CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1: Preface of the Study

The history of national movement in modern India has many broad streams, with respect to the rise of responsible government in princely Mysore. It seems to be essential to cite back different national movements occurred during 19th century. The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rapid consolidation of the British power in India. The great revolt of 1857 was the last intensified attempt to break the strong hold of the British. After this, the position of princely states all over India underwent significant change. The princes were reduced from the position of allies to that of hereditary officers and subjection. They were cut into size to suit the political and economic requirements of the British. They made the princely states enter into unequal treaties with the British by accepting constant interference in the internal affairs of the state on one or the other reason. In the perspective of history, it was the revolt of the old against the new, a trial of strength between the two. The wrath of the disinherit classes supplying the motive power for the upsurge. The incident of great revolt left a deep mark on the racial memories of both the Indians and the British. The rebellion assumed the direct administration of the country by putting an end to the rule of East India Company and the Native Monarchs. As a result, a new era of constant and constituent government commenced with the queen’s proclamation.
Any study of National Movement of India must involve the role played by the people of more than 600 princely states would be a comprehensive history of National Movement. The later half of the 19th century witnessed the flourishing of national political consciousness and the foundation and growth of an organized National Movement. During this period, the modern Indian intelligentsia created political associations to spread political education and to initiate political work in the country. Hence, the present work is based on new political ideas, a new intellectual perception of reality, new socio-economic and political objectives, and new forces of struggle, resistance and new technicalities for political organization. It was to represent a turning point in ideology, policy organization and leadership. Consequently, the work of early associations and political activities proceeded rather slowly and it took more than fifty years to bring them into the fold of modern politics.

The reactionary changes by the native administration in India gradually became more critical of British policies and began to grasp the exploitative character of British rule. It is worth to note that the reaction of the modern intelligentsia towards colonialism was hesitant, less militant and less scientific. But, the process of political consciousness slowly transformed into the modern political activity. The younger generations were also active in other parts of India. The Nehru report of 1928 reflects the radical views of younger generations demand for ‘Purna Swaraj’. The congress sessions of Madras and Calcutta demanded the British Government that, it must accept the ‘Purna Swaraj’ within the end of 1929. However, the negative answer from the British government disappointed Jawaharlal Nehru and other congress leaders. As a result, the demand for ‘Purna Swaraj’ and the hoisting of national flag of tricolor on the
banks of river Ravi at Lahore took place on 31st December 1929. The Lahore decision brought a new ray of hope for the freedom struggle towards forming of responsible government.

The political high drama occurred at England after 1929 accepted the suggestions of Simon commission and the Irwin declaration of October 1929. This has set some hopes among Indian nationalist at the discussion. Thus, the high enthusiasm of the year 1930 was special in the interest of the national movement demanding for responsible government. It is in this context of national struggle a new kind of political alignments were developed in the provincial or native states for establishing responsible government. The demographical statistics of these provinces were vary accordingly. The British through the Native Indian Princes and chieftain indirectly administered some of the provinces. The rulers of these provinces maintained a cordial relationship with British. However, a few were varying to this. This has displeased the British authorities and deserted those native rulers. It is significant to note that, the rule of British in India resulted the reactionary feudal despotism in princely states.

There were very little of democratic government in these provinces. The standard of living of the people was glaringly low, compared to the pomp and extravagance of the way in which the Kings and their nobility lived. In addition to this, in quite a few cases, there was positive oppression. Under ordinary circumstances, a corrupt or autocratic despot was overthrown by internal revolt or from the external aggression. Concerned with the princely state of Mysore, the Nagara uprising of 1930, Maharaja Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar was overthrown due to the maladministration. Hence, the position of the King was reduced to insecure feudal.
After these unsatisfactory and contradictory circumstances caused the birth of local political organizations in the princely states, which reflected the popular restiveness. These organizations recognized as Prajamandala or people’s conference of state. For Mysore, it had a Representative Assembly and the members were local and concerned with the affairs of their respective native places. Eventually, the soldiers of the contingents returned from the World War 1st carrying the new ideologies of Democracy and the allied philosophies of different Political schools. This has helped them to disseminate the democratic ideologies in their respective provinces.

After the Queen’s proclamation, the position of princely states all over India underwent a significant change. The princes were reduced from the position of allies to that of hereditary officers and subjection. They were being cut into the size to suit the political, economic and colonial needs of the British. The princely states were made to enter into unequal treaties with the British by accepting constant interference in the internal affairs of the state on one or the other ground. Thus, the people of princely states were languishing under the double yoke of autocratic princes and the British paramountcy. Any study about national movement in India must involve the role played by people of more than six hundred princely states would be a comprehensive history of Indian Freedom Struggle. It is the need of the hour to critically examine the varied socio-economic and political features of national movement in princely state, which has not been adequately treated, even to this day. Hence, the present study is an attempt to set right these lacunae.
1.2: Scope and Aim of the Study

The historiography of princely India is, obviously an important, interesting and instructive chapter of India’s colonial and imperial experience. With respect to the same, the princely state of Mysore was territorially second largest among the princely states, occupied a distinct position in the imperial calculus. In every real sense, it could be maintained that, the history of Mysore between 1881 and 1947, comprehended through the personalities of the Dewans of the State. Further, for various and substantial reasons, Mysore acquired the reputation of being a Model State in both Indian administrative and public circles.

The efforts and objectives of establishing the Representative assembly were to facilitate the people to know about the policies and programmes of the government. Eventually, considerable changes has been made in the life of the common public by the extension of western educational facilities through the Christian missionaries and in the options of obtaining the opportunities for government jobs etc. The royal patronize of the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, the English educational background and the encouragement by the British Commissioners made the Brahmins to be more powerful. Therefore, the Brahmins were the first to take advantage of the facilities of western education and monopolized the availability of jobs in government services. By 1871, the population of the Brahmins constituted only four percent of the population of the state and succeeded to acquire seventy percent of the higher positions in the government. By 1892, the Brahmins were dominating in the state services. Because of this, the Brahmin denomination in the administration was considerably high which caused the resentment among the non-brahmins and instigated the non-brahmin movement demanding protective discrimination in
education and a fair opportunities and a fair share in the administrative machinery on the ground that they were backward in comparison with the Brahmins.

   During 1890, Swamy Vivekananda, through his visits and personal letters impressed upon the Maharaja of Mysore to take up social reforms towards the upliftment of the conditions of backward classes. The first signs of awareness among the backward class of Mysore are available during the first decade of 20th century. The call of Swamy Vivekananda was a vociferous as, Jyothi Ba phule of Maharasta condemned the evils of untouchability and inequality sprang out from the casteism and rigorously tried to abolish it. Meanwhile they revolted against the higher status enjoyed by the Brahmins and Banias. This has caused the civic unrest in the region. In addition to this the entry of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and his ideologies invoked the resentment between the upper and lower strata people of the society.

   These socio-religious, socio-cultural and socio-political repercussions highly influenced the region of Madras and reached its peak due to the Dravidian ideology propogated by Peiryar. Gradually the temperature reached the Mysore province and it began to take giant leaps encompassing all fields. Meanwhile, the increasing influence of the Christian missionaries and the English education facilitated by them, provoked and nourished the pride among the non-brahmins. The suppressed feelings also began to find an outlet during 1880-1947.

   Due to various reasons and qualifications, Brahmins benefited by the urban privileges and strengthened their dominance in the government. They were an absolute minority in population but they had occupied 90% of the posts
in the government. This has caused considerable resentment among the other advanced non-brahmin communities like Lingayaths and Vokkaligas of both rural and urban area and the Muslims of urban area. Eventually, the Maharaja of Mysore realized the necessity of non-brahmin majority into confidence. Because the King of Mysore was struck between the strong hold of external British and the internal Brahmins. On the other hand, the Brahmin had a superiority complex, which made them to treat Maharaja as Shudra King. Maharaja tried to device a counter plan maintaining with same statusque. At this juncture, a new demand of native Brahmins was emerged in the scene as Mysore for Mysoreans. To console the situation for the moment, Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV appointed a Mysore Brahmin M. Vishweswaraiah as the Dewan to prove his loyalty to the native Brahmins. Eventually, the anti Brahmin resentment was started to grow in the Mysore province.

The major communities of backward class in Mysore state established their community association to promote the education among the younger generations and to create awareness among the adults. Simulteanously the organizations started to establish the educational institutions and hostels for their community students, especially for the students of rural area. The leaders were also took up the issues of instituting scholarships for their students. As a result, in 1916, the government of Mysore granted an annual fund to address the issue. Further, the involvement of some powerful and influencive community leaders made the movement of the backward classes to assume the militancy. The first Backward class convention of 1917, influenced the remaining leaders of the community to form a political platform to be united for the overall development
of the community. This was an important step in the socio-political awakening among the backward classes.

The efforts of K.C. Reddy, Sahukar Channaiah, D. Banumaiah and other leaders, resulted in the establishment of a political party called Prajamitra Mandali on 6th December 1917 at princely state of Mysore. Some of the leaders of this party met the Maharaja and submitted a memorandum, demanding education, employment and other civic facilities without any discrimination for all the backward classes. The newspaper of that time ‘The Mysore Star’ was the principal supporter to the cause of backward classes in the state. Due to these constant and continued efforts, the government of Mysore set aside a grant of Rs. one lakh annually for awarding the scholarship to the students of Backward and oppressed community students. Simultaneously the government appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Justice Lesley Miller to look into the issues and problems of backward class. The commission, which intensely analysed all the issues pertaining to the backward communities and defined that all non-brahmins are backward classes and submitted its recommendations for the appropriate measures to be implemented by the government. After the high drama of the Brahmin leaders, the government accepted the recommendations and implemented the privileges and facilities for the welfare of the backward communities.

During 1930's a few considerable developments at regional level lead to significant socio-economic changes in princely state of Mysore. Due to the appointment of Mirza Ismail as Dewan of Mysore by the Maharaja of Mysore, created suspicion and mistrust among a section of people. This has doubled the political disturbance in Bangalore City. The incident lead to wide spread debate in
the state on the nature and character of Maharaja’s rule and created a political confusion among the people. In the same period, the people of the Backward community were also unhappy because, even after a decade of the submission of Miller report, their status has not been improved significantly. Under these circumstances, a group of backward class leaders emerged in the political scene of Mysore, who played an important role in the political movements. These leaders had many things in common. They were born after 1900, they had the benefit of English education, and some of them did their higher education in the neighbouring provinces of Mysore like Madras and Pune. Meanwhile, the socio political movements in the other parts of India influenced them and they were aware of political reforms in British India like the Act of 1919 and other reforms, which created space for the Indians in public life. Moreover, these Backward class leaders are from rural and respectable families. They commended considerable respect in the rural areas. These advantages helped them to enter public life in Mysore, which was until then dominated by Brahmins.

The establishment of Mysore Congress Committee and its leadership was under the dominance of Brahmin leaders and its activities confined only to the urban areas. The entry of Gandhi into National Movement and advocated the mobilization of all social groups, brought new spirit of National Movement and called for a mass movement against the British. Thus, the conditions were ideal for the backward class leaders to play a dominant role in the politics of the princely Mysore. The present study attempts to analyse the role, played by the backward class leaders in the movement for responsible government in princely state of Mysore, which gained momentum during 1930’s.
The study, while tracing the role of backward class leaders in the movement for responsible government, the emphasis placed on their social, economic background, rural base, techniques of mobilization and the relationship between non-brahmins and Brahmins during the movement. The study also discusses the changing attitudes of the British paramountcy and the Maharaja’s government towards the political movement in the princely state of Mysore. Though the study says the role of Backward class leaders in the movement for responsible government in princely Mysore, the emphasis is on some important leaders and major Backward classes. In the present study the Backward class groups like Vokkaliga, Lingayaths, Kurubas and other depressed classes are taken into consideration. For the purpose of the depth of the study the individual representatives of these social group is taken up.

1.3: Importance of the Study

The declaration of Lahore Congress Convention influenced on the National Movement of India and the same led to the significant socio-economic political dynamics in princely state of Mysore. In 1926, Sir Mirza Ismail became the Dewan of Mysore. He enjoyed considerable friendship and confidence of Maharaja and became powerful which has created the suspicion and mistrust among a section of people. This culminated a political disturbance called Sultanpet Ganapathi vendetta in Bangalore City on 1928, which has led to wide spread debate in the state on the intentions of Maharaja and his administration. The Backward classes were also unhappy because, they had realized that even after one decade of the submission of Miller committee report, their position had not improved significantly.
Under these circumstances, a group of Backward class leaders emerged in the political scene of Mysore who had played an important role in the political scene of Mysore during the colonial period. The young leaders who had the benefit of English education and some of them did their higher education in the neighbouring provinces of Mysore like Madras and Pune. The socio political movements of other parts of India also influenced them and they were aware of political reformations occurred at British India. Most of the backward class leaders have come from rural and respectable families. So they had commandable considerable respect in the rural areas. All these advantages helped them to enter public life in Mysore, which was till then dominated by Brahmins. The entry of Gandhi into the national movement advocated the public of all social groups to fight against the British. The Mysore Congress Committee, with the influence of Gandhi created the spirit of National Mass Movement. But, ironically, the leadership of the Mysore Congress was within the clutches of Brahmins and its activities were exclusively confined to urban areas. Thus the conditions were ideal for the Backward class leaders to play a dominate role in the politics of the princely state of Mysore. Hence, the present study attempted to analyse the role played by these Backward class leaders in the movement for responsible government in princely state of Mysore during 1930s.

Based on the chronology, the periodisation of the study and its objectives and scope has some significance. The period of the study stretches from 1930 to 1948. The significance of the year 1930 is important, because, the declaration of Purna Swaraj in the National Convention of Congress held at Lahore in the same year. Eventually, a group of eminent backward class leaders of Mysore emerged into the political arena of Mysore along with their associations. They had many
things in common and they fought together in the freedom movement for the next two decades. The importance of the year 1948, was the logical end of long and strenuous struggle to establish the Responsible Government in princely Mysore and the Maharaja of Mysore bowed to the pressure of Mysore Chalo Movement of the people. He handed over the power to the people, respecting the democracy. The popular sovereign government was established under the leadership of K.C. Reddy was an important event of 1948. At last, the long-standing strenuous struggle of people ripen the fruit.

So far, history has remained as the study of kings, their conquests etc., but ever since then the commoners who served the king in their rule and their contributions have never been taken into consideration. Their life and unique contributions, their social life has been completely overlooked. The history of the common man is as important as the history of kings and rulers. It is most essential to study the political, social and cultural life of such masses who have all though remained outside the orbit of documented history. Therefore, in this context the later study of the subalterns has become most essential. It was in this reason, to analyse the role of Backward class leaders and their environmental status in the movement for responsible government in princely State of Mysore was taken up.

1.4: Sources and Review of Literature

The methodology adopted for this research work is based on the data obtained from the primary and secondary resources. The precious primary data was obtained from the valuable proceedings of the Mysore Representative Assembly, Legislative council, various reports and orders of the government,
gazetteers, circulars, clippings of early and contemporary newspapers, journals etc. The secondary data extracted from the documented and published sources. The published books of the documentation penned by the various leaders, who participated in the movement, the notes of the historians and other allied secondary sources related to the subject proposed for the study. The history of pre-colonial India, constitute an important, interesting and instructive chapter about the India’s colonial experience. Among the princely states, Mysore had a unique position, as it was the second largest among the princely states in terms of territorial extent. Mysore frequently referred as a model state in India, during early 20th century. In the present study about the role of Backward community leaders in establishing the responsible government in princely Mysore it is necessary to give more attention to trace their role in the politics of the princely state of Mysore. Their commitment and participation in the national movement and their efforts in establishing responsible government is important.

There are many authentic works of general interest, available from the 2nd half of the 18th century onwards. Among these, the works of Colonel Mackenzie, Captain Basil Hall, Sir Mark Wilks, Sir John Malcolm, Abbe Dubbois, Benjamin Hyena, Sir Mark Cubbon, Lewin Bentham Bowring and a host of others of special interest. The gazetteers compiled by Louis Rice, L. Hayavadana Rao and the Modern Mysore by M. Shama Rao and others, that has helped this study to trace the minute details of the consequences of historical developments of princely Mysore. Meanwhile these resources have provided the immense details of the role and the contribution made by the Backward Community leaders to the movement for responsible government in the princely state of Mysore Francis Buchanan’s ‘A journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and
Malabar’ (1807) gives very interesting informations on several aspects relating to a graphic description of the different communities in princely state of Mysore. He also describes the life of the lower strata of society with an account of the princely Mysore.

The work of Colonel Mark Wilks, ‘The historical sketches of the South India’ (1810), is an attempt to trace the history of Mysore. As described by Sir James Mackintosh, ‘It is the first example of a book on Indian History founded on a critical examination of testimony and probability”. This work furnishes a lot of information on the history of Mysore from the early period to 1800 AD.

The other scholars like James Manner, Bejorne Hetne, S. Chandrashekar, R. Ramakrishna, B. Kuppuswamy and Lakshmana Telagavi who have worked on the history of Mysore and discussed at length about the Mysorean politics, caste, mobilization and other aspects related to the economic development of Mysore. In his study James Manner “The political change in an Indian State of Mysore 1917-1955”, published from New Delhi in 1977, traces the different courses of political changes in Mysore from 1917 to 1955. He discussed the political mobilization among various castes and groups in Mysore; he has discussed at length about the formation of political groups in Mysore and their agitation for responsible government in Mysore. He also discussed the political changes witnessed in Mysore after independence upto 1955.

Bjorne Hetne, in his work, ’Political economy of indirect rule from 1881 to 1947’ analyses the process of state formation in the context of indirect rule in Mysore, published in 1978 from New Delhi. The author deals with the detailed circumstances under which the state of Mysore was returned back to the
Maharaja in 1881. The early problem faced by native government, growth of non-Brahmin movement in Mysore and attempts made by the State towards industrialization.

The works of S. Chandrashekar discussed ‘Dimensions of socio-political changes in Mysore from 1918 to 1940’, published in 1985 from New Delhi. In this work, he analyzed the factors, which led to the growth of non-Brahmin movement, political changes in Mysore during early decades of twentieth century and growth of trade union movement in Mysore.

R. Ramakrishnan, in his study ‘Press and politics in an Indian State – Mysore, 1859-1947’, published in 1997 from Bangalore, had discussed, the nexus between press and political development and certain socio-economic changes in Mysore during 1859 to 1947. The study also discussed the political system, social reforms in the state of Mysore and movement for responsible government, based on the stance expressed by the contemporary newspapers.

Janaki Nair in her study, ‘Miners and Mill hand’, published in 1998 from Bangalore, shed the light on the culture and politics of mining and textile mill workers in princely Mysore. In addition to this, she has discussed in detail about the industrial developments and the growth of labour movement in the princely state of Mysore and the role of labour movement in the establishment of responsible government in the state of Mysore.

The works of B. Kuppuswamy, ‘Backward Class Movement in Karnataka’, published from Bangalore in 1978, briefs about the non-Brahmin movement in princely Mysore and briefs about the Miller Committee report. In this work, the author had attempted to find out the origin of backward community movement
in princely Mysore. Some of the other research works like, “politics and social conflicts of E.F. Ershwick, ‘The non-Brahmin movement and Tamil Separatism, 1917-1920, of Digail Awed, (Berkley, 1978). In this work, the author discussed about the “cultural revolt in a colonial society – the non-Brahmin movement in Western India” (Bombay, 1979), the work of Lelah Dushkin, “the non-Brahmin movement in princely Mysore” (Pennsylvania University, 1974), and other research works briefs the role of backward community bargaining for the various positions in the government both internally and externally. In addition to this, there are some of the books, publications of thesis; dissertations were also briefs about the backward community movement and effort for responsible government in princely state of Mysore.

There are various general works on the history of Karnataka, which incidentally furnish the details concerned with the proposed research subject. But all these works are incoherent. Therefore, an attempt has been made to emphasize the Backward class leaders and their contributions towards the establishment of responsible government in the princely state of Mysore.

1.5: Framework of the Study

The very objective of tracing the history of princely state of Mysore and the role of backward community leaders in the establishment of responsible government in princely State of Mysore which are a prime concern in the present day approach towards historical writings. For the purpose of the study, the proposed work is divided into five chapters and they are as follows;

The introductory chapter deals with the introductory explanations on the subject matter, scope and aim of the study, enumerate the sources and
methodology applied for the research work have been ascertained. In addition, it briefs about the importance and framework of the research work. The second chapter deals with the emergence of political parties and mobilization of non-Brahmin groups in princely Mysore, explains about the political system of Mysore and political parties. It covers the rise of Non-Brahmin movement and resignation of Sir M. Visveshwaraih from his Dewanship. In addition, it covers the role of media and its influence on movement for responsible government in princely state of Mysore.

In the third chapter, the brief introduction of non-brahmin movement and its influence on the backward community is discussed. In addition, it covers the background for non-brahmin movement in India and princely state of Mysore. The topic covers, influence of non-brahmin movement, appointment of Miller committee and its recommendations. The influence of national movement on backward community is explained briefly. The fourth chapter briefs the reciprocal alliance between Brahmins and Backward class leaders are explained. The formation of Mysore congress, major Backward communities and their academic contributions are explained. The influence of Gandhi and the formation of political parties are discussed in detail. In the present study, the political drama and the consequences of Bangalore disturbance are briefed.

The fifth chapter is important in the purview of the concerned research topic. The role and contribution of backward class leaders to the improvement for responsible government in princely Mysore explained in detail. The last chapter constitutes the conclusions of the study. It concludes the observation, hypothesis, discussions, and results of the above said subjects in its totality.
1.6: Title of the Study

The Role of Backward class leaders in the Movement for Responsible Government in the Princely state of Mysore from 1930-1948.

1.7: Content of the Study

For the purpose of the study, the thesis is divided into five chapters. They are,

I Chapter  Introduction

II Chapter  Emergence of political parties and mobilization of Non-Brahmin groups, 1910-1930

III Chapter  Background of Non-Brahmin movement and its influence on the Backward community.

IV Chapter  The Grand alliance of Brahmins and backward class leaders and formation of Mysore congress 1937-1948.

V Chapter  Role and contributions of the Backward class leaders to the movement for Responsible Government.

The last chapter is Conclusion and Bibliography.