to promote enmity among our people due to religious sects like Vaishnavism, Shaivism, and subdivisions like Vadakalai and Tenkalai. We are all sons of Hindustan. Their policy is theirs. It is the work of the ignorant to make endless disputes and riots on account of sects.
5. We should not buy foreign goods when our country's goods are available for clothing, food, etc.,
6. Always strive for Swaraj. Having completed the first part of this article, I would like to repost some of his subsequent articles. The youth of Tamil Nadu should know Mahamanithar, Mahan G. Subramania Iyer. This message should reach all the youth¹⁸

Subramania Siva:

Subramanya Siva, the third prong of the national trident (the other two prongs being Bharati, V.O.Chidambaram.) in his monthly magazine ‘Gnanabanu’, Appreciating G.Subramanialyer, he wrote:

“Brahma Sri G. Subramania Iyer, who was a journalist of Swadesamitran. We have immeasurable value in the Subramaniam Iyer. The fact that he has done immeasurable

benefits to our Tamil nation is something that no one can deny. It is very surprising that BrahmaSri, Subramanya Iyer left the English magazine 'The Hindu' which he was running, and started a Tamil magazine to spread knowledge among the common people at that time when no one understood the difference between the love of language and patriotism."

Surendranath Banerjee:

In 1914 in Chennai Mahajan Sabha Here is part of the eulogy given by Surendranath Banerjee, National leader of Bengal, at the unveiling of G. Subramania Iyer's 60th birth anniversary portrait:

"Mr. Subramanya Iyer, let us say had been the instrument of popular political work in the widest sense of that word in south India.

Conclusion

In 1885, G. Subramania Iyer attended the inaugural meeting of the first Congress held in Bombay as a representative of Tamil Nadu. Iyer brought the first resolution of the meeting. He was actively involved in this Congress which was started for the independence of India. His interest in politics and society may have helped in building a new India. He was extremely focused on social reforms. He was interested in child marriage issues, widowhood, and caste unity. He worked tirelessly to increase the age of marriage, for widow marriages, to give equal status to oppressed people in society, and to prevent child marriages. He made a revolution not only in words but also in deeds by setting marriage to his own daughter a widow in his family. Yes! In 1899 he married his widowed daughter Sivapiriya to Ramasamy of Mannargudi. At the end of his life, he was afflicted with a fatal skin disease. Lumps appeared all over the body and it

was broken and sore and he looked like a leper. Mahatma Gandhi met him in 1915. Then the Mahatma consoled Iyer by wiping the water that had leaked from his body with his upper garment. A deadly disease took him away from this world on 15-4-1916 at the age of 61. In 1995, The foundation was laid by him results in the future. The Hindu became, in 1995, the first Indian newspaper to offer an online edition. It is the oldest surviving major newspaper of Indian nationalism, by which we mean the great socio-political movement that won freedom for India from colonial bondage and helped consolidate the gains of independence in every sphere of national life.

Early Years and Advocacy:

The newspaper's early days were marked by its commitment to challenging the Anglo-Indian press's portrayal of Indian affairs. It championed the appointment of the first Indian judge to the Madras High Court and criticized the actions of the British administration.

Critical of British Rule:

The Hindu did not shy away from criticizing the British government's policies, particularly regarding its treatment of Indian people and the legal system. It criticized Lord Lytton's administration for its handling of the famine of 1876-77.

Support for Indian Leaders:

The newspaper actively supported Indian leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, even when they faced arrests and imprisonment. It protested against the unjust sentencing of Tilak, highlighting the British government's actions as "irresponsible".

Advocate for Freedom of the Press:

The Hindu championed the freedom of the press, criticizing the British government's attempt to control and suppress the Indian press through the Vernacular Press Act.

Role in Mass Mobilization:

The newspaper played a key role in mobilizing public opinion and raising awareness about the issues of the freedom movement. It served as a platform for disseminating information and fostering a sense of national identity.

Swadesamitran

Role of Swadesamitran Journal in Indian Freedom Movement: The term Journalism is defined in Encyclopedia Britannica as "The profession of gathering, writing and editing the news". Journalists enjoy a unique status in the society that amply justifies their designation as the "Fourth Estate". Journalism is both an art and a profession which records events and opinions and seeks to interpret and mould them for the benefit of the educated public. Man from time immemorial has been curious to know about what, why and how events have occurred. He tried to overcome the lack of information knowledge and communication gap in various ways. Finally, by his continuous striving and experimentation the journal came to forefront 1 . Journalism is generally considered as the most significant mass media capable of moulding the public opinion. It acts as a mediator between the Government and the masses. The 'Journals' were the instrument for the growth of nationalism. Journalism is the "guardian angel of democracy". Roland E.Wolsely, the famous American professor of Journalism defines Journalism thus:

"Journalism is the systematic and reliable dissemination of public information, public opinion and public entertainment by Modern Mass Media of Communication"² The term "Journal" means a daily record, as of occurrences or observations. It includes a newspaper especially a daily one, a periodical or magazine especially published for a learned society. The Journals inform the public about the policies and programmes of the government and provide opportunity for them to express their reaction to the governmental measures. The Journals are really the eyes of the nation through which it should see where it stand as and what exactly its position is ³ . Journals played a definite role in infusing the common people into bitter aversion of the British rulers. Journals took up the propagation of the revolutionary ideals of freedom in the country as its them. Nationalism is a modern phenomenon. The roots of nationalism can be traced from the French Revolution of 1789. According to G.P. Gooch, "Nationalism is a child of the French Revolution". After this revolution nationalism began to play an important role in the evolution of mankind. Since it is a historical phenomenon, the nature of nationalism differs from country to country due to the different political thoughts and social structures ⁴ . Nationalism is the sense of unity that exists among people. This may emerge due to a common religion, race, language, history etc. A nation is group of people with a feeling of solidarity among themselves or a sense of unity that exists in a group of men for some common purpose. It can also be said to be a sense of separation from other people i.e. Foreigners. Nationalism demands political independence. If political independence is not present, it tends to develop a new sovereign state. Nationalism demands a nation-state and the creation of nation-state strengthens nationalism. Nationalism, as a form of group consciousness, is one of the

most powerful emotions of all civilised people. The journals reflected the emotions of all civilised people. The journals reflected the emotions of the people and their feelings of national urge and grievances. The editors and the journalists of India gave publicity to the concepts of representative government, independence and civil liberty. They were in fact combatants in a national struggle ⁵ . The role of journalism in India during the freedom movement represents a shining chapter in the history of the totality of our national movement. The journals have been inextricably linked with the spread of education and the general awakening of national pride and socio-political consciousness among different segments of the people. The impulses released and the intellectual and emotional ferment created by the journals have been greatly responsible for the awakening the Freedom Movement in its various phases. Naturally the alien masters at different times felt that if the press could be muzzled, the momentum towards a struggle for self government and freedom would be curtailed. Journalism in different parts of the country, in English and other regional languages, are always conscious of its role and responsibility as the torchbearer to people and their aspirations ⁶ . The term vernacular Journalism has been coined by the Britishers to publish Journals in the native languages of the people. During the early part of Nineteenth century, a number of journals in the vernacular languages began to grow The Governor-General Lord William Bentick's role in developing the vernacular press was marvelous. He firmly believed that "liberty of the press is one of the most useful engines for promoting good administration in the country" ⁷ . Richard Johnston was the founder of the first newspaper in Madras presidency. His paper "The Madras Courier" came in to existence on October 12, 1785. The pioneer Tamil Journal was the "Tamil Magazine"

which was published on 1831 started by the Madras Religious Tract Society. It was followed by the journal "Raja Vritti Bodhini" on 1833. P. Percival founded the Journal "Dinavartamani" on 1855 8 . In its initial phase the Tamil Journalism was concerned almost solely with social and religious causes. Tamil journals attention was focused on existing social evils among the masses. When the grievances of the people against the British rulers multiplied, the concentration of Tamil press turned to political affairs. It resulted in the culmination of the demand for self-government. There were very few Tamil newspapers played an eminent role in the freedom movement in Tamilnadu. In this connection, it is beyond doubt that each and every Tamil journalists did his best service not only to his country but also for the development of Tamil language, But very few Journals published articles in connection with the Freedom Movement and inspired the masses. Swadesamitran (1882)9 . Journals played a valiant part in the struggle for freedom. Particularly Swadehsi Movement, Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement. The swadesmitran was a unique newspaper in those days for the other paper's was no more transmitter of news and information. It was published by an intellectual and patriot who held public angry people and to elevate them to response citizenship 10 . The Swadesamitran became a biweekly in 1886. The Swadesamitran steadily advanced and towered above all the papers in its quality. Coverage of news, popular appeal and reach. It enjoyed access to latest news from various parts of the country as it was published the Hindu complex 11 . An analysis of the editorial matters for the year revealed that the Swadesamitran devoted forty-five per cent for relating to internal affairs of the presidency without the action of any race question, another forty-five per cent for matters concerning relation

between the European rulers and the native rulers, and their administration in India. The annual subscription of the Swadesamitran daily cost rupees thirteen. The professional side of Tamil press was also as weak as its prospects. The first difficulty in this regard was the obtaining of news. No Tamil Newspapers of the early twentieth century including the Swadesamitran employed correspondents even within Tamilnadu to report news ¹² . The Swadesamitran improved its status by the turn of the century and created an interest in newspaper reading among the Tamils; G. Subramania Iyer was now able to devote his full attention to the paper. He returned from England in July 1897 after giving evidence for Welby Commission on Indian expenditure ¹³ . The pre eminence of The Swadesamitran in Tamil Journalism might be by the fact that other periodicals like the Tarangai Nesan, Aryajana pariplini and Brahmavidya. In addition to discussions in their own columns, chose the columns of the Swadesamitran to fight issues relating to religious and social reforms. When complained of hard style in the Swadesasmitran, its assistant Editor Sundaram Pillai defend that such a style and vocabulary was inevitable for he believed that prose writing in Tamil was not very much developed. He further pointed out that it was easier to write a perfect verse on a perfect piece of prose in Tamil. In 1904 the Swadesamitran addressed only 1750 subscribers ¹⁴ . Thus two Tamil newspapers had come to take up the cause of Swadeshi in the Tamil region. The Swadesamitran of G.Subramania Iyer the India of C. Subramania Bharathi were two different shades and their distinct voices of extremist nationalism. They different in their style, tone and also in their ultimate objectives extremist nationalist to the former was a political and to the latter a religious of India was clarion call for heroic deeds and sacrifice ¹⁵ . The position of the Swadesamitran as a potent medium of mass

communication was beyond any doubt, its ideological moorings demanded on its part certain policy adjustment in order to pioneer extremist nationalism in Tamilnadu. The Swadesamitran considered the British rule in India as providential and beneficial. The Swadesamitran systematically propagated the advantages of encouraging Indian manufacture. The Swadesamitran first began creating in the minds of the people a confidence of the utility and durability of indigenous goods. The contribution of the Swadesamitran and the India for the furtherance of nationalism was great indeed. In July 1905 the spirit of was found only in the press, but not main test among the people. The Swadesamitran and the India, by their militant advocacy and instant appeals to emotion and religious sentiments, carried the message Swadeshi and boycott to the masses, thereby preparing the ground for involvement in nationalist politics 16 . The Swadesamitran has been to the Tamil knowing public a revelation of something that has informed their intellect, stimulated their fancy and proved a communal bond of no insignificant services. It has given them sight a spirit of co-operation and a measure of self-confidence of which they were never before aware. The Swadesamitran after some initial hesitation became a vigorous advocate of boycott also. The Swadesamitran, true to its tradition, was to advocate such a strategy that would estrange relations between the British and the Indians. So when the resolutions of swadeshi and boycott were first passed at Calcutta in August 1905, the Swadesamitran strongly supported the resolutions. The resolutions were not intended to harm British commercial interests. The Swadesamitran visualised great economic changes in the wake of the Swadeshi movement. It advocated the establishment of big industrial and commercial firms in the Madras presidency as in Bengal, Bombay, April 11, 1906 the latter materialized and received much support from

the Swadesamitran 17 . The other extremist voice in Tamilnadu was the India. It joined hands with the Swadesamitran in May 1906 in order to intensify the propaganda of Swadeshi and boycott of British Goods in Tamilnadu. That was entirely a different type of news paper on ordinary reader of news of information of usual interest. The Swadesamitran leads unperturbed by this social schism, or unwilling to give prominence to the non-Brahman movement, the Swadesamitran concentrated on home rule propaganda. It increased the campaign reference to public meetings in support of self Banner headlines, decorated box columns and photos were new features that the Swadesamitran adopted in the Hindu Rule campaign It was the singular achievement of the Swadesamitran to calculate the demand for Home Rule among the literates of smaller towns and villages; The task of The Swadesamitran was made more difficult when Justice party published their Tamil daily Dravidan which directed its check against the Brahmans in two ways. However, the Swadesamitran issued a different course and played a crucial role in setting political against the Non-Brahmin Movement 18 . The office of “The Swadesamitran” as well as the house of Subramania Iyer both in Madras was searched. To substantiate the charges leveled against him. (i) A whip to the Indians, (ii) In an Indian or European Superior? (iv) One: meal for two days, (v) Who is a Bad Magistrate?, (vi) What is to May and 3 and 6 th June 1908 19? The Tamil Translator to government at his Saidapet and the required issues of the Journal “The Swadesamitran”. A statement along with the dates and headings as given in the newspaper themselves of all the extracts which formed the enclosures to letters No.563 (a) and 563 24th June 1908 is herewith forwarded 20 . The advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene of India marked a great change in the attitude of the Indian

Journalism also. Gandhiji awakened the political consciousness of the Indian people. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi Journalism means, "One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feelings and give expression to them; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; and the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects" 21 . During the Freedom Movement many great men have chosen journalism because it was an effective way to spread their ideas to the people. There were many who wielded their pen to strengthen the Freedom Movement. The press played an important role and awakened the people and infused them in the sense of patriotism and consciousness for nationality 22 . Swadesamitran was the first Tamil journal to raise the voice of Nationalism. This journal was first published in March, 1882, by G.Subramania Iyer. He has started 'Swadesamitran' to spread patriotic sentiments among the masses. It was a pioneering effort of G. Subramania Iyer and very soon he gained popularity in Tamil journalistic circle. After Subramania Iyer's death in 1916 A. Rangaswami Iyengar took over the editorship of the paper. He has brought out many changes in its format and contents and improved it further 23 . The famous poet and patriot Subramania Bharathi, who was also a noted Tamil journalist entered the portals of journalism through the 'Swadesamitran', where he served as a sub-editor, for a short span of time. 'Swadesamitran ' aroused the spirit of freedom in the minds of the students and motivated them to fight for the fruitful cause. This journal was the principal supporter of the Freedom Struggle in South India. It presented the articles in a effective Manner. This journal Swadesamitran inspired the students to work vigorously in accordance with the resolutions of the congress, in order to achieve "Swaraj" within nine months 24 . The journal Swadesamitran highlighted the corruption of the British officials,

their Mal-administration and their racial arrogance. It placed before the people the important contemporary problems. Almost in every issue Swadesamitran used to publish editorials pertaining to freedom struggle. These editorials inspired the national spirit of the people. Swadesamitran concentrated more on the spread of nationalism rather than the development of language, style and rhythms. Swadesamitran published articles against the Punjab massacre. It has requested the National congress leaders to take necessary action against the British General Dwyer and his followers. It further stressed that the General Dwyer should be punished severely for his cruel action 25 . Mahatma Gandhi emphasised the importance of the spinning wheel and advocated the people to use this indigenous tool. Swadesamitran also supported Mahatma Gandhi's ideas about the spinning wheel and it published a number of articles in support of this 26 . In one of the effective article non-cooperation whether constructive or destructive "Swadesamitran" justifies the policy underlying the non-cooperation Movement as a constructive but not a destructive one, as much as it inculcates the principles of universal brotherhood, self-reliance, national education, etc. In short all that tends to foster the National instincts for the welfare of India 27 . The Swadesamitran criticised the salt tax and regarded it as "The most unjust and cruel of all the taxes imposed on the country". Swadesamitran took the initiative and never hesitated to criticise the policies of the government 28 . Swadesamitran played a dominant role during the civil Disobedience Movement. Both the papers published a number of articles about the Civil Disobedience Movement. Their function of furnishing information contributed more to the movement. Majority of the people began to feel that the Civil Disobedience Movement alone can be released as best political weapon to set India free. In the latter

half of 1930s, the Civil Disobedience Movement received a setback by the oppressive tactics of the government of India. For example the press Ordinance of May 1930 precipitated the crisis. Simultaneously, the government of India went ahead with the plans to convene the round table conference in London. The first round table conference held in 1930 without the representation of the congress party. The British Wanted a settlement with the congress party and signed a pact with Gandhiji on 5 th March, 1931 known as Gandhi-Irwin pact 29 . The journals of Tamil Nadu appreciated the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin pact. According to the pact, Gandhiji agreed to participate in second Round Table Conference on September 1931. The British Government in turn accepted to withdraw the ordinance against Civil disobedience and release all political prisoners except the terrorist activities. Further the people were allowed to make salt for their domestic needs and permitted to picket liquor shops peacefully. Hence Gandhiji agreed to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement. By this time, Lord Willington has succeeded Lord Irwin as viceroy. While Gandhiji was in England to attend the Second Round Table Conference, terrorism started in Bengal. Many British officials were murdered. Hence the British Government was forced to pass many ordinances. One such was the Indian press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931. The Swadesamitran accused the Anglo-Indians and European Association of being responsible for the passing of the Bill. At London Gandhiji announced openly that congress party would not accept anything less than complete freedom. Gandhiji returned to Bombay on December 29, 1931 and wrote a letter to the viceroy protesting against the promulgation of the various ordinances. The Journal Swadesamitran published a report about the Mahatma Gandhiji,s health and his way of living in the

place of his detention. The madras press advisory committee prohibited the publication of this Statement 31 . Political journals in Tamil were rather a belated phenomenon. The Stringent policy adopted towards the press by the Government of Madras prevented journalistic enterprises in publishing the political news. It was only with the emergence of G.Subramania Iyer, Tamil press discovered the father of political journalism in Tamil. The Tamil Journals of the early Twentieth century was a weak social institution. Even the rise of the “Swadesamitran” was only a sign of growth and not an index to the actual strength of the Tamil journals. The Tamil press generally lacked capital, journalistic expertise and popular support. The decisive role played by the journal Swadesamitran in the Freedom Movement has been further confirmed in the words of Lord Listowell, the last secretary of state for India, “The Indian Newspapers have every reason to be proud of the part they have played in the great constitutional change and of the good influence they have exercised on Indian opinion”.

New India

In 1914, a newspaper named "New India" emerged, with a dedicated focus on spreading news related to India's fight for freedom. Its founder, the renowned freedom fighter Dr Annie Besant, utilized the platform not only to disseminate information about the struggle but also to express her perspectives through thought-provoking editorials. The newspaper held great significance, standing alongside prominent publications like Gandhi's "Harijan" and Tilak's "Kesari."

The after of the First World War, coupled with Mahatma Gandhi's return to India and the active participation of the Indian masses in the freedom movement, brought about a

notable shift. Eminent figures such as Bipin Chandra Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and others became deeply involved in the movement, extending its influence beyond the conventional strongholds of Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. Annie Besant, in 1914, put forth a vision for greater Indian participation in shaping the political and economic decisions concerning their nation. This vision, referred to as 'Home Rule,' drew parallels with the Irish home rule movement, advocating for self-governance and autonomy for India.

Annie Besant took a significant step by establishing the Home Rule League in 1916, publicly announcing this move through the pages of "New India." Concurrently, Bal Gangadhar Tilak also set up a similar organization. However, these actions were seen as threats by the British Empire, leading to Tilak's exile. Subsequently, in June 1917, Besant herself was confined in Ootacamund, along with key associates G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia. This interruption disrupted the publication of "New India." However, due to widespread protests in India and abroad, the internment order was later revoked. In August 1917, Besant's leadership and impact were further recognized when she was appointed the President of the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress.

Under the visionary guidance of Annie Besant, the newspaper "New India" played a pivotal role in India's struggle for freedom. Through its courageous reporting, advocacy for social justice, and promotion of nationalist ideologies, the newspaper kindled a spirit

of resistance, rallied public support and made a significant contribution to India's eventual attainment of independence.

Dinamani

Dinamani played a significant role in India's freedom movement, particularly in Tamil Nadu. Established in 1933, it actively supported the Indian National Congress and helped mobilize public opinion for independence. The newspaper's editorials, news reports, and analyses contributed to the growth of nationalist sentiment and awareness.

Here's a more detailed look at Dinamani's contributions:

Early Years (1930s-1940s):

Dinamani, established by S. Sadanand, was initially owned by the Indian Express. It quickly became a leading voice in the Tamil press, with the first editor being T.S. Sivaraman.

Nationalist Support:

The newspaper strongly supported the Indian National Congress and its efforts to achieve independence.

Mobility and Awareness:

Dinamani used its platform to mobilize public opinion, raising awareness about the freedom movement and its objectives.

Post-Independence Redefinition:

After India gained independence, Dinamani continued to evolve and redefined its objectives, maintaining its position as a prominent Tamil daily.

Notable Contributors:

Dinamani's history includes individuals like Sivaraman, a respected journalist with a long association with the newspaper, who wrote extensively on various subjects, including the freedom movement.

Editorials and News:

The newspaper's editorials, news reports, and analysis played a key role in shaping public opinion and galvanizing support for the freedom movement.

Social Justice and Tamil Rights:

Dinamani, under editors like RmT Sambandham, also advocated for social justice, Tamil rights, and socio-economic equality.

Continued Legacy:

Today, Dinamani, owned by The New Indian Express Group, continues to be a prominent Tamil newspaper, maintaining its tradition of informing and engaging the public.

Swarajya

Subash Chandra Bose, born in 1897 was a prominent figure of the Indian Freedom Struggle. Bose started his independence movement journey by starting a newspaper,

named Swarajya in the Allahabad district (now Prayagraj) of Uttar Pradesh in the year 1921.

Swarajya was known to challenge the British government and ignite the feeling of nationalism within its readers. Swarajya built a significant number of readerships within the north-central province of the subcontinent. Two articles published in 1906, namely 'Englishmen Afraid of the Pen' and 'A grave warning', brought the British government's attention. One excerpt from the newspaper read, "The English, the present rulers of India, are timid, afraid of the press and unfit to rule the country...honest men are sent to prison, justice is for the rich and influential."

Swarajya was the first newspaper that was forfeited under The Indian Press Act of 1910 and was made to pay a penalty of rupees thousand, which when not paid resulted in the discontinuation of the newspaper. The act restricted any writings which proved to be sedition towards the British government.

India (Magazine)

India was a weekly magazine started during 1906. The Magazine, which was initially published in Chennai, was shifted to Pondicherry due to a ban by the English Government. At Pondicherry, India (Magazine) was published between 1908 to 1910.

Launched on May 9, 1906 in Chennai, Bharathiyar became the editor of the magazine during September 1906. Mandayam Thirumalachariyar was the owner of the magazine. When Bharathi was the Editor-in-Chief of India Magazine, M. Srinivasa Iyengar's name

was printed. India Magazine is known as the magazine that published Bharathi's writings.

Magazine Launch

India Magazine, which gained popularity as C. Subramaniya Bharathiyar was the Editor, was launched on May 9, 1906 in Chennai and was published on a weekly basis on Saturdays (The first issue was launched on Wednesday and later was published on Saturdays on a weekly basis). Thirumalachariyar, who used to write for Pirathivathi - a Vedanta Magazine run by Azhagiya Singer in Chennai, started the India Magazine. M.S. Subramaniya Iyer, who had worked alongside Bharathiyar as assistant editor in Swadesamitran and authored Biographies of many National leaders, mentioned in his book 'Subramaniya Bharathiyar' that Thirumalachariyar had started the magazine for the sake of Bharathiyar.

Thirumalachariyar, the owner of the magazine, also served as the editor. Mandayam Chakravarthy also known as Azhagiya Singa Perumal and M.P.T. Achariya, who was actively involved in the Indian Independence movement, assisted Thirumalacharya in the early days of the magazine. M. Srinivasa Iyengar (Murappakkam Srinivasan), a schoolmate of Thirumalachariyar, who was working in the Railway Auditor office took charge as the editor. In September 1906 Bharathiyar came to work for India magazine.

Many changes took place in the print when Bharathi took charge of the magazine. A distinct style was developed in writing its title page. This can be seen in the praises of later Indian magazines such as Amirthaguna Bodhini (November 1928), Vivekabanu, Rangoon Swadesha Paripalini, Hindu Sadanam and Swadesamithiran.

Shift to Pondicherry

Thoughts on Indian independence and anti-British propaganda were published in India magazine. The government issued a warrant for Mandayam Thirumalachari, the owner of India Magazine, and M. Srinivasa Iyengar, who was registered as the editor. Due to government action, India Magazine stopped publishing in Chennai from the last week of September 1908.

Bharathiyar and the magazine owner Thirumalachari fled to Pondicherry. As the printing press could be set up in Pondicherry only if a person born in French India granted bail, Villianur S. Lakshmi Narayana Iyer, a friend of Thirumalachariyar, volunteered and granted them bail. The printing press was located in Building No. 71, Ambalatharu Street. The first India Magazine (Pondicherry) was released on October 20, 1908.

The India Magazine launched in Pondicherry had the caption Swathandiramum, Samasthuvamum, Sagotharathuvamum (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity) in the title page.

The government banned the magazine published in Pondicherry from entering British India.

The India magazine (Pondicherry) ceased publication on March 12, 1910 due to various economic and political crises.

Case

Twenty articles published by India Magazine in Chennai from February 29, 1908 to June 27, 1908 were compiled as crimes against the government. Out of which, the magazine editors were prosecuted for publishing three articles, 'Mahabharatha Kadhaigal (Mahabharata Stories), Ethanaiyo Kollaigalil Idhuvum Oru Kollai' (A Robbery out of the many Robberies), En Kaalathai Veenaaka Vendum (Why to Waste Time). The office of the 'India' Magazine was raided on August 21, 1908 and the next day. Bharathiyar fled to Pondicherry. When the case ended M. Srinivasa Iyengar, who was registered as the editor, was sentenced to five years in prison.

Content

Magazine Title Details

The Caption 'Swathandiramum, Samasthuvamum, Sagotharathuvamum' (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity) was mentioned below the title of the magazine. This was the slogan of the French Revolution. The register number was mentioned in the left and right of the

caption and 'Sanikizhamai Dhorum Veliyagum (Will be released every Saturday) was mentioned at the bottom.

Cartoons

Apart from the news, articles and editorial, a political cartoon was also published in the first page of the India Magazine. 'India' was the first magazine to use cartoons for political propaganda. A cartoon and an explanation of the cartoon was depicted below the title of the magazine. A.R. Venkatachalapathi compiled all the cartoons published in the India Magazine and released a book named Bharathiyin Karuthupadangal (Bharathi's Concept Art).

Cartoon Explanation

An explanation of the cartoon (the political background of the cartoon) was given in the first paragraph of the second page in the magazine.

News Snippets

The News Snippets were featured in the section between the cartoon explanation and the editorial. This section had small news snippets. (Example: Thoothukudi Sudesi Shipping Company; A donation to the Thoothukudi Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company)

Editorial

The Editorial starts on the third page of the India Magazine. The editorial will be featured below the title "India Soumya Purattasi 31U".

Poems

India Magazine features two types of poems:

Greeting Poem (Set in Asiriyappa)

Libel Poems (Set in Kummi Song Form)

Bharathi's famous greeting poem 'Vaazhiya Senthamizh' was published in India Magazine. It was written under the title Pudhu Varusham (New Year) to mark the second anniversary of India Magazine.

The poem written to mock the appointment of V. Krishnaswamy Iyer as the judge in the Chennai High Court, can be said as an example of Libel poem.

Conversation

In India Magazine, few news articles were published by using the conversation strategy.

The British and French segment below is an example of such news segments.

Articles

Since India Magazine was a magazine that gave importance to news related to politics, political articles were published in many releases. (Eg: Articles such as Prison History, Excerpt of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh prison experience, Real Kings)

Letter (Epistle)

The letter segment had political articles in the format of a letter. (Eg: A series of letters were published entitled 'Hindu's Bravery - An Epistle')

Bharathi and India Magazine

India is a political newspaper published in Tamil. It was a magazine that wrote critical reviews of the events of that period. Those critical reviews were also written from a certain political perspective. The aim of 'India' magazine was to gain independence from British domination. So the articles released were in the nature of criticizing the government.

Specifically, Bharathiyar, who was its editor, used India Magazine as a medium to express his political views.

Some of the critical article written by Bharathi in India Magazine:

Condemning the incident where a policeman prevented a Swadeshi gathering in May 1907, Bharathi wrote in India Magazine as follows, "People! You are the owners of this land. You pay the ruler's salary and they are at your service. If a ruler does not work properly you have the power to change it. Recognize your freedoms and rights and unabashedly suppress those who interfere with your activities that are legal. The mischievousness of the police doesn't work for those who are courageous. Even the devil doesn't trouble the courageous people (India, 4.5.1907, Bharathi Dharisanam II)."

In the same month, Bharathi wrote condemning the action of the Collector who had blocked the Shivaji procession in Thanjavur.

Upon hearing the news of Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation in 1907, Bharati wrote in India under the headline 'Arajagam' (Tyranny) and Aarya Jaadhiku Nadandha Avamaanam (Insult to the Aryan Caste).

Documentation

The damaged version of India's first issue, published on May 7, 1906, was found during later days. It was published by Bharathi in the second edition of the 'Darisanam'.

The first six issues of India Magazine are not yet available. Only the top half of the first issue published was discovered by C.S. Subramaniam. Magazines from June 23, 1906 to June 22, 1907 are consolidated in a single volume and maintained in the Calcutta National Library. But it does not include the three issues released in November.

Only five of the magazines published from June 29, 1907 to September 5, 1908 were found. These are in the Pondicherry Mahakavi Bharathiyar Memorial Museum and Research Centre. Magazines published in Pondicherry since October 10, 1908 were re-organized and released named as Book 1 Issue No. 1. From this till Book 1 Issue No. 52 (published on October 9, 1909) was found. Book 2 Issue No 2 to 20 published from 20 October 16, 1909 were received from R.A. Padmanaban and maintained in the Puducherry Museum.

The British and the French

When the Governor banned India Magazine from operating in Chennai, the magazine started operations again in Pondicherry. Due to this, the Governor of Chennai wrote to the Governor of Pondicherry in November and December 1908 to ban the magazine. The French governor wrote in his letter that India's magazine had not violated their country's printing rights and hence could not be barred.

This incident was featured in the January 2, 1909 issue of India Magazine as a picture and an article title Oar Sambashanai (A Conversation).

End of India Magazine-Discussions

There are various opinions about the period when India magazine was discontinued. Although the magazine was known to have stopped on March 12, 1910, P. Iraiyanar (1995) states that it was secretly published until September 1910. Since the last issue found so far of 'India' Magazine was dated March 12, 1910, P. Thuran, R.A. Padmanaban, Premananda Kumar, S. Ramakrishnan considers it as the last day of the

magazine publication. But secret documents of the British government indicate that one or two magazines have been published post March 12, 1910. S. Lakshmi Narayana Iyer wrote letters to the Governor of Chennai three times during March and April 1910, to grant bail for Pondicherry 'India' Magazine. At the end of April, a letter was sent from the Governor of Chennai saying that the ban could not be changed.

After that letter, Lakshmi Narayana Iyer wrote a long letter asking which sections of the magazine were against the government. Due to lack of response the magazine was stopped at the end of April as stated in the secret document of the British government dated May 17, 1910.

Against the British Government articles such as:

Sivaji Patriya Kuripugal (Notes on Sivaji)

Veeram (Valour)

Arubathu Kodi Rubaiku India Kollai Idapadugiradam (India is being looted for Sixty crore rupees)

Adhika Arasinarin Neediyatra Manidha Thanmaiyaatra Sattangal (Unjust and Inhumane Laws of the Dominant Government)

Edhu Unmai (Which is True)

Translation from Don Magazine

Translation from Karmayogi's Magazine

Translation from Dharma Magazine

British Indiavin Nilamai (The situation in British India) were published on July 2 and 23, 1910, as mentioned in the statement by the British government. P. Iraiyanar quotes Ko. Kesavan's statement that the British Government of India had issued orders to the Judiciary and the Post Office departments in August and September using the Magazine Act and thus concludes that the Magazine was published until September.

Historical Significance

'India' Magazine was an important reason for the Independence movement to gain traction in South India. Researchers consider 'India' Magazine to be the first South Indian magazine to intensify quest for independence and opposition to the British government.

Salem Deshabhimani

The "Salem Deshabhimani" newspaper was an early Tamil newspaper established in 1880 in the Madras Presidency, which is now part of Tamil Nadu. It was one of the first Tamil newspapers and aimed to reflect the interests of the Communist Party and later the CPI(M).

Early Tamil Newspaper:

Salem Deshabhimani was one of the earliest Tamil newspapers published in the Madras Presidency.

Communist Party Voice:

It served as a mouthpiece for the Communist Party and later the CPI(M).

Focus on Social Progress:

Deshabhimani aimed to reflect the struggles of the labor class, promote social progress, and advocate for the interests of the people.

Desabhaktan

"Desabhaktan" was a nationalist Tamil daily newspaper that existed from 1917 to 1920. It was edited by Tiru V. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar, who aimed to promote pure Tamil language and nationalist ideals. It was also backed by Annie Besant, who used it to spread her Home Rule movement.

Here's a more detailed look:

Editor and Ideals:

Tiru V. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar was the editor and a key figure in the nationalist movement in Madras. He was known for his advocacy of pure Tamil and his commitment to nationalist ideals.

Ownership and Support:

Annie Besant, a prominent figure in the Home Rule movement, backed "Desabhaktan" and used it to propagate her views.

Short Life:

Despite its aims and backing, the newspaper had a relatively short lifespan, lasting from 1917 to 1920.

Impact:

"Desabhaktan" played a role in shaping the landscape of Tamil journalism and contributed to the growing nationalist sentiment in Madras.

Alternative Names:

While the primary name of the newspaper was "Desabhaktan," some sources also refer to it as "Desabhaktar".

Suryodayam

"Suryodayam" can refer to a few things: a newspaper, a book, or a Tamil film. A newspaper named "Suryodayam" was edited and published by Subramanya Bharathi in Pondicherry. The newspaper "Suryodayam" was a weekly journal that Bharathi published during his time in exile. It was also a journal where Bharathi wrote articles and contributed to its content. Additionally, "Suryodayam" is the name of a Tamil-language movie.

Here's a more detailed breakdown:

Suryodayam Newspaper: Edited and published by Subramanya Bharathi in Pondicherry. This was a local weekly journal.

Suryodayam (Movie): A Tamil-language film.

Suryodayam (Book): While not explicitly mentioned in the search results as a book, it's possible "Suryodayam" could also be the name of a book.

Vijaya

The Tamil daily newspaper "Vijaya" was founded by Subramania Bharathi, also known as Mahakavi Bharathiyar. He was a poet, freedom fighter, and social reformer from Tamil Nadu. "Vijaya" was one of several publications he edited and published while in Pondicherry, along with magazines like "India" and "Bala Bharatham". He was a prominent figure in the Indian Independence Movement and used his journalism to advocate for freedom and social change.

Chakravarthini

Chakravarthini (magazine) was a magazine started for women. It was published monthly. C. Subramania Bharathiar served as the editor.

History

Chakravarthini was published from August 1905. Its owner was Vaidyanatha Iyer. C. Subramania Bharathiar worked as the editor of this magazine for the first thirteen months. After Bharathiar, Varagakavi A. Subramania Bharathi was the editor of Chakravarthini. M.S. Nadesa Iyer was also the editor for some time. P.S. Appusamy Iyer edited Chakravarthini until January 1912. K. Vadivelu Chettiar later took over. Chakravarthini magazine ceased publication after 1916

Bharathiyar and Chakravarthini

Before Bharathiyar, magazines for women like Amritavasani, Maharani, Sugunakunabodhini, Matar Mithri, Benmathibodhini, Matar Manoranjini were published. During his time, magazines like Benkalvi and Tamilmadu were published. Bharathiyar

explains in the first issue of Chakravarthini why he decided to deviate from them and start a magazine for women. "Who can say that even if there are some big ships to bring our tens of thousands of women adrift in the ocean of ignorance, a small stream is not necessary?" (Bharathiyar, Chakravarthini, August 1905)

The magazines of that time were full of traditional moral teachings, fasting and religious messages for women. Bharathi's aim was to start a magazine that would give space to national news, women's education and women's liberation. The articles written by Bharathiyar in Chakravarthini have been compiled in different formats by Sini Viswanathan and other Bharathi researchers and published as a book.

Contents

Chakravarthini gave space to many genres of literature such as poetry, stories, drama, translations, book reviews, general news, and social commentary. In Chakravarthini magazine Bharathiyar's short story Tulasipayi, written under the pen name 'Shellidas', began to flourish in November 1905. Bharathiyar wrote some noteworthy editorials in this monthly magazine. Bharathiyar's congratulatory poem praising U.V.C. was published in the Chakravarthini magazine. In February 1906, Bharathiyar's song titled 'Vandemadharam' was published in the Chakravarthini magazine. From 1906, a series titled 'Sundari' written by 'Janaki' was published in the Chakravarthini magazine. The series titled 'Vijayalakshmi' was written by 'Devakunjari Ammal'. The series titled 'Manivasakan' was written by Th. Krishnaswamy Pavalar. The series titled 'Parvathy Sopanam' written by R.S. Subbulakshmi Ammal was published. Shakespeare's 'Hamlet' in Tamil was translated by K. Translated by Venkatrama Iyer and serialized. The serial

Bhanumathi was written by the poet A. Subramania Bharathiyar in the Chakravarthini magazine.

Discussions

A. Bharathi used to write articles about Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Vivekananda in the Chakravarthini magazine. At that time, a reader said, "Sir, your Chakravarthini magazine is not very interesting. How long are you going to continue writing about Vivekananda? You have written in bold letters on the outside of the magazine, 'For the development of women'; 'The story of Vivekananda taking up sannyasa inside, the story of Buddha leaving the kingdom and going on alms- if all this is written down, what kind of progress will it bring to women?' he asked Bharathi in person. Bharathi introduces the woman as "a woman with sharp intelligence, even though she is not very educated." "What the above mother said is right. "I made a mistake," Bharathi admits. "I have decided to start writing about things that are meaningful to women in a way that is meaningful to them," he assured the magazine. (Sin.Viswanathan, Chakravarthini's Essays (Collection), p.70).

"A Long Tale of Misogyny" written by the writer Ambai in The Hindu, "For these literary observers, women's writing and activities are elements of a mental illness. Such thinking is not a recent development. In 1906, when Bharathi wrote in the Chakravarthini magazine about women demanding political rights, he referred to women demanding such rights as unattractive and unmarried." Bharathi's analysts denied that this was a defamation leveled against C. Subramania Bharathi, who had started and run a magazine emphasizing women's education and women's rights, and that this claim was

made on the basis of superficial hearsay. It is true that Bharathiyar wrote such a line in Chakravarthini. But that was at that time, in a political controversy, and targeting a specific group of people. There is always political controversy in journalism. Bharathiyar has also written many political controversy in that way. There are very few thinkers who have not written like that. Bharathiyar was only 24 years old at that time. Moreover, Bharathiyar did not write about women fighting for political rights, but about women who aspire to political power. In magazines including Chakravarthini, Bharathiyar wrote about women's education, widow remarriage, the necessity of women participating in political struggles, and the fact that women should automatically become independent of men.

Balabharatham

Subramanya Bharathi was a revolutionary freedom fighter, Tamil writer, journalist and social reformer. In the year 1907 he became the editor of the Tamil weekly, India and the English newspaper, Bala Bharatham along with M.P.T.

Navasakthi

"Navasakthi" is a Tamil journal founded in 1920 by Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram (also known as Thiru Vi. Ka.). It served as a platform for his writings and played a significant role in the Indian Freedom Movement. The journal's main aim was to promote Mahatma Gandhi's teachings and inspire people to fight for independence.

Key points about "Navasakthi":

Founded: 1920 by Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram.

Language: Tamil.

Purpose: To propagate Gandhian ideals and inspire the fight for independence.

Role: A vehicle for Thiru Vi. Ka.'s thoughts and a voice for the Indian Freedom Movement.

Content: Included articles, editorials, and other content related to politics, literature, culture, and social issues.

Influence: The journal helped shape public opinion and raise awareness about the freedom struggle.

Swatantrashanku

Swatantrashanku was a Tamil newspaper started on 30-01-1930 by India Sangu Ganesan Sangu Subramanian. It was a Tamil tabloid published twice or thrice a week. Its editor was Sangu Subramanian. It published Gandhian views. This magazine sold up to 75000 copies. Those who supported the freedom struggle bought this magazine in hundreds and distributed it among the people. The cartoons published in it were highly appreciated by the people.

History

In the early years of the 1930s, Swatantrashanku grew into a valuable weekly newspaper. With Gandhian ideals, Sangu played an active role in the Indian freedom struggle. It published articles full of vigor and momentum. As a result, it became a target of repression by the British rule.

Later, in 1932, 'Swatantrashanku' reappeared. It grew up with the slogan "Tamil charity is the breath of Sangku." It was published twice a month. T. J. Ranganathan served as its deputy editor.

Articles and thoughts on social issues were included in 'Sangku'. V. Ra., N. Pichchamoorthy, K. P. Rajagopalan, and Chitti continued to write in it. Some of Pudumaipithan's early stories were also included in it. C. Su. Chellappa's story was published in 'Sudanthir Sangku'. After that, he wrote stories in it from time to time.

What is important to mention in 'Sudanthir Sangku' is its editorial page. Sangku editor encouraged and inspired new writers. Wherever he saw talent, he welcomed and praised it and supported it with ideas to help it develop. Suggestions for the development of Tamil short stories, ideas on prose, and thoughts on articles – the editorial page shared useful things in many ways. Sangu Subramaniam and T. J. R. have written and guided such ideas.

Some of these issues have been preserved in digital form in the Tamil Nadu One Book project.

UNIT IV

The Moderate

The growing rift between the 'old' and 'new' parties in Tamil Nadu became apparent after the launch of the swadeshi movement in the wake of the 1905 Congress session. Extremist leaders increasingly questioned the leadership provided by the Madras Mahajana Sabha as well as its continuing hold on the Madras Provincial Conference.

On 19 January, 1906, the secretaries of the Madras Mahajana Sabha—G. Subramani Iyer, G.A. Natesan, K.B. Ramanatha Iyer, Srinivasa Sastri, Venkataranga Rao and Venkatramanayya assembled at the request of V. Krishnaswami Iyer and decided to promote swadeshim through a series of public meetings. Circulars were to be sent to organizations affiliated to the Sabha in the *mofussil* areas, instructing them to use swadeshi goods as far as possible. As a result of the MMS initiative, numerous associations committed to the idea of swadeshi arose in the districts of Thanjavur, Tirunelveli, Madurai, Salem, Chengalpattu and Tiru- chirapalli. In June 1906, the Fourteenth Madras Provincial Conference was held at Tirunelveli, bringing together important leaders from all over Tamil Nadu under the banner of swadeshim.

At the June 1906 conference, differences between the old party and the new party surfaced on a range of issues. Given the firm hold enjoyed by the MMS over the Madras Provincial Conference, the proceedings at Tirunelveli and the resolutions passed at the conference reflected the views and preoccupations of the MMS to the exclusion of all others. The 'memorial' (memorandum) submitted to the British Government by the

President of the Conference fully reflected the old-style politics of polite requests and declaration of loyalty:

The elevation to high administrative posts of Indians who are themselves the product of English education and enlightenment and who are best fitted to act as interpreters in the government of the country, between the rulers and the ruled, will, in the humble opinion of your Memorialists, deepen the foundations of British dominion in India, and help to increase the material prosperity of the people.

The 'memorialists' not only tendered full co-operation to the British Government but also neglected to highlight the rising tide of swadeshim. Members of the new party, dissatisfied with the proceedings, held a parallel 'Swadeshi Conference' at Palayamcottah in Tirunelveli District, under the Chairmanship of G. Subramania Iyer. Here, the new party determined to evolve its own approach to swadeshim, irrespective of the resolutions passed at the Tirunelveli conference.

The uncompromising attitude of the Madras Mahajana Sabha could neither alleviate the fears nor entertain the aspirations of the Extremists. With the approach of the 1906 Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, the gulf between the Extremist and the Mahajana Sabha widened still further. In a confidential circular issued by the secretaries of the Madras Mahajana Sabha to several district associations and leaders, the Sabha warned: 'Unless the provinces muster strong in Calcutta, they will be swamped by Bengal, which may have its own way. Considering the influence of the new party so far as can be gathered from public prints, it is not advisable to allow Bengal to

have its own way.' The MMS mustered a strong contingent of 71 members from the Madras Presidency (49 of them from Tamil Nadu) for the Calcutta Congress session.

Anticipating the strategy of the old party, B.C. Pal and Kaparde, the right-hand man of Tilak, wrote to Madras-based Extremist leaders asking them to attend the Calcutta Congress in order- to strengthen their hands. Four persons were elected to represent the Tamil Nadu New Movement at Calcutta: Subramania Bharati, M. Narasiman, V. Narasimam and R. Sababathi. The New Movement in Tamil Nadu had begun to emerge as a small but powerful force.

The 1906 Congress Session

The division among Tamil Nadu nationalists was brought into the open at the 1906 Calcutta Congress. The session accorded full support to the swadeshi movement and called upon the people of the country to promote indigenous industries, and consume Indian-made goods rather than imported commodities. All went well for the Madras delegation until Ambica Charan Mazumdar proposed the boycott resolution. Bipin Chandra Pal, seconding the resolution, appealed to the delegates thus I ask you, in the name of God, in the name of my nation, in the name of the future emancipation and realisation of the highest destinies of your people, to lend your support to this movement, here, and when you go back to your province, there, so that as I said, this thing may proceed from point to point, from city to city, until the whole of India is ablaze, not with the fire that ruins and kills, but with the fire that brings plenty, patriotism, and progress in its train.

Tamil Nadu and the 1907 Congress Split

In Tamil Nadu, events from May 1907 onwards moved towards a parting of the ways within the nationalist movement. As the Surat session of Congress approached, both sidesold party and newpartymade energetic preparations to strengthen their respective delegations. It was at this time that Keir Hardie, a Labour Party member of the British Parliament, visited Madras as part of an allIndia tour to see at first hand the real conditions of the Indian people. When Hardie reached Madras on 4 November, 1907, he was warmly received by both the contending political movements. Hardie addressed the Madras Mahajana Sabha, visited several swadeshi enterprises in and around Madras city, and was received equally warmly at Chengalpattu, Thanjavur, Madurai, Tiruchirapalli, Tirunelveli and Tuticorin. From the last, Hardie departed for Colombo on board the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company's steamer.

In his address to the Madras Mahajana Sabha, Hardie stressed the need for unity in the nationalist camp, urging members 'to forget their differences and to unite in order to attain the objectives which the Indian people have at heart'. What he could not know was that the Congress split was already a reality in the minds of the two groups—well before its actualization at Surat.

New party leaders in Tamil Nadu, determined to have their own say at the Surat session of Congress, organized on 18 December a public meeting under the auspices of the *Swadeshi Vastu Para- charini Sabha*, with Duraiswami Iyer, the President of the Sabha, in the chair. Four resolutions were passed: two proposed by C. Subramania Bharati, one by Duraiswami Iyer and the fourth by V. Chakkari Chetti. One of the

resolutions proposed by Subramania Bharati clearly indicated the mood of the new party leadership. The resolution stated that 'this meeting seriously condemns the action of the Congress Reception Committee at Surat in not having consulted the other provinces in the matter of electing the President of the Congress and in having overlooked the claims of Lala Lajpat Rai to the same'.

The attitude of the new party, revealed at the meeting, was firm and uncompromising. The resolutions passed indicated that the new party delegates would be adamant in the pursuit of their goals at Surat.

Despite their differences, the two parties—the new and the old—travelled to Surat in the same train under the common banner of 'Madras Nationalists'. But whatever homogeneity the Madras delegation mustered during its train journey was lost at the very start of the Surat session. On 24 and 25 December, the new party met under the chairmanship of Aurobindo Ghosh to discuss its strategy. It was decided that the Congress be asked to include on the Surat agenda resolutions on boycott, swaraj and national education. If this demand were not considered favourably, Tilak would oppose the motion electing Rashbehari Ghosh to the Presidential chair.

The scene at the opening of the Surat session, and the part played by new party representatives from Madras have been vividly recorded by A.C. Mazumdar:

As Surendranath Bannerjee rose to address the assembly, the greatest disturbance proceeded from the front rows of the Madras and Deccan blocks of delegates. They called loudly for Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai and did not allow Bannerjee to talk but the old party members urged him to go on and he made repeated attempts to make himself heard, but scarcely a word could be heard

above the noisy clamour of the new party members. They were only about 30, the majority of them coming from Madras.”

New party members met the same evening (December 26) to discuss the next day’s proceedings; with the exception of Subramania Bharati, all leading members of the Madras new party attended the strategy session. Later that evening, the entire Madras delegation, comprising both old and new parties, assembled with G. Subramania Iyer in the chair. Duraiswami Iyer and Bharati expressed their hope that next day’s Congress proceedings would go on peacefully, noting that members of the Madras new party would do their best to ensure this. Next morning, however, the Madras old party assembled separately and vehemently attacked the new party.

The second day of the session, December 27, would in fact prove fateful. When the session opened at about 12.30 p.m., Tilak, still hopeful of striking a compromise with the Moderates, pencilled the following note to Malvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee: ‘Sir,—I wish to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of the President after it is seconded. I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. Please announce me.’

Receiving no reply from the Chairman, Tilak and his followers allowed Surendranath Bannerjee to complete his speech seconding the election of the President. Then, as the motion for the election of Rashbehari Ghosh was receiving prolonged applause, Tilak forced his way on to the platform and stood posted in front of Ghosh. Shouts of disapproval from the Moderates greeted his action. Tilak insisted that he had the right to address the delegates, and told Ghosh, when he attempted to interfere, that he was not yet properly elected. By this time there was general uproar in the *pandal*. An attempt

was made with the consent of the Chairman to remove Tilak bodily from the platform, but this was foiled by Gokhale. It was during this confusion that a shoe was hurled at the platform, hitting Pherozeshah Metha on the face after touching Surendranath Bannerjee. Chairs were now seen being lifted to be thrown at Tilak from below the platform. On seeing this, Tilak's

supporters rushed on to the stage to protect him. Rashbehari Ghosh meanwhile twice attempted to read his presidential address, but in vain. The confusion intensified and the Congress was suspended *sine die*.

In the aftermath of these events, the Indian National Congress formally split into the old party, henceforth termed the Moderates and the new party, or Extremists. In his *Bala Hharata*, Bharati expressed the following thoughts on the split:

To many, the ending of the Congress, an institution, which has been instrumental in bringing together diverse nationalities and creeds that inhabit this vast land, is considered as national calamity. Equally a respectable section which saw no good in its existence either to a prince or a peasant finds to its relief, that self-seeking men, titles and place hunters, would have no further opportunity of using their pseudo-patriotism for their selfish and baser ends at the sacrifice of the country's cause. Are we to mourn or rejoice for the death of Congress.

Swadeshi Movement in Tamil Nadu

Nationalism in India was an outcome against the oppressive and suppressive policies of the British Government. Nationalist sentiments, though uniform in their sources of origin, varied greatly from region to region in their modes of expression because of regional disparities and the cultural diversity of India. In Tamil Nadu, as in other parts of India,

the expression of opposition to British rule was due to the emergence of major political figures such as Veerapandiakattapomman, C. Subramania Iyar, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Bharathi were influenced by the Bengali nationalist. Madras on the Coromandel Coast was the first territorial acquisition of the British in 1639, established as a trading post in the seventeenth century it gradually grew into the Madras Presidency in the course of the eighteenth century. This first settlement of the British was also the first centre of revolt against the political activities of the British. The Tamil land especially Thenpandi or Pandinadu in the extreme south, referred to as the Tirunelveli district in the British records, possesses an ancient and glorious history. In the later part of the eighteenth century, it had fostered a movement of resistance to British rule spearheaded by Kattabomman of Panchalankurichi fame. He was publicly hanged at Kayattar on 16 October 1799. The second attempt was made at Vellore in 1806. Thus the poligars of Tirunelveli and the sepoys of Vellore were ruthlessly punished by the colonial Government. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, a native of Tirunelveli district was exposed to the folklore at a very young age and drew great inspiration from the fallen heroes of Tirunelveli. 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 had comprised young men bound together by the ideology of opposition to the British. In Tamil Nadu V.O. Chidambaram Pillai of Ottapidaram, along with C. Subramania Bharathi, Subramaniya Siva V. Chakkarai Chetti, Ethiraj, Surendranath Arya, S. Srinivasachari, S.N. Thirumalachari and M. P. Tirumalachari constituted the core group of the new movement. However, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai practically put to experiment the Swadeshi ideology and stood above other leaders of the same period.

An attempt has been made in this paper to throw light on the role of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai in the National Movement in Tamil Nadu and his collaboration with the like-minded leaders of Tamil region. Mostly contemporary sources are used in the preparation of this paper.

Early Career

Valliyappan Olaganathan Chidambaram Pillai, popularly known by his initials, V.O.C, VaVoo.Cee, Kappal Oottiya Tamilzhan, was an Indian freedom fighter born on 5th September 1872, to an eminent lawyer Olaganathan Pillai and Paramayi in Ottapidaram, Tinnevely district of Tamil Nadu. After completing his school life in Ottapidaram and Tinnevely, he completed law in 1895, at Tiruchirapalli. In 1900, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai had moved to Tuticorin and set up legal practice there. Whenever he was free, he went for long walks along the seashore. He loved the sea. The light of the vast expanse of blue, broken by white foamy waves, evoked in him sublime thoughts. So his mind went back to the glories of ancient India and created in him a deep desire to join the Nationalist Movement.

Swadeshi Ideology The ideology of nationalism unified the different linga-cultural communities of India and it became an effective weapon in the twentieth century for the Indians to fight colonial tyranny and oppression. Swadeshi and boycott, the twin aspects of the nationalist ideology were so appealing to Chidambaram that he sought to pursue these twin objectives through his new enterprise. The whole of the Tinnevely district was inflamed by his fire ideology and inspired by revivalistic and nativistic sentiments. A revivalistic ideology aimed “to return to a former era of happiness, to restore a golden age” and nativism aimed “to purge the society of unwanted aliens, of cultural elements of foreign origin . Swadeshi

meant for him the revival of the glorious sea faring traditions of the Tamils and boycott was both an economic and emotional weapon to free India of the unwanted presence of the foreigner. Programme of Swadeshi Movement. The Partition of Bengal in July 1905, intensified feeling of extreme nationalism in India. The Indian National Congress and nationalists of Bengal firmly opposed the partition. BalGangadharTilak played a leading role in spreading the message of Swadeshi- use of Indian goods and boycott of foreign goods. In the wake of the ant partition agitation a Swadeshi movement emerged in the South and Chidambaram found himself a part of this new movement. 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 Bharathi. He was introduced by Thirumalachari to Subramania Bharathi, editor of “India”. Like Chidambaram Pillai Bharathi was also a native of Tinnevely district, naturally they became close to each other. 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 British⁵. Bharathi talked at length on the patriotism of the people of Bengal and about Bepin Chandra Pal, the fiery nationalist from Bengal. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai was so inspired by the example of Bepin Chandra Pal that he could feel the fire of patriotism stirred in his heart. During one of his visits to Madras in 1906, Chidambaram met Swami Ramakrishnananda, a disciple of Swami Vivekananda in the Ramakrishna Mutt. An ardent exponent of Swadeshi, Ramakrishnananda asked Chidambaram 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 panacea⁶. Thus, the seed of Swadeshi was planted in the fertile mind of young Chidambaram. That was politically alive and spiritually fortified, burning equally with a desire to revive the glory of India and resentment for the foreign rule. V.O. Chidambaram stood up to colonial tyranny and oppression in his unique way of Swadeshi and boycott. Tuticorin, known for its pearl fishery had been a port of importance for several centuries making the Chola and Pandya Kingdoms prosperous in the medieval period. In the modern period, it was an important port with an access to Ceylon. Shipments of cotton from northern Tirunelveli and beyond were brought to the harbour of Tuticorin, a terminus of the Southern Indian Railway. In 1880, the British entrepreneurs had established Cotton Mills and the Coral Mills. Most famous of them were located in Tuticorin because of its position of vantage both for procuring raw materials and for despatching finished products. The British Indian Steam Navigation Company (BISNCo) conducted the trade with Ceylon. The rising tempo of nationalist activity made the British to reconsider the feasibility of continuing their lucrative trade through Tuticorin port. They attempted to shift their trading activities from Tuticorin to another port within easy reach of Ceylon and stated the lack of facilities at Tuticorin port as an excuse. The merchants of Tuticorin panicked and approached V.O. Chidambarampillai to safeguard their own commercial interest. On the request of merchants of Tuticorin, V.O. Chidambarampillai initiated steps to break the monopoly of the British shipping in the coastal trade with Ceylon and he went to Ceylon and proudly brought back the contracted ship of Shah Line Steamers under the name S.V. Swadeshi Steamers. Difficulties soon arose in the form of Shah Line merged with the newly-started Shah Steam Navigation Company of

India in August, 1906. Meanwhile V.O.Chidambarampillai brought together the merchants of Tuticorin and commercial figures from Tirunelvely, Madurai and other parts of Tamil Nadu and established the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company (SSNCo). It was formally floated on October 16, 1906. The company was invested with a capital of Rs.10 lakhs divided into 40,000 shares of Rupees 25/- each. Indians, Ceylonese and other Asian Nationalists alone were admitted to shareholding, in consonance with nativistic boycott ideology. Pandithurai Devar was elected as the president of the board with V.O.Chidambarampillai as the secretary and Selam Vijayaraghavachariar serving as the legal advisor of the company. "To establish a cheap and reliable steamer service between Tuticorin and Colombo and all such parts and places and to popularise the art of navigation, among Indians, Ceylonese and other Asiatics and to make them profit by it" were some of the lofty objectives of the Swadeshi Steam navigation company⁹. The spread of Swadeshi Movement in Tamil Nadu led to the emergence of a new party (Extremists) against the Madras Mahajana Sabha which represented the old party of Moderates. When the 14th Madras provincial conference was held at Tirunelvely in June 1906, leaders of the new party felt themselves excluded and so convened a Swadeshi conference at Palayamcottah where they decided to pursue their own goal of Swadeshim. V.O.Chidambarampillai attended the conference both at Tinnevely and Palayamcottah and later he gave lectures on Swadeshi in Madurai and Tirunelvely. Invited by B.C. Pal and Kaparde to strengthen their hand, the extremists of Tamil Nadu went to Calcutta in December 1906, to attend the annual session of the Indian National Congress and they pledged support to the boycott resolutions¹⁰. He was convinced that Swadeshi without boycott was meaningless. He

even went a step further and declared that not only foreign goods but everything foreign should be boycotted vigorously the inevitable result of which would be the attainment of Swaraj¹¹. Thus, the beginning of 1907, found V.O.Chidambarampillai not only as the secretary of the board that controlled the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company but also an avowed nationalist wedded to Swadeshi and boycott. Perhaps V.O.Chidambarampillai's convictions of the effectiveness of boycott was directly consequent to the struggle for survival of the Swadeshi Steams in the face of heavy competitions from the British Indian Steam Navigation Company. In spite of the unfair means adopted by the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, the S.V. Swadeshi Steamers were running a profitable business. The change in the ownership of the Shah Line meant that the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company lost its contract as well as the steamer. Compelled by circumstances, the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company chartered another steamer, Monkseaton, for a while. To be in a position to compete with the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, however, the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company required at least one more vessel. The newly formed Shah Steam Navigation Company India Ltd, now offered the services of her steamers Shah Allum and Shah Ameer, provided the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company entered into a new contract with the company. Unfortunately, the new contract, rather than resolving the problems faced by the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, created friction between Shah Steamers and the new Swadeshi Company. Finally V.O.Chidambarampillai raised a loan and proceeded to Bombay to negotiate and buy two Ships for the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. When V.O.Chidambarampillai was thus engaged his eldest son fell ill seriously and his wife

was expected a baby at any moment¹². But V.O.Chidambarampillai trusted God to take care of his pregnant wife and his ailing son. Leaving Tuticorin in December 1906 V.O.Chidambarampillai returned only in April, 1907, in the Gallia which he had purchased along with the Lawoe in Bombay. In April –May 1907 BipinChandre Pal undertook a tour of South India with the aim of spreading the message of Swadeshi and arrived on April 30, 1907. Between May 1 and May 9, 1907, B.C. Pal delivered as many seven lectures about the concept of Swadeshi, boycott and swaraj to the people assembled on the Marina Beach. V.O.Chidambarampillai's energetic speech and eloquent use of the Tamil language in translating the speeches of B.C Pal had electric effect all over Tamil Nadu. The extremists, particularly Bharathy and V.O.Chidambarampillai were recommending to make Lalalajpat Rai, as the President of Indian National Congress. Prior to the Surat session, the young nationalists who had formed a new organisation called the Chennai Jana Sangam, met at the residence of the Mandayam Brothers. Where V.O.Chidambarampillai and Srinivasa Chari accepted to share the travel expenses of hundred representatives. At the opening session of the congress on December 26, 1907 the Madras and Deccan delegates, occupying the front rows, did not allow Surendranath Banerjee to address the assembly but loudly called for Tilak and Lajpat Rai¹⁴. According to V.O.Chidambarampillai, Tilak stood like the powerful but calm lion before a hundred frenzied elephants. V.O.Chidambarampillai was selected to act as Secretary for carrying out the work of the new party in the Madras Presidency. After their returning from Surat Bharathi and V.O.Chidambarampillai were engaged in active propaganda regarding the split in the congress and the establishment of the Nationalist Conference and its programme of action. Returning to

Tuticorin V.O. Chidambarampillai continued his political activities with a renewed vigour. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was an ambitious attempt with an investment of 10 lakhs of capital. The investors from Calcutta and Bombay had a considerable number of shares and the response from Madras was not so enthusiastic. The canvassing for shares took V.O. Chidambarampillai to different directions. But in the process of promoting the prospects of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company Chidambaram incurred the jealousies of the merchants who now wanted him to be removed from the board. V.O. Chidambarampillai never cared for positions and so accepted to serve the Swadeshi Steam navigation company in any capacity. He even travelled to Colombo in order to get shares for the Swadeshi Steam navigation company. As a result of the tireless work undertaken by patriots like Vande Matharam, Shanmuga Sundaram Pillai, Kalyanasundram Iyer, Muthaiya Pillai, Kandasami Kavirayar, Natraji Iyer and Pandithurai Devar and the support of national leaders like G. Subramanyam Iyer who exhorted the people to strengthen the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company and thus serve the nationalist cause. Shares were sold in good numbers and the Swadeshi Steam navigation company managed very well the face of competition from the British Indian Steam Navigation Company¹⁵. And those who were jealous of V.O. Chidambarampillai satisfied themselves by sending petitions to the British Governor of Madras about the political activities of Chidambaram. In 1908, V.O. Chidambarampillai came into contact with the mystical Subramania Siva, born in Batlagundu in Madurai district, Siva was educated up to the Matriculation level. Siva was a fiery orator in Tamil and an ardent nationalist supporting the cause of Swadeshi. Under the auspices of the Desabhimani Sangam, a Swadeshi organisation based in

Tirunelvely, Subramania Siva delivered moving speeches which attracted V.O. Chidambaram Pillai. If Siva breathed fire through his speeches, Chidambaram created storms by his eloquence. Drawn together in expanding, expounding and exhorting the message of Swadeshi, Chidambaram and Siva became great friends¹⁶. This friendship proved later to be life long, weathering adversities, misfortunes, repressions and harassment. The activities of the agents of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company extended its operation to Andhra Pradesh and overseas to Burma and Ceylon. Though initially the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company chose to ignore the Swadeshi concern it soon became evident that the latter was a contender forcing the former to retaliatory measures. The British Indian Steam Navigation Company enjoyed the patronage of the bureaucracy and invoked "a range of dubious stratagems to outmanoeuvre and outcompete the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company". It reduced freight charges and passenger's rates, paid commissions to the railways for attracting more number of passengers and even arranged for travel concessions in the British Indian and Ceylon railways for those who chose the British Indian Steam Navigation Company. But all these measures were of no avail and the Swadeshi Steam navigation company was gaining fast and the British Indian Steam Navigation Company was estimated to lose between Rs. 30000 and Rs. 40000 per month in late 1907 and early 1908¹⁷. As such the bureaucrats in alliances with the British Indian Steam Navigation Company were necessitated to resort to other means to offset the commercial prospect of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. They soon found those means in the political activities of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai. In 1908, the crowning success of the Swadeshi enterprise was marked by contrasting tendencies within the

Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. Those whose motives were commercial and who were controlling the Company's board did not want any connection with nationalist politics. They even passed a resolution objecting to the participation in political lectures and demonstrations as; such participations they felt could endanger the prestige and prospects of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company¹⁸. On the other hand, VOC and some of his associates saw the survival of the Swadeshi Company unmistakably linked to the Swadeshi movement and the Nationalist cause. Labour Unrest and Swadeshi `

The Swadeshi movement not only gave a fillip to the ambitions of the rising Indian capitalist class in the early twentieth century, it was also "Linked up in a powerful way with an incipient still inchoately organized working class movement...." . Particularly in Tamil Nadu, the poor working conditions of the industrial labourers provided perfect ground for breeding anti-imperialist sentiments. Discontentment among the railway workers in Perambur and Nagpattinam led to a number of clashes between Indian and Anglo Indian employees, decidedly due to the spread of Swadeshim¹⁹. The drawing of the discontented labour element in to the stream of the nationalist movement was the achievement of V.O.Chidambaram Pillai and the occasion for it was provided by the strike of workers in Coral Mills in Tuticorin, in February 1908. In Tirunelvely, the British entrepreneurs had established three great spinning mills in the second half of the nineteenth century. These were situated in Papanasem, Tuticorin and Koilpatti. The spinning mills and the Coral Mills in Tuticorin employed nearly 1700 workers. Their working day extended from early in the morning, about 5 a.m. to late evening. Labourers spent these long working hours in stuffy, unhealthy atmosphere. No sanitation was provided and there did not exist a full time medical officer. The workers

were refused a reasonable salary. In February 1908, labourers of the Coral Mills struck work demanding a legitimate salary and a reduction of working hours. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai who had long been interested in labour welfare was quick to take up the cause of the labourers. In order to help the striking labourers he and his friends collected a welfare fund and helped the families of the labourers. Public support in Tuticorin for the labourers increased and almost all sections of the society became involved in the cause of the labourers. The A.F. Harvey brothers, proprietors of the Coral Mills were so unpopular with the people that one fine day, while travelling along the Palayamcottah road; they were pelted with stones by a jeering mob²⁰. The workers of the Madurai Mills, also under Harvey management, launched a sympathy strike on 29 February, 1908, raising the same demands of the Tuticorin Mill hands. To encourage the labourers to continue their strike with increasing vigour V.O. Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Siva addressed them daily. It is appropriate hereto quote at length the speech made by V.O. Chidambaram Pillai on the 3 March, 1908, because it exemplifies the revivalistic and nativistic ideology of Swadeshi that Chidambaram preached to the labourers, "why should foreigners purchase our cotton and export it for profit? Why should not we ourselves do so as the cotton is ours and the men who work are our men? Such being the case why should others derive gain from our labour. If two cotton merchants join, our profit will commence from tomorrow forward. We bring our cotton to our town, we do the work, we press it, and then we give the profits to aliens. If four or five cotton merchants unite, it will be very easy to commence the cotton trade and share the profit ourselves. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company is already established and has caused loss to the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, which will die

away in due course; next to it comes the cotton trade. It is very easy to capture it, I have received letters from several persons from Madurai and Salem intimating that they are willing to invest three fourths of the capital – needed, if the Tuticorin people help them with the remaining one – fourth and also supply labour. If you people would assist me, I would open a big mill for the manufacture of thread and cloth of all sorts. In Bombay out of 80 Mills, 19 are English concerns and 61 belong to Swadeshis. When our neighbours are ready to assist us why can we not join them and start the enterprise? Are you willing to subscribe and join in the enterprise! It will be a profitable concern. I ask you to give your assent, God will help us. There are two things we should establish a Mill and Press”. Already V.O.Chidambaram Pillai had expressed his desire to bring out a newspaper called Swaraj in Tamil. According to him, a revolution was imminent in India and it was necessary to have a paper to communicate in Tamil what transpired all over India and to propagate to the Tamil people the weapons of Swadeshi and boycott. On 27 February 1908, the day the workers of the coral Mills began their strike, G.T.H Bracken, Joint Magistrate communicated the message to L.M.Wynch the Collector and District Magistrate, that he immediately need twenty reserve police constables from Tirunelveli²³. In addition he issued a notice under section 144 of the Indian penal code to ban the public meetings scheduled to take place that evening. L.M. Wynch dispatched thirty more reserved police constables from Sivagasi to Tuticorin. To appraise the situation Wynch himself arrived in Tuticorin on 28 February and found the town perfectly quiet. Despite the ban order, P.S.Shanmugasundaram Pillai, a well-known Swadeshi activist and supporter of V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, propagated the intention of V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, Siva and Padmanabhalingar to address the people in public

place and private premises. Immediately V.O.Chidambaram Pillai was summoned by Bracken in whose office he confronted Wynch also. After prolonged arguments V.O.Chidambaram Pillai made it clear to the officials that he was not only unflinching in his attitude but as a lawyer was also convinced about the legality of his activities. The meetings were conducted in a peaceful manner and after a careful assessment of the situation Wynch and Bracken decided to withdraw the ban order. The Swadeshi activists in Tuticorin resolved to take out a grand procession on the morning of 9 March to celebrate the release of Bepin Chandra Pal from jail and to hoist the flag of Swaraj. Wynch now became apprehensive and even believed that the situation in Tuticorin placed the European loyalists in a critical position²⁴. He felt that the procession scheduled for March 9 should be stopped at whatever cost. But V.O.Chidambaram Pillai and the rest of the Swadeshi activists were engaged in preparation for March 9 celebrations. V.O.Chidambaram Pillai was determined to hoist the Swaraj flag on the appointed day even if that meant his death in the hands of the British. After conferring with the European residents of Tuticorin the new joint magistrate Ashe sent summons for V.O.Chidambaram Pillai. V.O.Chidambaram Pillai's close friends were afraid that there might be an attempt on V.O.Chidambaram Pillai's life. But V.O.Chidambaram Pillai was not afraid of his life because he believed that if fate willed him to die nothing could prevent that. Accompanied by his close friend and a lawyer, Mahadevan, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai met Ashe. Ashe tried to frighten V.O.Chidambaram Pillai by the strength of the police force. But V.O.Chidambaram Pillai was impossible to defeat ever and returned after a wordy exchange with Ashe. The management of the Coral Mills, at the end of seven days of

continuous workers strike finally agreed to give some concessions and sent their agent Subramania Pillai to negotiate with V.O.Chidambaram Pillai. Conditional to certain concessions V.O.Chidambaram Pillai advised the labourers to withdraw their strike and resume their work. However, the Coral Mill strike was brought up for discussion in the Governor-in-Council. The Council suggested “action against Chidambaram Pillai” under section 84 of the Criminal Proceedings Code²⁵. It was also decided to give a freehand to Wynch by approving any action he might take to deal with the situation. The anti-British activities of V.O.Chidambaram Pillai created a panic among the members of the Swadeshi Steam navigation company. They now approached VOC and asked him to give up his political work because by incurring the wrath of the British government he was inviting the ruin of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. But Chidambaram did not budge an inch from his stand against the British. He even came forward to resign his position from the Swadeshi Steam navigation company but never to stop his involvement in the nationalist movement. On the evening of March 8, 1908, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, Siva and Padmanabhalingar, received show cause notices from Wynch, requiring them to appear before the District Magistrate in Tirunelveli on 9 March. During the proceedings, they sought adjournment of the trial for a month to allow them time for the admission of an application in the high court for the transfer of the case from the District Magistrate’s Court. Wynch demanded security for the good behaviour of the three leaders during the adjournment. Initially the patriots refused to offer any security. However, later when they actually were ready to offer the security, Wynch rejected the offers deliberately. Later that evening V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, Siva and Padmanabha participated in celebrations

marking the release of B.C. Pal, organised in Tirunelvely town. The next day they took part in the procession and demonstrations in Tuticorin. They again appeared before Wynch on the afternoon of 10 March. After two days of prolonged hearing finally Wynch, determined not let go of the chief agitators, remanded them to the District jail adjourning hearing until 1 April 1908. V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, Siva and Padmanabhalyengar were arrested on 12 March 1908. They were charged with sedition under section 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code. Chidambaram Pillai applied to the high court for fifteen days bail. Wynch refused bail to V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, because he feared that if V.O.Chidambaram Pillai was sent to Tuticorin the people would not allow the police to arrest him again. Arther Franklin Pinhey, Madurai sessions Judge was said to have remarked that even V.O.Chidambaram Pillai's bone and skull also would do anti propaganda against the ruling authority. What followed the arrest of the leaders in Tirunelvely was the total disruption of peace and order on 13 March. They were angry and so reacted violently. The situation was brought under control by the use of brutal force. They expressed that its success or failure will not affect Tuticorin and its neighbourhood alone; it has become an all- India concern. If at all public support was forthcoming, it was slow and inadequate. Finally, after two years of nominal existence the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company officially ceased to exist on July 4, 1911. The two ships were sold to the British Indian Steam Navigation Company. II. The Trial And Imprisonment V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva and Padmanabhalyengar were arrested on 12 March 1908. They were charged with sedition under section 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code. V.O.Chidambaram Pillai was the first Indian to be punished for life on a charge of sedition. After a few days of confinement in

Palayamcottah jail he was transferred to Coimbatore jail. He gave a message to the people before he was taken to Coimbatore, he said "I will come back very soon but you should not forget Swadeshim and you should not erase the word Swadeshim from your mind. It is our life and breath, one day we shall get freedom from the British rule. In the prison, he was used as a bullock in pulling the oil press "ckekku" and his right leg was chained in the cruel hot sun. Thus, he was tortured in a brutal and inhuman manner, later the high court reduced his sentence and he was finally released on December 12, 1912. After his release from jail V.O.Chidambaram Pillai refrained from political activities though he continued to be a member of the Indian National Congress. Even that connection was lost when he resigned from it in 1920. He fell ill and passed away on November 18, 1936, but the passion for freedom still ranging in his mind till the last moment of his death. III. Conclusion The ideology of Nationalism became an effective weapon in the twentieth century for the Indians to fight colonial tyranny and oppression. Swadeshi enterprise symbolised for V.O.Chidambaram Pillai the revival of the maritime glory of India and excellent opportunity to prove that the British were not needed in India. In the year 1906 -1908, Tirunelveli district and the natural port city of Tuticorin emerged as important centres of nationalist mobilization focussed on Swadeshi initiatives. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company has posed direct challenge to an established British Enterprise. The fortunes of the Swadeshi Steam navigation company would mirror those of the larger political movement in Tamil Nadu and all over India. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, recognised the importance of the fledgling working class to India's National Movement. However the rise of colonial oppression and internal weakness led to the disappearance of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company.

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. Chidambaram Pillai and his talented lieutenants would continue inspire the people of Tamil Nadu. Perhaps V.O.ChidambaramPillai 's vision and ideology was prior in advance of his time. His dreams were realised and his prophetic visions were fulfilled much later not in a subject India but in an independent India. Indeed, it was got that the first Indian ship set to sail in the Indian Ocean was named "Chidambaram" in honour of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai the Tamil, who dared to launch a Swadeshi ship in the days of British colonialism. And the port of Tuticorin has also named "Chidambaram".

G. Subramaniaiyer

Sir Subbaiyar Subramania Iyer (1842–1924) was Vice-President of the Theosophical Society from 1907 to 1911 during Dr Annie Besant's tenure as President. His association with the Theosophical movement began from the 1880s when Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky arrived in Madras. He co-operated with Dr Besant in all her multifarious movements, educational, social, political, Theosophical and spiritual.

He was one of a core group of patriots responsible for the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and an active worker and Honorary President of Dr Besant's Home Rule League. A lawyer by profession, he was elevated to the Bench in 1895, and became the first Indian Judge to be made Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, during the British regime. He was knighted in recognition of his work but surrendered his knighthood as a protest against the internment of Dr Besant and her colleagues by the Madras Government. He acted as the legal adviser of The Theosophical Society and worked in this capacity till his last days. Dr Besant writes:

'He never flinched, he never changed in his devotion to Theosophy, which he regarded as the Brahmaildya of Hinduism.'

Early Days

Subbaiyar Subramania Iyer was born of Brahman parents on 1 October 1842 in Madura (now Madurai) District, South India. He was brought up amid the enlivening and chastening circumstances of a high-caste Hindu family and hence had access to education in English very early in life. His mind was thus open in its formative period to the influences introduced by the West. His father Subbaiyar was a trusted Vakil or agent of the Zamindar of Ramnad (Madura District). He died in 1844 when Subramaniam was only two years old. Young Subramaniam had his early schooling in a Christian Mission, then in an English school, and in 1856 he entered Zilla High School. He was successful in various fields and passed the highest examination in that school in 1859. His name appeared in the official Gazette and caught the eye of the Collector of the District, and soon the successful young man started his career in Government service as a clerk.

While serving as a clerk, Subramania Iyer passed the examination to become a pleader at the head of the list for the Madras Presidency, but he was not given permission to practise. However, when the Criminal Procedure Code came into force in 1862, his legal qualifications found recognition.

His Career as a Lawyer

The year 1857 saw the establishment of the University of Madras and in 1864 the High Court in Madras came into existence. Under its rules anyone who took the Bachelor of Law degree at Madras University and studied for a year under a practitioner of the High Court could be admitted to plead before it. Subramania Iyer took the opportunity to go in for higher studies and became a student once again. Though working all day in the office, he passed the Matriculation examination in 1865, Fellow of Arts in 1866 and Bachelor of Law in 1868 — all by private study. These added qualifications secured him promotion to the office of Tahsildar, but he soon resigned and apprenticed himself to an English Barrister who was also the Official Reporter to the High Court. Subramania Iyer became a reporter to the High Court himself and was formally admitted

to the Bar in 1869. Within a few months he was able to start his career and returned to Madura where he practised for fourteen years.

In 1870, as a young man of twenty-eight, blossoming into a leader of the Bar, he was appointed the Municipal Commissioner of Madura, in which capacity he did much for that city. He was also a member of the Madura District Board. In 1873 he won a suit against a temple committee for discrepancies in their accounts, after which he strove hard throughout his life to introduce rectitude into the management of temples. He founded the Dharma Rakshana Sabha for carrying out reforms and for the redress of grievances in the management of Hindu temples. He was also the pioneer of a movement which culminated in the passing of the Hindu Religious Endowments Act and the establishment of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board. Later, as a Judge, he advocated that surplus temple funds be used for religious education and amenities for pilgrims. In 1875, when H. M. the late Emperor Edward visited Madura as Prince of Wales, Subramania Iyer was chosen to be the spokesman of the town and presented its loyal address of welcome. In 1877, recognition of his work came to Mr Iyer in the form of a Certificate of Merit awarded by Lord Lytton at Delhi. In 1884 Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Governor of Madras, visited Madura and, recognizing the worth of Subramania Iyer, nominated him a non-official member of the Madras Legislative Council.

The year 1884 was a turning point in Subramania Iyer's life. He lost his wife and had to come to terms with his grief. He came into contact with Col. H. S. Olcott and joined The Theosophical Society, of which he remained a staunch and loyal member till the end. It was in Madras that he first met Mr T. Subba Row, a Hindu scholar and Theosophist, who much impressed him.

In December 1884 Subramania Iyer was one of the seventeen men of the Provisional Committee formed in Madras that began the long struggle for India's freedom and evolved the scheme of a national assembly. In 1885 the Indian National Congress held its first formal session in Bombay. Mr Iyer, as one of the co-founders, contributed significant information about the working of the Legislative Councils. This is one of the instances of Mr Iyer's advocacy of popular government — long before the arrival of

Annie Besant in India. In the same year Mr Iyer moved to Madras and took up practice in the High Court, thus widening the sphere of his activity. He was also appointed a Fellow of the University. From this time onwards he was a constant adviser of the President of The Theosophical Society, Col. Olcott, and was made a member of the Executive Committee.

In 1887, the British Government gave expression to their appreciation of Subramania Iyer's work; he became the first Indian to be appointed Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor. Owing to his unique abilities, high character and distinction, Mr Iyer was able to break down the prevalent racial prejudice and be accepted, and to enter for the first time into what had been regarded as the close preserve of the Europeans. At the end of his first term of office the Chief Justice wrote him a special letter of appreciation for his work. In 1895 he rose to the Bench of Madras High Court and till his retirement in 1907 he continued to be an honoured Judge, thrice being raised to Acting Chief Justice — in 1899, 1903 and 1906. The Privy Council recognized him as 'a Hindu lawyer of great distinction' and showed deference to his views; the public idolized him as one who never failed to temper justice with mercy.

The British Government, recognizing his brilliant work in his profession and his contribution to public welfare as a non-official member of the Legislative Council, made him a C.I.E. — 'Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire' — in 1889. In 1891 he was given the Indian title of 'Diwan Bahadur', and in 1900 he was made a 'Knight Commander of the Indian Empire' and became Sir Subramania Iyer. He retired from the office of Judge in November 1907, owing to failing eyesight.

The Theosophical Society

Having joined The Theosophical Society in the early 1880s Subramania Iyer threw himself into active work for the Movement. He was the Founder-President of the Madura Lodge of The Theosophical Society till 1885 when he settled in Madras.

In Madras, he was made a member of the inner committee of seven which really managed all the affairs of the Society. Col. H. S. Olcott, the President of the Theosophical Society, consulted him upon all points requiring decision, and placed great reliance on his judgement. He was also a member of the committee appointed to investigate the Coulomb affair, and it was largely owing to his advice that Madame Blavatsky was dissuaded from prosecuting them. In 1893, he met Annie Besant at the Annual Convention at Adyar and remained her staunch friend, working with her in all her various activities of nation-building and Theosophy. He was the co-founder of the Young Men's Indian Association with Dr Besant, and an active worker and Honorary President of the National Home Rule League till he passed away. Annie Besant wrote of him:

'He joined The Theosophical Society in its early days, when it was despised and rejected of men, shed lustre on it by his brilliant intelligence, his spotless life, and his profound devotion to Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. He stood by her through the infamous Coulomb attack, and was a member of the Committee which investigated the charges and declared her innocent of the accusation of fraudulent phenomena brought against her.'

Sir Subramania Iyer was the Recording Secretary (1905–6) and assisted Col. Olcott when the Theosophical Society was incorporated on 3 April 1905 at Madras. He was appointed Vice-President in 1907 when Dr Besant took the office of President of The Theosophical Society. In 1911 when Mr Sinnett decided to rejoin the Society she offered him the position of Vice-President, and cabled to Sir Subramania Iyer to ask if he were willing to resign to make this appointment possible, and he gallantly and immediately agreed to do so.

In 1917, Sir Subramania Iyer took the bold step of addressing Mr Woodrow Wilson, President of the USA, on British misrule in India, citing particularly the incarceration of Annie Besant, G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia and requesting him to use America's influence for Indian Home Rule. He also surrendered all the honours conferred on him by the British Government as, in Dr Besant's words, 'he would not wear an honour given by a Government which had struck so shrewd a blow at his country's liberties'.

He was unceasing in his efforts to obtain the release of his colleagues. The agitation was successful and resulted in their release within three months. He continued to be actively involved in the work of The Theosophical Society and various other causes for his country till his last days.

Author and Educationist

In 1904, Sir Subramania Iyer became the first Indian to be made the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. He was appointed a member of its Senate in 1886, and held that position until 1907. He was elected a member of the Syndicate (the executive body of the University) several times, and served in that capacity for some eight or nine years. In March 1908, Madras University conferred on him the LLD (Doctor of Laws) degree honoris causa and he was again the first Indian to receive it. Sir Subramania took a keen interest in the education of the youth of India. He pleaded for lightening the curriculum of studies, for making education less examination-ridden, for the diffusion of liberal culture and for other important educational reforms. His Convocation Address of 1896 concerned the development of higher education in India, and was full of valuable counsel to youth.

Sir Subramania Iyer was popularly known as Sir Mani Iyer, a man whose liberality knew no bounds, whose heart went out to the poor and suffering. His intellectual generosity also was unique: wherever he perceived talent, he was lavish in its praise and always encouraging. He helped the young men in the Bar as well as large numbers of students to educate themselves and no one in difficulty ever went to him without obtaining the needed means of relief. While he was Judge, his juniors had an ample share in his prosperity. Mr N. Sri Ram, as a young man with his friends, would visit Sir Mani Iyer every week in order to receive his support and instructions in their work for the motherland.

Sir Subramania Iyer published many articles in New India and Theosophical journals, the two most important being 'Rishi Gârgyâyana's Pranava-vâda' and 'An Esoteric

Organization in India', the latter being published as a book by the Modern Printing Works, Madras. His interests lay in social and educational reforms along with ancient Indian texts and he wrote on these subjects. Being a keen student of Theosophy he was responsible for getting three important books published. The 'Roof Talks' given by C. W. Leadbeater and Annie Besant contained a wealth of information, due to new clairvoyant research; these often developed from a question put by a student in an intimate circle. Sir Mani Iyer contributed generously to help in the publication of these 'Talks' which became The Inner Life by C. W. Leadbeater. He was also one of the few in a small group who received private instruction from Mr T. Subba Row; the notes he made were published in the 1931 edition of the Esoteric Writings of T. Subba Row. Further, Sir Mani Iyer commissioned a shorthand writer to transcribe the lectures of T. Subba Row on the Bhagavadgītā, given during the Theosophical Convention in 1886; these were published as a book entitled The Philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā. These talks were deeply scholarly and mystical and Madame Blavatsky quoted extensively from this book in The Secret Doctrine. Hence Sir Subramania Iyer's contribution to Theosophical literature, though indirect, was nevertheless valuable.

Last Days

Sir Subramania Iyer, after his retirement as Justice of the Madras Bench, concentrated on serving The Theosophical Society and his country, even while on his own spiritual quest. He took to the systematic investigation of many forms of meditation. Consequent to his spiritual pursuits and meditative practice he appeared to have attained certain occult powers, incompatible with a worldly life, and became a recluse. Doubtlessly his spiritual transformation was enkindled and fuelled in no small measure by his association with HPB, T. Subba Row, Dr Besant and The Theosophical Society. Dr Besant, wrote about Mani Iyer's last days:

'He was ill for very long, but to the end his splendid brain remained strong; the last few months were full of pain, but the dear old man remained patient throughout, only longing to go Home; and he went gladly to the Master he loved and served.'

He passed away on 5 December 1924.

14.2.1 V.O.C

Vallinayagan Ulaganathan Chidambaram was popularly known as V.O.C. He was endearingly known as 'Kappalotiya Tamizhan' (The Tamil Helmsmen—The Tamil who steered the ship). He was born on 5 September 1872 in Ottapidaram in Tuticorin district of Tamil Nadu. His father Olaganathan Pillai was a famous lawyer.

Following his father's footsteps, he went on to become a lawyer. V.O.C was influenced by Swami Vivekananda's ideology and he wanted to do something for India. At Ramakrishna Math, he met the great poet Bharatiyar, who became his very close friend. Though his father was his biggest inspiration, there was a basic difference in the working styles of V.O.C and Olaganathan Pillai. While his father served only the affluent section of the society, V.O.C catered to the needs of the poor, whose cases he sometimes took up against the wishes of his influential father. A case in which V.O.C proved the corruption charges against the three submagistrates won him attention and eminence as a lawyer.

In 1905, V.O.C entered active politics by joining the Indian National Congress. During this time, the Swadeshi movement in India was at its height. V.O.C wanted to expand the reach of Swadeshi movement in India and make the common Indian man aware of the flawed policies of the British government. Leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai were trying their best to quell intimidating trade practices of the British. They attempted to guarantee the safety of traditional Indian industries and communities dependent on them. V.O.C was greatly influenced by Tilak's ideology and became his ardent supporter. He emerged as one of the prominent faces of the freedom movement in Madras along with Subramanya Siva and Bharatiyar.

V.O.C was a successful entrepreneur, as he established a number of institutions such as the Yuvanesh Prachar Sabha, Desibhamana Sangam, Madras Anglo Industrial Society Ltd. His biggest achievement was the launch of India's first indigenous and comprehensive shipping service in 1906 to break the monopoly of the British in the Indian shipping sector. With the help of Aurobindo Ghosh and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, V.O.C purchased two steamships, S. S. Gaelia and S. S. Lawoe, to start his shipping

company. V.O.C's ships started regular services between Tuticorin and Colombo which greatly infuriated the British. It offered stiff competition to the British India Steam Navigation Company, due to which the latter had to reduce fares per trip. The British made an effort to buy his company but he refused the deal.

V.O.C successfully led a strike by the workers of the Coral Mill in Thoothukudi on 23 February 1908. The workers wanted better working conditions and a hike in wages. The British became increasingly concerned about V.O.C's growing popularity and a British official Winch asked him to assure that he would not participate in any political revolt. When V.O.C refused, he was arrested with Shiva on 12 March 1908 and placed in detention. As a result, there were protests in Thirunelveli denouncing his arrest and a massive strike was observed in Thoothukudi. He was confined in the Central Prison at Coimbatore from July 1908 to December 1910. This judgment was widely condemned and even the British media called his arrest unjust. His sentence was converted to 4 years in prison and 6 years in exile on subsequent appeal. He was jailed in Coimbatore and later Kannanur. He was not regarded as a political prisoner; rather he was treated as a convict, and forced to do hard labor. The gradual deterioration of his health compelled the British to release him from prison on 12 December 1912.

However, his life was totally ruined. His law license was stripped from him and his Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was also dissolved in 1911. He settled in Madras with his wife and two children and became the leader of various trade unions and labor welfare organizations. He presided over the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1920. However, he resigned from the Congress in the same year due to ideological differences with Mahatma Gandhi. Unable to earn his livelihood, he again petitioned the court to grant him the permission to practice law, which was ultimately granted. He started practicing law again at Kovilpatti in 1927. He also rejoined Congress at Salem. However, he resigned once again and moved back to Thoothukudi in 1932, where he spent rest of his life writing. He translated several works of James Allen to Tamil and made compilations of famous Tamil works like the Tolkappiam and Thirukural. Finally V.O.C passed away in relative obscurity on 18 November 1936. He

was undoubtedly one of the greatest leaders of the Indian freedom movement. Even today he is much loved and celebrated in the Tamil Nadu society.

14.2.2 Subramannia Bharathi

Chinnaswami Subramannia Bharathi was a Tamil poet, freedom fighter and social reformer from South India. He was born on 11 December 1882 at Ettayapuram in Tuticorin District to Chinnaswamy Iyer and Lakshmi Ammal. He lost his mother at the age of five. While pursuing his studies, Subramannia developed his poetic, literary and debating skills. He was blessed with exceptional abilities at an early age. Impressed with his debating skills with renowned scholars of that time, the Maharaaja of Ettayapuram conferred him the title of 'Bharati'. Henceforth, he came to be known as Subramannia Bharathi. He was married to Chellama at the age of 15. His father died next year which drove him to poverty. He then moved to Varanasi to live with his uncle where he learnt Hindi, Sanskrit and English. He also qualified the entrance examination of Allahabad University. After a few years, Bharathi returned to Ettayapuram and joined as a poet in his court of the Maharaaja of Ettayapuram. Bharati is also referred to by the name of 'Mahakavi Bharathiyar' meaning 'Great Poet of Tamil'. His name is counted amongst the most celebrated bards of the country. He also worked as a Tamil teacher at Sethupathi High School in Madurai.

Subramannia Bharathi is considered a national poet due to his plethora of poems which were patriotic in tone. In these poems, he encouraged the people to join the freedom struggle and work enthusiastically for the liberation of the country. Instead of merely being proud of his country, he also outlined his vision for a free India. Bharathi's thirst for India's freedom from the British rule took him to Madras to work as journalist at Swadeshi Mitran. Here, he developed a relationship with other freedom fighters such as V.O.C and Subramania Siva. He participated in the Benaras Session of the Indian National Congress in 1905. Bharathi was invited to attend the Calcutta session of Indian National Congress in 1906 where he met leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Lajpat Rai and others.

He also met Swami Vivekananda and Sister Niveditha. Later, he accepted Sister Niveditha as his Guru. He also participated in the Surat session of the Indian National Congress in 1907. His participation and activities in these sessions impressed many national leaders about his patriotic fervor. Bharathi started to take part in the freedom movement more enthusiastically. Even a layman could easily understand his poems and writings. His literary works awakened the spirits of youth and common man to participate in freedom struggle. In order to proclaim its revolutionary zeal, Bharathi had the weekly printed in red paper. 'India' was the first paper in Tamil Nadu to publish political cartoons. He became the editor of English newspaper 'Bala Bharatham' in 1907. These newspapers not only helped to rouse the feeling of nationalism among the masses and inform about the daily affairs of the outside world, but also served to bring out the creativity of Bharathi.

Apart from contributing to the freedom struggle through his writings, Bharathi organized several meetings inviting revolutionary national leaders such as Tilak and many others. He also wrote speeches to rouse the patriotic fervor in the masses. Neelkanda Brahmachari and Vanchinathan were the most notable revolutionary.

Bharathi demanded freedom from the British in his writing. This angered the British and Bharathi was exiled to Pondicherry where he lived for many years. He also started publishing his magazines from Pondicherry once the British banned his publications in their territory. Bharathi's stay at Pondicherry proved to be the best part of his life. He got acquainted with Aurobindo Ghosh who was one of the greatest freedom fighters of India. During his years at Pondicherry, he produced some of the greatest works of poetry. Bharathi was arrested from Cuddalore by the British in 1918. He was released after 34 days of imprisonment. He was again pushed to poverty due to the ban on his publications. Bharathi then moved back to Chennai and continued to pursue his passions.

Bharathi often visited the Parthasarathy Temple at Tiruvellickeni in Madras. One day unfortunately he was attacked by the elephant while feeding it and sustained injuries on his legs and head from which he never recovered and died on 11 September 1921 at

the age of 39. Bharathi's contribution to Indian freedom struggle will be celebrated for the coming generations. During his life time when freedom movement reached its zenith he not only roused patriotic zeal but also touched every aspect of human life by means of his poems and writings. That is why he is called 'Mahakavi' (Great Poet). His wise suggestions and dedicated support to the cause of Indian nationalism rejuvenated the mind of many national leaders. Thus, Bharathi played a pivotal role in the freedom of India.

Revolutionary Activities in Tamil Nadu

Pondicherry provided a safe haven for the revolutionaries. Many of these revolutionaries in Tamil Nadu were introduced and trained in revolutionary activities at India House in London and in Paris. M.P.T. Acharya, V.V. Subramanianar and T.S.S. Rajan were prominent among them. Revolutionary literature was distributed by them in Madras through Pondicherry. Radical papers such as *India*, *Vijaya* and *Suryodayam* came out of Pondicherry.

Kadalur Anjalai Ammal

A few leaders were glorified by the people of India and Tamil Nadu during the difficult path of the freedom struggle. There are numerous personalities who contributed their entire lives to the movement and greatly affected it struggle. There are numerous personalities who contributed their entire lives to the movement and greatly affected it. However, their sacrifices are partially or completely neglected by society and history. Women are large in number and fight against the hectic rule of the British both individually and as part of an organization. Their vision and works were lost to history because they were unconcerned about their public image. Anjalaiyammal was a fearless freedom fighter who went unnoticed in Tamil Nadu and India's liberation movements. She was praised by Gandhi as the "Jhansi Rani of the South." She was always involved in the freedom struggle and was imprisoned for it. But her efforts and

fearless acts were completely forgotten or unsung in the history of the freedom struggle. This study has mainly focused on exhibiting the efforts of Anjalaiyammal in the freedom struggle.

Early stage

Anjalaiyammal was born in the coastal district of Cuddalore, the erstwhile South Arcot district, on June 1, 1890, to Muthumani Padaiyatchi and Amma Kannu. Their family did the work of weaving for many years and possessed more than 20 charriatos for the purpose of business. They lived in the street named "Sunnambu Kara Street" (Chunnam Street). They have five children, namely Raji, Anjalai, Pavadai, Singaram, and Ramaswamy. Anjalaiyammal was taught Tamil and English at home by their father's teachers. She was married to Murugappan in 1908 A.D. They have six children, namely Karumbu, Saraswathi, Ammaponnu, Kalyani, Gandhi, and Jailveeran.

Between 1908 A.D. and 1918 A.D., Subramaniya Bharathi migrated to Pondicherry from Chennai under the pressure of the British. Anjalaiyammal read the journals of Bharathiyar and sometimes wrote letters to him. Also, she voluntarily donated the funds to the journal. Her brother was a charioteer, and Bharathiyar had three close calls with him in her home. While Bharathiyar was arrested and detained on Cuddalore, Anjalaiyammal's parents assisted them.

Gandhi's visit

Gandhi toured the entire country in order to strengthen the Congress party. The meeting was conducted on the bank of Gadilam. After hearing the words of Gandhi, Murugappan became a teetotaler. Then Anjalaiyammal joined the ranks of those who believed in Gandhi and his ideas. The only two women who have participated in the freedom struggle directly are Anjalaiyammal and the wife of Srinivasa Ayyangar, the president of Congress. Hence, Anjalaiyammal became the foremost leader in the journey of the freedom movement. In 1934, Gandhi travelled from Chennai to other places for the speech. While the train crossed over Cuddalore, some of the volunteers met Gandhi, but Anjalaiyammal was banned by the police of South Arcot. However, Anjalaiyammal

wore the purdah and met Gandhi at the railway station. Gandhi praised Anjalaiyammal for her selfless service to the cause of freedom.

Song of identity

Anjalaiyammal and his husband took part in several agitations during the liberation struggle. During the day, police may have to arrest people in order to transport them in the police jeep. They were then dispersed from cashew groves throughout the night. So they shouted "Murugappan" and "Yei Anjalai" like a song. They were using the technique while they were arrested by the police.

As a Gandhian, he promoted the Khadi (homespun cloth) scheme for self-sufficiency and the boycott of foreign clothes. Periyar, the self-respect movement's founding leader, also known as "Periyar," led the event in each location. Periyar has visited Anjalaiyammal's home to reveal the objectives of the agitation against the group of people. They then held a rally with Periyar, while Anjalaiyammal carried a bunch of cloths on her head to spread the message of boycotting foreign clothing. The police had banned the sale of indigenous cloths when Anjalaiyammal diverted them and sold them in a railroad station.

Neil statue agitation Neil statue agitation Neil statue agitation

The statue of George Smith Neill was unveiled in the Anna Salai with a height of 12 feet after the successful suppression of the Indian rebellion of 1857. For the purpose of honouring the

officer, the British government installed the statue in Chennai. In 1927, the Congress initiated the agitation for removing the statue, knowing the cruelty of the officer. Anjalai Ammal led the agitation at the Cuddalore railway station. Her 11-year-old daughter took part in the event and was later sentenced to four months in jail. The next day, her husband, Murugappan, also participated in the event in Chennai and was sentenced to 6 months of imprisonment. Her family members and she voluntarily took part in this uprising, revealing their involvement in the liberation struggle. While Gandhi attended the meeting in Chennai in 1927, he met Anjalaiyammal and was advised to be brave.

Work with Subramaniya Siva.

Subramaniya Siva, whose well-known freedom fighters contracted leprosy while imprisoned in Salem, Anjalaiyammal invited Subramaniya Siva to Cuddalore and made arrangements for his shelter. There, he preached freedom to the younger generation. In 1923, there were lots of congress volunteers who were arrested and imprisoned after they fought against the toddy shops. They were transported to the Cuddalore jail by train, but the ration was not provided. So Anjalaiyammal made severe steps to feed them after a long struggle against the British with Subramaniya Siva. The train may have arrived in Cuddalore around 1 p.m. However, the incident triggered the British, who have banned the ashram where Subaramaniya Siva lived. Being a leprosy patient, nobody was willing to give shelter to Subramaniya Siva. Anjalaiyammal has given shelter to Siva at her home, where he suffered a lot and was seriously ill. Then he wanted to move the Bharatha Matha Ashramam at Pappirattipatti, and there he breathed his last.

Dandi March

Gandhi organised the Dandi March to protest the salt tax in Gujarat. These incidents triggered high regard for the entire country. Anjalaiyammal made significant contributions to the Cholinganallur March during the Dandi March. She was also imprisoned for three months for the same offense. In 1931 A.D., the march was conducted in Devanampattinam by the congress committee, while Anjalaiyammal participated. In addition, she was sentenced to six months in prison and imprisoned in Vellore. During that time, some freedom fighters would write mercy

petitions and be granted bail. But Anjalaiyammal refused to accept the Brits' mercy and fought for a long time.

India has clinched the victory of independence thanks to the tremendous efforts of the freedom fighters. Their vision is more prominent than other people's, who recognised that the only solution to the problem was getting freedom from the British. Earlier, some people only contributed to this act, and then other people admired or inspired their

actions. The path of the freedom struggle was harsh, and those who were imprisoned suffered greatly. Meanwhile, some of the leaders' values were only celebrated and displayed in the texts. The other volunteers' tireless efforts to aid the freedom struggle were completely unknown, unsung, and unauthorized. As a result of the consequences, Anjalaiyammal may be one of the important people who contributed to the freedom events, receiving harsh punishment such as imprisonment. Those days, some of the freedom fighters, after their imprisonment, wrote letters to the British called "mercy petitions." However, brave leader Anjalaiyammal never used mercy petitions and struggled to be a freedom fighter.

Soundaram Ammaiyar

T. S. Soundaram Ramachandran (18 August 1904 – 21 October 1984) was an Indian physician, social reformer and politician was the daughter of T. V. Sundaram Iyengar, the founder of T V Sundaram Iyengar and Sons Limited, popularly known as TVS Group of companies, one of India's largest industrial conglomerates. She was married young barely at the age of 14 in 1918, her husband Dr. Soundararajan, encouraged her to study. But when he died when she was in her teens, it was her parents who urged her to continue with her studies. It was at Lady Hardinge Medical College in Delhi that she did her medicine degree.

Freedom struggle and remarriage

During her college days in Delhi, she became friends with Sushila Nayyar and through her she met Gandhiji. She was immediately drawn to the freedom struggle, but she did not give up her studies. She was 32 years old in 1936 when she was graduated as a doctor. She then involved herself wholeheartedly into the freedom struggle and through Gandhiji met G.Ramachandran, a keralite, who was active in the Harijan movement. They fell in love and decided to get married, but her parents were vehemently opposed to the alliance. Gandhi advised them not to keep in touch with each other for a year. After that separation, when they still felt the same way about each other, Gandhiji gave

them his blessings and they got married on 7 November 1940. T.S.Soundaram and her husband were soon in the thick of the Quit India Movement, but as freedom neared Gandhi thought she would serve India better by not getting involved in politics. He made her the representative in South India of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust and entrusted her with setting up an institution in a rural area that would improve the lot of the poorest of the poor. So was born the idea of Gandhigram, where villagers were taught skills and provided support to revive village industries and the economy of the rural community. Dr.T.S.Soundaram threw herself wholeheartedly into this project that focused on healthcare, education, economic development and social welfare in the rural communities in the surrounding area.

Social work

In 1947, Soundaram started the Kasturba Hospital as a two-bed clinic in a house in Chinnalapatti, a small town on the Madurai Dindigul highway. Under the visionary leadership of Dr Soundaram, the hospital made several inroads into rural health and family welfare which is now a 220-bed hospital. Along with her husband, Dr. G. Ramachandran, she notably founded the Gandhigram Rural Institute in 1947 as a memorial to Kasturba Gandhi, the deceased wife of Mahatma Gandhi, with a fund of national donations. This was set up as a rural institution, in a remote place in Dindigul district, Tamil Nadu to serve the most deprived of people.

Political life

Soundaram was elected Member of the Legislative Assembly (India) twice from then Madras State, first in 1952 from Athoor (State Assembly Constituency) and in 1957 from Vendasandur (State Assembly Constituency) representing Indian National Congress, then an MP in 1962 representing Dindigul (Lok Sabha constituency). With her move again to Delhi, she was appointed the Union Deputy Minister for Education. It was during her tenure as Deputy Minister that she introduced compulsory and free primary education throughout India.[citation needed] She also helped start the National Service

Scheme (NSS), that still has a strong rural service element to it. In the year 1962 she was awarded Padma Bhushan for her contribution towards social work. Soundaram lost the 1967 general election from Dindigul (Lok Sabha constituency) to N. Anbuchezhian a young student leader of DMK with a margin of more than one lakh votes, subsequently she went back to social work and retired from politics.

Vanchinathan

Introduction:

India, world's largest and greatest democratic country is a free nation now. To be a free and democratic republic, India had paid a heavy price to attain that position. That price was paid in the form of sufferings, tears and bloodshed by great Indian patriots. Many leaders including known and unknown were suffered imprisonment for long years and had the annoyance by the British rulers and their police. We hear the names of great leaders whose contributions for the freedom movement from Tamil Nadu especially in present Tirunelveli District. Vanchinathan occupied a permanent place in the history of freedom struggle in Tamil Nadu. He was a real hero of Tirunelveli. At Maniyachi near Tirunelveli in 1911, he shot down British Collector Ashe. Several newspapers particularly The Hindu denounced it as a dastardly act but the enquiry into the incident that it was the outcome of a widespread conspiracy against British Imperialism.

Early Life:

Vanchinathan was born on 1886 in Senkottah at Travancore state. He was the son of Reghupathi Iyer and Rukmani Ammal. His early name was Sankaran. His father was an employee of Senkottai Devasthanam. He did his schooling in Senkottahs and graduated in M.A from Sri Moolam Maharaja College at Thiruvananthapuram. He married Ponnammal at the age of twenty three and began his family life. In that time he got into a lucrative government job. He started his career as a temple accountant and later appoint as Travancore forest guard in the Travancore forest department. In that time V.O.Chithambaram, Maduthukadai Chithambarm Pillai, Subramonia Siva and Neelakanda Brahmachari took active part in the independence struggle. As the desire

for independence did not exempt Vanchinadan became the member of the Bharatha Matha association, an extreme organization, which constantly acted against the British government. He resigned his job as a forest officer at Punaloor in Travancore and indulged himself completely in the freedom struggle.

Bharatha Matha Association:

The secret society Bharatha Matha Association was generally believed to have come into existence in January 1910. Neelakanta Brahmachari probably acting in accordance with directive from a high command either in Pondicherry or in Bengal was successful in established the first branch of Bharatha Matha Association in the princely Travancore strategically close to Tenkasi and the western most taluk of Tirunelveli district. This extremist organization constantly acted against the British Government. Other members of the society were Sankara Krishna Iyer of Krishnapuram, Madathukadai Chidambaram Pillai of Tenkasi, Dharmaraj Iyer and Harihara Iyer of Shencottah, Madasami pillai of Ottapidaram and Arumugam Pillai of Tuticorin.

1910 April 10 they held their first meeting in Tenkasi at the residence of on Madattukadai Chidamparam Pillai where the plan was evolved. The meeting was followed by the performance of Pooja to taking of blood oath. There was a kali's picture which were sprinkled the red liquid made of kumkum and water then administered to the foot that the lives and property of the persons took were dedicated for the purpose of obtaining Swaraj, that the secrets of the society should not be divulged and that if any one did so, he would be killed. The participants drank the kumkum water to symbolize the drinking the blood of the Englishmen. After reciting the „mantra“ and shouting „Vande Mataram“ the members present read the oath in turn, cut their thumbs with a knife in order to affix their thumb impression in blood against their names. The Oath was, “Vande Mataram, We should kill all white men. No one should reveal the affairs of the society. Our life, property and everything should be sacrificed for the society. Whoever reveals the affairs of this society will be taken to the hill and killed.

Neelakanda Brahmachari, Krishna Iyer and Chidambharam Pillai, took the blood oath. New names were given to the members to conceal their identity. Vanchi Iyer was an active associate of Neelakanta bhramachari.

Varahaneri Venkatesa Subramaniam Iyer, also known as V.V.S Iyer was an Indian revolutionary from Tamil Nadu, who fought against the British in India. V.V.S.Aiyar also known as Maharishi was in London for some years, working in close collaboration with Vinayak Damodhar Savarkar, Shyamji Krishnavarma and Madam Cama. He was a scholar in Sanskrit and a master of English prose. On his return to India in January 1910, he settled at Pondicherry. He was a well-known patriot and extremist in Indian nationalist politics. He believed in violent, revolutionary means to obtain India's freedom. He was of the opinion that training to the citizens in the free use of arms and heroic deeds are necessary for free India. Thus practice in using the revolver was one of the items taught to young recruits who were sent to Pondicherry for moral and physical training. Pondicherry was found suitable for smuggling of small arms and also for printing secret pamphlets. Later the venue was converted to be the political asylum of the Swadeshi nationalists of Madras Presidency.

Vanchi was a close collaborator of V.V.S.Iyer, another freedom fighter who sought arms to defeat the British. Vanchi became well acquainted with the character of a revolutionary long before his first met V.V.S.Iyer, Vanchi went in long leave initially for a period of month, later extended by another two months. He rejoined duty in April 1911, finally leaving the forest department on May 15, 1911. During that five to six months period, Vanchi appears to have undergone some form of personal transformation, emerging at the end with a clear commitment to put family problems aside and focus on what he described as „the welfare of the nation is in ruined circumstances“.

Assassination of Ashe

Robert William D Escourt Ashe was born on November 23, 1872 at Ireland. In 1894, Ashe passed fortieth, among 61 successful candidates in the Indian Civil Service Examination. On December 4, 1895, he arrived in India, where he began his career as an assistant collector and rose on Magistrate and Collector at the small seaport of

Tuticorin, in the southern most reaches of the Madras Presidency in 1907. Ashe was the first and only colonial official during the Indian Independence movement. He hated Indian who cleared to ask him “why “and the man he hated most in that town famed for pearl fishing was the celebrated V.O.Chithambarm. He took charge of Tirunelveli district on August2, 1910, as Acting Collector.

Family of Ashe

In that time people of North Indian revolted against the British involving themselves in the war of Independence. The steps taken by Lord Curzon to subdue the revolt created restlessness and enmity among the people. To protest that order, people rose in revolt under the leadership of Balagangadhara Tilak. The government suppressed this revolt; many were prison particularly Bibin Chandra Pal was torched inside the prison. In 1907 Bibin Chandra Pal who was released. His extremist principles awakened the Tamils and they began to campaign against the government.

At the same time great martyrs like V.O.C, Subarmania Siva and like leaders were arrested and imprisoned. Hearing the atrocities suffered by the people in prison Vanchinathan wanted to eliminate Collector Ash who responsible for the prison sufferings.

In that circumstance, his wife who had gone for delivery lost the new born child. When his father conveyed that message to Vanchinathan he told his father “birth and death are very common and you think that I am also dead and forget me, I have an important work to finish. My country is greater than my child and family”. With these words he sent back his father.

The selection of Ashe was reportedly due to the role he had played in the suppression on Tirunalveli riots and in the subsequent closure of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. However on the face of it, Ashe was a less obvious candidate for assassination than was L.M.Wynch, the Tirunelveli District Collector who had conceived and executed the plan removing the Combative Swadesi leader V.O.Chidambaram from

the political scene. Ashe had in fact taken charge as joint Magistrate only on March 3, 1908, a few days before the events at Tirunelveli and Thoothukudi.

The plot to murder Ashe was drawn. All the particulars about him were collected. His wife was visit Tirunelveli by the first week of June and during that time Ashe and his wife were go to Kodaikanal to see their children, who studied in the convent at Kodaikanal. It was decided to kill Ashe secretly by a group of Bharathmatha Organization consisted of Madaswamy Pillai, Arumugham Pillai, Neelakanda Pramachari, Azahappa Pillai and Vanchinathan. Among them Vanchinathan took up the responsibility of killing Ashe.

V.V.S .Iyer was generally believed to have masterminded the plot. Decisions on this plot were taken at Pavanasam and Punaloor. Hence Vanchinadan was selected to execute this critical decision. Serving the forest department of Travancore, Vanchinadan was eagerly waiting for opportunity to execute the plan. He was roaming secretly with a gun to kill Ashe. V.V.S.Iyer selected Vanchi to perform the deed. Vanchi accepted the assignment despite his burden some domestic responsibilities. V.V.S.Iyer trained him in shoot in for continues twenty days. Vanchi returned Thoothukudi.

Vanchinathan and his companion Sankara Iyer kept a constant watch of Ashe"s movements when an attempt to entre Ashe"s house failed. Vanchi decided to carry out his assault in broad day light at a public place.

On June 17, 1911, Saturday Ashe boarded the 9.30 a.m Maniyachi mail at Tirunelveli Junction with him his wife Mary Lillien Patterson, who had arrived from Ireland only a few days earlier. They had married on April6, 1898 in Berhampore. Mary was about a year older than Ashe. They were on their way to Kodaikanal where their four children, lived in a rented bungalow. At 10.38 the train pulled in at Maniyachi. The Ceylon Boat Mail was due to arrive at 10.48. As Ashe sat facing each other in the first class carriage, waiting for the mail to arrive, a neatly dressed man with tufted hair and another young man wearing a dhoti approached the carriage. The former boarded the carriage and pulled out a Belgian made Browning automatic pistol. The bullet hit Ashe in the howling wind. After shooting Vanchi ran into a latrine where he shot himself dead, having shot

himself in mouth. Sankara Krishna Iyer who had accompanied him to the station quietly left the scene. In Vanchi's pocket was found the following letter.

"Three thousands of us Madrasees have branded ourselves together for the purpose of killing him as he sets his foot in our country. In order to make this known, I, the least among them have this day done this deed. This is the duty which every tone in Hinduism should perform". The body of Vanchi Iyer was conveyed to Tiruvelveli Bridge in a close truck was under the custody of the Superintend of police.

The Consequences of the Murder of Ashe:

The English government considered that murder to be challenge many aspects were arrested and case was filed against fourteen extremist among them. These fourteen persons were arrested and charged with conspiracy to murder Ashe. Two others committed suicide-Dharmaraja Iyer slit his throat. Madaswamy widely believed to be Vanchi's accomplice and who was seen running away after the assassination, was never traced. The trial of that case began in the High Court at Madras on 11 September, 1911. Trial continued under several justices, headed by Arnold White. The trial continued for 79 day without a break. During the trial, if Chief Justice Charles Arnold White and Justice Ayling of the Madras High Court accepted this approver's testimony, the third judge, C. Sankaran Nair, went even further. He narrated the sequence of events starting from the fervent Swadeshi Propaganda in Tirunelveli district, and elaborated on the efforts of V.O.Chithambaram in launching the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company and leading the Coral Mill strike and on the eventual arrest of Swadeshi movement leaders, which led to riots. After the trial three gave their verdicts separately. On the basis of that judgment rigorous imprisonment was given to Neelakanda Prahmachari, Sankarkrishna Iyer, Madathukkadai Chidambaram etc. with the imprisonment of the leaders in prison, the revolutionary activities in Tamil Nadu weakened.

The body of Ashe was interned in the Glorinda's church in Tirunelveli and a memorial was erected by the British administration on beach road in Thoothukudi. This has still under the maintenance of Municipality. Ashe murder was the first political assassination

of the freedom movement of South India. This was not just an act of a few individuals. It had links with revolutionaries functioning under Madam Cama in Paris, France. In Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra and other parts of India secret societies of the revolutionary terrorism were started which had branches in London, Paris, New York, etc. The members of the society were mostly educated youth. Abinav Bharath Samithi of Maharashtra, India House, London, Paris and Indian association in Paris were few such secret societies. The factors that led to conclude that the Ashe murder had connection with the secret societies of India and abroad are,

1. The Browning Pistol used for shooting Ashe was sent by Madam Cama who also hailed the assassination in her journal Vandemadaram.
2. V.V.S.Iyer, a member of Abinav Bharath Samithi trained in shooting.
3. The pamphlet titled Aariyarkalukku Oru Amutha Vakkiyam(watchwords of Aryans) were brought by Vanchinathan from Pondichery to Tirunelveli and circulated among the members of the Bharath Matha Association.
4. This pamphlet was the publication of the revolutionary terrorist movement.
5. Copies of pamphlet were found in the houses of the members of the association who were accused in the case.
6. V.O.Chidambaram Pillai was member in the Abinav Bharath Samithi. From the above factors, it is clear the assassination of Ashe was master minded by the Abinav Bharath Samithi. Though it created a flutter among the people it could not succeed in bringing about the people of Tamil Nadu.

Ashe murder was the first political assassination of the freedom movement of South India. The Ashe murder and Vanchi remain etched in Tamil memory. In some narratives it is seen as a watershed in the freedom struggle in Tamil Nadu. In a region short of patriotic martyrs, Vanchi, evoking the image of a selfless young man who laid down his life for a nationalist cause he believed in, secured a sacred halo, so he was a real hero

in Tirunelveli. His name has been given many radical characters in Tamil fiction. Maniyachi, now rechristened as Vanchi Maniyachi in commemoration of the martyrdom of Vanchinathan, has been written with red letters in the history of the freedom movement. The Maniyachchi Railway Station where Vanchinathan shot Ashe was renamed to Vanchi Maniyachchi Railway Station in honour of him. The long felt demand of people of the State, particularly those of southern districts for a memorial dedicated to freedom fighter Vanchinathan was fulfilled with the Tamil Nadu Government in Shencottai a place from which the freedom fighter hailed.

Thirupur Kumaran

OKSR Kumaraswamy Mudaliar was born on 04 October 1904 in a middle-class family in Chennimalai, now Erode in Tamil Nadu. His family was into handloom weaving, and they could not afford his schooling. So, in order to augment the family income and learn the trade, he had to drop out of school in class 5. He was married off when he was only 19 years old as per his family's wishes. He continued to work as an assistant at the spinning mill during this time. In the meantime, the young Kumaran was getting influenced by the independence movement that was fast gaining momentum across the country.

Inspired by Gandhiji's values and objectives, he began participating in demonstrations and activities as per Gandhiji's directives. Seeing his growing interest in the freedom struggle activities, his family became concerned. They would pay him numerous visits and warn him to steer clear of the movement as they felt he was endangering all their lives. They would even go to his place of business and tell his co-workers to dissuade him from being a part of such activities.

Kumaran, on the other hand, paid no attention to their advice. Instead, he became so involved in the Indian independence movement that he soon founded the Desa Bandhu Youth Association. The members of this group were primarily the youth from Tamil Nadu and other surrounding areas who were eager to fight for India's independence. Together, they organized numerous anti-British protest marches all across Tamil Nadu. Kumaran was fondly referred to as TirupurKumaran as he was the motivational factor in the youth joining the freedom movement.

In 1932, when the British authorities imprisoned Gandhiji for leading a demonstration in Bombay, riots and protests broke out all over the country. On 11 January in the same year, in Tirupur, a patriotic march led by Thiyagi P S Sundaram was held in honour of the movement and to also show their defiance towards the British authorities. The protestors carried the Indian National Flag, even though doing so was banned at the time. Tirupur Kumaran was one of the protestors holding the flag. The British forces clamped down very heavily on the protestors and started lathi charging them. The spirited Kumaran refused to leave the premises. He got caught in the mayhem that ensued, and he was later discovered dead on the street still clutching the National Flag. His family's worst fears had come true. Though only 27 years old, the sacrifice of Kodi Katha Kumaran (The Kumaran who saved the Flag) will always be an integral part of the freedom struggle archives.

To pay homage to this young freedom fighter, the Tirupur Kumaran Memorial was erected in Kumaran Salai opposite the Tirupur Railway Station. In 2004, a commemorative stamp was issued in Chennimalai, Erode District (Tamil Nadu). On the occasion of his 118th birth anniversary, on 4th October 2021, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu renamed Sampath Nagar Main Road in Erode city to Thiyagi Kumaran Road.

SUBRAMANIYA SIVA

Subramaniya Sivam, popularly known as Subramaniya Siva was a lover of mankind. He was a great writer, orator, dramatist and what not. He was brave and courageous. Mahavikavi Subramaniya Bharathi appreciated his brave nature, when he met him at Palayamkottai jail. Indeed, he was a great revolutionary leader of the early 20th century.

Early life:

He was born in Batlagundu village, Dindigul District (Madurai Region) in 1884 to Rajam Iyer and Nagalakshmi. He had his early education at Madurai, Trivandrum and Coimbatore. He showed great interest in spiritual enquiry even when young. He was a fiery orator, who spoke his mind openly in every context.

Inspiration:

He was inspired by the lecture delivered there by Chanda Varma of Arya Samaj in 1906. He developed his love for the country and started 'Dharma Samaj' and motivated the youth for fighting against the British for freedom.

Friendship of Mahakavi:

While he was at Tuticorin, he got the friendship of V.O.Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Bharathi. Subramania Siva was arrested for his anti-British propaganda and was imprisoned in Salem Jail for 6 years.

The British were so harsh that Siva was made to walk barefoot; he already had sores on his feet. After his release in 1912, he came to Madras and started a journal called “Gnana Banu” and “Prapancha Mithra”. Subramania Siva attended a conference at Calcutta held under the presidentship of Lala Lajpathi. He preached his ideals to the nook and corner of Tamilnadu.

Significance of mother tongue:

Subramaniya Siva, during his times, witnessed many educated fellow Bharatiyas hardly having any admiration for their mother tongue Tamil. Besides raising his voice against British supremacy, Subramaniya Siva worked hard towards infusing passion in the Tamils to love their mother tongue. He himself was well versed in Sanskrit and more Indian languages. But according to him, not learning, speaking, or writing in the home language, i.e. mother tongue, one wouldn't do justice towards learning the other languages. To him, giving up the mother tongue was equivalent to committing suicide and a crime. He wrote in Gnanabanu in September 2019.

“The life of a country is to be found in its language. Those who give up their mother tongue can be said to be committing suicide because of foolishness or of madness. If committing suicide is a crime against the state, he who begins to kill himself and his society by neglecting his state language is a person who commits crimes a thousand fold. Though the law of the country does not include these murderers in the list of criminals, they are culprits according to the laws of creation followed by that All-Powerful Deity who rules over the whole universe as the sole Empress.”

Revolutionary in the making:

The principles of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who advocated always meeting the adversary with firmness and without compromising, appealed to him very much. Some common friends introduced him to VO Chidambaram Pillai (VOC) who had the courage and management skills to compete with British ship companies by starting his own Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. Siva became a close friend and associate of VOC and started speaking publicly in support of his shipping activities and his role as a Trade Union leader.

A nightmare for the British imperialism:

It was thus that Siva and Padmanabha Iyengar a Swadeshi , got together with VOC when he organized a strike in the British owned Coral Mills at Tuticorin. Closely following it on March 9, 1908, they also held a well-attended rally in Tirunelveli to celebrate the release from prison at Calcutta of Bipin Chandra Pal, defying the orders of the district collector Wynch.

The British Government gave him a lot of trouble. Even then he was not frightened and pointed out the atrocities of the foreign rule to the people. He was in prison for a total period of 9 years at Salem prison.

However, the British were smarting from the fiery speeches of Siva and VOC and charged them again with sedition and unmoved by the support that the leaders received from around the country, sentenced them to transportation for 20 years and 10 years. On appeal, they relented and reduced the imprisonment to 6 years for VOC and 3 for Siva in the jail in Coimbatore, where they were treated harshly and inhumanely. Siva contracted leprosy in prison. He had to curtail his travelling as a result and also his speeches, though they continued to attract people because of his patriotism. His speeches led to more jail terms for him.

Siva and His Activities:

Siva had many followers in Dharmapuri district. With their support he spread the message of nationalism far and wide with devotion and dedication. Thiyaagi Theerthagiri Mudaliar of Dharmapuri encouraged Siva in many ways. Siva used to call him as

Emden. Chinnamuthu Mudaliar, of Papparapatti (25 Km from Dharmapuri) was a close friend of Siva and helped him liberally during his campaign against British Government in Dharmapuri District. He inspired the youth to fight for freedom and gave them training to do so. He founded a “Bhajana Sangh” and propagated the patriotic songs of “Mahakavi Subramania Bharathi” throughout Tamilnadu by going from place to place by foot. His disciple Kandasamy was a great singer in his group. Siva gave him a title “Kodaiyidi Pulavar”. He sang Bharathi songs such as “Vazhga Tilakar Namam Vazhga”, “Veezhga Kodunkonmai Veezhga” in a loud voice to the villagers. His other disciples were Sundara Bharathi, Srinivasa Varadan, Somayajulu, Chidambara Bharathi, etc. Through his dramas like Shivaji, Desingu Rajan, Bhakta Ramdas, etc, he spread the patriotic spirit throughout Tamilnadu. With the help of his friends and admirers, Siva wanted to build a “Bharat Matha Temple” at Papparapatti. He wanted to invite Mahatma Gandhi for the inauguration of the temple. As Mahatma did not come due to his active political work, the foundation stone of the temple was laid by the National Leader “Deshbandhu” C.R.Das on 23.01.1923 at Bharata Puram, 4 Km from Papparapatti.

Bharath Matha Temple:

His Bharath Matha temple symbolized the national unity of India. Siva allowed all the people irrespective of caste or religion to enter temple and perform pooja. There was no poojari to perform Archana. He wanted that instead of adorning the deity with gold jewels, a factory may be built out the temple funds, thereby creating employment opportunities to all poor people. He wanted that wealth obtained through the temple should be distributed to the poor people.

According to Siva, service to Nation is service to God. In 1921, at Madurai court he said, “My religion is Bharatheeyam, My deity is Bharath Matha, My dharma is to preach Satya and fight for the freedom of Bharath”. He appealed to the people to support the extremists to achieve Poorna Swaraj and to boycott foreign goods.

Bharath Ashram at Papparapatty: It was founded by Siva during the second week of January 1921 at No.11, Hamilton Bridge Road, Triplicane (Madras). Its aim was to take serious efforts to make Bharath independent of foreign control. In order to get success in such an endeavour people should develop Desa Bhakthi or devotion to Bharath Matha for whom temples should be constructed everywhere. Siva was the president of the Bharatha Ashram. This Bharatha Ashramam is to be built at Bharathipuram at Papparapatti. He wanted people of Bharathapuram to follow his principles with dedication and devotion. They must get up early in the morning, offer prayers and do social and national service to the people. Foreign cloth and Kerosin were prohibited in the village. They must wear simple dress and must develop good character. Free housing, a hospital, and a school were provided for the villagers. The people must not only accept the rules of the Bharatha Matha Ashram but also pay one tenth of their income to the Bharatha Matha as kanikka. The assets of the temple will belong to Bharath Matha only. Annual conferences will be held in different places to honour Bharatha Matha. Anyone who violates the rules will be sent out of the village. Along with his disciple Sundara Bharathi, Siva reached Bharatha Ashramam at Papparapatti on 22.07.1925 to start the construction of the temple of Bharatha Matha. But he suddenly passed away on 23.07.1925 at the age of 41 at Papparapatti.

In memory of Siva, a (Samadhi) memorial was built at Bharathipuram. On August 1, 2021, a new library building was declared open honouring the freedom fighter Subramaniya Siva, in the memorial premises built ten years earlier at Papparapatti in Dharmapuri district, Tamil Nadu.

Neelakanta Brahmachari

Neelakantan was born in Erukkur near Sirkali in the Mayiladuthurai district of Tamil Nadu to Smt. Subbuthai and Sri. Sivaramakrishna Ganapatigal on December 4, 1889. His father, Sivaramakrishna Ganapatigal was a Samaveda scholar. The eldest in a family of eight children. Although the family wasn't well off, Neelakantan grew up according to the Vedic maxim – Speak the truth, abide by the Dharma, Never be complacent/ idle in your studies.

While the basics he learned in Erukkur were helpful throughout his life, an interesting episode illustrates his integrity. There was a time when his family was going through severe financial stress. So much so that they had to sell their ancestral property in Erukkur and move to Mayavaram. His father was to take employment in a Veda Patashala there. His father sent Neelakantan a message to pitch in and help them monetarily. This was also when Neelakantan handled a lot of public money collected for the cause he was fighting for, Swarajya of Bharata. Neelakantan did the unexpected, he completely cut off his ties and all communication channels with his family and let things pass.

Neelakantan had finished his ninth standard in Sirkali Sabhanayakar Hindu Higher Secondary School when the monetary situation in the family became apparent. He had to quit school and take employment as a lower-level clerk at Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society (TUCS) in the Madras of those days. He was settling down in his job at TUCS, Triplicane when Bipin Chandra Pal of the Lal-Bal-Pal triumvirate visited Madras for a series of lectures. He was there at the invitation of a group including Mahakavi Bharathiyar. Luckily for Neelakantan, the venue of the lectures was Marina Beach which was only a stone's throw from Triplicane. Mesmerized by Bipin Chandra Pal's oratory, the fire of Swarajya started burning bright in his heart. The idea of revolution took over his mind. He resigned from his job at TUCS and took employment in India, where the weekly Mahakavi Bharathiyar was running then.

It was not long before India was closed down by the British authorities for publishing seditious content. There was a rumour that Bharathiyar, the publisher, might get arrested soon. His well-wishers pressured him to move away to the French-administered town of Pondicherry to avoid arrest. Neelakantan followed Bharathiyar to Pondicherry, which was the safe haven for many revolutionaries wanted by the authorities from the British-administered Bharata. Neelakantan became the editor of a magazine published from there called Sooryodayam (Sunrise).

This was also when Neelakanta Brahmachari became the wandering Pracharak of Swarajya thought. His magnetic personality, amazing clarity of thought, and speech that

hit its target every time, like Arjuna's arrows, made him create an army of followers for the cause of Bharata Mata. The Bharatha Matha Sangam he created in Tenkasi, Tuticorin, etc. gave birth to some of the most famous sons of Bharata Mata like Veera Vanchinathan, Krishnapuram Sankarakrishnan, Madathukkadaï Chidambaram Pillai and Ottapidaram Madasami Pillai. He operated under many aliases like Bharadwajan, Govinda Narayan Dube, Govind Narayan, Swami Brahmachari, and Neelakanta Dutta. Interestingly, he also had a French alias, Le Fraile, when he wrote for the Vedanta Kesari magazine in Mylapore, Chennai.

An episode from this time illustrates the kind of revolutionary Neelakanta Brahmachari was in Cuddalore, New Town, there was a very affluent lawyer, Sri. Chakravarthi Ayyangar. He was also a sympathizer and a subtle patron of Swadeshi activities. Neelakantan once had a very heated argument with him about armed revolution. In a state of near trance, Neelakantan loudly declared that the day when we will question the British openly for their oppression of Bharata Mata is not too far. And he added that on that day, they would answer our questions with their blood. Slightly shaken, Ayyangar proceeded to ask Neelakantan when that day would dawn. Neelakantan with a violent thump of the table in front of him declared loudly that it would happen within ten years by the blessing of Bharata Mata.

On March 12, 1908, Swadeshi leaders V O Chidambaram Pillai and Subramanya Sivam were arrested by the Collector of Tirunelveli, Winch, and sent to the Palayamkottai prison. This act of Collector Winch shook the conscience of the right-minded people in Bharata. The Bharatha Matha Sangham under Neelakanta Brahmachari swore to take revenge for this act by the British, especially Winch. But then, Winch moved and Robert Ashe took his place as the collector of Tirunelveli. It turned out that Ashe was a worse tyrant than Winch.

Neelakanta Brahmachari's protégé, Vanchinathan shot Robert Ashe in Maniyachi Railway Station near Tirunelveli when he was en route to Kodaikanal for a vacation and also committed suicide to prevent capture. The case that followed was famously called the Tirunelveli Conspiracy Case and Neelatantan was added as the prime accused

(A1). Neelakanta Brahmachari was captured from a hotel in Calcutta and brought back to Tamil Nadu to face the law. He was charged under Section 121A for conspiring to commit certain offences against the government and the British Crown. 280 prosecution witnesses took the stand while the accused produced 200 witnesses from their side. Neelakantan was sentenced to seven years of rigorous imprisonment and lodged in the Bellary jail.

He escaped in a daring jailbreak only to be arrested at the nearby Dharmavaram railway station. The trial this time resulted in the cancellation of all good conduct credit he had earned during the two previous years of incarceration plus an addition of six months to the overall sentence, making it seven and a half months. The seven and a half years were spent in seven different jails – Bellary, Madras, Palayamkottai, Kannur, Coimbatore, Rajamahendrapuram, and Vishakapatnam. He was finally released after serving seven and a half years in August 1919.

Back in Madras, Neelakantan resumed his Swadeshi activities. But it turned out to be the darkest days of his life, days he spent in abject poverty and days and nights of hunger. He has recorded in his memoirs that there were times when he continuously went without food for four or more days. There were also nights when he begged for food, unable to withstand hunger. One of those streaks without food led him to his Guru, Mahakavi Bharathiyar, who was then living in Triplicane. Embarrassed yet overcome by severe hunger, Neelakantan is supposed to have asked for four Annas to have his first meal in four days. The Mahakavi became so angry that he immediately uttered one of his most famous poems, “Let us destroy this world if even one person goes without food” and of course fed his disciple well. Neelakanta Brahmachari was one of the shoulders that bore the weight of the Mahakavi as one of the four pallbearers when he passed away.

Later, Neelakantan became disillusioned with the worldly Loukika life and decided to become a wandering mendicant. He traversed across Bharata to finally take the Sanyasa Patta of Sadguru Omkar and settled in an Ashram at the foot of Nandi Hills near Bangalore. He had many disciples – famous people and commoners from across

Bharat who flocked to his Ashram in Nandi Hills. The Yagna he performed during Shivaratri and Durgashtami were so famous across Bharata that people came in droves to receive the Vibooti and Kumkuma Prasada which were said to have medicinal effects. Sadguru Omkar wrote a series on Sanatana Dharma for the Organiser magazine in 1954, which was widely popular among the magazine's audience.

UNIT V

14.3.1 Rajaji

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, popularly known as Rajaji or C.R., was an Indian politician, freedom fighter, historian, lawyer, writer and statesman. He was born on 10 December 1878 in the village of Thorapalli village near Hosur in Salem district of Tamil Nadu. His mother was Shringamma and his father Chakravartiyengar was not only the village Munsiff but also a great scholar in the Vedas, Puranas, and other Sanskrit lore. Rajaji completed his primary education in his native village and then joined the District Board High School at Hosur. He graduated from Central College, Bangalore, and secured a degree in Law from Presidency College, Madras. In 1900, he started practicing law in

Salem; consequently, he became popular and also earned fame as an advocate. He married Alamelu Mangammal at the age of twenty.

On entering politics, he became a member of the Salem Municipal Council; He later became the President of this council. As soon as he joined the council, the local body received a new impetus. He joined the Indian National Congress and participated in the agitations against the Rowlatt Act. He also took part in the Non-Cooperation movement. He was the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress from 1921-22. For two decades from 1922, he continued as a working committee member. He became the frontline leader of the Congress, and was a confidante of Mahatma Gandhi. He actively participated in various Satyagraha movements like the Vaikom Satyagraha and was imprisoned several times. During the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, he led the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha in response to the Dandi March and began making salt on seashore.

In 1937, when the Congress participated in the elections for the first time, Rajagopalachari was elected as the Chief Minister of the Madras Province. He served until 1940 and resigned after Britain's declaration of war on Germany. He later advocated co-operation with Britain's war effort and opposed the Quit India Movement. He quit the Congress in 1942 but later re-joined in 1945. He favored talks with both Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League and proposed what later came to be known as the C. R. formula. In 1946, Rajagopalachari was appointed as the Minister of Industry, Supply, Education and Finance in the Interim Government of India. He became the Governor of West Bengal from 1947 to 1948. When Lord Mountbatten returned to Britain, Rajaji became the Governor General of free India from 1948 to 1950. He served

as the Union Home Minister from 1951 to 1952 and as Chief Minister of Madras state from 1952 to 1954. In 1959, Rajaji resigned from the Indian National Congress and founded the Swatantra Party, which fought against the Congress in the 1962, 1967 and 1971 general elections. He was instrumental in establishing a united Anti-Congress front in Madras state under C. N. Annadurai, which swept the 1967 elections. He died on 25 December 1972 at the age of 94.

14.3.2 Sathiamurthy

Sundara Sastri Sathiamurthy was an Indian freedom fighter and politician. He was born on 19 August 1887 at Tirumayam in Pudukkottai state. He was a fine and diligent student at school, a trait which he carried on into his political career. He graduated from Madras Christian College with B.A degree and went on to study law at the Madras Law College. He entered politics at an early age after winning his college elections. He later practiced law as an advocate before taking part in the nationalist movement.

Sathiamurthy joined the Indian National Congress at a time when the party advocated racial equality between Europeans and Indians of all creeds and castes. They demanded Dominion Status within the British Empire, which the British rulers had denied. In 1919, he was chosen as a delegate by the Congress to represent the Joint Parliamentary Committee (of the UK) to protest against the Rowlatt Act and the Montague–Chelmsford Reforms. He vouched for constitutional government and parliamentary democracy in India. He was opposed to Mahatma Gandhi's ideology in the 1920s and was not in favor of participating in the colonial legislature. He was given the epithet 'Dheerar'. Sathiamurthy was one of the leaders of the Swarajists, along with C.R.

Dar and Motilal Nehru. Like many other prominent Indian patriots, Sathiamurthy was arrested and incarcerated several times by the British. In 1930, he hoisted the Indian flag atop the Parthasarathy Temple at Chennai and was arrested for that act. It was the result of Sathiamurthy's efforts in the legislature that the Congress won the 1937 elections to the Madras Legislative Assembly. When he became the Mayor of Madras in 1939, the Second World War had begun. The city of Madras was experiencing acute water shortage. He tried to pressurize the British Government and Governor into accepting the proposal of Madras Corporation for building a reservoir in Poondi, about 50 km west of the city, to increase the water supply. In those days, the tenure of Mayor was only for a year but as a result of his diplomacy in dealing with the British Governor and his administrative abilities, the foundation stone of Poondi reservoir was laid within eight months. It was completed in 1944. Unfortunately, Sathiamurthy did not live to see his efforts bear fruition. The reservoir is today named Sathiamurthy Sagar. Sathiamurthy also actively participated in the Swadeshi movement and was arrested in 1942 for performing 'Individual Satyagraha' at the height of the Quit India Movement. After the trial, he was deported to a jail in Nagpur. During the journey to Nagpur he suffered a spinal cord injury and was hospitalised in Madras.

He succumbed to his injuries at Madras on 28 March 1943 at the age of 55. He was a great politician of rare abilities, deeply mourned by his colleagues and the people of Madras Presidency, to whom he had dedicated his life to bringing freedom and justice. The well-known Madras newspaper The Hindu dedicated a column to Sathiamurthy under the caption 'Tribune of the people'. It said, 'He was a born freedom-fighter, a lead mine fighter as the Scots say, to whom the fight was the thing'.

Kamaraj

Kumaraswami Kamaraj was a freedom fighter and statesman. He was born on 15 July 1903 in Virudhunagar, Tamil Nadu in the family of Nadar caste. He was initially enrolled in a traditional school in 1907 and in 1908 he was admitted to Yenadhi Narayana Vidhya Salai. He was later enrolled in Virudupatti High School in 1909. His father Kumaraswami, who was a coconut merchant, died when Kamaraj was only six years old. His mother Sivakami Ammal was forced to support the family. When Kamaraj was 12 years old, he dropped out of school to support his mother.

Kamaraj worked in his uncle's cloth shop in 1914 and during that time he started attending public meetings and processions relating to the Indian Home Rule Movement. He developed interest in politics by reading newspapers. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre proved to be a turning point in his career. He decided to fight for freedom from the British rule. He joined the Indian National Congress in 1920 as a full-time political worker when the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920–22) led by Mahatma Gandhi was gaining momentum. He organized public meetings at Virudhunagar for Congress leaders in 1921. In the same year he met Mahatma Gandhi for the first time. He participated in the boycott of Prince of Wales' visit to India in 1922. He participated in the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha between 1923 and 1925. He started the Sword Satyagraha in Madras in 1927 and was also chosen to lead the Neil Statue Satyagraha. However, it was later given up due to Simon Commission boycott.

Kamraj participated in the Salt Satyagraha in 1930 led by Rajagopalachariar Vedaranyam. The British government sentenced him to two years in prison. Hewas released in 1931 as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Under his leadership,processions and demonstrations were held every day in Virudhunagar. He wasarrested again in 1932 and sentenced to one year of imprisonment. He was falselycharged in the Virudhunagar bomb case in 1933 which later on proved to bebaseless. In the 1937 elections, he entered the Assembly by winning the Satturseat.The Governor of Madras, Sir Arther Hope was collecting contributions tofund for World War II. Kamraj carried out a campaign throughout Madras askingthe people not to contribute to the war funds. He was again arrested in December1940 and was sent to Vellore Central Prison; he was released in November 1941.

He attended the All India Congress Committee in Bombay in 1942 and returnedto spread the message of the Quit India Movement. He was imprisoned severaltimes between 1942 and 1945 for his prominent role in the Congress Party'slarge-scale Quit India campaign against British rule. He used his time in prison togive himself the education he had not received as a child. This was his last prisonterm.

In 1947, Kamraj joined the Working Committee of the national party, andremained associated with that group until 1969. He was also a member of theConstituent Assembly which in 1946 drafted the constitution of India. Kamarajcontested the first elections to the Lok Sabha in 1951 and won a seat. In 1954 hewas elected as Chief Minister of Madras, and in 1957 he won a seat in the statelegislative assembly. After the Chinese invasion of India in 1962, the popularity ofthe Congress party began to diminish. The Congress Party failed in a few interimelections. So Kamraj proposed a

plan in which he stated that the senior leaders of the party should forego their ministries and come forward to work towards strengthening and revitalizing the party. This plan came to be known as the Kamraj Plan. It was approved by Jawahar Lal Nehru as well. Kamraj was defeated in the 1967 state legislative elections. In January 1969, he won a by-election to the Lok Sabha. Kamaraj died due to heart attack at his home on 2 October 1975.

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

INTRODUCTION

During the 1940s, the Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauj, along with the Quit India Movement, emerged as one of the most important symbols of India's will to fight for independence in the best possible manner, even through violent efforts. There were mainly three attempts to form Indian national armies during the early 1940s in Europe and Southeast Asia. All these attempts were directly or indirectly associated with Subhas Chandra Bose (popularly known as Netaji) who had moved abroad escaping from the British captivity in India. In this Unit, we will discuss about these efforts by Bose and other Indians from outside India to liberate the country from colonial rule. The legend of Netaji cuts across political, religious, linguistic, and regional divides. He became a truly national figure and the INA became a symbol of national unity and of revolt against imperialism.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE: REVOLT AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Bose was a staunch anti-imperialist, but he also recognized that it was the aggressive and expansionist nationalism that was in the centre of imperialism. He was a nationalist in its creative, egalitarian, and fraternal sense. But he did not favour nationalist chauvinism and its grossly discriminatory character. He felt repelled by the racism of Nazi Germany and aggression of Japan. At the same time, he adopted a pragmatic policy of taking the help of these powers to liberate his own country. His strong desire for the freedom of India led him to ignore the grossest human rights violations these countries engaged in at precisely the time he was soliciting and getting their help for his endeavour. Bose was politically aligned with the socialists in the Congress and had many differences with Mahatma Gandhi. Firstly, while Gandhi resolutely believed in non-violence, Bose was not averse to using violence as a means to free his country. Secondly, Bose thought that industrialism and modernization would bring about regeneration of India, while Gandhi firmly thought that autonomous development of India's villages would be the salvation of the country. Thirdly, while Bose was politically radical and socialist who did not turn away from the possibility of class conflict to ameliorate the conditions of India's poor, Gandhi believed that class struggle, because of its violent character, was unacceptable and he put his faith in the probable trusteeship of the rich to alleviate the dire conditions of the poor and oppressed. Bose was elected as the Congress President in 1938 with support from Gandhi and others. But when Bose decided to contest the election again for this post in 1939, Gandhi and his associates opposed this. Bose won against Gandhi's candidate, Pattabhi Sitaramayya. But later, owing to opposition from Gandhi and others, he resigned his post and parted ways with the Congress. When the Second World War started, most of

the Indians were not in support of the Allies because of their experiences with British colonialism. In fact, Indian leaders and people were much disturbed about not being taken into confidence before Britain declared India to be a combatant. There was also no concrete promise of any future plan for self-government. The Congress ministries resigned in protest. Even a mild-mannered Gandhi made it clear that he saw 'no difference between the Fascist or Nazi powers and the Allies. All are exploiters, all resort to ruthlessness to the extent required to compass their end'. Bose was firmly opposed to the colonial rule and refused to accept the idea that the British should be supported against the Nazis in the War. Fearing his vocal and active opposition, the British colonial authorities arrested him in July 1940. In November 1940, he began a fast in the prison, after which he was released from the jail and put under house arrest in December 1940. From there he escaped to Afghanistan through the North-west Frontier Provinces, and then, with the help of the Soviet, German and Italian authorities, he travelled to Soviet Union, finally reaching Germany in 1941. The Second World War was seriously progressing with Hitler overrunning 162 most of Europe outside Soviet influence. There was a pact between Hitler and Stalin which had led to their dividing the areas of influence in Eastern Europe. Bose initial confabulations with the German authorities on the possibility of releasing the Indian soldiers who had fallen into German hands after British defeat in North Africa were not successful. Hitler and his cohorts still nurtured hopes for neutralizing England and, therefore, they did not want to take a tough stand against the British and their empire in India. They also refused to declare themselves unequivocally in favour of India's independence. When Bose drafted a declaration for Indian independence in May 1941, both the German and Italian

governments kept delaying it under various pretexts. When Germany invaded Soviet Union in June 1941, Bose's strategy suffered a serious setback. However, as the Germans and Italians still vouched to support him in his endeavour, he continued to hold hope. There was some progress also as some Indian soldiers were now trained by the German officers to make compact units to fight against the British. It was not easy to persuade the common Indian soldiers to participate in such training as they had taken an oath earlier and they also feared for their families back home. But, despite all handicaps in Germany, Bose managed to raise four battalions, consisting of about 4,000 Indian soldiers, ready to fight against the British by December 1942. It was with this first national army that he adopted Indian tricolour as the national flag, Tagore's song 'Jan Gan Man Adhinayak' as national anthem, and the 'Jai Hind' as national greeting which would be common to all the Indians irrespective of caste and creed. These were enduring legacies from Netaji towards the unity of the country. Despite some progress, however, the German response remained lukewarm Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) and there were not enough recruits in Europe to raise an effective fighting force. The entry of Japan in the War in September 1940, and more aggressively in December 1941, however, changed the entire dynamic in Asia. The speedy advance of Japanese forces and defeat of the British and other European imperialist powers in Southeast Asia opened up a new vista for Bose and his strategy geared towards the liberation of India. The fall of Singapore in February 1942 enthused him enormously and he came out, for the first time, to speak on Azad Hind Radio declaring that 'The fall of Singapore means the collapse of the British Empire, the end of the iniquitous regime which it has symbolized and the dawn of a new era in Indian

history' [cited in Bose, p. 213]. This radio had been in existence since October 1941 and it became the most important mouthpiece of Indian freedom movement abroad during this period. A substantial number of Indian soldiers fighting for the British had fallen into the hands of the Japanese. It was around them, as well as the resident Indian population in Southeast Asia and other countries, that Bose's strategy revolved. From this point, he regularly addressed his country people on the radio stirring them to take action against the British. In the Japanese victories, he found the possibilities of a mortal weakening of British imperialism which could then be pushed over the brink. He also was now very hopeful about the possibility of raising a big force of Indians to fight against the British for the liberation of India. He was in contact with the Japanese ambassador in Germany making plans to realize his goals. The Japanese were also more receptive and forthcoming about Bose's ideas. Bose wanted to move immediately in order to take advantage of British imperialism being at its lowest point during the War. In May 1942, Hitler agreed to provide logistical support for Bose's shifting to Japan. But Hitler evaded the idea of a declaration of Indian independence. Bose was not satisfied with his meeting with Hitler but at least he secured the promise of German help in his transfer to Japan. On ideological issues and on the domestic and international policies of the tripartite powers, Bose took a very pragmatic stand. He did not even speak publicly about the extreme racist policies of Hitler. He held that 'In this fateful hour in India's history, it would be a grievous mistake to be carried away by ideological considerations alone. The internal politics of Germany or Italy or Japan do not concern us— they are the concern of the people of those countries' [cited in Bose 221]. Meanwhile, the political scene in India was also changing. Gandhi, apprehensive of the

Japanese attacks on India, wanted that the British should immediately relinquish the power so that Indians could negotiate with the Japanese. Gandhi believed that the Japanese had nothing against India but they were hostile to the British. If the British continued to hold reins in India, the Japanese would attack and invade India. So, he wanted the British to immediately leave India and let the Indians manage their own affairs. On 8 August 1942, Gandhi gave the slogan of 'do or die' for the Indians and asked the British to immediately 'quit India' which resulted in country-wide eruptions. This major shift in Gandhi's position coincided with the immediacy and urgency of Bose's thinking about the right time to strike. However, it was only by mid-January 1943 that the plans for his submarine journey to Japan could be arranged. In February 1943, he left the German shore to launch his fight in Asia. By then, however, the German advance was halted both in Africa against the British and in the Soviet Union. Soon, there would be a turn-around, but Bose moved towards his goal undaunted. He still posed a threat to the British, even under the changed situation, when the Quit India Movement was crushed and the Allied forces had halted the advance of Germany.

FOUNDATION OF THE FIRST INA

The rapid advance of the Japanese forces in Southeast Asia uprooting the European colonial powers, such as the British, Dutch and French, led to a completely changed situation when the Indians in these countries as well as the captured Indian soldiers who had fought in the British army began to be mobilized and organized to fight for Indian freedom. The total Indian population in this region was about 20 lakhs with significant concentration in Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, Hongkong and IndoChina. In 1941, the Japanese strategists devised plans to tap the nationalists in

Southeast Asia, including the Indians, to cooperate with them. Major Fujiwara was appointed to work as liaison person to establish links with the Indians. Fujiwara contacted Giani Pritam Singh of Indian Independence League (IIL) which started cooperation between both sides. It was agreed that some members of IIL would accompany the conquering Japanese forces into Malaya as part of propaganda units where both would work for establishment of an Indian national army which would assist the Japanese forces for achieving freedom of India. They contacted Captain Mohan Singh, one of the most senior Indian officers, to organize an army of Indian soldiers who were now in Japan's captivity. Pritam Singh also held meetings with other Indian soldiers and asked them to fight for India's independence. Many rounds of discussion were held and finally Mohan Singh was convinced, particularly when the administration of Indian prisoners of war was left to him. The British officers had abandoned the Indian soldiers to fend for themselves. This was considered as betrayal by the Indian soldiers and officers. The promise of being under control of Indian officers, rather than the Japanese, was probably the best offer they could get under the circumstances. The army was to be based on Indian soldiers only, to be led by Indian officers, and only for the purpose of India's independence. More Indian soldiers were entrusted to Mohan Singh's responsibility in early 1942 when Malaya and Singapore fell into Japanese hands. Besides looking after the Indian prisoners, Mohan Singh, along with IIL, also got in touch with Indian civilians in Thailand, Malaya, and Singapore. The brisk withdrawal of the British from these countries generated a deep sense of being betrayed among Indians as well as others in these countries. There were also complaints of racial discrimination when the European evacuees claimed all the privileges for escaping from

Japanese attack by taking best ships and other provisions and means of transport. Moreover, the Indians in Malaya and other countries were quite deeply imbued with nationalist ideas. This made the job of Pritam Singh and Mohan Singh easy as the Indian civilians as well as the soldiers enlisted with certain enthusiasm and branches of IIL opened in most localities inhabited by Indians. Thus, the reasons for Indian willingness to join their forces with the Japanese were three-fold: i) there was a deep nationalist sentiment, at least among the intelligentsia; ii) there was a feeling that the British had dishonourably Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) abandoned them and had exercised racial discrimination while fleeing; and iii) there was an element of fear also as they witnessed the cruel Japanese treatment of the soldiers and civilians in the area, particularly the Chinese who were massacred in hundreds by the Japanese. When the Indian civilians and soldiers in this region realized that the IIL not only provided them protection from the Japanese but also promised to include them in the fight for Indian freedom, they were quite willing to join. A meeting with the veteran revolutionary, Rash Behari Bose, was arranged in Japan. Pritam Singh and Satyanand Puri, who were flying from Bangkok, died when their plane crashed. But five other leaders reached Tokyo. In the meeting, a draft constitution was prepared and it was decided that later the delegates from the newly conquered countries of Burma and Indonesia should also be invited. The delegates returned to their bases to further mobilize and organize the Indians for the cause of Indian freedom.

The Japanese were also in touch in Subhas Chandra Bose who was in Berlin and was making his radio broadcast from there exhorting the Indians to rise against the British. In June 1942, a large conference of Indian delegates from all over South-east Asia took

place for which Netaji also sent a message. The work started with all seriousness and progressed well. The failure of Cripps Mission and heightened political activities in India had given much hope of a rising which took place by the beginning of August in the form of 'Quit India' Movement. Enthusiasm among the Indians in this region was high and by the end of August 40,000 soldiers had joined the INA. The first INA division of 16,300 soldiers was ready by 10 September 1942 to go into action. Mohan Singh was ambitious and told the Japanese that he wanted to raise an army of 250,000 soldiers which would be recruited largely from the civilian population. He also wanted formal public recognition by the Japanese of the Indian National Army and facilities for training his troops in batches. But the Japanese response was not very encouraging towards these proposals. The cold Japanese response towards their resolutions and Japanese interference in their activities upset the leaders of the IIL and INA. Many of them were also upset with Rash Behari Bose, the president of the IIL, for not being effective in pursuing the matter. The Japanese interference was general and was being resisted. The question of evacuee Indian properties in Burma became the most contentious element. The Japanese refused to give the control of these properties in Indian hands which the INA and IIL wanted in order to mobilise resources for training and equipping their soldiers. The Japanese reluctance to allow the expansion of Indian national army in Singapore and Malaya also upset Mohan Singh enormously. Moreover, he and other leaders realized that the Japanese were surreptitiously as well as openly not allowing the IIL and the INA to take control of all Indian prisoners of war. The Indians, therefore, began to suspect the Japanese intentions. The situation became worse, and Mohan Singh plainly conveyed to the Japanese that if they tried to take the place of British in

India the Indians would fight them also. He also pointed out their oppressive and racist behaviour in Malaya. He refused to provide INA soldiers for Japanese military campaign in Burma, and then decided to disband the INA by the end of December. Rash Behari, on his part, wanted to save the situation. He proceeded to dismiss Mohan Singh and take control of the activities of Indians there. Mohan Singh was held and isolated by the Japanese along with some of his colleagues. The INA was now effectively non-functional and it was Subhas Chandra Bose who resuscitated it after his arrival in this region.

NETAJI'S ARRIVAL IN EAST ASIA AND THE FORMATION OF AZAD HIND FAUJ OR THE SECOND INA

Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore on 2 July 1943 and assumed the command of the INA from Rash Behari. He altered the policy of recruitment by starting to recruit Indian civilians. About 30,000 people joined the ranks of INA in various capacities from the Indian civilians in the region. He also established Azad Hind League which was in charge of approaching Indian community in this region. By July 1944, the Azad Hind League had 72 branches with 200,000 members. Besides this, Bose also formed an all-women regiment named as 'Rani of Jhansi Regiment' in which about a thousand women joined as soldiers. Lakshmi Swaminathan, a Tamil woman, became the commander of this regiment. In the first INA, there were multiple centres of authority. Mohan Singh was in charge of military training and operation, but he and the INA was under the IIL's Council of Action with regard to the policy matters, whose head was Rash Behari. All these were placed under the overarching control of the Japanese. On the other hand, the second INA remained committed only to Netaji. Right since the first

INA, the British policy of segregated recruitment and organization policy was given up. There was no longer any talk about the 'martial races' and all soldiers from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds were put together into single units. Bose continued this policy even further by recruiting even civilians along with trained and professional soldiers. Now all efforts were made to subsume ethnic and regional loyalties under overarching national sentiments by forming mixed regiments and by imparting political training to the INA soldiers. This was done to wean them away from the colonial tradition of forming separate regiments and creation of imagined traditions of valour and martial pasts. The effort now was to Indianise and nationalize the fighting forces. Even during the first INA, the mixed regiments were named after the nationalist leaders rather than after certain communities and regions. Thus, there were Gandhi, Azad, and Nehru brigades. Subhas Bose persisted with this tradition. He also viewed his struggle as well as that of INA as part of the wider nationalist struggle taking place in India. Bose declared in Singapore on 21 October 1943 the formation of Azad Hind Government. He himself penned the declaration. It called upon the Indian people 'to rally round our banner and strike for India's freedom'. It further declared that the 'Provisional Government' would guarantee 'religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past' [cited in Bose: 254-5]. The radical change of loyalty by over 40,000 (out of a total of about 45,000) soldiers of the British Indian army in South-east Asia was of momentous importance. This happened in a short time and this evolved into a motivated force which fought against their former employers and

trainers, almost similar to that of 1857 Revolt. The most important motivation, of course, was the feeling of nationalism. Another very important factor was Subhas Bose's wide popularity, his charismatic personality, his persuasive powers, his clear and deep commitment to the cause of Indian freedom, and his passionate attachment to the idea of Indian unity across the boundaries of religion, caste, region, and language. His engagement for the next two years can be divided into two periods. In the first year of his stay in this region there was great enthusiasm among the Indians there about the possibility of breaching the British defences in India by the Indian National Army, with help for the Japanese, which would lead to nation-wide anti-colonial uprising. In the second period, after the Allied forces became dominant from the mid-1944 and the combined forces of Indian National Army and the Japanese military had to retreat from North-east India as well as from the countries of South-east Asia, Bose played a different role of a leader who would desperately try to keep the morale of his retreating forces high and to find other ways of attaining freedom. He, however, never left the hope of winning freedom for India. By the late 1943, the response to his call to the people was overwhelming. Thousands of Indian soldiers and civilians volunteered to fight as well as help with money and materials. Netaji exhorted his audiences to prepare well and support in every way the struggle because 'Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British army of occupation in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civilian population at home, but also among the Indian Army, which is now standing under the British flag. When the British government is thus attacked from both sides— from inside India and from outside— it will collapse,

and the Indian people will then regain their liberty' [cited in Bose: 245-46]. Bose decided that Burma would be crucial to his strategy military manoeuvre. When the Japanese Field Marshal suggested that the INA should work only as field propaganda unit, Bose immediately rejected it and demanded that INA brigades should be used as advance fighting units. The Japanese agreed to initially put one division of INA consisting of about 10,000 soldiers into action. Mohammad Zaman Kiani assumed the command of this unit. This division was further divided into three regiments which had been named after Gandhi, Nehru, and Azad signifying oneness with the nationalist movement at home. Out of these the best soldiers were taken out to form a guerrilla unit under Shah Nawaz Khan which would first go into action. The soldiers named this unit 'Subhas Brigade'. For raising the morale of the soldiers, Bose visited them in their camps and also shared his meals with them. Soldiers of all castes and communities were persuaded to eat commonly which led to a common bond between them crossing religious and linguistic boundaries. This display of national unity was important, even though it was taking place on foreign soil, because increasingly sharp communal division was shearing the Indian body politic at home.

AZAD HIND FAUJ: FIGHT FOR INDIA'S LIBERATION

On October 23-24, 1943 in the midnight, the Azad Hind Government declared war on Britain and USA. The latter was included because there were American forces on Indian soil, although the USA was in fact sympathetic to the demands for Indian freedom. Within a year, lakhs of Indian expatriates signed oath of citizenship in Southeast Asia by declaring: 'I, a member of the Azad Hind Sangh [Indian Independence League], do hereby solemnly promise in the name of God and take this holy oath that I will be

absolutely loyal and faithful to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and shall be always prepared for any sacrifice for the cause of the freedom of our motherland, under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose' [cited in Bose: 259]. Japan government promised all kinds of diplomatic and military help to the Azad Hind Government. Bose also persuaded them to regard INA not as a subordinate outfit but as an allied army. The legal control of the Andaman and Nicobar islands was given to the Azad Hind Government by the Japanese, although the latter retained the military control. The Azad Hind Government headquarters was shifted to Burma from Singapore in January 1944. Bose prepared an alternative structure of government with a full-fledged cabinet and ministers, the Azad National Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) Bank, its own postage stamp, and a national currency. The advance guerrilla unit known as 'Subhas Birgade' had already moved there. The Japanese army was also now ready for the offensive. Although the Japanese wanted to attach small groups of INA soldiers with larger Japanese units, Bose refused to subordinate Indian soldiers to Japanese command and control, and insisted on an independent role and identity for the INA. He also firmly believed that it was the sacrifice of the Indian soldiers which mattered more for Indian freedom. It was agreed that one battalion of INA would join the fight against British West African division. After that the INA would move towards Kohima and Imphal in Indian territory. In February some of the INA units successfully fought against the British in Burma. Then in March 1944, the INA, along with the Japanese forces, moved towards Imphal and Kohima by crossing Indo-Burma frontier. The Indian soldiers were very happy and enthusiastic about being in their own country. On this front, around 84,000 Japanese and 12,000 INA soldiers faced about 150,000 British troops. The

Japanese troops had not carried much ration with them for speed and they had pinned their hope on the quick capture of Kohima and Imphal. In April 1944, they seemed to be very close to capturing Imphal and Kohima, as they laid siege to Imphal. The INA soldiers were fighting very well and their spirit was very high. They had hoisted the Indian tricolour flag in Moirang, a short distance from Imphal. There was a lot of optimism among the Azad Hind leaders, soldiers, and its adherents in general. A 'free India' seemed to be round the corner.

However, due to the stiff resistance offered now by the British-led forces, the siege was prolonged. During the three-and-half months of siege, under difficult circumstances, their limited ration was getting exhausted. While the British troops were well supplied with ration by continuous American supply by air, the Japanese air support was much restricted and inadequate. Some of the fiercest battles of the World War were fought here in May 1944. The INA brigades were also involved in these fights. Unfortunately, the monsoon rains arrived early that year. Very heavy rains started which obliterated the tracks and made the whole area muddy. There was nothing much to do on fighting front and the only option was to wait. Already facing problems of transportation and shortages of supplies, the INA and Japanese soldiers were afflicted with malaria and it was difficult to procure medicines being stranded on the forest areas. Yet, the mood among the soldiers as well as other Indians in Southeast Asia was still optimistic. The stalemate continued throughout June and early week of July. Then, on 10 July, the Japanese intimated Bose that it would now be difficult to hold on there and they would now retreat from that theatre of war. The INA units were also much distressed as there was a severe lack of food and medicines along with prevalence of many diseases

including malaria. Now retreat was the only option which was taken in the third week of July. Later on 26 July, Japan announced the suspension of campaign in Northeast India. In retreat, a lot of soldiers died due to diseases and starvation, many more were injured and sick. Bose, in a radio address on 21 August 1944, accepted that INA's bid to take control in North-east India had not been successful. According to him, early monsoon and the problems in transportation were mainly responsible the lack of success. Before the monsoon came the INA and the Japanese soldiers were doing very well, but after that it became difficult to hold on. He did not lose hope and exhorted the soldiers to be prepared for the next round of engagement. Although the majority of INA troops who took part in action in the North-east were now grounded, another large contingent of soldiers arrived from Malaya in Burma who were ready for action. By then the war had arrived in Burma with the British and American forces trying to drive out the Japanese from there. The INA soldiers were also involved in fighting. They were deployed in Malaya also against the British-American forces. On the bank of Irrawady in Burma, the INA forces encountered the British forces in February 1945. They inflicted several casualties on the British and blocked their crossing of the river for the time being. Despite the huge air support from the Americans, the British forces did not advance much and stalemate continued even in March 1945. It was then that some officers of the INA deserted to the British. Even more importantly, the Burmese government, sensing the eventual Japanese defeat, turned against them and in favour of the advancing British. This created major problems of Bose who then negotiated with the Burmese government that their soldiers would not fight against each other. Despite these problems, however, the INA soldiers fought valiantly in April around Mount Popa.

But in face of superior British forces, they had to withdraw after losing a lot of soldiers. It was clear now that INA could not win this war, but it kept on fighting. On 29 April 1945, Prem Kumar Sahgal was captured by the British, and on 18 May Shah Nawaz Khan and Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon were taken prisoners.

DEFEAT OF JAPAN AND THE END OF WORLD WAR

Although the battle was lost in Burma, Bose had not given up. He sent his forces to fight in Malaya and Thailand. Despite all the reverses, Bose was hopeful for final victory. He now gathered his forces in Thailand and negotiated with the Thai government for help. He still believed that he would be able to launch another offensive for the freedom of his country. But on 6 and 9 August 1945, two atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan which ended the war in East Asia. Japan surrendered, and now Netaji had to radically revise his strategy. Even after the defeat, Netaji was not pessimistic. He declared to his remaining soldiers that 'The roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal'. He had firm belief that 'India shall be free before long' [cited in Bose: 5]. The INA could not succeed militarily due to various reasons. The INA was raised on the basis of nationalist idealism and the belief that they would be quickly able to overwhelm the British forces, at least in North-east India, in conjunction with the Japanese and this will result in a general uprising in India leading to the liberation of the country. Driven by idealistic enthusiasm and Netaji's charisma, thousands of civilians joined the INA. They did not receive sufficient military training required for a modern professional soldier, nor did they have the patience and stamina to endure such training. This resulted in lack of discipline and even desertions. Moreover, the logistical support and funds for regular salary and food for the troops was never sufficient. Quite

often, the soldiers did not receive salary but only pocket money. By 1944 even boots were in short supply. Bose's temporary arrangements for fund were no substitute for a state-funded professional military system. Thus, the level of maintenance required for combat army was not available for the INA soldiers. This led to various diseases in the ranks. So, it was mostly the idealistic fervour and Bose's charismatic leadership which motivated the soldiers for acts of bravery. But it could not last for very long and there was decline of morale and motivation among the soldiers as the fighting prolonged. Bose was also confronted with a broader problem. By the time he reached Japan and then Singapore, Japan's fortune in war had started turning. Till April 1943, Japan had an upper hand both in the Pacific and in Southeast Asia. But around mid to late 1943, the Allied forces were gaining upper hand in certain areas. By 1944, the Japanese government could not supply sufficient resources even for its own army fighting in remote areas. During the campaign inside Indian territory, the Japanese and Indian soldiers did not receive enough ration and clothing for sustenance which led to diseases and mortality in large numbers. The defeat of the Axis powers in Europe and the Pacific region further created problems for Netaji and the INA. However, what the INA failed to achieve on military front, it more than achieved on the political front.

TRIAL OF INA SOLDIERS AND THE NATIONAL UPSURGE

The trial of INA officers and soldiers at Delhi's Red Fort aroused such strong sentiments among the Indians against the British that the INA and its main officers became known in every home in the country. The trial of the INA leaders and soldiers re-energized the nationalist political atmosphere in India to almost fever pitch. The Air Force, Navy, and even the Army soldiers became influenced by the nationalist ideology and held the INA

martyrs and surviving soldiers in high esteem. The common people protested in thousands and lakhs all over India, fighting pitched battle with the government forces and getting injured and even losing their lives. The after-effects of INA movement turned out to be far more widespread and potent than its concrete achievements on the battlefield. The trial of the INA prisoners proved a boon for the nationalist movement which had suffered a setback after the defeat of INA and the suppression of the Quit India Movement. The people were enthused and filled the streets in support of the INA. The nationalist newspapers widely published the heroic stories of the fight carried out by the Azad Hind Fauj. The Congress decided to defend the prisoners in the Court and assigned the task to a veteran nationalist lawyer, Bhulabhai Desai. Other leaders also supported them in various ways, including in legal defense. The trial of three important INA officers, Sahgal, Shah Nawaz, and Dhillon, commenced on 5 November 1945, but was adjourned and it recommenced on 21 November. On this date there were angry and violent protests against their prosecution. There were clashes with the military and police in many cities and several protesters were killed and injured. There was a show of unity between the supporters of the Congress and Muslim League who carried the flags of both the parties together. The Indians in all the wings of colonial government's armed forces expressed resentment in some form or the other. The Royal Indian Air Force stationed at Calcutta openly sent a message to the Bengal Congress Committee praising the 'noble ideal' of India's brave soldiers, and registered their 'strongest protest against the autocratic action of the Government of India and, in effect, that of the British Government in trying these brightest jewels of India' [Ghosh: 24]. Even in military, it was reported that 'the I.N.A. affairs was threatening to tumble down the whole edifice of the

Indian army' [Ghosh: 25]. Most of the Indian officers were against prosecution of INA soldiers. In Royal Indian Navy (RIN), it took a dangerous turn when Indian ratings of 78 ships stationed in Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, Cochin, Vizagapatamm Mandapam, and the Andamans revolted. Only about ten ships remained relatively unaffected. The rebels demanded, among other things, the immediate release of INA prisoners and abandonment of their trials.

Thus, the trials not only created popular nationalist waves of agitation and protests all over the country, but they also generated strong political and nationalist sentiments among the armed forces. The Court sentenced the three prisoners to lifelong deportation, but its decision was reversed by commutation of the sentence by the commander-in-chief of British Indian Army. There was a fear of revolt in the Army and a general upsurge in the country. The three officers were set free and they were received outside by lakhs of people thronging the streets and shouting slogans. The situation was looking very explosive, and the British now tried to resolve it by putting forward the idea of transfer of power to the Indians by quickly sending the Cabinet Mission to decide the modalities.

Role of Tamils in Indian National Army (INA)

Tamils played a significant role in the Indian National Army (INA), a force established during World War II with the goal of liberating India from British rule. Their contributions were notable in various capacities, including military service, fundraising, and propaganda efforts.

Key Contributions of Tamils in the INA:

Military Service:

Many Tamils, including those from the Tamil diaspora in Southeast Asia, joined the INA as soldiers, serving in various ranks and regiments.

Fundraising and Propagand:

Tamils played a crucial role in raising funds and spreading the INA's message of freedom through propaganda efforts, particularly in Southeast Asian countries.

Leadership and Organizing:

Notable figures like Captain Lakshmi Sahgal, a Tamil woman, led the Rani of Jhansi Regiment within the INA, demonstrating the leadership capabilities of Tamils in the movement.

Intelligence Gathering:

Some Tamils were involved in intelligence gathering and espionage, contributing to the INA's strategic planning and operations.

Civilian Support:

Tamils also provided crucial support to the INA by assisting with logistics, medical services, and other essential functions.

Specific Examples of Tamil Contributions:**Captain Lakshmi Sahgal:**

A prominent leader in the INA, she established the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, a female military unit within the INA.

Janaki Athi Nahappan:

A Malaysian freedom fighter and social activist, she joined the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and actively participated in fundraising efforts for the INA.

Freedom Fighters from Nagapattinam District:

Many individuals from this district, including those from Sirkazhi and Tharangambadi, joined the INA and Indian Independence League in Southeast Asia, contributing to the movement's efforts.

The Tamil Diaspora:

Tamils living in countries like Singapore and Malaysia played a significant role in supporting the INA's cause through fundraising, recruitment, and propaganda efforts.

In summary, Tamils made a substantial contribution to the INA through military service, fundraising, leadership, and propaganda efforts. Their involvement helped to strengthen the movement and contribute to the struggle for India's independence.