CHAPTER III

FIRST PHASE (1919-1929)

Introduction:

The suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement provided a breathing space before the commencement of the non-co-operation movement. This political, social and economic movement centred round the problems of Khilafat, Reforms and Swaraj. Anti-Khilafat policy of the British had led to anti-British feelings among the Indian Muslims. Gandhi convinced the Muslim leaders that Khilafat wrong can be set right if the Muslims participated in the non-co-operation movement against the British and helped in the restoration of communal harmony. The Muslims were eager to restore Khalifa with his possessions. The failure of the Government to satisfy the public opinion regarding the Punjab affairs had also stirred the people to agitate against the British. This was a period when Congress was striving for home rule. Hence this was also an issue involved in the movement. Gandhi promised swaraj within a year if the non-co-operation was observed strictly. This promise of swaraj within a year animated a large section of Indian population.

While Civil Disobedience Movement sought to disobey a few selected laws by volunteers, the non-violent no-co-operation movement envisaged complete withdrawal of co-operation with the government by the volunteers and as well as by the masses. This movement, as enunciated by Gandhi, was a spiritual, social, economic, educational and political movement, and forms a synthetic and organic whole. Indeed the movement was spiritual in character. Emphasis was on love and non-violence, and truth and honour. Gandhi believed the movement as one of individual and national self-purification. The immediate aim of the movement was to make the government realise its blunders regarding Khilafat and Reforms. The philosophy behind the movement was non-cooperation with a wicked government founded not by the people of India, but by the aliens.
The economic situation prevalent in India in the years immediately after the Great War also was responsible for the movement. The economic distress of the people, particularly in rural area, caused by the recession was bound to find an outlet soon. To crown this economic condition the Monsoons failed in 1920, and caused a near drought situation in larger parts of India.

As a prelude to a great and unique struggle National Week was observed throughout British India from April 6 to 13, to solemnise the civil disobedience movement and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre of 1919. Meetings were held during this week to demand the repeal of Rowlatt Act. On May 30, the AICC met at Benaras and after studying the political situation in the country decided to convene a special session of the Congress in Calcutta in September. At Madras Khilafat Conference of April 1920 Muslims also accepted the non-cooperation scheme in its fullest form. In May the Central Khilafat Committee adopted the non-cooperation resolution at a public meeting in Bombay. By May 1920 the situation in the whole of the country was very antagonistic for the British. At this juncture Gandhi announced that he would launch nationwide satyagraha on August 1, 1920.

This political movement was called progressive non-violent non-cooperation movement. In the programme of this movement were included surrender of titles and honour and distinctions bestowed by the British, boycott of elections to the central and provincial legislatures, schools and colleges aided by the British government, law courts, and finally foreign made articles of consumption. During the movement people all over the country were asked to boycott government functions and refrain from recruiting themselves for civil and military services. It also had a positive programme which included the founding of national schools and law courts, propagation of temperance movement, Khadi movement, village industries, Harijan movement, etc. Particular emphasis was laid on spinning and spinning wheel.
Non-cooperation in Karnataka:

This movement came to Karnataka also. In May 1920 the first Karnataka Provincial Political Conference met at Dharwar. V.P. Madhava Rao, who had antagonised the people of Mysore State with his repressive rule during his Dewanship, was in the Chair. Stalwarts like Gangadharma Rao Deshapande, Kaujalgi Srinivasarao, Shivarama Paranjape, Khadilkar and others had joined together. In this conference a resolution was passed calling upon for the formation of a separate political province for the Kannada speaking population. A decision was also made to send a large squad of delegates to the forthcoming Nagpur Congress Session.

The non-cooperation movement was scheduled to commence in all the major towns of British-Karnataka on the morning of August 20. But the day opened with the outbreak of the sad news of the demise of Balagangadharma Tilak. His death was a great blow to Karnataka. Though he was a Maharastrian, he valued Karnataka Province equally well.

To mourn Tilak's death a day long hartal was observed in every town of Karnataka. Thousands of people participated in the mourning processions that were organised at Belgaum, Hubli, Dharwar, Bellary, Manglore, Bangalore, Mysore and elsewhere. Students in all these towns came out of their classes to pay homage to their departed leader. Some students of Dharwar Municipal School were barred from entering their classes as a punishment for having taken part in the mourning procession. Mr. Emanuel, Collector of Dharwar addressed a letter to the President of Dharwar Municipality enquiring whether a holiday was declared on the death of Tilak. He showed his distaste towards Tilak by calling him a "Notorious and unrepentent criminal." There was a hartal in the town of Dharwar to protest against the slang language of Mr. Emanuel. In Mysore to remember this great patriot an association of patriots called 'Tilak National Union' was started by Tirumakudlu Narayan.
To make the non-cooperation a mass movement and to educate the people about the Khilafat wrong, Gandhi along with Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the two leaders of Khilafat movement, toured parts of Karnataka province. On August 19, he visited Bangalore and addressed a large gathering and collected funds for swaraj. This was his second visit. In 1917 he had come here on the invitation of the distinguished social worker D.V.Gundappa. Hence Gandhi's link with Mysore was not new. From Bangalore, Gandhi went to Mangalore on the persistent invitation of Karnad Sadashiva Rao.\(^\text{11}\)

In Mangalore, Gandhi addressed a large gathering. Maulana Shaukat Ali and General Yakub Hussain who accompanied Gandhi spoke about non-cooperation with the British and requested the people to enlist their support to the cause of Khalifa. In this meeting some women donated their gold ornaments to the Swaraj fund. In response to Gandhi's call of non-cooperation with the Government, Padmanabha Kamat of Kundapur gave up their law practice and pledged their whole time service in the cause of the country. It is also worthwhile here to remember that Sadashiva Rao was one among the first few to take satyagraha pledge in Bombay when it was announced in 1919 and it was B.T.Purohit of Bagalkot who was one among the first to come out of the college in Bombay in response to Gandhi's call of boycott of government educational institutions in 1920.\(^\text{12}\)

Gandhi's tour was succeeded by the special Congress Session from September 4-9, 1920 in Calcutta in accordance of the decision of the C.W.C. There was opposition to Gandhi's programme from powerful provinces like Maharashtra and Bengal. However the resolution on non-cooperation was passed by both the Subjects Committee\(^\text{13}\) and open Session.\(^\text{14}\) The following is the programme of the movement as enumerated in the resolution:

This Congress earnestly advises,

(a) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in Local Bodies;
(b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, and other official and semi official functions held by Government official or in their honour;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and, in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces;

(d) gradual boycott of British law courts by lawyers and litigants, and the establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for settlement of private disputes;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for services in Mesopotomia;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate, who may despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election;

(g) boycott of foreign goods.\(^15\)

Passing of this resolution brought a new life to Congress and the country. The era of the constitutional political agitation by Moderates came to an end within the Congress. The greater part of the responsibility of the agitation shouldered by the leaders was transferred to the people. Hitherto the force behind every movement was generated by the leaders, but now the common man was the fountainhead of the force. Here after it was he who stood solidly behind every movement. This was perhaps the fundamental change that was brought about by Gandhi.

In October 1920, C.W.C. formulated a plan to raise the Tilak Swaraj Fund of one crore rupees; to institute fifty thousand spinning wheels in Indian homes; and to enroll one crore members to the Congress. In Karnataka forty thousand rupees were collected and
about one lakh members were subscribed to Congress. However, Congress in Karnataka could not propagate the introduction of spinning wheel as it desired. This was for the reason that the constructive aspect of satyagraha had not yet caught the imagination of the people in Karnataka.

After this special session Gandhi visited North Kanara and Belgaum districts in November. He addressed gatherings in Nippani, Chikkodi, Hukkeri, Sankeshwara and Belgaum. From Belgaum he visited Kharagpur, Nandagada, Alnawara, Huliyalal, Dharwar, Hubli and Gadag. Gandhi's tours in Karnataka, attracted large number of students. Hundreds of students came out of their schools to join national schools founded by the Congressmen throughout British Karnataka.

Of all the districts Belgaum played a pre-eminent role in the non-cooperation movement. Belgaum was fortunate to have the captaincy of a person like Deshapande Gangadhara Rao who was a born leader and an emphatic organiser trained by Tilak to be in the forefront of freedom movement. Responding to the call of Gandhi leading lawyers of Belgaum namely, Dattopanta Majali and Krishnarao Karaguppi gave up their practice. Hundreds of students throughout the district came out of their schools to join the movement. Several government servants resigned from their jobs protesting against the continuation of the British imperialistic rule in India. Along with Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara were in the forefront during the early days of the non-cooperation movement. The non-cooperation movement had different constructive aspects of which the programme of founding national schools received great impetus in Karnataka. The first national school during this movement was founded at Sirsi in North Kanara district in October 1920 by Vamana Anantha Hodike. During the movement and ensuing period this school was the fountainhead of all political and social activities in Sirsi.

Congress did not extend its political programme to Princely
States. Hence the non-cooperation movement was confined only to British India. People from princely states went to British Indian Provinces and took part in the campaigns. Mysore State was not an exception to this. People living in border areas went to British Karnataka to participate in the movement there. Until 1920 there was nothing such as Congress in Mysore State. In that year D.V. Gundappa, Ramlal Tiwari, S.N.M. Razvi, K.T. Bashyam, T.T. Sharma and other prominent citizens of Bangalore enrolled themselves as AICC members.

In Hyderabad-Karnataka the atmosphere did not facilitate the healthy growth of a political body to lead the movement. During the movement once Gandhi passed through Raichur on his way from Madras to Bombay. A large group of citizens gathered here to see Gandhi. Some of them took off their foreign clothes and offered them to a bonfire set for this purpose. The Government of the Nizam did not approve such activities. On April 7, 1920 long before the non-cooperation movement started, the Nizam had issued a firman banning Khilafat propaganda and had ordered that Khilafat meeting should be beforehand approved by the government if they were held in the Hyderabad dominion.\textsuperscript{18} Under such autocratic conditions no political organisation flourished. The attitude of non-intervention of the Congress also helped the Princes to suppress such movements.

The Government of India took several measures against non-cooperation. Chelmsford speaking in the Central Legislative Council in August 1920 defended British policy towards Turkey. Speaking of non-cooperation, he called the movement visionary and "foolish of all foolish schemes."\textsuperscript{19} The Government gave full support to the Moderates to organise themselves against the movement.\textsuperscript{20} The Moderates in their annual session held at Nagpur in 1920 voiced their apprehensions about the foolishness of the scheme and its consequences.\textsuperscript{21} They also resolved firmly to work the new constitution and to co-operate with the British.\textsuperscript{22} But the designs of the British Government did not succeed. At the end of the year
the Congress met at Nagpur, which made the movement more realistic. New programmes were announced to make the movement reach every corner of British India.

In Nagpur Session in December 1920 the question of non-cooperation was finally settled. It was a mammoth session which was attended by 14,582 delegates from all over the country. This was almost a Gandhi's session. Here he triumphantly overwhelmed all his opponents. This made Gandhi the unquestioned leader of the Congress. Seasoned leaders like Pandit Madana Mohana Malaviya, Mohammad Ali Jinha and Kharapade, who had been adorned previously by millions were howled down when they tried to contradict the results of the non-cooperation movement. To make the movement truly nationalistic and mass in character it was agreed upon to establish non-cooperation committees in every village throughout British India. This was indeed the first attempt made by Congress to bring the ignorant masses systematically under the influence of Gandhi's programme.

The most important change that was introduced in the Congress constitution was the formation of Congress provinces based on languages. Kadapa Raghavendra Rao led a strong delegation of more than 800 members from Karnataka and forcefully argued in favour of a separate political entity of British Karnataka. The Congress granted the demand and Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee (KPCC) with its headquarters at Gadag, came into being in 1920. The history of the Congress in Karnataka commenced from this date.

With the formation of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, districts' Congress Committees were formed in every district of British-Karnataka. Deshapande Gangahdara Rao became the President of the KPCC. Branches of the Congress were established at Tumkur, Bangalore, Chikkamagalure, and Mysore in the Princely State of Mysore. In Mysore State, S.S.Setlur, a retired High Court Judge, was elected as the President of the State Congress
with its headquarters at Bangalore.\textsuperscript{27} The Congress in Mysore did not offer non-cooperation, but took up constructive programme such as propagation of prohibition, upliftment of Harijan and popularisation of swadeshi and khadi.

In the early months of 1921 several national schools were started throughout British-Karnataka. In 1921 with the help of Deshapande Gangadhara Rao a national school was founded at Belgaum. Along with this school an institution called 'Swaraj Ashram' was also started to train volunteers in the art of satyagraha. In the same year another school was started at Nippani which was named after Balagangadhara Tilak.\textsuperscript{28}

In the later half of the year 1921 the government became annoyed by the success of the movement. When covert actions like instigating and supporting anti-Congress elements and communists failed the government resorted to political arrests. In Belgaum district alone several arrests were effected. Leaders like Deshapande Gangadhara Rao, Majali, Keshava Rao Gokhale, Ramachandra Joshi and others were sent to Jail.\textsuperscript{29} In Karnataka the movement was very intense in Belgaum district, and hence Belgaum sent more people to prison than any other district.

Of several schools, the national school at Dharwar founded by Alur Venkata Rao, R.R.Diwakar and Hukkerikar which they proudly called Karnataka Rashtriya Mahavidyalaya and the one founded at Hubli by Vishwanatha Rao Joshi and N.S.Hardikar were outstanding. During the days of non-cooperation movement these two schools were the most famous in the whole of Karnataka. Of other educational institutions the national school of Gadag founded by Anantha Rao Jalihala, Dr.Venkataraao Huyilagola and Dr.Vasudeva Rao Umachagi is well known. These schools influenced many students to come out of the regular government aided schools and the lawyers to boycott the courts. Narayana Rao Dambala, Ankalgi and Purushotamacharya gave up their practice to take active part in the movement.

In Bijapur district prominent men like Srinivasarao Kaujalgi,
Jayarao Deshapande, Rangaro Tilagola, Kaujalagi Hanumantha Rao, Kirasur, Balacharya Karur gave up their law practice in order to boycott the law courts. Among these men Hanumantha Rao again did not return to his profession in his life time. He devoted his entire span of life in the cause of spreading the programme of Gandhi. Like Gandhi he believed not in words, but in action and hence he was called a Karmayogi. During the movement the leaders in Bijapur paid great importance to khadi propaganda, prohibition and swadeshi. In 1921 Hanumantha Rao was arrested for his activities against the British and the incident of his appearing in the law court with Gandhi cap stirred the whole of the province. Kesari of Maharashtra wrote an editorial on the behaviour of the judge who did not tolerate people wearing Gandhi caps. This attitude of the judge provoked Gandhi to write an article on this issue in Young India. A Kannada Translation of this article appeared in the Karnataka Vibhawa of June 28, 1921. The Kannada Navajeevana, the Kannada version of Navajeevan of Gujrat edited by Gandhi, published from Bijapur helped the Congress activities and to consolidate its gains in the district. Srinivasarao Mangalavedhe was the editor of this Newspaper.

In 1921 the Congress Committee in North Kanara was formally inaugurated under the presidemship of S.Shivarama Sastry, who along with Vasudevarao Kollali, was the first lawyer to give up law practice in North Kanara. In 1920 the Governor of Bombay Presidency proposed to visit North Kanara, but the officials who were worried that this visit may flare up the movement in the district prevented the tour. In 1921 several educational institutions were founded in the district. Prominent among them was the national school started at Kumta by Kalyanpurkar. In the same year Janab Habibulla a prominent Khilafat leader from Punjab visited North Kanara. He appealed both Hindus and Muslims to develop brotherhood. He requested the people to extend whole hearted support to the Khilafat cause. His arrival marked the commencement of swadeshi in a big way. Foreign made cloth and other articles were thrown to fire. He inaugurated Congress Committees in several
taluks of North Kanara. During this period Masur Ganapathi of Kumta gave up his title 'Rao Saheb' conferred by the Government.

Faith of the people of North Kanara in Congress and Gandhi can well be illustrated by the Cadell incident of 1921. In those days there were no mechanised vehicles. The visiting high British Officials were required to travel by bullock carts in the interior region of the district. On such occasions the local government officials resorted to forceful seizure of carts belonging to local population without giving any compensation. In 1921, P.R.Cadell, the Commissioner of the South Division, Bombay Presidency, visited North Kanara District. During his stay at Sirsi several carts were seized for his purpose and one was belonging to a person from outside who was in a great hurry to return to his place. Inspite of his protests the cart was taken away, and later he was apprehended and was beaten. The local leaders considered this an affront to all. A delegation consisting of Akkada Ganapathi Bhat and V.D.Kollali waited at the camp of Cadell only to be looked down upon as miscreants. This indifferent and hostile attitude of Cadell roused the people. Consequently his visit was boycotted in the whole of the district. In Sirsi hartal was observed and meetings were held to condemn the high handedness of Cadell and his subordinates. The Kannada Vritta wrote an editorial on this incident.  

In the first week of August the second North Kanara District Political Conference was held at Kumta. This Conference was most significant event. All leading Congressmen of the district joined together and a plan for the future was prepared. As a step further in the non-cooperation movement it was proposed to organise a campaign to break the forest law. The Collector of North Canara Mr.Haigh sent a detailed report to Mr.Cadell about the proposed violation of forest law and the action he was proposing to take against the volunteers.  

The most unfortunate event in Karnataka province during the
non-cooperation movement was the firing incident at Dharwar in June, 1921. Dharwar had been the scene of countless Hindu-Muslim joint picketings in front of shops selling foreign made cloth and liquor. Two young men, a Hindu and a Muslim, were arrested on the charge of arson and looting while they were picketing in front of a liquor shop. This frame up infuriated people and to denounce the police action a meeting was held where speeches protesting the arrest were made. In the meantime the police had gathered round the meeting place. This irritated the mob, among whom a few resorted to violence. Sensing the danger the police opened fire in which three persons were killed and many were wounded. In the follow up action many prominent leaders were arrested. Among the 29 arrested six were acquitted on different grounds, while others were sentenced to imprisonment ranging from one to three years.

To suppress the truth about the actual happening the Government resorted to suppress the newspapers by arresting several editors of newspapers in Dharwar. The editors of Raja Hamsa, Vijaya, Karmaveera, and Karnataka Vritta were prominent among them. But the AICC appointed a body to enquire into the firing incident. S.S.Setlur, Bhawani Shankar Niyogi, the non-cooperative lawyer from Nagpur High Court and Abbas Tayabji, the retired Chief Justice of Baroda who served on this enquiry body gave a report that the firing was uncalled for. To pacify the agitating population Gandhi sent Lala Lajpat Roy and Shaukat Ali to Dharwar. Commissioner of the Southern Division and Home Member of the Bombay Government also enquired into the incident and gave a report endorsing the action taken by the police.

Before the advent of the non-cooperation movement the only activity visible in Mangalore, the major town of South Kanara, was the activities of the Brahmo Samaj. Gandhi's visit of Mangalore in 1921 stirred the imagination of the people and the whole district at once plunged into the movement. During the movement Panduranga rao founded Gandhi Educational Institution in Udupi.
Padmanabha Bhatta founded another Gandhi Educational Institution at Perdur. Karnad Sadashiva Rao started Tilak Vidyalaya which functioned till 1927. Following this he founded about fifteen national schools in different parts of the district. He was a social reformer, a freedom fighter and a great philanthropist. His sacrifice for his motherland has never been excelled in the history of the freedom movement in Karnataka. Another important event in South Kanara was the organisation of the Karnataka Provincial Political Conference of 1921 at Mangalore. This was the first important political event in South Kanara. Srimathi Sarojini Naidu presided over this Conference.

Bellary was nearer to Madras and hence it was influenced by the events that occurred in that Presidency. During the movement V.P. Madhava Rao, the former Dewan of Mysore, toured Bellary district to awaken the people. During 1921-22 leaders like Narayana Sastry, Langli Bhimasena Rao, Kallur Subbarao and Sathyavantaha Rao were imprisoned for their anti-British activities. Simultaneously with non-cooperation with the authorities, khadi propaganda and prohibition work was also commenced.

Coorg was under the direct administration of the British. The Resident of Mysore State was also the Commissioner of Coorg. This district had its own Legislative Council and an elected District Board. The rich planters, both British and Indians, played an important role in the political and social life of Coorg before the advent of the Congress to the district. The planters had formed an association called Land Lords' Association long back in 1909 and were contesting for Council and District Board seats. Leaders like Gangadharma Rao Deshapande, N.S.Hardikar, R.R.Diwakar and others brought no-cooperation movement to Coorg. Consequent of this the Land Lords' Association came under the influence of Congress. Kodagu a newspaper founded during this time dedicated its energies in spreading education among common people and awaken them politically. Probably the only national school in Coorg during the movement was started at Ammatti by Abdul Gaffar Khan. He
also started a khadi centre at Ammatti. The non-cooperation was confined only to Mercara and a couple of other towns.

To retain their hold on the Indian empire the British supported autocratic rulers like the Nizam and his communal politics. Here the British wanted to divide Hindus and Muslims, and India and Hyderabad. The leaders in Hyderabad realised this and planned the movement at two levels - one against the Nizam and the other against the British.

The Nizam had issued firmans prohibiting all political meeting and processions sympathising with the Khilafat cause. In May 1921, Gandhi visited Hyderabad-Karnataka and called upon people to fight against communalism. From this date onwards the political movement in Hyderabad gathered momentum gradually. The local authorities were quick in suppressing anything that they considered would lead to the growth of a political movement. A young man by name Taranath with some students from Mangalore, was agitating against the government. However this agitation was suppressed and Taranath was deported from Hyderabad State.

In Mysore State the non-cooperation movement was not relevant. However the constructive aspect of the movement gained much success. In 1921 Mudaveedu Krishna Rao visited Mysore State to address the people. Hundreds of people took the oath of swadeshi in his presence. In 1921 a branch of the Congress called Mysore Congress was founded in Mysore city by Tagadur Ramachandra Rao with the help of his friends Agaram Rangaiah, P.R.Ramayya and M.N.Jois. This Branch did not survive long. This does not mean that Congress was unpopular in Mysore. It had hundreds of followers. But some how all these men could not join together to build up an organisation permanently. This lapse may partly be ascribed to the existence of Brahmin and non-Brahmin feud among leaders which was at its height then.

In Bangalore containment which was under the administration of the British, S.N.M.Razvi, M.M.Razvi, Haji Usman Salt, Modi Abdul
Gaffar, Mohammed Haniff and others took great interest in the Khilafat movement. Haji Usman Sait founded a national school, which owing to financial problems was shut down shortly after the Khilafat movement whithered away. Police opened fire on one of the Khilafat processions on November 24, 1921, in which two men died and many were wounded. Several Muslim leaders were arrested. The Mysore Government which had refrained hitherto from taking any action against the Congress movement, decided to give up its tolerant attitude. By 1922 Government was determined to stampout the Congress in whatever form from the State. Prominent Congress leaders from British-Karnataka were not allowed to enter the State to spread the Congress movement.

Suspension of the movement:

Thus the year 1921 witnessed hectic political agitation in several parts of Karnataka. Towards the end of the year a large group of Congress members from Karnataka went to Ahmedabad to participate in the annual AICC Session of 1921. After the Ahmedabad Session Gandhi planned to organise under his personal supervision a mass civil disobedience movement in Bardoli Taluk in Gujarat. However this campaign did not materialise because on February 5, a furious mob invaded a police station and burnt down 21 constables and a Sub-Inspector alive at Chaurichoura in U.P. Disillusioned by this insane mob violence Gandhi suspended the proposed mass civil disobedience movement and the non-cooperation movement. Gandhi thought Satyagraha with violence was meaningless. He was quite aware of the reactions of his friends and the consequences that would follow. This was an opportunity the Government was waiting. On March 13, he was apprehended and on March 18, in a trial at Ahmedabad he was sentenced to six years imprisonment.

The three months that followed after the arrest of Gandhi were the most uncertain period. The suspension of the non-cooperation movement came as a rude shock to the leaders in Karnataka. With
the suspension of the movement, the arrest of Gandhi was a foregone conclusion. There was no other alternative political programme before the KPCC in lieu of the non-cooperation movement. Anticipating his arrest Gandhi had addressed an article calling upon the people to withhold from organising meetings, demonstrations and processions if he was arrested.

Results of the movement:

The question that was posed after the suspension of the non-cooperation movement was about the results and the impact. The Pro-government quarters considered it as a thorough failure. The movement could not set right the wrongs done to Khilafat and the Reforms, the two goals at which the movement aimed. Nothing was done about Punjab atrocities. The promise of Swaraj with in a year seemed ridiculous. Congress had aimed at Swaraj without defining it. Other Satyagraha programmes also did not attend much of a success. Out of thousands of title holders, only a few returned their titles in protest. The boycott of schools and colleges and of law courts was short lived. As such the movement lacked a strong base on which alone success depended. The failure of the Khilafat movement also may be ascribed as one of the reasons for the failure of the non-cooperation movement to produce any results.

Inspite of this the impact of the movement on the Indian national life was great. In the first place the attitude of the Indians towards the British underwent a thorough change. It was visible in every aspect of Indian life - in the press, in the labour movements and in daily life. The movement brought the consciousness of the power that came from united action. For the first time in the long history of India, national unity came to be regarded as of supreme importance. This gave the Indians the strength to do away with the fear of British reprisal. The faith in the capability of Congress as a political organisation grew immensely among a large section of the population.
As far as Karnataka was concerned the non-cooperation movement proved a success. National awakening swept British-Karnataka and in a lesser degree the Mysore State. The movement produced a generation of remarkable second line leaders who had full faith in Satyagraha methods. Though the movement came to a sudden end the memory of this movement survived to inspire the entire province. The one conspicuous feature of this movement in Karnataka was converting the sympathisers of the national aspirations into active participants.

The suspension of the movement was the signal for the commencement of a series of communal riots. Even Gandhi's famous article on Hindu-Muslim riots of May, 1924 did not have any effect on the people. Fortunately Karnataka was spared from this communal frenzy, except the riots that occurred at Gulbarga in Hyderabad-Karnataka in 1924.

After the suspension of the movement British sought to divide Congress in Karnataka by favouring non-Brahmins. Majority of the non-cooperators were educated Brahmins and the Government supported the non-Brahmins movement, which had started vigorously during the non-cooperation movement, by giving them good jobs and honouring them. Inspite of this Congress in Karnataka did not weaken.

Nagpur Flag Satyagraha:

One of the major outcome of the suspension of the non-cooperation movement was the emergence of the Swarajists within the Congress. They wanted to contest the elections and enter the Councils to wreck them from within by adopting non-cooperation with government. This programme of Council entry was opposed by a section of Congressmen who wanted to carry on only with the constructive aspect of the satyagraha. This led to difference of opinion within the Congress. KPCC opposed the council entry for several reasons mainly because of communal politics. At this juncture to strengthen the hands of the Congressmen who opposed
the Council entry the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha was initiated.

The Nagpur Flag satyagraha is a prominent episode in the annals of freedom movement in India. When the local authorities in Nagpur banned the carrying of national flag in procession the Flag Satyagraha was started. Several batches of volunteers from Karnataka went to Nagpur. The first batch of volunteers was organised by N.S. Hardikar under the guidance of Hebballi Gundacharya. Later Hardikar also went to Nagpur to organise the volunteers on the spot. Four volunteers under the leadership of Jeevanna Rao from Mysore State also went to Nagpur. Mysore Congress helped KPCC with men and money to organise batches of volunteers.

The Mysore Government passed prohibitory orders banning political meetings in support of Nagpur Flag satyagraha in Bangalore district. This measure was taken on the insistence of the British Resident. In this satyagraha about 2000 volunteers were arrested. Many of these arrested Satyagrahis rendered apologies and came out as they could not bear the rigors of prison life. This failure on the part of the volunteers gave birth to the idea of organising Hindustani Seva Dal by Hardikar.

Political Reforms in Mysore State:

When there was trouble among Congressmen themselves on the question of Council boycott, the Mysore Government to appease the agitating population gave some reforms in 1923. While announcing these Reforms, as suggested by Dr. Seal, the Dewan ascertained that the Reforms were spontaneous and that they were not the results of any popular agitation. But it is a fact that there was agitation for constitutional Reforms since some time. According to these Reforms of 1923 the Representative Assembly was given a definite place in the State Constitution. The powers of the Assembly were also enhanced, though not to an extent desired by the representatives of the people. However this was a right step in the direction of training the people's representatives in the art of self-government. During this period under the Dewanship of
A.R. Banerjee, a retired ICS Officer, the Assembly was very active. The Dewan had an interest in the parliamentary system of administration and he sought to encourage the interest of the Assembly members in that direction.

Political developments after Non-cooperation and Belgaum Session:

Congress activity subsequently was divided into two different fronts. Namely, the Constructive front and the Council front. The prevailing tension could be subsided only by Gandhi, but he was in prison. But the events moved very fast. Considering his delicate health condition, Gandhi was released from the prison four year earlier than his sentenced term.

Having lost the cause of council boycott, the leaders in Karnataka had lost interest in politics. To bring back life into the prevailing atmosphere the third Karnataka Provincial Political Conference was held at Gokarna in North Kanara in May. The Conference commenced its session under the Chairmanship of His Holiness Sri Shankaracharya of Sharadha peetha. The veteran Congress leader Sripadarao Kalyanapurkar was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Khilafat leaders Ali brothers were present in the Conference along with Deshapande Gangadhara Rao, Hardikar, Kaujalgi Hanumantha Rao, Kaujalgi Srinivasa Rao and others.

In this conference several important resolutions were passed. In its very first resolution the Conference recorded its firm faith in Gandhi's leadership. The second resolution was on constructive programme which contained village propaganda, spread of khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. In other resolutions the Conference congratulated the Hindi Pracharak Mandal for having opened a branch at Hubli, the participants of Vyokom satyagraha, and sympathised with the satyagraha campaigns of Sikhs and Jaito. Lastly, the Conference urged to resume anti-drink campaign and picketing of liquor shops to stop the increasing drink vice.
Subsequently, district level Conferences were held in North Kanara at Kundapur and in Dharwar at Haveri to discuss the programme suggested by the KPCC and to decide the future activities. At Kundapur session Deshapande Gangadhara Rao was in the Chair and at Haveri session Hardekar Manjappa was the President. Along with Dharwar district Conference the Hindustani Seva Dal camp was also conducted in view of the coming Congress session in Karnataka.

The Provincial Conference marked the beginning of a hectic political activity in Karnataka which culminated in the 1924 AICC Session at Belgaum. Gandhi was the President of the Belgaum AICC Session. The Chairmanship of the Reception Committee was offered to Pandit Taranatha Rao of Bellary, but on his firm refusal, Deshapande Gangadhara Rao was elected to that office. Motilal Nehru, Satyamurthy, Rajendra Prasad, Jamanlal Bajaj, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Annie Besant, Rajagopalachari were among the prominent participants.

For all practical purposes the Belgaum Session put an end to the non-cooperation. By this time spinning and weaving, and abolition of untouchability were the only remnants of the non-cooperation of movement of 1920-22. The difference of opinion that cropped up earlier between Gandhi and Motilal Nehru and his followers was amicably settled in favour of the latter. The victories of Swarajists in the Council were impressive and this convinced Gandhi of the wisdom of allowing them to pursue council entry programme. Gandhi had realised the indifference of his followers to the constructive programme, which lacked spectacular appeal of his non-cooperation. In short, this session marked the "surrender" of Gandhi to council entry programme.

In the history of freedom movement in Karnataka the year 1924 is memorable. In that year for the first time and also for the last time, the Congress met in British-Karnataka. The Session itself was a landmark in the non-cooperation movement. Here the revolt against Gandhi was complete and he wisely gave way to
the Swarajists to enter the Councils. Gandhi compromised with the feelings of Swarajists while resisting Council entry.

People from Mysore also took great interest in Belgaum Session. H.K. Veeranna Gowda, V. Venkatappa, M. Aryamurthy, H. G. Lingappa, B. L. Ramaiah and others from Mysore State visited Belgaum. Apart from these men a contingent of fifty students from National High School of Bangalore went to Belgaum as volunteers. Mysore State Government sent the handloom cloth manufactured decades ago from its museum to the Belgaum Khadi Exhibition as show pieces. There were also other items and the cost of transportation was borne by the Government. This was possible because of the liberal ideas of A. R. Banerjee, the Dewan of Mysore. He also permitted the Industrial Department to participate in the Exhibition. The Maharaja of Mysore sent Sheshanna, the greatest contemporary Veena Player for a performance in the presence of Gandhi. Gandhi made a particular reference to this scholar in his Young India.72

In Mysore State a state level political conference was held at Hariharpur in January 1924 to organise Mysore Rashtriya Maha Sabha (The Mysore National Conference). K. Ranga Iyengar, Hosakoppa Krishna Rao and P. R. Ramayya were instrumental in making this Conference meet. "The meeting was representative in character in as much as lawyers, land lords, merchants, and last but least Congressmen also took part in the deliberations."73 Hosakoppa Krishna Rao welcomed the delegates and stated the object of the Conference as "starting a political national movement in Mysore for rousing the national consciousness for the supreme struggle of reforms and freedom."74

After non-cooperation movement organisation of volunteers and training them properly was a major activity in Karnataka after the suspension of the movement. The non-cooperation movement was suspended because of the violence that erupted at Chauri Choura. Also there were other occasions when volunteers turned violent against their opponents. Many thoughtful leaders got worried about
this. One such was N.S. Hardikar of Hubli, who was in charge of organising and despatching group of volunteers to Nagpur to offer flag satyagraha violating the regulations. He prepared a plan to train the satyagrahis in a systematic way. This was essential because any future satyagraha campaign entirely depended on the non-violent nature of the satyagrahis. Under such circumstances was born the Hindustani Seva Dal. In his endeavour he received whole hearted support from young Jawaharlal Nehru, without whose efforts it would not have grown into an all-India organisation with branches in several provinces.

The part played by Hindustani Seva Dal in organising the Belgaum Session of the AICC was commendable. The volunteers succeeded in impressing the participants of the session with their sincere and cheerful service with a touch of hard discipline. Gandhi observing the services of the volunteers noted that "the volunteers at Belgaum comparatively reached the highest water mark in efficiently within my experience of four Congress." Leading volunteer leaders wished that this organisation would form the nucleus of an All-India Volunteer Organisation.

To spread the message of the Hindustani Seva Dal, Hardikar founded a newspaper called Volunteer. This newspaper had a Hindi edition. This made the first attempt in Karnataka to popularise Hindi as the National Language. Though everyone appreciated the organisation of Seva Dal, the response from other provinces was not encouraging. At least to build the movement securely in Karnataka, a Conference of the volunteers of the Seva Dal was held at Bellary under the able leadership of Hosakoppa Krishnarao. Later he was made the Commander of the Karnataka branch of Seva Dal.

In this conference a programme was drawn to keep the movement alive. It was decided that the volunteers of Seva Dal should spread out in all the important towns and sell khadi visiting every house. This helped Seva Dal to take direct part in the constructive
programme. Other activities of Seva Dal were its services rendered at different places in India. They served in Congress Session of 1924 and 1925 and at religious fairs like Kumbhamela. A batch of volunteers also served in Gujarat during the times of heavy floods.

To train volunteers coming from different parts of the country a physical culture institute called All India Physical Culture Academy was founded at Bagalkot in Bijapur district in 1927. Out of this Academy were born several physical culture institutes in the province. But unfortunately the activities of this organisation did not receive the due attention of the Congress Leaders. They thought it would develop militaristic attitude and would pose a real danger to the Congress from within. This belief was unfounded. Imparting discipline would not make a man a violent soldier. Seva Dal volunteers were not given training in any of the martial arts.

As far as Karnataka was concerned the Seva Dal movement was strong throughout the period under study. K.A. Venkataramaiah, A.S.E. Aiyer, L.R.S. Sharma, K.G. Krishna Murthy, S. Vasudeva Rao from Mysore State, R.V. Karagundi, S.P. Niralakeri, Damuanna Lengade, G.G. Jere from British-Karnataka were the leaders of the Seva Dal. Even Coorg sent two able volunteer leaders namely M.C. Mathanda and A.S. Thimmaiah. During the years after 1924 it can be said that Seva Dal took up the place of Congress in Karnataka. It was in fact this organisation which prepared a band of dedicated volunteers in Karnataka for the forthcoming satyagraha campaign of 1930-32.

**Constructive Programme**:

**Khadi**: Of all the aspects of constructive programme, the khadi movement was the strongest. The introduction of khadi into the Indian National Liberation Movement was of great significance. It met several important needs of the movement for independence. Nationally, it provided a symbol for the freedom movement and identified itself with it, which even an illiterate or a child can
understand. Politically it proved a powerful weapon symbolising united action. Economically it provided a stimulus to rural economy and made it self-dependent. Thus in different ways the khadi helped the movement, apart from being a substitute for imported cloth.

Before the introduction of khadi the love of the country was confined only to educated class. Through khadi the love of the country embraced the young and the old, the educated and the uneducated. It gave work to every age and to both the sex. Khadi work made people conscious of their direct participation in the cause of national liberation. This was the most important contribution made by khadi in the national emancipation.

During 1920's khadi work was considered as a social service of first class order. Khadi was a direct link between the rural population and the Congressmen. This link gave a real political education to the rural masses. This taught them to become self reliant. No other aspect of the constructive programme captured the minds of the rural population as that of khadi. The savings the rural people earned from producing khadi was an inducement for them to produce more and earn more. This economic aspect of khadi was of great political significance.

There were criticisms also against the introduction of khadi, particularly from British press. Manchester Guardian had announced loudly that khadi movement was doomed to fail. But in 1923 the same newspaper confessed that its prophecy was wrong. The newspaper observed that khadi proved useful and cheap kind of cloth suitable for India. It pointed out that the cost of khadi was only one fifth of the cost of the imported cloth. It was not only cheap but it was also long lasting. Within a couple of years khadi earned immense popularity. This could be understood by the demand for khadi during the following years.

Spreading khadi in Karnataka was not a problem. Weaving handloom cloth was common among the Lingayat community in Belgium.
and Bijapur districts as a religious duty. In these places the spinning wheel had not altogether disappeared. Bagalkot in Bijapur district was a large centre of khadi production during this period. Kaujalgi Hanumantha Rao did yeoman service and founded several khadi centres at Kaladagi, Hunagunda, Galagali and in other places.

In 1923 a Committee formed by the All-India Khadi Board toured South India, including Karnataka to prepare a report on the activities of Khadi Centres. This Committee gave a detailed account of khadi activities in Karnataka and appreciated the work done here. This Committee also recommended liberal financial aid to improve the khadi production in all the provinces. Out of a total amount of six lakhs and eighty-five thousand spent on khadi activities, Karnataka received a sum of Rupees fifty thousand as grants. In 1928 at Hubli a big khadi producing centre was started. To educate the rural mass on the utility of producing khadi, propagation centres were founded at Pachchapura, Bhagojikoppa, Hosakote and Guralhosur in 1925. Many municipalities and local bodies in British Karnataka and Mysore showed keen interest in khadi propagation. The District Board of Belgaum, which was under the influence of Deshapande Gangadhara Rao, sanctioned a sum of Rs.500/- in 1926 to propagate the habit of khadi and production of khadi in the drought stricken areas of Belgaum district.

In Mysore State the Government showed great interest in khadi propagation and production. This interest was further intensified during Gandhi's visit to Mysore State in July 1927. The State Government borrowed the services of experienced khadi workers from the All India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad, for the purpose of improving the quality and production of khadi. In July 1927 a khadi exhibition was organised in Bangalore by the Association for which the Government gave financial support. This exhibition was inaugurated by Gandhi himself. The Department of Industries, Government of Mysore was already running with great success a khadi production centre at Badanwal, about 30 kilometers from Mysore. Number of municipalities in Mysore State exempted khadi from octroi duty which made the movement of the product easy.
and also lowered cost. While inaugurating the Khadi Exhibition Gandhi had called upon the participants to discard mill made cloth and start using khadi. He called upon them to love khadi as they loved him. For few years khadi propaganda was carried on relentlessly in Mysore.

By 1929 Karnataka was one among the two leading fine quality khadi producers in South India, the other being Tamilnadu. By the end of the year 1929 the All India Spinners' Association had invested a capital of Rs.10,581 in Karnataka for khadi production. In 1926-27 Rs.55,884 worth of khadi was produced while next year it rose to Rs.73,970. The sale rose from Rs.78,115 in 1926-27 to Rs.1,12,193 in 1927-28. By the end of 1929 khadi activities were extended to 180 villages in Karnataka province. At that time Karnataka had 2,992 spinners and 332 weavers and 26 literate men were engaged in organising the industry.

The khadi centre at Badanwal in Mysore State produced better results than expected. It showed profits in the very first year of its inception against a loss expected by the Government. Considering the progress made in this centre, the Industrial Department under the leadership of C.Ranganatha Rao planned to start centres on this line in all the districts of the State. But due to the political problems and agitations that cropped up in 1930 the idea of expansion of khadi production in Mysore was dropped.

During the course of 1920's khadi became the livery of the Congress. It symbolised one's patriotism and one's devotion to motherland. Like satyagraha, khadi was also unique. It was a movement, which has hardly a parallel. In no other country's history until then we come across a majority of civil population wearing a particular kind of cloth as a symbol of defiance against the alien rule. It inspired countless men and women to plunge into action. And here lies the greatness of khadi, the great weapon innovated by Gandhi.
Prohibition: Eradication of drink evil was another aspect of the constructive programme. KPCC evinced some interest in the temperance movement. Unfortunately many of the provincial Congress Committees did not devote much of their attention and energies to this social cause. In Karnataka the movement was largely carried on by individuals and social workers who saw a grave danger in the prolongation of the drink evil. Provincial governments also did not show any interest in the eradication of this evil. When some of the health officers made an enquiry whether, as a part of their duty, they could speak and write against the drink habit, the government reaction to this enquiry was indeed sharp. It simply answered, "The Government consider that the Public Health Staff should not carry on anti-drink propaganda."

In British Karnataka only the districts of South Kanara and Dharwar were carrying on a campaign against the drink evil. R.S. Hukkerikar in Dharwar district and K.S. Kamath in South Kanara were in charge of the anti-drink campaign. K.S. Kamath with his dedicated band of workers staged several dramas throughout his district with the theme depicting the social evils of drinking. The Congress Committee printed some pamphlets and booklets on this subject. It also published Prohibition Pledge Books in Kannada and distributed them among Congress workers. In 1929 an attempt was made to appoint a special sub-committee and a whole time organiser by the KPCC, but this did not materialise. This attempt was made because in that year a Committee on prohibition appointed by the AICC under the Chairmanship of Rajagopalachari visited Karnataka. The Committee of course was disappointed in Karnataka.

In Mysore State prominent public men propagated against the drink habit and in favour of introducing prohibition. Consequent of this in 1927 the Representative Assembly passed a resolution in favour of complete prohibition. The Government feared smuggling of liquor into the State from British Indian provinces if prohibition
was introduced. This apprehension was not genuine. An effective police arrangement could have prevented such activities. If this resolution were to have been adopted Mysore State would have become the first dry state in India and could have set an example to British Indian Provinces to follow.

Untouchability: The ugliest and the darkest blots on Hindu social, economic and political life was the illtreatment of a section of the Hindu population by the majority for generations. That a section of Hindus, to be considered as outcaste and untouchables was inhuman, degenerative and wicked. British Government was aware of this weakness in Hindu society. When there was a prospect of a no-tax campaign in 1921-22 in some parts of Madras Presidency, the Madras Government declared that the lands whose tax will not be paid will be taken over by the Government and will be distributed among people belonging to economically and socially backward communities. The intension of the government was to distribute it among the depressed class people to earn their favour against the caste Hindus. They thought this would divide the Hindu community and weaken the national movement.

This inter-communal unity was the pillar of the national movement and such unity could not have been achieved had Gandhi not attempted to uplift the outcastes and bring them to the main stream of national life with equal social status and other opportunities. There were critics who opposed the removal of untouchability. They argued that this institution and its continuation has the sanction of the Scriptures. Gandhi gave a bold and fitting reply to such people. He said "Error can claim no exemption even if it can be supported by the Scriptures of the World." By his call to the conscience of millions of caste Hindus, he made them to accept Harijans as he liked to call them, as their brethren.

During the non-cooperation movement more emphasis was laid
on Harijan upliftment. Among the districts of British-Karnataka, the Harijan oppression was acute in South Kanara. In this district Harijan movement was initiated before Gandhi's arrival by K. Rangarao and Mohanappa Tingalur and later by Karnad Sadashivarao. Arya Samaj was also instrumental in bringing about awareness among Harijans. In North Kanara considerable activities took place between 1924 and 1929. As a result of the Harijan movement throughout British-Karnataka several temples were thrown open to Harijans for the first time. In all national schools Harijans were admitted and an opportunity was provided for them to mingle with other caste students. This was also an attempt to reduce illiteracy among Harijans.

In Mysore Harijan movement was started along with khadi propaganda in 1921 by Congress. Murugesham Pillai, T.T. Sharma, T. Bhima Rao, P.R. Ramayya, S.N.M. Razvi, K. Jeevanna Rao had led the Harijan movement in Bangalore district. In Mysore District the name of Tagadur Ramachandra is synonymous with Harijan movement. Agaram Rangaiah and Gorur Ramaswamayyangar supported him in his task. In Bangalore many temples were thrown open to Harijans. The satyagraha campaign conducted by Tagadur in places like T. Narasipur, K.R. Nagar and Kollegala to open the temples for Harijans are commendable.

Press in Mysore also played an important role in Harijan movement. Venkatakrishnaiah and Tagadur were the pioneers. The former carried on relentless fight against untouchability through his newspaper Sadhvi. Tagadur started a newspaper called Kaniyara Patrike in 1926 in violation of the Press Act. This paper devoted much of its space to campaign against untouchability. The copies of these paper were confiscated on several occasion by the police. This paper even drew the attention of Gandhi, who appreciated the valour of the editor.

The Mysore State government was liberal in its policies. It introduced regulations that would make the entry of Harijans into schools easy. Tanks and wells belonging to the government
were thrown open to Harijans. But these measures were frustrated by the officials who were mostly caste Hindus and they deliberately obstructed the Congressmen and their campaign against untouchability.

Towards the end of 1928 the constructive programme had lost its appeal and popular enthusiasm was declining. This programme was not as exciting as the political movement. People were eager to see action like the one they had seen in the years 1920-22.

Swarajists in Councils:

Belgaum Congress gave a definite course to Congress history. This Session avoided the imminent repetition of Sural Split and provided an opportunity to enthusiastic Congressmen to try their convictions in the Councils. After this Session, Swarajists loomed large in the political arena, exciting the people, with their activities in the Councils.

Between the years 1923-26 Swarajists had passed two different stages and at the time of Gauhati Session it was poised to reach the third. First it stood for the destruction of the Councils from within, but after elections this policy, it was said, would be pursued only if there was an absolute majority. In the second stage it gradually came nearer to accept offices offered by the Government. At Gauhati a few were almost ready to shed their shy about negotiating with the government and pursue a policy of co-operation wherever possible and of obstruction wherever necessary. Consequent of this development in Congress it was decided at Gauhati that the party members should accept offices if the government satisfactorily responded to the national demand.98

It is rightly remarked by Sitaramayya that "The history of Congress has by this time become a monotonous tale of pious resolutions at the annual sessions and perpetual strifes in the councils."99 In Karnataka also there was a stalemate in provincial politics. Few district level political conferences were held,
important among them being the Bellary District Political Conference presided over by S. Srinivasaiyyangar from Madras. This gave a new direction to the constructive programme in this district. Bellary which lagged behind other districts in constructive programme made it good by stepping up khadi production and sales.

Gandhi's Karnataka Tour:

While the political campaigns in the Councils were gradually crumbling, Gandhi along with his followers launched a nationwide crusade in the cause of khadi and Harijans. In the first half of the year 1927 he undertook extensive tour of all provinces and some Indian States. Towards the end of his tour he arrived in Karnataka. His visit to Karnataka gave an impetus to Harijan and khadi activities here. While he was in Nippani, he fell severely ill. Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, who was a great friend and admirer of Gandhi, invited the latter to Nandi Hills, the health resort near Bangalore for recuperation. This invitation was accepted by Gandhi and for four months he stayed here. Gandhi was ably looked after by the volunteers of Hindustani Seva Dal. Impressed by their service rendered to Gandhi, Mahadeva Desai wrote an appreciation of the Seva Dal in Young India.

While he was staying at Nandi Hills he undertook twin tours of Mysore. In July he visited Bangalore, Tumkur and Mysore Districts. In August he toured in the districts of Hassan, Shimoga and Chitradurga. In Bangalore Gandhi inaugurated a khadi and village industries exhibition and also South India Hindi Conference. Again Gandhi visited Karnataka in the same year on the occasion of communal discord in Gulbarga. This time he toured Hyderabad Karnataka appealing to the people to cultivate communal harmony. Though these were tours in the cause of khadi, Harijan and Hindu-Muslim unity, they paved the ground to welcome the hectic political activities that were visible on the horizon of Indian stage.
Announcement of Simon Commission and subsequent Political Developments:

The Gandhi tours were succeeded by an event of excitement when Lord Irwin, on November 8, announced the appointment of all-White Simon Commission to look into the working of the 1919 Act, the desirability of introducing some more reforms towards responsible government, and to the extent that reforms can be introduced. While disclosing this appointment of the Commission Lord Irwin was bashful, for that he knew too well that the Commission in its form was not wanted by any party. All the leaders in India irrespective of their ideological differences voiced their protest against the Commission. On November 10, leaders belonging to Congress, Muslim League and Liberal Party issued a press statement boycotting the Commission.

In December 1927, the AICC Session met at Madras under Dr. Ansari's presidency and passed a resolution boycotting the Simon Commission "at every stage and in every form," and "to organise mass demonstrations on the day of the arrival of the Commission in India." Even the Liberals declared their opposition since this Commission did not have any Indian or even a liberal Englishman. Every national and provincial party followed this example. The Commission was described as the uninvited guest of India who had come to India to "rob the Indians of their independence and to inform Britain that India is unfit to enjoy independence."

The Madras Session gave a definite idea of the thinking of Congress, particularly of younger elements. In this session the creed of Congress was finally defined on the question of swaraj. The resolution on this point read "This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete National Independence." This resolution was a signal to all the Congress Committees in India to prepare grounds to initiate mass political movement on the lines of the non-cooperation movement of 1920.
Next year three great events of political significance occurred in India. The first was the nationwide boycott of the Simon Commission. The second was the Bardoli Satyagraha. Final event was the appointment of a Committee under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru by the All-Parties Conference to prepare a constitution for India.

The response to call of boycott of Simon Commission was complete. On February 3, 1928, the day of the arrival of Simon to Bombay, hartal was celebrated in the whole of British India. On that day peaceful hartal was observed in all the towns of Karnataka. Processions were organised and meetings were held by KPCC. All these activities were organised peacefully by the Congress volunteers. The part played by the volunteers of Hindustani Seva Dal under the guidance of N.S. Hardikar in maintaining discipline among the participants in processions and meetings were mainly responsible for the peaceful conclusion of the boycott. "Simon go back" was the slogan of the day in the whole of British Karnataka.

The Boycott of Simon Commission in Karnataka was the replica of the All-India movement. This movement in Karnataka had its effects on Mysore State. A booklet was published in Mysore by Tagadur Ramachandra Rao explaining the evil intention behind the appointment of the Simon Commission. Political meetings were held in Mysore and Bangalore where the speakers unequivocally denounced the appointment of the Commission. Dewan Mirza Ismail commenting on this Commission pointed out its certain drawbacks, though he hailed it as a sure step towards better constitutional reforms. Since its inception Simon Commission was of the opinion that an all-India federation in the immediate future was not possible and practicable. But as a step in that direction the Commission projected the creation of a council for the whole of India, including Indian States. Mysore State appreciated this idea which if put into practice would have allowed the State to retain its individuality and its internal autonomy.
The Commission could not expect any assistance from national organisations. But the Commission with the help of official and nominated members of the Councils, and some private individuals completed its assigned work and submitted its report.¹⁰⁵

The Bardoli Satyagraha marks an important event in the history of satyagraha movement in India.¹⁰⁶ In 1922 Bardoli had earned a disgrace because it was associated with the suspension of the non-cooperation movement. The 1928 satyagraha campaign wiped off this disgrace and gave Bardoli an honoured place in the history of freedom movement in India. The peasants here had been subjected to an increase of thirty percent in the land revenue which was not in anyway justifiable considering the economic conditions of the peasants. To oppose this the peasants organised a no-tax campaign, which dragged on for five and a half months to a successful end. Entire country stood behind the Bardoli peasants in their heroic fight. The Government anxious to suppress the movement spared no opportunity. It tried to divide the communities and on failure resorted to ruthless suppression. This campaign beyond doubt established the efficacy of the weapon of satyagraha when put into use with certain alterations to suit the local conditions. Hitherto no-tax campaign on a large scale was a theoretical proposition. The impact of this campaign on Karnataka is considerable. The victory at Bardoli prompted the leaders in Karnataka to prepare North Kanara for a similar campaign in 1930-33, with certain changes in the satyagraha method.

Yet another interesting political event of the year 1928 was the summoning of the All-Parties' Conference at Delhi in February and March 1928 to solve the constitutional issue based on full responsible government. The Conference met again in May and resolved to appoint a committee to draft a constitution for India under the Presidency of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The draft constitution was submitted in the month of August. The conference after a study and discussion of the draft voted in favour of Dominion Status instead of complete independence. The Committee also suggested a scheme to face the communal problem and redistribution of the provinces.
KPCC and Karnataka Unification Sangh represented the interests of Karnataka province before the Committee. There was not much opposition to the creation of a Karnataka Province comprising of British territories. Even the non-Brahmin party leaders welcomed this idea of the redistribution of the provinces. They had the support of the Government and they formed a powerful faction in the administration. Hence their opinions carried much weight.

Mysore State, and other Princely States, refused to take part in the consultations and discussions held by the Motilal Nehru Committee. But the subjects of the Indian States took active part in the deliberations of the Committee. Hosakoppa Krishnarao of the Mysore State Representative Assembly, who was first among many to agitate for the inclusion of Indian States in the Indian Federation, had prepared a draft "Swaraj Constitution" which had been approved by a Committee appointed by the All India States' Subjects Conference, Madras. After a study of the Constitution the Nehru Committee appreciated the accomplishment, but could not accept it. Congress was reluctant to adopt a constitution which would embrace both British India and Indian India. Thus once again the aspirations of States subjects were tied down by the Congress.

The Nehru constitution was not acceptable to many. On this issue Jinnah did not see eye to eye with Congress. Inspite of this discordance the Congress gave an ultimatum to the Government of India to accept the constitution before the end of the year 1929. Congress further notified that it would initiate a nationwide no-tax campaign if the Government failed to comply with the demand.

The political atmosphere was surcharged with great expectations. But the Congress was unable to exploit the situation without the guidance of Gandhi who could mend all the differences. Congress was burdened with its own weight. The council work of the Congress was suffering because of disunity. Within the Congress the Independence for India League was strongly agitating to adopt
strong policy against the British. Simultaneously the terrorists were grouping among themselves. On the whole, the Congress polity was explosive. Sooner or later it was expected to explode disasterously. To crown these chaos the All Parties' Conference was on its death bed. To clear the situation and lead the nation, Gandhi was once again called upon to take the leadership.

At the outset, Gandhi solved the problem of All-Parties' Conference by adjourning the convention sine die. In the Congress Session he shaped the resolutions and sponsored them. He aimed at shaking the Congress from its charm of Councils.

While the movement against the Simon Commission was storming, the Karnataka Provincial Political Conference met at Dharwar on May 27, 1928 under the chairmanship of K.F. Nariman. This fifth Session of the Conference was a great success. It attracted large number of delegates from different parts of the province. Distinguished leaders such as Ramarao Hukkerikar, R.R. Diwakar, N.S. Hardikar, Madhava Rao Kabbur, Venkatarao Mudhavedkar, Krishnarao Mudhavedkar Gadigeya Honnapura, Dr. Taranath, Hardekar Manjappa, Hosakoppa Krishna Rao and others graced the occasion.

K.F. Nariman delivering his presidential address enumerated the evils of British rule, particularly he pointed out the worst economic situation of the country and specially of Karnataka Province.

In this Conference as many as 24 resolutions were passed on varied subjects. The important resolutions dealt with the boycott of the Simon Commission, on the Independence Resolution passed at the AICC Session, Madras, and on Bardoli Satyagraha. The Conference also resolved to take further drastic steps in the direction of removal of untouchability, and forest grievances in North Kanara. Dr. Taranath of Bellary moved a resolution urging Indian Princes to give responsible government to their subjects. This was a reference to the autocratic rule in Hyderabad. This was the first resolution of its kind passed in Karnataka Provincial Political Conference. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao moved another resolution and urged
the inclusion of Indian States in the Indian Federation. He stated in his resolution that "Swaraj without Indian States is unthinkable and unworkable." His resolution was accepted unanimously in the open session.

Subsequently, K.F.Nariman toured Bombay-Karnataka to awaken the people to the new political realities. He wishfully stressed on the economic exploitation of the British in India. In November 1928 speaking at a public meeting in Mangalore he declared that the British raj was originally based on the object of exploitation. This must have caught the imagination of the people quickly. Because this was a time when the economic situation was getting from bad to worse as a result of the worldwide economic depression. This aspect added much to the discontentment of the people against the British administration. On the whole various forces were joining together to create a new political situation in Karnataka.

As observed previously, during the non-cooperation movement the political activity on a small scale was carried on in Coorg by the Land Lords' Association. After the non-cooperation movement the political activities in this district gradually diminished, except for the annual meetings of the Association under the guidance of leaders from North Karnataka districts. N.S.Hardikar, Srinivasarao Kaujalgi, Deshapande Gangadhara Rao visited Coorg to keep in close contact with the Association and its activities. By 1928 the Association was almost controlled by the Congress. In 1928 the Coorg District Political Conference was held under the auspices of the Land Lords' Association at Ponnampet. Compared to other parts of British-Karnataka and Mysore State, political awakening was a slow process in Coorg. This was due to the location of the district. Further the allegiance of the local people to British was strong.

On the contrary, Mysore State witnessed dramatic political changes in the year 1928. It is one of the most exciting years in the recent history of Mysore State. Practically it was during
this year that a strong agitation for responsible government commenced which did not cease until the aim was realised in 1948.

The period was an era of great material advancement under the able Dewanship of Sir Mirza Ismail (1926-41). He was one among the best administrators that Mysore was fortunate to possess. He built a strong economic edifice on the foundation laid down by Sir M. Visweswaraiah. But unfortunately he took several measures to curb down the movement for responsible government in Mysore State. He did not have any regards to the rightful political aspirations of the people.

In the elections held during the year 1927, younger elements like H.C. Dasappa, K.T. Bashyam, H.K. Veeranna Gowda, T. Siddalingiah, K. Chengalaraya Reddy and the like entered the Assembly and the Council. They forcefully represented their view and questioned the economic policy of the State. Within and outside the Assembly and Council they agitated for the transfer of real power to the people's representatives. The Government which was not yet prepared to accept the realities found it difficult to reckon with this new development. Instead of restraining themselves, the Government took stern measures to suppress these leaders.

To sustain the crusade of these younger elements there were seasoned leaders like Venkata Krishnalah, D.V. Gundappa and Sampige Venkatapathaiah, who were known for their moderate political views, and Veera Kesari Seetharamasastry, Hosakoppa Krishnarao and Tagadur Ramachandraraao who were well known for their extremists views. Apart from this elite leadership, there was a powerful press which had been nurtured by the former administrators without infringing in their rights to express popular views. The newspapers of M. Venkatakrishnalah, D.V. Gundappa, Seetharama Sastry, T.T. Sharma, H.K. Veeranna Gowda and K. Rangalayengar spread the new political wave in every direction. This became a powerful weapon in the hands of the popular leaders.
Consequent of this development the difference between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the Assembly and the Council, and on the platform gradually began to wane away. Congress and secterian parties were coming closer to oppose the government on matters which affected their rights and privileges. This was clearly illustrated by the walk-out staged by D.S. Mallappa, a non-Brahmin leader, and who was followed by many Brahmins. This was an historic event for it was for the first time a member had walked out from either the Assembly or the Council in protest against the attitude of the Government. The issue involved was the right of the Members to ask a supplementary question. This also indicated the growing consciousness of the Members of their rights and privileges.

The most exciting, but unfortunate event of the year was the Bangalore Ganesha Disturbance of July, 1928, which led to the appointment of an enquiry committee under Sir M. Visveswaraiah. In its report the committee made far reaching recommendations. The most important was to have "a regular constitutional monarchy approaching the British model in which the responsibility for the amelioration of the people is thrown for the most part on the people themselves." The Government rejected that part of the Report wherein constitutional reforms had been suggested. Sir Mirza Ismail was reluctant to give any more liberal concessions to the press or to the representatives of the people. He was convinced that the political agitation could be quelled by force. In this way Sir Mirza Ismail was instrumental in inaugurating the first popular movement in Mysore State on a firm foundation.

In such an environment political parties in Mysore State consolidated their gains of the past. Mysore Congress, organised its first session in Mysore city under the guidance of G.R. Josyar, Manikavelu Mudhallar, a prominent industrialist of the State, was in the Chair. This Congress urged the Government to grant responsible government forthwith. In the same year the Prajamitra Mandali - an offshoot of Justice Party of Madras, - was split into two.
D.S. Mallappa came out of this party and founded Praja Paksha (People's Party) whose membership was thrown open to all the sections of the State's population including Brahmins. This was an heartening development which came in the wake of the Visveswaralah Committee Report which putforth its opposition to political parties divided on the basis of Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the Assembly and Council. Hereafter the conflict between Brahmins and non-Brahmins gradually decreased. The programme of all the political parties in the State became identical, that is the achievement of responsible government.

These political developments took place in urban centres and helped the political awakening of urban population. It goes to the credit of Kyasamballi Chengalaraya Reddy, who founded Agriculturists' Association in different parts of the State in rural areas to draw the attention of the Government towards the grievances of the agriculturists. In 1930's this association joined the Congress movement. This association made Congress access to rural population very easy. Since the commencement of the popular agitation for responsible government so many momentous events had not occurred in a single year. This year proved to be a turning point in the history of liberation movement in Mysore.

In British-Karnataka the Congress reorganisation work was taken as per the directives of the AICC. In 1928 Karnataka Congress had a membership of 4,796 persons on its roll. In 1929 it swelled to 13,092. This was slightly less than the quota fixed by the AICC for 1929 at 13,654. In August 1929, Sardar Vallabhai Patel on his way back from Madras passed through Dharwar and Belgaum where he addressed public meetings and had discussions with several leaders. He called upon the people to shed their fear of the government, and of forfeitures, and of prisons. He advised the people to take up swadeshi oath, and to strive for the removal of drink evil. He was also against the elections and the councils.

For the first time in 1929, attempts were made in the legislatures for the formation of a separate Karnataka province.
In February 1929, Dr. U. Rama Rao moved a resolution in the Council of State urging the formation of Karnataka comprising of Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, Karwar, Manglore, Bellary, Coorg and Nilagiri districts along with talukas of Kollegal, Hosur, Krishnagiri, Madakasira and Sholapur. But this motion was rejected. In Bombay Legislative Council another resolution on the subject was moved by Mr. Jog in August, 1929. He pointed out at the resolution on the subject moved in the Madras Legislative Council recently and urged the Bombay Provincial Government to press the Indian administration to fulfill the wishes of Kannada speaking people. A lengthy discussion followed the motion and finally it was dropped since the Government felt that Karnataka as a separate province was not economically viable.

Though there was some resistance from a section of the population, it was conspicuous that the idea of unification of Karnataka was getting stronger as time passed. Leaders in Karnataka however believed that Congress alone was capable of fulfilling the wishes of the people. In Karnataka political movement and unification movement went together - unification movement being a supplement to the emancipation struggle.

In Mysore State the popular agitation of 1928 was followed by the seditious case against Veerakesari Sitarama Sastry and Navajivan Aswatha Narayannarao. When this failed to produce any result, this was followed by stern measures against local newspapers. A printing press which was under the patronage of the People's Party was confiscated by the Government. Mysore Patriot edited by Venkatakrishnaiah was banned in January, 1929 for having published an article criticising the Dewan. This was followed by outlawing Veerakesari and Navaratna. Several other newspapers were warned with grave consequences if they did not refrain from criticising the administration.

The period was one of great labour unrest. Thousands of factory workers and mill-hands in towns and cities throughout India resorted to a prolonged strike. This unrest affected Mysore State
also. To sympathise with the arrested union leaders elsewhere, the mill-hands stayed out of their mills causing a friction between the employers and the employees. The intervention of police became inevitable and this resulted in several mill-hands getting injured. In British-India the labour unrest was induced by the Communist Party. In Mysore State the Communist influence was diminutive and could not produce a sustained labour unrest. The political atmosphere and social traditions did not facilitate the growth of Communism till the late thirties.

At this juncture the Congress in Mysore was endeavouring to consolidate its position. Attempts were made by K.C.Reddy and H.C.Dasappa to convince the leaders of the People's Party of the necessity of merger with Congress. However these attempts did not bear fruits immediately. These endeavours were followed by the second session of the Mysore Congress in Bangalore in Mysore 1929 under the presidency of M.Venkatakrishnaiah. Simultaneously the seventh Mysore State Youth Conference was held in Bangalore, again under the presidency of M.Venkatakrishnaiah. Both the Conferences attracted hundreds of participants from all over the State. Resolutions demanding responsible government were passed. These Conferences, though did not produce any results, brought more and more people towards Congress.

At this point the political relationship between the British and the Congress was nowhere near the point of cordiality. The Congress ultimatum and Gandhi's renewed leadership had provided a dynamic strength to the agitating population. On the one hand Congress sensing the forthcoming imminent trial of strength between itself and the government made all attempts to consolidate its recent achievements and pre-eminent political position. On the other hand the British in their attempt to bring the political situation under control wanted to arm themselves with special powers. In this direction the Public Safety Bill, introduced in September 1928 without success, was reintroduced in January 1929, but again
it was disallowed by Vittalbhai Patel, the President of the Assembly in April. This frustration of the Bill prompted the Viceroy to exercise his powers in proclaiming the required ordinance giving the Executive, the powers proposed in the Public Safety Bill. Armed with this the police glutted the prisons with political arrests. Unprecedented number of arrests and house searches were made in every part of British-India. This Ordinance also helped the police to apprehend suspected members of the Communist Party.  

In the meantime Labour Party had come to power in England. Ramsay Macdonald, who narrowly missed the Presidentship of Congress in 1911, became the Prime Minister. Before the elections he had promised to put India on a footing of Dominion Status if the Labour Party came to power. However, he could not do much in this direction owing to his Party's slender majority in the House of Commons. The Viceroy's announcement on Round Table Conference on October 31, 1929 was welcomed by all the parties in India hoping that it would be a Conference to frame a constitution of Dominion Status for India, while a strong section in the British Parliament and British Press opposed this initiative tooth and nail fearing that the Labour Government may grant Dominion Status to India. Ramsay Macdonald's government fell on defense and announced that there would be no change in the policy. With this the achievement of Dominion Status remained a dream. Lord Irwin when he met the Indian political leaders on December 23, 1929 could not give an assurance about Dominion Status. This frustrated the eager leaders who wanted to co-operate with the Government. This development further strengthened the hands of the Leftists within the Congress.

At this point the momentous Lahore Session of the Congress met under the presidency of young Jawaharlal Nehru. The political atmosphere was surcharged with great expectation of declaration of independence at the Session under the glamourous leadership of the Congress President. The Resolution on Independence was a significant landmark in itself. It defined the word 'Swaraj'
in Article I of the Congress Constitution as complete Independence. With the passage of this resolution the Nehru Committee's Report officially lapsed. The resolution called upon every Congressman to devote his time and energies in the cause of the attainment of independence. As a step preliminary to the ensuing fight Congress called upon Congressmen for complete boycott of Central and provincial legislatures and resign their seats in these bodies. The Gandhi creed was back in Congress and the charm in Councils was all gone. On the instructions of Gandhi the AICC instructed all Provincial Congress Committee to organise civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. It was agreed to celebrate January 26 as the Purnaswaraj day all over the country.

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NOTES

1 India in 1920, p.49.
2 Gandhi himself did not give much prominence to achieve "Swaraj." He did not give a precise definition of this term and hence different interpretations appeared on the eve of the non-cooperation movement. See India 1921-22, pp. 38-30.
5 P.C.Bamford, Histories of the Non-cooperation and Khilafat movement, p.XIII.
8 Ibid., p.203.
9 IAR., 1921, p.47.
19 India in 1920, p.55.
21 India in 1920, p.68.
22 Ibid., p.68.
24 India in 1921-22, p.43.
26 Ibid., p.890.
29 Ibid., p.987.


See Correspondence between Cadell and Haig reproduced in G.S.Halappa, HFMK., Vol.II, p.112.


See Apostle of Sacrifice, a Commonwealth Volume on Karnad Sadashiva Rao.


Ibid., p.65.

Ibid., p.66.

IAR., 1921, p.44.

From a confidential letter addressed by the Inspector-General of Police, Hyderabad to the Secretary to the Government of Hyderabad, dated May 22, 1921, reproduced in G.S.Halappa, HFMK, p.825.


IAR, 1922, p.55.

Swarajya, May 29, 1922.

Out of the allotted quota of 320 elected delegates from Karnataka Province, 302 delegates, which included 29 Muslims and nine Women, visited Ahmedabad.


See Young India, March 9, 1922.

For the British assessment of the movement see India 1921-22, p.107 and India 1922-23, pp.298-99.

Presidential Address, First Indian Communist Conference, December 1925, IAR, 1925, Vol.II.

See Gandhi's Presidential Address at the Belgaum AICC Session, 1924, in Congress Presidential Address, Vol.II(1911-19334).

India in 1920, pp.57-8.


Sampathabhyudaya, July 27, 1923.

Kasturi, November 1968, pp.16-17.

Swarajya, January 28, 1924.


P. Sitaramayya, Congress History, p.267.


M.V. Ramana Rao, History of the INC, p.112.

Young India, January 1, 1925.

Swarajya, January 26, 1924.

Swarajya, January 26, 1924.

Kasturi, November 1968, p.17.

Quoted in Sampathgiri Rao, Gray but Fresh, p.109.


AICC Annual Report, 1928, IQR, 1928, Vol.II.

IQR, 1928, Vol.II, p.18. The Government was also more worried about the Sevadal than the Congress. See Kasturi, November 1968, p.17.

B.S. Managoli, N.S. Hardikar, p.200.


J.B. Kripalani, Gandhi the Statesman, p.80.

84 Deshapande Gangahdara Rao, Autobiography, p.446.
88 See Gandhi's speech at South Indian Khadi Sammelan and Exhibition at Bangalore, July 1927 in IQR, 1927, Vol.II.
91 Quoted in Modern Review, 1926, Vol.40, p.103.
94 Young India, February 26, 1925.
96 "The Congress in Mysore," The Hindu, October 21, 1936.
97 For details of these campaigns see M. N. Jois (ed.), Tagadur Ramachandra Rao, pp.69-111.
99 Ibid., p.307.
99a Kasturi, May 1969, p.33.
100 Sudha, January 25, 1976.
101 M.V.Ramana Rao, History of the INC, p.119.
102 For details see IAR, Vol.II, pp.98-102.
103 AICC Resolutions, 1927, IAR, 1927, Vol.II.
105 AICC Annual Report for the year 1928, See IQR, 1928, Vol.II.
107 The Hindu, August 13, 1929.
108 Sampathbhyudaya, June 11, 1927.
109 J.B.Kripalani, p.36.
110 William Hull, India's Political Crisis, p.31.


P.R. Ramaiya, *Mysore Political Evolution*, p.44.


Ibid., pp.86-89.

Ibid., pp.86-88.

P.R. Ramaiya, p.45.


The Hindu, January 1, 1930.

The Hindu, January 1, 1930.

Ramsay Macdonald missed Presidentship of the Congress in 1911 owing to the death of his wife. See *Congress Cyclopaedia*, P.II.

