CHAPTER THREE
GEORGE JOSEPH AND HOME RULE

George Joseph had a great fascination towards politics from his younger days. But he started his political career with the formation of Home Rule Movement in India. It was started by Mrs. Annie Besant, who was an Irish lady. Born in London in 1847, she joined the Theosophical society in 1889. Annie reached India in 1889 and by 1913, she plunged into the political movement that had been going on in India. By that time she started organizing a political movement in which she demanded Home Rule for India.

Before the formation of the Home Rule agitation, the national movement was in the hands of the moderate leaders. But after the death of prominent moderate leaders like Gokhale and Pheroz Shah Mehta, there was a vacuum in the leadership of the Congress. This situation provided an opportunity to Mrs. Annie Besant and Balgangadhar Tilak to take control of the Congress in 1916.

Tilak formed the Indian Home Rule League at Poona on April 23, 1916. John Baptista was a great supporter of Tilak. Baptista was very much influenced by the ideas of Tilak, and he became a devoted disciple of Balgangadhar Tilak and considered him as his Guru. So they together worked for the formation of Home Rule League. By 1st September 1916, Mrs. Besant also started a Home
Rule League in Madras. Swaraj or Home Rule was the main aim of these leagues. Tilak’s movement mainly centered in Maharashtra, whereas Besant’s had an all India character.

Annie Besant toured all over India to spread her ideas among the masses. The Home Rulers followed the constitutional method of political agitation. For them this was the best method for political evolution.

Madras was the centre of Besant’s Home Rule activities. Throughout the presidency the Home Rulers formed reading rooms and libraries. Annie Besant’s teachings and ideas had great impact on the younger section of the society especially on the Western educated Indians. George Joseph was one among them. As a part of her activities, Annie Besant visited some rural districts of Tamilnadu, and she visited Madurai also. Madurai was a major centre of activity for George Joseph. On 20th March 1916, George Joseph met Mrs. Annie Besant for the first time on one of her visits to Madurai. From that day onwards Joseph became a great supporter of Home Rule Movement. The methods and teachings of Annie Besant had made a deep impact on George Joseph. Madurai soon became one of the major centres of Home Rule activities and George Joseph became a strong activist of the Home Rule League.

The Lucknow pact was signed in 1916, and it was an important step taken by the Indian National Congress, the Home
Rule League, and the Muslim League. This pact was a crucial event in the history of Indian national movement and Indian freedom struggle because it was caused for the Hindu-Muslim unity. It led to the reunion of the moderates and the extremists in the Congress. This was mainly because of the enormous efforts made by Balgangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant, through their Home Rule League Movement. The Surat split of 1907 had created a wide rift between the moderates and the extremists. But in 1916, through Lucknow pact, these two wings of the Indian National Congress got reunited for demanding a self-government or swaraj for India. This pact created a new hope in the minds of the Indian masses. The Home Rule leaders wanted to make awareness in the minds of the common people about the importance of the pact. George Joseph became an ardent supporter of the demand for self-government.

In Madurai, George Joseph started a campaign to secure the support of the people towards the Lucknow pact. George Joseph had a key role in organizing this movement in Madurai. As per an order issued by the British government on 7th June 1917, Mrs. Annie Besant and other leaders of the Home Rule League were banned from visiting urban centres like Madras and Madurai. The British government also prohibited students from attending any Home Rule League agitation. George Joseph condemned all such actions of the government through various meetings held in Madurai. On 25th June 1917, a meeting was organized by the members of the Home Rule League including George Joseph in Madurai, in which he made an
eloquent speech demanding the release of Annie Besant. Madurai became a major centre of the Home Rule Movement and consequent agitations.

Another meeting was held in Madurai in February 1918, in which George Joseph commented that for achieving Home Rule, people should agitate within India and he also recommended for sending representatives to England for demanding self government to India. The Home Rule agitation had distanced the moderates from the political field. The Congress session held in Calcutta in 1917, made Mrs. Annie Besant its President. It was considered as a great triumph for the Home Rule Movement and its ardent supporters as well as followers.

By this time there emerged a need to send a deputation to England. This deputation was aimed to present the case of responsible government in England. George Joseph was one of the three members of the first batch of Home Rule Deputation. B.V. Narasimha Iyer and Manjeri Rama Iyer were the other members, who accompanied George Joseph to London. This deputation set out for England in two batches on 10th March and 18th March 1918. Before reaching London, they had a halt at Gibraltar. Unfortunately these delegates could not go further. Their passports were cancelled by the British, so they had to turn back at Gibraltar. The delegates strongly protested this action taken by the British authorities. They
sent a telegram to the British Prime Minister to express their contempt towards the action taken by the British.

The British could not give an explanation to support their action. Protest meetings were held in various parts of India, especially in Madras. Even though this deputation failed to reach into their destination, the Home Rule Movement could make a significant impact on the national movement in India. They started a nationwide agitation, and they could organize masses, scattered over various regions of India. It was a new way of political agitation that earned fame and name in our struggle for freedom.

George Joseph could contribute his enormous support to promote the Home Rule Movement in Madurai and adjacent regions. By this time the Indian National Congress had been completely identified with Home Rule. By 1919, the political situation in India was subjected to several changes. The first world war came to an end. The Allied Powers became victorious. Even though Indians were expecting some substantial reforms after the war, it did not bring any change, which resulted in more disappointment and discomfort. Granting of self government was never fulfilled. Situation got worse than before. Introduction of the Rowlatt bill brought the country into a turmoil, which made Gandhiji to call upon a nationwide hortal on 6th April 1919.
The period, after the first world war witnessed the assumption of Gandhiji into the forefront of Indian politics. Gandhiji soon emerged as a political hero. Gradually he took the leadership of the nationalist movement and the methods and programmes introduced by Gandhi were completely in contrast with the methods of the moderates and the extremists. Gandhiji’s political programmes were based on satyagraha and non violence. The undisputed leadership of Gandhi inaugurated a new era in the history of the freedom movement of India. He brought the Indian masses into the main field of political movement. After Gandhiji’s entry into the freedom struggle it became a total mass struggle. The same thing happened with Indian National Congress also. It was an urban based organization surrounded by the educated middle class but by Gandhian ascendancy, people from different strata of the society actively joined the Indian National Congress.¹¹

In 1915, Gandhi returned to India after 10 years long struggle in South Africa. Gandhi’s long stay in foreign countries provided him with several experiences in life. All his sufferings gave him enough enthusiasm to give a new form to India’s political movement. The entry of Gandhi into Indian political field was warm heartedly welcomed by the new Indian bourgeoisie who were against any kind of violence. Gandhi was really an ideal man for them¹². Gandhiji had great respect for all religions in the world. He borrowed the major teachings of all religions for shaping his valuable ideas like
satyagraha, based on non violence and many other political programmes which are unique.\textsuperscript{13}

After long stay of 21 years, Gandhiji left South Africa on 18\textsuperscript{th} July, 1914, and his long stay in South Africa caused great changes in the attitude of Gandhi. During his stay in South Africa, the concept of satyagraha came to the mind of Gandhi. He often called himself both as an Indian and as a South African. The experiences received by Gandhi in South Africa had a deep impact on him and it was reflected in the Indian freedom struggle led by Gandhi.\textsuperscript{14}

For his new and unique ideas, Gandhiji was indebted to some Russian writers and thinkers of the time. Gandhi became attracted towards the philosophical ideas of these thinkers. Most important thinkers, who had influenced Gandhi through their ideas were Blavatsky, Narodniki, Timofe, Bondariev Tolstoy and Kropolkin.\textsuperscript{15} Gandhiji adopted some of his political ideas from these thinkers. He developed unique ideas like civil disobedience, non cooperation and mass struggle, from the great philosophers of Russia. Gandhi shaped his personality in South Africa. The experiences he had come through in South Africa gave Gandhiji a new life. The new vigour and enthusiasm, which Gandhi attained in South Africa did mould Gandhi’s character. He entered a new phase of life.

Throughout his life Gandhi was greatly indebted to the verses in Bhagavat Gita. Whenever he fell into great depression he found
relief in the versus of Gita. John Ruskin’s Unto The last, Henry David Thoreau’s Civil Disobedience, and Leo Tolstoy’s The kingdom of God is within you, these are the three books which had created a deep impact on Gandhiji. The themes of these books might have helped Gandhiji to develop new methods and techniques like satyagraha, civil disobedience and non co-operation.16

Gandhi’s entry into politics in 1916 and his political activities diversified from the existing one. He wanted to have an experiment with truth.17 It was based on peace and non-violence (ahimsa). Gandhi inaugurated his political entry with the Champaran satyagraha in 1917. He organized this satyagraha for the cause of indigo workers at Champaran in Bihar. Here Gandhi used the technique of satyagraha for the first time in India. Indian peasants of this region were compelled to cultivate indigo in their land which they had rented from the British. It was under a system known as ‘tinkatia’. The peasants had to keep cultivating even after indigo got its demand collapsed in the world market. But the peasants had to pay the rent which was imposed on them by the British government.18 At this time Gandhi made his entry there. He wanted to support the indigo workers. He applied his satyagraha method there. He became successful in that attempt. He could make the British to stop exploiting the indigo workers.

The second experiment made by Gandhi through his satyagraha method was in Khaira in Gujarat. The peasants in Khaira
were over burdened by the tax which was fixed by the British officials. The peasants in this region were unable to pay the tax due to the famine and other epidemic diseases which engulfed them. Under the leadership of Gandhiji they organized an anti-tax campaign against the British government. Here also Gandhiji started a method similar to what he had done in Champaran. He contacted the officials and demanded an enquiry into the problem. But the government denied his genuine demands and Gandhi resorted to satyagraha campaign. In his attempt Gandhi became victorious. The government accepted the demands and reduced the tax to be paid by the peasants.\(^{19}\)

Another strike made by the textile workers in Ahmedabad invited Gandhi to experiment his satyagraha technique. The mill workers demanded an increase in their wages. Gandhi started a fast to put some pressure on the mill owners. That made a deep impact on them. Finally the problem was settled due to the interference of Gandhi.

All his activities distinguished Gandhi from his fellow political leaders of the time. His new ideology attracted many. Gandhi could invite several supporters from different parts of India. George Joseph was one among them. He had his first meeting with Gandhiji in 1919. This meeting took place in Madras on the Marina beach. Gandhi was on his tour to provide a propagation to his civil disobedience movement and also to exhort the people to observe a
 şart on 6th April to protest against the Rowlatt Act. George Joseph was one among the persons who were invited to meet Gandhi. This meeting had a deep impact on the life of George Joseph.20

The Indian political life following the first world war was so confusing and problematic that most parts of the country fell into severe famine. About half million Indians fought for the British during the war expecting substantial political reforms after the war. Several young men were recruited for that purpose. The Indian National Congress envisaged a wider political change after the war, decided to give their support for the war efforts of Great Britain. At this time the home rule movement was taking its deep efforts to struggle for a self government, under the leadership of Bala Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant. The Home Rule movement gave much encouragement to the people to strive for self government. The famine and unemployment followed by the war created turmoil in the Indian society which created a wider scope for the Indian struggle for freedom from Imperial Britain.

The British became very apprehensive regarding the growing political transformation in India. The situation reminded the British to take sudden active measures to curb the growing Indian political agitations. They were in need to evolve a sudden action to curtail the freedom of the masses. Britishers wanted to block the growing agitations against them. For that purpose they brought out a new act known as Rowlatt Act thereby the British Government appointed a
sedition committee headed by Sydney Rowlatt. This committee was intended to make an investigation regarding the growing revolutionary movements and agitations against the British. The Rowlatt Committee was appointed on 10\textsuperscript{th} December 1917. Two bills recommended by the Rowlatt Committee were introduced in the Central Legislative Council which brought anxiety in the minds of the people of India.\textsuperscript{21}

Even though the British waged the World war to mould a new world order for democracy, their introduction of the Rowlatt Act proved their deceitful nature. The most elementary human rights of the people of India had been curtailed. The Indian masses treated it as a fatal blow to the rudimentary rights of the people. Gandhi rose to the occasion and emerged as the Indian political sage to wage a war based on *ahimsa*. Anti British feeling was spreading throughout India and Gandhiji took this time to think of starting an all India Civil Disobedience movement.

Under such a situation Gandhi received an invitation to visit Madras. Inspite of his bad health Gandhi resolved to conduct a tour to South India. When he was in Madras, Gandhi received the news that the Rowlatt bill had been published as an act. In Madras, Gandhi visited Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and C. Rajagopalachari and also Sir.Vijayarakhavacharyar. They suggested to Gandhi to start an all India hartal in opposition to the Rowlatt Act. He took the bold decision to carry out a general hartal on 6\textsuperscript{th} April 1919.\textsuperscript{22} He
exhorted the people to observe this hartal as a day of peaceful meetings, prayers and fasting. He asked Indian people to suspend all the activities on that particular day to show our anger against British policies.

This was Gandhi’s first political act against the British government in India. This hartal inaugurated Gandhi’s political entry into the freedom movement. By this began, the third phase of Indian freedom movement.

George Joseph’s first meeting with Gandhi took place on 22nd March 1919 in Madras. Gandhi was delivering a speech regarding the conducting of the hartal. On that day a group of people were called for a meeting with Gandhiji. George Joseph was one among them. Others were C.Rajagopalachari, Sarojini Naidu and T.Satyamurti. George Joseph drew much inspiration from Gandhi during his meeting with him. This meeting brought out crucial changes in the life of Barrister George Joseph.

On the day of hartal George Joseph provided an active leadership to the programmes and activities in Madurai. He asked the people to boycott all work on that day and to take fast and do prayers. The people of Madurai took this direction seriously and provided their full support for the peaceful carrying out of the hartal, George Joseph and his associates spread the messages given by Gandhiji among the common masses. He stressed the importance of
The hartal was peaceful in national level also, except a few violences reported in some places especially in Delhi, Bombay, Ahmedabad and some other major cities. People attacked English officers and kept on slaughting the British officials. Dismayed over this Gandhi observed a three day long fasting. He urged his followers to keep fasting for 24 hours. But Gandhi got depressed over the news that there had been more violence in remote villages too. He considered his entire satyagraha campaign as a Himalyan miscalculation. At Palwal near Delhi Gandhi got arrested.

In Punjab the situation was getting worse. The Punjab government gave out an order for exiling two Congress party leaders on 9th April 1919. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were the two leaders deported from the Punjab province. Both were strong Congress activists in the region. The arrest of these two local leaders provoked the people and they resorted to various atrocities. The arrest had taken place on the day of Ramanavami. On that day Hindus and Muslims joined together. They raised slogans in support of Gandhi and against the actions of the British government. The angry mob made attacks towards the British in different parts of Punjab. The British found it a tough time to handle. They decided to crush the situation at any cost.
The British officer Edward Harry Dyer was in charge of the problematic areas in Punjab. Born in Simla in 1864, he had his education in Britain. He joined the British army in 1885 and took part in the Burma war and in the first world war. Dyer reached Amritsar on 11th April 1919 and on 12th he made a proclamation which banned all kinds of meetings and gatherings. People in most part of the city were unaware of this proclamation. On 13th April 1919 a mass meeting was held at Jallianwala Bagh. It was a rectangular shaped ground surrounded by walls on three sides, which had only one exit. It is believed that between ten and twenty thousand people gathered over there to attend the meeting. When informed about this gathering General Dyer reached the place with his troops and without giving any warning he ordered his troops to start firing. The firing lasted for about ten minutes. The people became panic and they ran towards the exit. As it was a narrow exit, people could not get out easily. The death toll was around 400.²⁷ It was the most heinous action done by the British in India. The incident shook the whole nation. Nation fell into utter grief. Many leaders left their honours given by the British. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy made a deep wound in the minds of the people of India. Many leaders felt a deep aversion towards the British Government. George Joseph was one among them. Gandhi called off his hartal on 18th April. He sent a telegram to all leaders to suspend the satyagraha movement. The movement was suspended in Madurai on 18th April.
Gandhi’s journey towards active Indian politics was mainly started from Jallianwala Bagh. After the brutal massacre Gandhi was allowed to enter Punjab only after 17th October 1919. Gandhi received assistance from various Indian national leaders in Punjab. While he was in Punjab Gandhi got an invitation from Delhi to attend a Muslim conference. It was a joint conference of Hindus and Muslims. Khilafat question was the major issue discussed. This gathering was well attended by several national leaders. When he received the invitation, Gandhi was informed that the Khilafat issue and the question of cow protection would discuss together at the meeting. Gandhi opposed this and suggested that both these things should not be mixed up together and also insisted to discuss them separately. As a result, the question of cow protection was dropped and Khilafat issue became the major problem discussed in that meeting.

The First World War raised an ill feeling among the Muslim masses in India towards the British Empire. There emerged a strong indignation among the Muslims due to the policy adopted by the British government regarding the position of the Caliph (Khalifa) in Turkey. They captured Turkey and deposed the Caliph. He was the religious head of the Muslims all over the world. This action of the British government deeply wounded the minds of the Indian Muslims, who too regarded the Caliph as their religious head. The decision taken by the British regarding the Turkish Empire was totally against the expectations of the Indian Muslims, even though
the British prompted the Indian Muslims to form the Muslim League earlier. This policy of the British led to the fire of an anti-British feeling in India among the Muslims.\footnote{29}

Congress leaders took up this situation as a golden opportunity to make a solid relation between the Hindus and the Muslims. Various types of discussions were held between the Hindu and the Muslim leaders regarding this matter. Gandhiji criticized the British to have done this humiliation to the Turkish Empire. He sent letter to the Viceroy, strongly opposing the British policy in Turkey.\footnote{30}

Gandhi gave leadership to the Khilafat movement in favour of the Turkish Sultan.\footnote{31} Gandhi sought the support of all Hindus regarding the Khilafat question. He was eager to have a Hindu Muslim unity in India to launch a strong political movement.

After the first Khilafat meeting held at Delhi, on November 23, 1919, Gandhi used the term Non co-operation. At this crucial situation, Gandhi was looking for a new action against the British government which should be unique. Non co-operation means stopping of all kinds of co-operation with the British government and boycotting of all British goods and British institutions. Gandhi decided to launch a non co-operation movement until the solving of the Khilafat question.\footnote{32}
In September 1920, in Calcutta, a special session of the Congress was held. This session under the Presidentship of Lala Lajpath Rai, passed a resolution on non co-operation, forwarded by Gandhiji. But this idea was criticized by a section of leaders like C.R Das, Annie Besant, M.A. Jinnah, Bipin Chandra Pal, Madan Mohan Malavya etc. Inspite of their opposition, the resolution was passed with considerable majority.\textsuperscript{33}

The death of Bala Gangadhar Tilak on 1\textsuperscript{st} of August 1920, had made the Congress almost leaderless. At this juncture, Gandhi emerged as a saviour of the Congress with his magnetic power. Gandhi brought mainly three issues before the attention of all, mainly the Punjab issue, the Khilafat and the Swaraj. Initially some prominent leaders like C. R Das and supporters of Tilak turned against this. But the summary of the Hunter commission report brought about many leaders into utter disappointment. Thus most of the leaders changed their decision after this and supported the non-co-operation movement launched by Gandhiji.\textsuperscript{34}

The annual session of the Congress was held on 26\textsuperscript{th} December 1920 at Nagpur. At this session, a final decision was taken regarding the non-co-operation movement. The Nagpur session was remarkable in the history of Indian National Congress for having taken a crucial decision regarding the future of India. Around twenty thousand people attended the Nagpur session of Indian National Congress.\textsuperscript{35}
From 1920 onwards the Indian national movement entered a new phase. This period marked the beginning of a third and final phase of freedom struggle. It marked a sea change in the Congress in terms of beliefs, concepts, methods of struggle and follow up action. Well being of the masses became the theme of the Congress and satyagraha became the form of the struggle.\textsuperscript{36} The non-co-operation movement created immense enthusiasm among the common masses. It had aimed for mainly two programmes constructive and combative. The constructive programme encouraged the promotion of swadeshi, production of khadi, eradication of untouchability, prohibition of the use of liquor, and rising of Hindu-Muslim unity. The combative programme aimed for boycotting British goods and British institutions.\textsuperscript{37}

The first step in the non co-operation movement was planned to be suspension of giving donations, war loans, surrendering of honorary posts/ titles etc. The second step was to give up civil posts. The third step thought to be giving up of police and military services. The fourth plan was to be no-payment of all kinds of taxes.\textsuperscript{38}

The main issue of non co-operation was regarding the boycott of foreign cloth and other British goods. Gandhi asked the people to discard all foreign clothes. Foreign cloth will be replaced by hand spun khadar. The main aim of the boycott movement was to convince the foreigners that it was a mass movement and also a
humanitarian movement. This movement intended to realize the British that India has not been a dumping ground for all English goods.\textsuperscript{39}

Gandhi conducted a campaign to create an awareness among the people regarding the importance of boycotting. He said that before the coming of the British the Indians were able to produce their own cloth and could send the excess to abroad. But with the advent of the British, India witnessed the appearance of British made clothes which reduced the demand of Indian cloths and deprived the 80 percent of the Indian population of their occupation and income. Gandhi reminded the people that boycotting of foreign cloth would enable the people of India to save at least sixty crore rupees for India per year.\textsuperscript{40} The boycott of foreign cloth had become indispensable for attaining Swaraj.

The non co-operation movement raised the vigours and enthusiasm of the people. Gandhi made a nationwide tour for the cause of non co-operation. He used every mode and reached every corner of India. He raised the slogan “Swaraj in one year”. Many leaders felt a satisfaction with this new movement. Students boycotted their educational institutions run by British government. There occurred massive student strikes in different parts of India. Many Indians abandoned their British titles. Gandhi himself surrendered his two South African medals and Kaiseri- Hind gold medal which he had received from the British for his humanitarian
work in South Africa. Many leaders like Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, Vallabhai Patel etc gave up their lucrative law practice. People burnt foreign cloths in different parts of India. The non co-operation movement had received a warm welcome from every corner of India. People greeted this with great favour and ecstasy.\textsuperscript{41}

The non co-operation movement had made great impact upon the people of South India also. The magnetic personality of Gandhi made a great stimulus upon South Indians. They could not be aloof from the main areas of freedom struggle. The political leaders of South India actively participated in this new form of struggle. They were all attracted towards the personality of Gandhiji. Barrister George Joseph was one among them. The national events like Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy and Rowlatt Act, had made a great fillip on the life of George Joseph. That roused his hatred towards the British government. During this time George Joseph was immersed in Home Rule activities and he was getting very much attracted towards the national movement. The inauguration of non co-operation movement on the Indian soil was a remarkable event in the life of Barrister George Joseph.

The Satyagraha movement and its propagation of non violence brought a new thinking into the mind of George Joseph.\textsuperscript{42} He welcomed the call of Mahatma for boycotting of British goods with a warm heart. He could not wait for a long time and he himself entered into the political arena of India. He observed the political
events which was taking place in India at that time. During this time George Joseph was having a lucrative legal practice but Mahatma's call pushed him into the mainstream of national movement. He had to make a choice between his growing legal practice and the national movement. Without much hesitation he could choose the call of Gandhi. Now the western educated, western styled barrister turned towards a Gandhian style and life habits. He renounced all his foreign possessions in particular the foreign cloth. He set fire to all his foreign cloths. The non-violent satyagraha movement had made deep influence upon the young barrister who jumped into active politics.43

For all his activities, George Joseph was lucky enough to have the enormous supprt of his wife Susan. She could put up with all decisions taken by her husband. She had accepted her husband's passion for western style and manner earlier. She had done her best to adopt western style of living as per the wishes of her husband. But now she could early assume her husband's strong desire for national movement. Both together decided to leave all comforts in life. Putting behind everything in life, they set out for Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad. There they-George Joseph and Susan Joseph started the actual political life in a total Gandhian perspective.

After leaving Madurai, Joseph and family reached Sabarmathi Ashram (herimitage). They were attracted by the simple life there. At
first Gandhi founded the Satyagraha Ashram at Kochrab and later at Sabarmati. It was on the banks of the Sabarmati river, in the city of Ahmedabad. It was on the model of Tolstoy farm. The Ashram consisted of low, whitewashed huts in a group of fruit trees. The Ashram became a home for different people from various parts of India.44

People from all castes became the inmates of this Ashram, and caste was not a hindrance for entering it. It was mandatory for the inmates to keep some vows in the Ashram like truth, nonviolence, anti-untouchability, celibacy, non-stealing, non-possession, and self-control etc.45 The Ashram had become a nerve centre for the national movement and it was the boarding place for some active leaders of the national movement. They started their political career from here and George Joseph became one of the political leaders who started their political career at the feet of Gandhiji in Sabarmati.46

After embracing the call of Mahatma, George Joseph started his political career in all humility. By making his journey towards North, George Joseph became an integral part of the national struggle for freedom. It was a new role taken by Joseph, deviating from his old track. The simple life in Sabarmati Ashram was a new experience for George Joseph and Susannah Joseph, where they stayed for a short period.47 Every day, started with a morning prayer, followed by various constructive programmes and it made a deep
impact on the Joseph family. Life in the Ashram made them to have contacts with numerous national leaders. Meetings with some eminent leaders stimulated the urge of George Joseph for his entry into the national struggle.\textsuperscript{48} Joseph’s enthusiasm and spirit for national freedom created a strong impression among some of the national leaders like Motilal. Joseph was invited to edit the newspaper ‘\textit{The Independent}', started by Motilal Nehru. Motilal entered his political career as a moderate but later moved away from his moderate ideologies. Entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the Indian political field changed the whole \textit{modus operandi} of Indian freedom struggle which brought drastic changes in the life of the Nehrus.\textsuperscript{49}

Motilal had great admiration for western education and ideas, and his attitude and outlook were western. He was eager to build an English life style at home. He appointed English governess to teach his children. He made his home a centre of social cultural life. He invited Englishmen as guests to his home, and Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir John Edge were very close to Motilal.\textsuperscript{50} Gradually he could realise the real attitude of the British towards the Indians. That made him to deviate from his moderate ideas and finally it resulted in the adoption of Gandhian way of life. "\textit{The Independent}" started on 5th February, 1919 in Allahabad was popular among numerous political leaders. National leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and C.Y Chintamani, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru etc had their home in Allahabad. Leaders like Madan Mohan Malavya and Purushotham Das Tandon also belonged to Allahabad. This city was famous for
three English dailies viz the Pioneer, the Leader, edited by (C.Y.Chintamani) and the Independent.

The Independent had aimed to fight against the imperialist powers through its editorials and various articles. It destined to bring out the horrors of British rule to the public. It was the only English morning daily newspaper in North India and it was published twice daily. This news paper was welcomed by the educated community in Lucknow eagerly. Motilal Nehru had offered high salaries for the journalists, working in this newspaper so as to attract excellent journalists. But this could not last long. The financial management of the Independent did not come up to the expectations of Motilal Nehru. For starting this newspaper, Motilal was strongly advised by B.G. Horniman, the editor of the Bombay Chronicle. He was a reputed journalist but was not competent enough to advise the business side of a newspaper. Financial mishandling led to financial crisis.

Syed Hussain was the first editor of the Independent. He had earlier worked in the Bombay Chronicle. He had a better starting but soon his editorship made Motilal to feel more insecure about the future of the Independent. It seemed a difficult task to Motilal Nehru to get a new editor to the Independent after Syed Hussain left. By the beginning of 1920, the management of the paper was miserable. At this stage Motilal Nehru chose Barrister George Joseph to edit his paper. In a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, Motilal had
written thus “I think you had, better get Joseph for your editorship”. In another letter to Jawahar, he had pointed out that he was dissatisfied with the editorship of Ranga lyer. He feared that if the paper is continued under him, it would lose its demand with the public. He also mentioned that Joseph would be a thousand times better than Ranga lyer. It was Jawaharlal Nehru, who recommended the name of Joseph for the editorship of the Independent. He could find that Joseph is the apt person to chair the editorial post of the paper in such a critical period.

Joseph could easily take over the task. He was a strong critic of the activities of the government. He himself contributed various articles to this paper by severely criticising the government. During his editorship, Joseph could acquire close relationship with some important personalities. One among them was R.Venkatraman. He was a South Indian lawyer. He had greatly influenced by the magnetic personality of Gandhiji and later became the Indian President. Like George Joseph, he too gave up his practice and set out for North India. He became a close friend of George Joseph. Sadanand was another one who became dear to the family. He considered himself as the ‘adopted’ son of George Joseph and Susanna Joseph. The third friend Joseph got from the editorial staff was Mahadev Desai who later became the personal secretary of Gandhiji and wrote the famous book, The Epic of Travancore.
In a letter to Jawaharlal, Motilal insisted that he should arrange hotel rooms for George Joseph and make him aware of the present situation. George Joseph had to learn well the present situation before taking charge of the editorship. He required some time to grasp the political circumstances in which the paper was run. He was a true politician who devoted his life for the sake of the country. He could warmly welcome the editor post with great fervour. George Joseph regarded it as a favourable opportunity to criticize the government and its heinous policies and activities. It was a golden chance to a true nationalist like Joseph to attack the British government in a mature manner through his writings and speeches.

It was a time when Gandhi resolved to start a long nationalist propaganda throughout India. Along with some Congress leaders, he organised public meetings and inspired the common masses to abandon any kind of co-operation with the government. People vigorously moved forward to provide wholehearted support to Gandhiji. The non-co-operation movement centered neither on a particular region nor on religious basis. It was really a secular movement in its early stages. Both Hindus and Muslims fought together to make this movement a victorious one. People forgot their religions, castes and gender and followed Gandhi to fight back the British through this new method. They discarded their foreign possessions without little hesitation.
Gandhi’s philosophy based on nonviolence went through the minds of the common masses. Gandhi had strongly been influenced by the term ‘ahimsa’ which was the contribution of Jainism, a heterodox religion of the 6th century BC, that century of religious fermentation. It was Gandhi who brought the ideal of ‘ahimsa’ into the mainstream of Hinduism. He fused religion and philosophy and brought both Hindu and Jain philosophies together to develop a new idea, based on non-violence. Thus the non-co-operation movement was a non-violent movement in its basic character. Naturally people from all sections of society actively participated in it. The peasants and other workers, the other downtrodden sections of the society etc came forward and took part in the active struggle staged by Gandhiji. Through out his journey, Gandhi emphasized the importance of homespun cotton and urged the people to learn to spin. He himself took to spinning once in a day and considered, daily spinning as a ‘sacrament’. In the third phase of freedom struggle, well being of the masses was its major aim and Satyagraha was its form of struggle.

After inaugurating the historic non co-operation movement, Gandhi had promised ‘Swaraj’ within one year. He strongly believed that only through the support of the people he can attain that goal. He wanted to give a popular base to the non-co-operation movement. Prominent national leaders came to the forefront and lent their support to Gandhi. The movement gathered wide popularity which was a new experience by and large. The air was
filled with a hope for freedom. The spirit of the movement shook the confidence of the British Government and they worked against this agitation. They could not grasp the political situation of the time, and they were unaware of the enigmatic personality of Gandhi and his powerful influence upon the common masses. They began to sense the emerging threat coming towards them.

It seemed essential for the British to crush the present political situation. The growing spirit among the nationalists instilled a strange fear in the minds of the British and they became more suspicious about the actions, taken by the Congress. The British began to look at the non violent struggle started by Gandhi with some apprehension in their mind. They feared that the peaceful, non-violent, cotton spinning satyagraha would not be, what it seemed. They thought Gandhi would be planning a fierce-armed struggle, behind this satyagraha.

Motilal had arranged a marriage function of his daughter Vijayalakshmi, inviting a large number of Congressmen from all over India on 10th May (1921). The news about this function brought some rumours in the British camp that this gathering was arranged for some ominous reason, which would harm the British. Besides this, the date 10th May inherited the memory of the first struggle of 1857. The British were frightened of such happenings and searched that something worst would be happening soon. The time seemed crucial for the Britishers to take an immediate action to
tackle the situation. To crush the emerging spirit of the Congress, the Britishers started mass arrests all over India.

At this critical situation, a member of the British royalty, the Duke of Connaught visited India. He made speeches regarding peace, in real contrast to the deeds of British in India. George Joseph responded through the Independent in which he ridiculed the British for a Royal Duke, who carried the message of peace and forgiveness at a time when they were trying to spoil the peace of the Indian masses through various methods. The Independent stood as a severe critic of the Government through various articles written by some prominent nationalists. George Joseph himself contributed such articles showing his anger and distrust towards the Government.

The Independent was a true propagator of the ideas of the non co-operation movement. A number of public meetings were held on the grounds of The Independent every week, and was aimed to educate the people on the importance of organizing the Non Co-operation Movement. One such meeting was held on 31st October, on a Sunday evening in which George Joseph and C.B. Ranga Iyer addressed the gathering which consisted of a majority of students. At that meeting, George Joseph delivered an inspiring speech on freedom and its relevance. He pointed out the importance of boycotting of government schools and colleges thus, the ultimate aim of all programmes and policies was the
achievement of freedom. In his opinion, freedom was the highest political goal. Only freedom can enable the people to have equality before the law. He again opined that freedom was a precious thing and it was the duty of the citizens to keep it safe. He added that the citizens should keep an infinite readiness to maintain their freedom.65

George Joseph took every opportunity to criticize the Government. The editorship of the Independent provided him with enough space to note down his remarks about the government. He never hesitated to express his views against the action of the government. His stay with Gandhiji and other prominent national leaders accelerated the nationalist spirit in him. His short span as the editor of the Independent led to a close relationship between his family and Nehrus. Motilal was a frequent guest of the Joseph family. George Joseph had developed a reverence for Motilal Nehru, eventhough they held different views on certain issues in later days.

When there arose a domestic problem in Nehru family related to a love affair of Vijalakshmi Pandit, the elder daughter of Motilal Nehru, Susanna did the role of a peace maker.66 Jawahar too was a good friend of Joseph. After completing his education in Harrow and Cambridge, Nehru reached India with a modern western outlook. The experiences he had cherished in Cambridge did make a deep impact on the future political life of Jawaharlal Nehru. During his Cambridge days, Nehru had developed a taste of wide reading.
beyond his field of study which widened his intellectual horizons. There he got chances to meet persons with different ideologies and different culture and he would listen to numerous personalities who delivered lectures at the University.

Another development Nehru had during his student days at Cambridge was his great interest in Indian politics. Jawahar himself moulded a radical attitude. There were debates among the Indian students at Cambridge, related to the political situation in India. Frequent visits of some prominent Indian leaders made a profound influence upon the Indian students at Cambridge. Jawahar was no exception to this. Sometimes he became a sharp critic of his father’s political attitude. After getting back home, Nehru was eager to enter Indian politics and the non co-operation movement provided an opportunity.

Motilal was an ardent moderate leader but Jawahar’s commitment to Gandhian political ideas made him a supporter of the non co-operation movement launched by Gandhi. By this time both Nehrus left their luxurious life and started wearing khadi. Thus Gandhian period changed the life of Nehrus too. It is apparent that Gandhi and his political ideology could bring numerous personalities into the freedom movement. George Joseph too belonged to this category. During their stay in Allahabad, Jawahar was a daily visitor to Joseph’s house. He would have a daily halt at Joseph house for a
cup of tea at the end of his morning walk. Later both together shared a life in Lucknow prison.

Lord Reading took charge as the Viceroy of India on 2nd April 1921. He was a Jew and had a good career at the Bar. He had adorned different posts like a cabinet Minister, Chief Justice of England, British Ambassador to Washington etc. Lord Reading might be a familiar person to George Joseph during his days in London. George Joseph wrote an article in the Independent, entitled ‘Terrorism Run Mad’, in which he mentioned about Lord Reading as a gentleman, interested only in fair dealings. He was against any kind of violence and as such the post of Viceroy does not suit him much.

Gandhiji’s non co-operation movement was getting wider popularity all over India. It could make its waves upon every field of life. People rendered their wholehearted support for, the steps taken by Gandhiji and consequently it became a successful popular movement. The British, apprehended by the growth of the movement compared it with the Bolshevist movement in Russia and they called Gandhi a ‘Bolshevik’. The wider participation from the side of the peasants and workers gave a new energy to the freedom movement and it became a complete mass agitation for freedom.

But one section in the nationalist movement criticised Gandhiji and his non co-operation movement for giving wide support
to the Muslims and also for being brought religion into politics. This movement was closely connected with the Khilafat movement. Gandhiji had envisaged a strong Hindu-Muslim unity through bringing these movements together. But some of Gandhiji’s Brahmin supporters were doubtful over his close relationship with the Ali brothers. Gandhiji had regarded the Ali brothers, Muhammed Ali and Shaukat Ali as his own brothers. Most of the time they seemed together. The Ali brothers were criticised for injecting violence among the Muslims. Even though Gandhiji rendered his whole hearted support to the Khilafat movement aiming at Hindu-Muslim unity, it caused violent Hindu-Muslim clashes in major parts of India. The Congress could bring some local issues which had secured all India attention.

MALABAR REBELLION

During this time, a rebellion broke out in Malabar. This revolt was fought against the Hindu landlord class. This region was a strong hold of the Khilafat agitation. During 1920, a number of Mappilas took Congress membership numbering about 20,000. Gandhiji made a visit to this region and received a warm welcome there. Gandhi intended to preach his nonviolent political method over there. But the Mappila revolt was totally against the peaceful method propagated by Gandhi. The Mappilas fought against both the British government and the Hindu landlords. It was started during the first half of 1921. The main outbreak of the revolt had taken
place in August at Pukkottur. A group of Muslims attacked some policemen. The revolt spread to other parts of Malabar region. But the government could suppress the movement with their modern weapons and arms. The Mappilas resorted to guerilla warfare. Sometimes they involved in forcible conversion. If anybody resisted they would be murdered by armed Muslims. The Mappilas fought mainly for tenancy reforms. Unfortunately the land lords in Malabar were Hindus and the majority of the peasants were Muslims. The mixing up of religion with politics finally resulted in communal violence in many parts of India and Malabar in particular.\(^\text{75}\)

An important feature of the Non-co-operation satyagraha was the entry of more peasants into the movement. Congress recruited more peasants into the new peasant organisations.\(^\text{76}\) Jawaharlal Nehru gave prominent leadership to some of the peasant struggles which took place in various parts of India. Agrarian troubles were a frequent occurrence in India. Prior to the non co-operation movement, the peasant movements were rarely attended by the national leaders. The peasants were severely exploited by the talukdars and the big zamindars. These landlords were fully under the control of the British. The British authorities were extracting huge taxes from these peasants through their landlords. The result was, their extreme poverty. Nehru made a long travel from village to village. He was eager to have acquaintance with the miseries of the poor peasants. Nehru became very sympathetic and pathetic over the problems of the Indian peasantry.\(^\text{77}\) Famines and epidemics
became a usual occurrence in the life of the Indian peasants. In the midst of all such miseries, the peasants acquired greater enthusiasm and energy to fight against the government and the landlords. The agrarian revolts emerged in different parts of India and it frightened the British who directed the British government towards some reforms in tenancy act.\textsuperscript{78} The peasants could soon join the non co-operation movement. They provided their enormous support to the efforts taken by Gandhi.

Another movement which sparked off violence was ‘Akali’ movement in the Punjab region. The Akalis were a section among the Sikhs. They fought against the corrupted ‘mahants’, who were supported by the British. The administration of the Sikh Gurudwaras were under the control of the ‘mahants’. It led a misrule in the shrine. Though initially this movement started against the government supported by Sikh priests later it turned up as a movement against the British government. This movement got the support of the Congress. The agitators adopted the policy of non co-operation and made marches to get control of the shrine. Most of them were arrested and got imprisoned. Only in 1922 the government issued a legislation, considering the demands made by the Akalis.\textsuperscript{79} Such movements taking place in different parts of India turned out to be a nightmare to the British.

The non co-operation movement took shape to drive away the foreign power based on non violent methods. The British wanted
to suppress the emerging political agitations in India. The Ali brothers were arrested in September 1921. At this tense situation Prince of Wales came to India on the 17th November 1921. The main purpose behind this visit was to put out the raising anger of the Indian masses. The government wished that this would be a great success. But the Congress wanted to boycott the prince’s visit. The Congress Working Committee gave instructions to the masses for boycotting the prince’s visit. At this time the Indian masses were not in a mood to have a celebration. People were engaging in strong agitations against the imperialist power. So the arrival of the prince seemed to them as unnecessary. The prince had to move through deserted city streets. The prince could not find anything pleasing. November 17th was observed as a total hartal day. In Bombay some riots broke out among the Congress workers. This was really a great embarrassment to Britian. For the British the situation seemed somewhat difficult to handle.

The Congress boycott of the visit of the prince prompted the British to take repressive measures against the Indian masses. They started mass arrests of the political leaders. Another step taken by the British government was the banning of Congress volunteer organisations. By the end of November the Congress volunteers in Bengal were declared illegal. Similar banning had taken place in the United Provinces also. In U.P the Nehrus wanted to defy the order of the government. They announced publically that their volunteer organization would keep functioning. They prepared a list of
seventy-five volunteers. This list was signed by Motilal Nehru and published by *the Independent*. Even though Motilal Nehru was not a volunteer, he did that deliberately for defying the order of the government. Jawaharlal Nehru took the task of distributing the hartal notices. That was a sensational issue in the city of Allahabad.\(^8\) Now the government resolved to start mass arrests all over India.

The year 1921 was a remarkable year in the history of Indian freedom movement. It was a remarkable year in the life of George Joseph too. He was getting too much involved in the freedom movement. Joseph enjoyed his post as the editor of *the Independent*, which provided him a wide opportunity to attack the government through his writings. Like other leaders of the Congress, Joseph too had actively entered into the non-co-operation movement. He travelled in different parts of India along with prominent Congress leaders. These travels made him aware of the problems of the poor Indian masses. He was struck by the untold miseries of the Indian peasants.

In April 1921, he attended the first Kerala state conference held in Ottappalam in Palakkad. This conference started on 23\(^\text{rd}\) April, 1921 under the presidentship of T. Prakasam, was attended by a large number of people from different parts of Kerala. It was held on the banks of River Bharathapuzha. It was an elaborate meeting organised by the Congress leaders in Kerala.\(^8\) On 26\(^\text{th}\) April, a students conference was held under the presidentship of Barrister
George Joseph. This conference was also attended by some prominent Congress activists in Kerala like K.P Kesava Menon, A.K.Pillai, Sayyid Mootha Sahib etc. Some important resolutions were passed in this conference, regarding the boycott of schools and colleges, and to take active part in politics and also to enlist more students as members of the Congress.85

The British government was on a lookout to put some prominent political leaders into prison. They thought, by imprisoning some renowned political leaders, the Congress would become leaderless. Orders were issued for the arrest of political leaders. C.R Das and his close associates were arrested on the 10th December 1921.86 Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested from Punjab.87 On 5th December, large number of arrests took place in Allahabad as it was a major centre of political activities at that time. On 6th December, both Motilal and Jawaharlal were arrested. Jawahar was sitting in the congress office at Allahabad on the day of his arrest then one of his clerks came to him and informed that police had reached with an arrest warrant. They had already surrounded the office building. Nehru got excited by hearing the news. Motilal Nehru too was arrested on the same day.88

At the time, when all these arrests were taking place, George Joseph’s house was searched by some police officers and completed their search of the house within a few minutes. The officer was so courteous and a gentleman who apologized to Joseph
said “you might take your tea Mr. Joseph, our officer want to arrest you also”. He put the warrant of arrest under section 17 (b) before George Joseph. He treated it as he was longing for an arrest and accepted it without any hesitance. He left home by saying good bye to Mrs. Joseph and his little daughter. They both left with the same feeling and said good bye to Joseph with a smile.\textsuperscript{89} This arrest did not seem a surprise to Joseph. He knew very well that his arrest was imminent. He was waiting for the call from the police. As a true nationalist Joseph never felt any uneasiness over his arrest. He regarded it as his duty to go to the prison for the sake of his own country. Most of the political leaders of the time had the same feeling.

Various articles appeared in \textit{the Independent} gave a severe headache to the British government. It was necessary for the government to warn the paper for having published such articles. British government planned the prosecution of \textit{the Independent}. G.B Lambert, the Chief secretary to government, sent letters to George Joseph and C.B.Ranga Iyer dated 11\textsuperscript{th} June 1921 and pointed out that the concerned articles published in the paper were actionable under the law and before taking action both would be given a chance to express their regret. This letter also demanded promises that they would not repeat such articles which provoke violence, in future. If both accepts these demands, he wrote, no action would be taken with regard to these articles.\textsuperscript{90}
On 5th July 1921, George Joseph sent a reply to this letter, in which he expressed his gratitude for giving a chance to regret. But he showed his hesitation to accept the warning forwarded by the government “not to publish in future, statements directly or indirectly inciting violence or calculated to create an atmosphere of readiness for violence”. He wrote that the articles did not contain any incitement to violence and even if it was otherwise, he told he would not render his apology in order to purchase freedom from a government with which he would not co-operate. George Joseph again stated that he was pledged to the creed of non violence, and if the passages bore any words which promoted violence, he would certainly have apologised to the public. Some articles which provoked the British most were “Repression in Sultanpur,” “Terror Run Mad – The Editor discourses.” The U.P government had been following a policy of repression against the newspapers which is publishing articles criticizing the government.

George Joseph was ready to accept his arrest at any time till it happened on 6th December 1921. A large number of other political leaders too were arrested on the same day. The political atmosphere of Allahabad had been intensely affected by the arrests of its political leaders. It became the major topic for discussion in each corner. The people strongly desired to carry out the wishes of their leaders. It was reported that the shopkeepers of the city planned to observe a continuous hartal from the day after the arrest of the political leaders but later they dropped the plan owing to the
advise of some Congress leaders. They advised the masses to observe a hartal on 12th December 1921. K.M Knox, the District Magistrate at Allahabad, was in charge of taking up the cases of the arrested leaders. The prosecution in all the cases was conducted by Lalit Mohan Bannerjee. The admission to the trial was strictly restricted. Only about forty people were allowed to attend the trial.

The first case to be taken up for trial was that of George Joseph. There were mainly two cases against him. The first one was to be as printer and publisher of the Independent. He published an article entitled “Reception to the prince” in the issue dated 26th November. He committed the offence of aiding persons to assist in the operations of an unlawful association. The first witness of this case was S. Newby, the superintendent of police. He admitted that he was a subscriber of the Independent and has received a copy of the issue at the 26th November which was containing the article. Joseph kept silence throughout the trial and never gave answer to any question.

The public prosecutor at last said that the article entitled “Reception to the prince” has a good role in encouraging the people to join in an unlawful organisation. The second case charged George Joseph for the publication of the manifesto of the U.P congress committee in the issue of The Independent dated the 6th December, under the heading U.P’s answer to Government together with list of signatories to the volunteer’s pledge. He assisted in the
operation of an unlawful association. The government found Joseph guilty of publishing such articles and inciting violence. For the first case Joseph was given an imprisonment of eighteen months and fined for thousand rupees. For the second case, he was given a six months imprisonment with a fine. At first he was taken to Agra and after six months he had been shifted to Lucknow District Jail. He had been with some other political leaders.

The year 1921 had gone without any achievement. Gandhi’s promise ‘Swaraj within one year’ went in vain. People’s long wait for Swaraj now seemed to them as a mere dream. Most of their leaders went to prison. As its most efficient leaders were put into prison, the non co-operation movement became almost leaderless. But Gandhi was still hopeful in achieving success through his campaign. He was rather optimistic in convincing the British that the people of India deserve to have complete independence from the hands of the British. Gandhi still kept going with his nonviolent agitation. Violence emerged from the frustration of the people. Eventhough the year 1921 could not attain its primary aim, the year witnessed numerous developments in the freedom movement. The year 1921 provided the country as well the organized party organization –Congress- a new shape and it became a whole India movement with active participation from each corner.

There emerged uniform slogans every where. The national leaders adopted khadi as their official uniform. Hindi acquired
greater importance by this time. Hindi began to be used everywhere as the official language of the Congress, which reduced the over importance of the English language.  

Gandhi made strenuous efforts to promote the national spirit of the masses. Eventhough Gandhi could not reach up to his ultimate aim in the year 1921, he wanted to keep going with his programme of civil disobedience movement. In the annual session of the Indian National Congress, held in Ahmedabad in 1921, it took a decision to start a mass civil disobedience movement. By 1st February 1922, Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy, in which he gave a notice to start a civil disobedience movement, if the government is not ready to accept his demands like releasing of political prisoners, and non-interference of the government in all non-violent activities. In this letter, Gandhi pointed out various repressive measures taken by the government in Bengal, Assam, Punjab and the United Provinces.

Gandhi told that the action of the government cannot be described as legal. Gandhi chose Bardoli taluk in Gujarat for conducting his first experiment in mass civil disobedience. The task of the selection of an area for performing the civil disobedience movement was left to Vallabhai Patel. There was a choice between Anand in Khaira district and Bardoli in Surat district. Patel chose Bardoli as the suitable area for starting the civil disobedience movement. This area housed many South African emigrants who
were accustomed to Gandhian non-violent activities. Thus this area seemed as more convenient to start the movement. Gandhi strongly wished to acquire enough support from all corners of India for his effort to agitate against the atrocities of the government. Some parts took up the no-tax campaign, like the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh.\textsuperscript{103}

Gandhi’s plan of starting a satyagraha movement spread all over India. People began to look at that with great enthusiasm. All these vibrations reached up to the prison. Bardoli satyagraha could be a theme of discussion among the political prisoners for sometime. In a letter George Joseph wrote about the hope developed in the minds of the political prisoners. They expected that the civil disobedience at Bardoli would be at full swing. For commemorating this event, they observed a fasting throughout the jail.\textsuperscript{104} The enthusiasm of the whole country was suddenly dimmed by one event, which took place in Chauri Chaura, in the United Provinces.

A violent mob attacked a police station and set fire to it, killing whole staff in that station. The attackers were Congress volunteers, the police provoked them while they were picketing liquor shops and expressing their protests against the high price of food. They violently turned against the policemen with much anger and distrust, which resulted in the killing of the policemen, they were pushed to be inside the station. The Chauri-Chaura incident was enough to break the purity of the nonviolent programme. It was a heavy blow
to Gandhi and his non-violent ideas. This incident made Gandhi to suspend his civil disobedience movement abruptly.

He became more frustrated and desperate over the violence made by the angry mob in U.P. Gandhi made orders to the Congress workers to stop all activities and directed them towards various constructive programmes. The sudden suspension of non-co-operation movement seemed as an utter mistake. It was a great shock to most of the national leaders. They could not cope up with the sudden decision taken by Gandhi. They blamed Gandhi for taking such a sudden decision without having many thoughts about the future consequences. Gandhi’s sudden decision without due consultation and rethought shattered the hope of the millions who made strenuous efforts day and night to bring out the non-co-operation movement a big success.

The sudden withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement brought criticisms from all corners of India. At this time the non-co-operation movement was about to achieve its aim. The people of India without any gender difference strongly responded to the call of the Mahatma for a non-violent, non-co-operation movement. George Joseph was strongly worried over the decision taken by Gandhi. He strongly criticized the decision adopted by Gandhi. In a letter to Gandhi, George Joseph pointed out that complete non-violence is not possible in a country like India. He also mentioned that he had foreseen that more participation of the common masses
would result in sporadic, uncontrollable violence, just like what happened in Chauri Chaura. Prominent leaders of the time expressed their anger and uneasiness over the issue of the suspension of non-co operation movement. Leaders like C.R Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and Jawaharlal Nehru shared their ill feelings with Gandhi through their letters. They criticized Gandhi for punishing the whole country for a single crime committed by a microscopic minority.

George Joseph was more furious and he failed miserably to control his growing anger towards the decision taken by Gandhi. He opinioned that the Chauri Chaura incident indicated that the Gandhian ideal of movement, based on non violence was not easily workable in a vast country like India with its diversity. George Joseph was a pessimist over the matter of the success of non-co-operation movement. He said the non-co-operation movement got failed in its first phase without achieving anything-substantial and it marked the death of non co-operation. George Joseph ended his letter by expressing his disgust over Gandhi’s sudden decision of withdrawing the non-co-operation movement. In this letter he wrote that he had strongly believed in a non-violent struggle and he had whole heatedly worked for it. Eventhough jail was a punishment for him, it was a matter of joy.

In a letter to Susannah, George Joseph wrote that by this time he had improved from his bad mental condition, which engulfed...
him after the suspension of non-co-operation movement, followed by the Chauri Chaura incident. George Joseph was almost sure that the arrest of Gandhi would be coming soon. But most of the other leaders never expected a sudden arrest of Gandhi. George Joseph imagined that the situation would be more dangerous after the arrest of Gandhi.\textsuperscript{107}

After the taking over of Turkey by Mustafa Kamal Pasha, the Khilafat movement in India began to die, which situation envisaged not the building up of a strong Hindu-Muslim unity. Weakening of the Khilafat movement caused the collapse of the short lived unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. The result was breaking out of riots in different parts of India. By 1923, the Hindu Muslim riots became a common process in India. Communal violence got a more vigorous look and it frightened the national leaders.\textsuperscript{108}

Gandhi was arrested by the British government on 10th March 1922. He was prosecuted by the Government and sentenced to six years imprisonment. Absence of Gandhi caused to have some alterations in the functioning of the Congress and everyone felt the absence of a strong leadership in the Congress. “A Civil Disobedience Enquiry committee” was appointed by the Congress Working committee. This committee explored the possibility of starting a Civil Disobedience movement once again. But the situation did not seem favourable for starting a new Civil Disobedience movement. At this time C.R.Das proposed a plan for
entering the councils, but most of the congress leaders favoured a constructive programme as per the interest of Gandhi, and it did not give an approval to the new proposal brought by C.R.Das.\textsuperscript{109} His idea was to disturb the work of the British government through entering the legislatures. C.R.Das was an efficient political leader of the time. After Gandhi’s arrest C.R.Das and Motilal Nehru took over the responsibility of leading the freedom movement even though it lasted for a short period, due to the death of the leaders.

The team under their dominance brought some crucial changes in Indian freedom movement. This period witnessed the formation of Swarajist party within the Congress. Even after his release on \textit{4$^{th}$} February 1924 Gandhi did not want to continue his leadership in the congress. At that time Gandhi decided upon a constructive programme, which mainly aimed to promote education among the masses, eradication of poverty and untouchability and enabled the people to learn spinning. The Chauri Chaura incident had severely frightened Gandhi, which made him to think that the masses had not got maturity yet. A complete nonviolent movement is not possible under this circumstance. The Hindu-Muslim clashes which broke out in different parts of India also weakened Gandhi’s mentally. Hindu-Muslim unity was his major concern. But he failed miserably to create a harmony between the two religious groups.

There was a difference of opinion among the Congress leaders regarding the council entry. One section opposed the council
entry and this group consisted of leaders like C.Rajagopalachari, George Joseph, Rajendra Prasad, and K.R.Iyengar. They were known as no changers. Those who supported the proposal raised by C.R.Das were known as pro-changers and this group was supported by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Vithalbai J.Patel. Both groups opposed each other over the issue of council entry. The annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Gaya in December 1922 took up a serious discussion on the issue of the council entry. But majority were against the C.R.Das plan. They wanted to move on with the constructive programme planned by Gandhi. This discussion finally ended with the success of the majority of the no-changers under the leadership of C.Rajagopalachari. Under this situation, C.R.Das became more disturbed and he took the decision to resign from the Congress party and formed a new party under the name of ‘Swaraj party’.\textsuperscript{110}

It could quite weaken the no changers. In the absence of prominent leaders like C.R.Das and Motilal Nehru, the no changers seemed almost leaderless. George Joseph could not cope with the ideas of the Swarajists. He wanted to move on with no-changers. Council entry did not turn him into optimism. He did not feel it as a favourable idea. George Joseph rejected the proposal made by Purushothamandas Tandon, for a compromise between the Swaraj party and the no changers. At this period George Joseph made known his ideological differences with some senior Congress leaders over the issue of council entry.\textsuperscript{111} There took place
differences in the opinion between George Joseph and Motilal Nehru. It was a tough time for the congress. It was running out of any kind of peace and proper planning. Lala Lajpat Rai, a prominent leader of the time moved towards the Swaraj party but he was disappointed over the friction between the pro changers and the no-changers. He feared that whether the situation was moving towards a second Surat split.\textsuperscript{112} George Joseph was actively involved in the struggle between the Congress and the Swaraj Party. He defended an insulting comment made by T. Satyamurthi, a Swarajist member on C. Rajagopalachari. Satyamurti commented to the members of the working committee to ‘put your foot down on the rebel’ which meant for Rajagopalachari.\textsuperscript{113}

In 1923 the Swarajists contested the elections. They won one third of the 145 seats. It was a great success for the Swarajist party. This victory raised their confidence to check the functions of the British Government. There was a feeling among the no-changers that the council entry would reduce the importance of Gandhi’s leadership, But gradually it was proved that the Swarajists never intended to misname Gandhi’s reputation as a charismatic leader of the Indian National Congress.\textsuperscript{114} But the Swaraj Party put a proposal in the Central Legislature for the immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi. And they could make it a success.\textsuperscript{115} The Swaraj party could win the majority in the central and provincial Legislatures.
End Notes:

4. He was a Christian Barrister and a great supporter of Home Rule Movement.
22. *Ibid*, p.99. Also see Cover Files, NMML.
34. G.P. Pradhan, *India’s Freedom Struggle – An Epic of sacrifice and suffering*, p.95.
36. Young India, dated April 23, 1931.
37. Amrit Bazar Patrika, dated July 10, 1921. Also see Young India, Passim.
38. B.K. Ahluwalia (ed.) M.K. Gandhi, Selected Speeches, 4-03-1929.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. NMML Cover Files, Passim.
43. Ibid.
44. G.P. Pradhan, Op.cit., Also see Cover Files of NAI on freedom movement.
47. Stanley Wolpert, Gandhi’s passion, The life and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, p.85.
51. D.P. Misra, India’s March to Freedom, p.34.
52. The Independent, dated February 7, 1919.
56. Ibid.
60. Ibid, p.71.
65. The Independent, dated November 2,1920.
70. The Independent, dated May 10, 1921.
71. Ibid.
74. Lawrence James, Raj: The making of British India, pp. 487-488.


89. *The Independent*, dated December 8, 1921.


91. *Ibid*. Also see Gail Omveolt, *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India, Passim*.


97. *Ibid*
101. NAI, Gandhi’s Letter to Viceroy dated 1st February 1922.
102. Rani Dhavan Shankardas, *Vallabhai Patel in Indian Politics*, p.36
105. NAI, George Joseph’s Letter to Gandhi, dated 19th February.
114. See End note 105, NAI