CHAPTER - III

ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE KHILAFAT AND NON-CO-OPEATION MOVEMENT
CHAPTER - III

ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE KHILAFAT AND
NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

After the First World War, Montague Chelms Ford Reform Act of 1919 was passed which was unsatisfactory to the Indians. Following this, Rowlatt Act was passed. According to this, the accused was not given the privilege to defend him, otherwise no power, no appeal, and no argument. Rowlatt Act was enacted on 21 March 1919 amidst the united opposition of all the Indian members of the Legislative Council, the Congress, Press and Public. Rowlatt Bills evoked much opposition and condemnation. This was the moment for the emergence of Gandhiji into the political scene. He took the initiative in mobilizing public opinion against the repressive bill.¹

In Madras the idea of Satyagraha took proper shape there. Even before the bill was passed into law, Gandhiji had pledged himself to offer Satyagraha against it. Although he was certain that the weapons of the Satyagrahi were non-violence, truth and self suffering, Gandhiji had yet no clear cut idea about the mode of launching this novel struggle. He needed a spark to flame the movement. The solution came to him in Madras on the night of 18 March 1919 by a dream which twilight condition arose between sleep and consciousness.² To put it in his own words, he narrated it to

Rajagopalachari. "The idea came to me last night in a dream that we should call upon the country to observe a general 'hartal'". Satyagraha is a process of self-purification and sacred fight, and it seems to be in the fitness of things that it should be commenced with an act of self-purification. Let all the people of India, therefore, suspend their business on that they and observe the day as one of fasting and prayer.\(^3\) So that the date for the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha was fixed in 30 March 1919, out it was later changed to 6 April 1919 because it was not notified in Delhi. So procession and hartal were held in Delhi when the police shot at peaceful Satyagrahis. The whole country responded to the call the Satyagraha.\(^4\)

At the same time, difference of opinions created about the Rowlatt Satyagraha within the Congress in Tamilnadu. The Rowlatt Satyagraha appeared to the Tamil Extremists suitable way to shake a defiant fist at the Raj and to contrast their own political stance with that of the Moderates. On 30 January 1919 Kasturiranga Iyengar presided over a Madras protest meeting against the Rowlatt Act, and on 19 February 1919 C. Vijayaragavachari and C. Rajagopalachari of Salem, wrote to Gandhiji requesting him to visit the Madras Presidency to give a lead to the Anti-Rowlatt agitations.\(^5\) Gandhiji at first refused. Perhaps he had not yet lost

---

hope of converting the Moderates like Srinivasa Sastri and G.A. Natesan to Satyagraha. Certainly he was suspicious of the Tamil extremists, due to the absence of other allies in Madras and in his determination to create a coordinated national agitation. After the invitation of Kasturiranga Iyengar, Gandhiji finally decided to make a short visit to Madras. Gandhiji arrived in Madras city on 17 March 1919, and met Kasturiranga Iyengar, A.Rangaswami Iyengar and S. Satyamurthi at the railway station and was taken to stay in Kasturiranga Iyengar’s house.6

Kasthuriranga Iyengar had a major share in preparing the ground in the Madras Presidency for Gandhiji's Mission. The public meeting at the Marina Beach on 18 March 1919 in which attended by about one lakh of people attended. Gandhiji addressed the meeting and Kasturiranga Iyengar presidered over it. The other celebrities who spoke at the meeting were Sarojini Naidu, C. Vijayaragavachari, S. Satyamurthi, T.V. Gopalasami Mudaliyar and S.S. Bharati. An appeal was made to the viceroy to withhold to assent the Act, which was an underserved slur on the loyalty of 300 millions of Indians.7 When Tamil Nadu was well – set on the Satyagraha Movement, there was a division of opinion of the expediency of launching it at a time when the constitutional forms were in the offing. The moderate section considered passive resistance "unwise, inexpedient and injuries to the best

7. The Hindu, Madras, dated 19, 21.03.1919.
interests of the country”. They issued a Manifesto against what they
continued to call "Passive Resistance" on 17 March 1919 the day when
Gandhiji arrived in Madras. Their main objection was that it would hinder the
Reform proposals and possible the introduction of the Bill in May 1919.8

At the same time, the power struggle for control of the Madras
Provincial Congress Committee was reaching a climax in March 1919 and
Gandhiji involuntarily found himself drawn into the struggle between
Extremists and Besant resigned from the Provisional Congress Committee,
taking with her several prominent Home Rulers and Moderates like
G.A.Natesan, L.A.Govindaraghava Iyer, who had been the Provincial
Congress Committee President for the Moderates and Home Rulers like,
B.P.Wadia and C.P.Ramaswami Iyer, both of whom had been secretaries of
the Home Rule League. Ten days later, on 27 March 1919, Kasturiranga
Iyengar took over as Provincial Congress Committee President with
T.Rangachari and T.V.Venkatarama Iyer as Vice Presidents and Satyamurthi
as Secretary.9 While it may be doubted that Gandhiji struck a bargain with the
Extremists, in return for associating himself with the Extremists he received
their support for his Satyagraha plans. On 21 and 22 March 1919 about
forty city and Mofussil Extremists met at Kasturiranga Iyengar's house to

8. Letter from V.S. Srinivasa Sastri to Sapru, dated 05.03.1919, Srinivasa Sastri
papers.

9. Adyar Archives, Report of the Executive Committee of the Madras Provisional
Congress Committee 1919, Madras, 1920, p.4
form a Satyagraha Saba. Only with difficulty few candidates could be found for its executive posts. Gandhiji was chosen President with Kasthuriangal Iyengar, Vijayaragavachari, M.C. Nanjunda Rao, K.V. Rangasami Iyengar and T. Prakasam were elected Vice Presidents and A. Rangasami Iyengar, T. Adinarayana Chetti, Rajagopalachari and Harisarvottama Rao were elected secretaries of the Satyagraha Saba. A Satyagraha pledge was drawn up by Gandhiji and all the Indians were asked to sign it.\(^{10}\) In addition to Extremists reluctance to serve on the committee, there was a reluctance to decide how the Saba should express opposition to the Rowlatt Bills, and Gandhiji told the meeting that a plan of action would be sent from Bombay.\(^{11}\) He then left for a breathless tour in five Tamil towns such as Tanjore, Thiruchirappalli, Madurai, Turticorin and Nagappattinam. These towns had the dual advantages of being Extremists centers and readily accessible by rail. On 28 March 1919 Gandhiji left Madras to return to Bombay. Only 120 people in the Presidency had signed his Satyagraha pledge.\(^{12}\)

After the resignation from the Provincial Congress Committee, the Moderates of the Madras Presidency organized themselves into an

---

association called the "Liberal League" which was inaugurated on 5 April 1919. At a meeting held a fortnight later, the liberal league passed three resolutions: They are,

(1) Condemning the mob violence and imploring Gadhiji to abandon 'Passive resistance'.

(2) Condemning the police firing on the mob in Delhi asking for independent inquiry and deprecating the government of India's alarmist action regarding Punjab in proclaiming a state of rebellion and sanctioning court martial; and

(3) Protesting against the whittling down of reforms.\(^\text{13}\)

On 3 April 1919 Gandhiji wired to Kastwriranga Iyengar from Bombay and enquired about the spirit of terrorism lying behind.\(^\text{14}\) The entire Tamilnadu responded to that clarion call falsifying the forebodings of some who were skeptical of its success in Tamilnadu. Madras took the plunge first and organized a show of force on a scale never before witnessed when even the Bengal Extremists were devising decent excuses for not pledging themselves to Gandhiji's plan of passive resistance to the Rowlatt Bills'. The unprecedented gathering in Madras on its first hartal on 6 April amply demonstrated that public opinion was solidly ranged against the notorious act. People of all castes and creeds, rich and poor, educated and uneducated

---


assembled in one part of the Marina Beach suspending all their daily avocation devoting the whole day to fasting the prayer because Satyagraha was purely an inward and purifying movement.\textsuperscript{15}

The Madras Satyagraha Sabha under the leadership of Rajaji, A.Rangasami Iyengar, G.Hari Sarvotama Rao and T.Audi Narayana Chetti called upon all who loved the country to fast and pray on 6 April 1919 and desired every. Villages and towns to passed resolution on the same day regarding the fast, their feelings towards the Rawlatt Act and prayers to the secretary of state and the viceroy to have the law revoked. Even the moderates said on the day of the hartal that the Delhi scene would not be repeated in Madras although they failed to see the direct connection between the Delhi riots and the repeal of the obnoxious law.\textsuperscript{16} All shops including vegetable markets were closed and fisherman did not go for fishing for the day not under duress but out of a free will to join a movement which affected the vital interests of their country. It is remarkable to note that in Madras Mohammedans and women were present in large numbers than in any other political meetings. In short, Madras Presidency presented quite a remarkable appearance. To bring down the raising tempo of the Satyagraha, the government issued explanatory leaflets in Tamil justifying the Rowlatt Act.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{15.} The Hindu, Madras, dated 07.04.1919.

\textsuperscript{16.} New India, Madras, dated 07.04.1919.

\textsuperscript{17.} Government of Madras, G.O.No.222, Public (Confidential) Department, dated 24.04.1919; G.O.No.318, Public (Confidential) Department, dated 02.06.1919.
The culmination of this movement, at last ended with the tyrannical display of force and massacre of participants at Jallianwallabagh in Punjab on 13 April 1919. No prior warning was given and 379 civilians were killed and about 1,200 wounded. The Jallianwallabagh Massacre and the violence in Bombay and Delhi persuaded Gandhiji to call off his first attempt at a Nation-wide Satyagraha on 18 April 1919.\textsuperscript{18} Immediately, C.Rajagopalachari, Secretary of the Madras Satyagraha Sabha, suspended the Satyagraha in Madras on the advice of Gandhiji. Following this, martial law was declared in Punjab. Inspite of official secrecy, the reports of the martial law atrocities leaked out. Throughout India, people became angry but the congress did not take any action expecting that the Hunter Committee appointed by the British government to enquire into the matter would do justice.\textsuperscript{19}

The Amritsar Congress session held in December 1919, though condemned all these atrocities, permitted the Congressmen to contest elections to the Legislative Council, according to the Montague Chelms Fort Act.\textsuperscript{20} The Congress also appointed a sub-committee of Non-officials to collect evidence relating to the outbreak of the Punjab disturbances and the methods employed for their suppression. The Sub-Committee formed the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} NNPR, \textit{New India}, Madras, dated 15.04.1919
\item \textsuperscript{19} NNPR, \textit{Swadesamitran}, Madras, dated 02.01.1920.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
firing at Jallianwalabagh, a calculated piece of inhumanity unparalleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration. The report concluded with a demand for the recall of the Viceroy and the dismissal of the various officials who were involved in the atrocity. The Hunter Committee did not examine the evidence produced by the Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress.²¹ Added to that, the report published by the Hunter Committee justified the action of General Dyer and believed that a state of rebellion existed necessitating or justifying the adoption of martial law. It came with an added shocks to the public opinion, both in India and in Great Britain.²²

In Tamilnadu, however, the absence of violence and the lacks of sustained interest were indicative of the failure of the Extremists to mobilize grievances in the Service of the all-India agitation. This was due to the lack of influences. For example the city trade unions were largely under the control of Besant's associates and the Extremists connection with Hindu revivalism gave them no background of co-operation with Muslim agitators. But, the extremists were not interested in stimulating mass unrest. For them the Satyagraha was a convenient gesture against the government coinciding with their takeover of the Provincial Congress Committee. The failure of the Satyagraha to secure the repeal of the Rowlatt Act did not, greatly disappoint them.²³ At a meeting of the Madras Satyagraha Sabha held on 13 1919, Kasturiranga lyengar

²² Sampad Abhyudaya, dated 20.04.1920, p.621.
²³ David Arnold, op.cit., p.30.
advised it not to commit members to any further action until Gandhiji's ideas of
non-violence were properly understood by the Indian people. He wanted all
talk of Satyagraha postponed indefinitely. The meeting reached no decision
on this point but the Sabha ceased to function. It was left to Rajagopalachari
to defend Satyagraha and Gandhiji's leadership of the agitation.24

With the Satyagraha behind them and with Gandhiji himself
uncertain about his next move, the Extremists began to proper for the first
elections to the reformed legislatures scheduled for November
1920. Opposition to the Rowlatt Act was subsumed to a demand for a bill of
rights to be written into the Indian Constitution.25 Significantly at the end of
1919 they shed the old 'Extremist' label and in common with Tilakites else
where, adopted the name 'Nationalists'. In their propaganda they repeatedly
stated that it was not their intention to boycott or wreck the new constitution.
To demonstrate their responsibility the Nationalists in their election manifestos
presented a demand for Dominion Status for India as a full and equal partner
in the British Common Wealth, but paid greater attention to a detailed
programme of reforms in local government, education, revenue, health and
administration, all of which on paper, would be feasible under the reforms,
designed to attract the tax-paying electorate.26

11.07.1919.
Further more, the Nationalists also worried that they were entering the electoral race with greater handicaps than the Moderates. The public reputation of the Moderates certainly stood higher and through their access to government patronage they could have common influential support in the Mofassial. Stress on political programmes and commitment to party were the Nationalists alternatives to the big names of the Moderates and to counteract the influence of their opponents the Nationalists decided to create a new political organization. On 8 November 1919 a Nationalist Conference opened in Madras City. Attended by 250 Nationalists, many of them from the Mofussil, the conference resolved to form a Nationalist party with Vijayaraghavachari as president and K.V.Rangaswami lyengar of Thiruchirapalli as one of the three vice-presidents. Resolutions were passed for the formation of local committees and for intensive electioneering, but the party was still born because after the Amritsar session of the Congress at the end of December 1919 the Nationalists were fairly in control of the Provincial Congress and District Congress Committees and so did not need to create an alternative organization. A.Rangasami lyenger and Satyamurthi toured throughout Tamilnadu in the first three months of 1920 injecting into the previously languid election campaign a vehemence which alarmed the Moderates. Srinivasa Sastri, howled down on several occasions for his

27. The Hindu, Madras, dated 10.11.1919.

28. The Hindu, Madras, dated 06.03.1920.
Moderate views and for his reluctance to speak in Tamil, was indignant at the 'Satyamurthi Midlothian' while Sathyamurthi, whose vernacular oratory evoked enthusiasm in many mofussil meetings, boasted of having addressed 90,000 people and to have started or revived eight taluk committees in his four-week tour. By April 1920 the Nationalists seemed to be firmly in command, but their ascendancy was to be short lived. Thus the Rowlatt Satyagraha paved the way for the congress in Tamilnadu such as liberal league and the Nationalist party. It was clearly proved that Tamilnadu Congress men indulged in struggle for power within the Congress and participated in the forthcoming election.29

The thirty fourth session of the Indian National Congress was held at Amritsar in December 1919 under the Presidency of Motilal Nehru. It was decided there to give a trial to the reforms Act of 1919. The original resolution of Reforms drafted by Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das of Bengal and approved by the subject committee did no more than reiterate the one moved at the Delhi session of 1918 which described the Act as 'inadequate', unsatisfactory and disappointing and calling for full responsible government.30 Tilak was in full agreement with this. At Gandhiji's request, the C.R.Das resolution was amended as far as possible the congress would work the reforms so as to secure the early establishment of full responsible government.

29. Ibid.

government. The Tamil Nationalist interpreted this as endorsement for their ambitions to enter the legislature and to follow tactics of responsive cooperation. At Amritsar Gandhiji was the voice of caution and accommodation. But though he appeared to favour constitutional participation, he was waiting to see how the situation would develop, waiting for an opportunity to cancel out the failure of the Rowlatt Satyagraha, waiting for a change to elbow his way to the front of the congress leadership.31 By June 1920 Gandhiji found two suitable grievances on which to base a new Satyagraha campaign. The first of these related to the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. In May 1920 an enquiry commission under Lord Hunter, appointed by the government of India to investigate events in the Punjab, reported that the province had been in open rebellion in April 1919 and that, eventhough Martial law had been unnecessarily protracted and harsh, its introduction had been justified by the grave threat to the British Raj. The conclusions of the Hunter report constructed with these of an enquiry committee in June 1919, and they presented Gandhiji with the sort of Moral issue in which he delighted. A scandal of this magnitude, he wrote, that it could not be tolerated by the nation, if it was to preserve its self-respect and became a free partner in the Empire.32

An All India Khilafat committee was formed under the leadership of Moulana Azad, Hakim Ajmalkhan and Hasarat Mohani in 1919. In Tamilnadu, the Khilafat movement was organized by Abdul majid Sharar, the Editor of 'Quami Report' and Yakub haisan with the support of Hindu leaders. The All India Khilafat committee decided to establish the first All-India Khilafat conference on 21 September 1919 at Lucknow, Gandhiji whole heartedly supported the Khilafat movement because he saw in it a God sent opportunity to promote the Hindu - Muslim unity. He considered Hindu-Muslim unity as a pre-condition for attaining Swaraj. Meanwhile, the British Government organized peace celebrations on 17 October 1919 at very important centres and it also appealed to the Indians to join the celebrations. So the Lucknow conference decided to observe 17 October 1919 as a First Khilafat Day. In response the Muslims in Tamilnadu celebrated it on 17 October 1919, in Madras as a 'First Khilafat Day' with the support of Hindu extremists. In Tamilnadu, most of the shops of the Hindu Muslim's were closed and prayers were conducted in all Mosques. During the celebration of the First Khilafat Day, "the servants of Islam" or the Khilafat Volunteer

corps were playing a vital rote. They were mostly young; students who constituted a major strength in the Khilafat volunteer's corps estimated about five hundred. They were provided training in drill and made some show of military discipline, marching through the streets carrying a 'Union Jack' with a crescent on it. No attempt was however made to give this body of volunteers a permanent organization.\footnote{37}

The years 1920-1922 constitute a distinct watershed in the evolution of Indian nationalism under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. This momentous period witnessed not only the launching of the Khilafat and Non-Co-Operation campaigns but also marked the commencement of what has often called the "Gandhian Era" of the Congress Movement.\footnote{38} It is important to note that the congress made its first major and concerted effort to reach out to the masses of Indian women during 1920-1922 and, more significantly, they met with a considerable measure of success in evoking a hearty response from India's women folk. Despite the harsh realities of their social situation and the multiple limitations arising there form, the Gandhian message and programme was designed in such a way that Indian women were able to make a vital contribution to the course of Khilafat and Non-Co-Operation.\footnote{39}

\footnotetext{37}{\it Ibid.}\footnotetext{38}{NNPR, \textit{Sampad Abhyudaya}, dated 20.05.1920.}\footnotetext{39}{Rajan Mohan, \textit{Women in Indian National Congress}, New Delhi, 1999, p.132.}
Right from its inception the Khilafat carried on conquests at the cost of European powers. From the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, it was the turn of the European powers to wreck vengeance on the Khilafat. They aided and abetted -many the times occupied -the North African and the near Eastern territories against the Khilafat under the garb of rationalism. Democracy and Self-Government. This narrowed down the extent of the Khilafat to a considerable extent. The Muslim reaction to this was a young Turk Movement in Turkey, Pa-Islamism around the Islamic world and the Khilafat movement in India.\(^{40}\)

In the second All-India Khilafat conference held at Delhi on 24 November 1919, Gandhiji was elected President and asked the Hindus to cooperate whole heartedly with the Khilafat movement. And Similarly, Gandhiji joined with the Muslim leaders like Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, Dr.M.A.Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abdul Kalam Azad, Saifuddin Kichlew, Shorwani and Zahir Hussain who were in the movement against the British.\(^{41}\) According to Amritsar session of congress, the Khilafat deputation led by Maulana Mohammad Ali met 'Lloyd -George' the British Prime Minister on 17 March 1920, but in vain. In accordance with the decision of the All India Khilafat Committee at Delhi, it was decided to observe 19 March 1920, as a day of national mourning. In the meantime Gandhiji issued a manifesto


on 10 March 1920, embodying his ideals on the future course of action to be followed by the Khilafatists of action to be followed by the Kilafatists if their demands were not concealed.\textsuperscript{42} This Manifesto is historically important as it contained the first definite elaboration of Gandhiji's doctrine of Non-violent non-cooperation. "Non-Co-Operation is the only remedy left for us. It is the clearest remedy left for us. It is the clearest remedy as its is the most effective when it is free from all violence.\textsuperscript{43} Before issuing this manifesto the idea of non-cooperation was announced by Gandhiji on 22 January 1920, when he addressed a public meeting held at Meerut presided over by Khan Bahadursheik, Wahid-ud-din. The Khilafat committee convened a meeting in Bombay and adopted the Non-Co-operation plan on 28 May 1920.\textsuperscript{44}

The Non-Co-Operation Movement was not a principle propounded by Gandhiji himself. It was originally expounded by Loka Manya Bala Gangadar Tilak in 1907. Gopalakrishna Gokhale moved a non-Cooperation resolution in 1909 for the sufferings of the Indians in South Africa at the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress.\textsuperscript{45} Non-Co-Operation


\textsuperscript{44} Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, \textit{India Win Freedom}, p.10.

means refusal to assist a Government which did not listen to the people's grievances. In this regard a meeting was held on 16 March 1920 under the auspices public meeting of the Madras provincial congress committee and also a public meeting under the auspices of the Madras presidency Khilafat committee was held on 17 March 1920 with Yakub Hassan Sahib in the chair. This was attended by many popular leaders like Khudus Bhasha Sahib, Sayad Murtuza Sahib, Jammal Mohammad, Satyamurthi and others. Moreover the two committees decided to observe 19 March 1920 as a 'Second Khilafat Day' and to request the people to offer prayers at Mosques for the good settlement at Turkey and to hold meetings of the kind in cities, towns and villages. So that the hartal was successful and it passed off peacefully in Tamilnadu and other parts of Madras Prosidency.

Subsequently a Manifesto was published calling upon not only the Muslim Government servants in civil, military and police services but also the students community to join in the celebration of this hartal. In this regard, a conference of the 'Madras Muslim Students' was held in the Lawley Hall in Madras on 15 March 1920 with Yahub Hasan in the chair. About more than four hundred students vigorously participated throughout Tamilnadu and the leaders of Tamilnadu who attended this conference were Sayad Murtuza

---


47. Government of Madras, G.O.No.302, Under Secretary Safe File, dated 08.05.1920.

Sahib of Tiruchirappalli, Abdul Masjid Sharar, Mahadi Hussian Kasturiranga Iyengar, C. Rajagopalachari and others and resolutions were passed. This conference strongly urged upon the British Government to have regard for the religious feelings of the Muslims while deciding the Turkish question and wholeheartedly approved the resolutions passed by the different Khilafat conference and of the All India Khilafat Committee. Further more an appeal was issued and signed by a number of Mohammadans and Hindus calling on all the people in Tamilnadu to observe a hartal on 19 March 1920. In the city of Madras a fairly complete hartal was obtained and in connection with the Khilafat day a public meeting was held on 19 March 1920 on the beach opposite of the presidency college. To join this meeting procession of Mohammedans marched through the streets with Turkish flags and revised slogans of 'Allahu Akbar'. They were accompanied by processions of the members of various Labour Unions who marched along with the slogan of Hindu - Mussalman - Ki -Jai.

The Muhammadan students wore the symbol of crescent on their caps, sold large number of crescent pin flags and these were purchased and worn by the Hindus and Muslims. A public meeting was organized and 25,000 persons attended it. Subsequently, in March 1920 a volunteer corps

49. Government of Madras, G.O.No.302, Under Secretary Safe File, dated 08.05.1920.

50. Tamil Nadu Archives, History of Freedom Movement, File No. 81, p.91.

51. Government of Madras, G.O.No.302, Under Secretary Safe File, dated 08.05.1920.
was organized in Madras City for the purpose of the hartals and were addressed by Valliulla Badsha Sahib. The young men, students and others who formed the corps were drilled but the drilling was not carried on to any great extent. Though these volunteers at times displayed themselves in Khaki uniforms and wore crescent badges they had no regular equipment or arms. One of the ostensible objects of the corps was 'To restrain people from committing violence'. Their activities were on the whole similar to those of the national volunteers, but they had a special penchant for parades and processions, Similar corps such as Vaniyambadi and Tiruppattur in North Arcot District. Further more, the Muslim Students Khilafat Conference was formed by Abdul Masjid Sharar and Sayad Murtuza Sahib and was supported by Akbar Hussein and Yakub Hasan. It was suggested that the success of the Egyptian nationalistic and Russian Duma movement were due to the participation of the students and as such the action of the students in this crisis had greatly influenced the Government. Mahboob Ali Baig and Raifuddin Ahmed were Law College students, Mahidi Ali Mirza, Amir Ali Abdul Haj Mahajir, Zyed Haneef, Mirza Bakerr Ali and Abdul Wahab who were Collegiate students were the principal members of the conference. This association formed a permanent committee of nine students consisting of the above mentioned individuals. The main object of the committee was to spread this movement among the student population. Rahamatulla Khan

follower of Abdul Masijid Sharas and a teacher of Madraji-Azam was also a
student of the College and a large number of school boys joined the Muslim
Volunteer corps that had been organized as part of the khilafat activities in
Madras.53

Subsequently, the draft terms of peace reached between the
Allied powers and Axis powers in April 1920 was unsatisfactory to the
Muslims and it served to stimulate the agitation. The meeting of the All India
Khilafat committee held in Bombay on 12 May 1920 sought the support of
Mahatma Gandhi. He advised them to resort to Non-Co-Operation
programme, drawn up by the congress sub-committee. Mahatma Gandhi also
requested the Hindus to join the movement. Thus, he had taken the
unprecedented step of identifying himself with a Muslim religious movement.
The meeting of the All India Congress Committee held in Benaras, on 30 May
1920 decided to convene special congress session in Calcutta in September
to consider the question of Non-Co-Operation. From then on, until September
1920, the scheme of Non-Co-Operation was published in the columns of
Mahatma Gandhi’s ‘Young India’. Having pursued for months an elaborate
campaign through the press and the platforms, Mahatma Gandhi prepared to
launch the non-co-operation movement in August 1920.54

53. Tamil Nadu Archives, History of Freedom Movement, File No. 81,
pp.158-159.
54. Government of Madras, The Non-Co-Operation and Khilafat Movement in the
Madras Presidency (Confidential), Madras, 1923, pp.4-5.
“The Non-Co-Operation programme consisted of surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies, refusal to attend government offices, durbars and other officials and Semi-official functions held by the government officials or in their honour; gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, owned, aided and controlled by government and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of National schools and Colleges; gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers, litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts for the settlement of private disputes; refused on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for services in Mesopotamia; with withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Legislative Council and refused on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who might despite the Congress advice, offer himself or herself for election; and the boycott of Foreign goods”.

In the Non-Co-Operation Programme, there was a provision for the council boycott. The congress was sharply divided on that question. As a result two groups were emerged within the congress in Tamilnadu namely 'Nationalists group' and 'Gandhian Kasturiranga Iyengar and Gandhian group was led by C.Rajagopalachari. The Nationalists group of the congressmen wanted to capture the councils and fight for Swaraj from within the council.

55. Government of Madras, G.O.No.328, Under Secretary safe file (Confidential) ; dated 15.11.1921; Young India, dated 15.09.1920.
boycott. The congress sub-committee appointed to consider the Non-Co-Operation question recommended the boycott of the educational institutions and law courts. However, there was no suggestion for the council boycott though Gandhi insisted on its inclusion in the congress programme. Even the more influential leaders like C.R.Das, B.G.Tilak who at first regarded the reforms as so satisfactory, decided to contest the election to the new councils. Already, the Amritsar' congress session had permitted the congressmen to contest the election. So, there were preparations for contesting elections everywhere, though some congressmen were against the decision. Supporters of both the programmes in order to gain support for their respective programmes, convened a number of meetings. The factional conflicts between the two groups surfaced for the first time at the Tirunelveli provincial conference held from 21 to 23 June 1920 under the presidentship of S.Srinivasa Iyengar who had by then given up his exalted position as Advocated General. At this conference, one of the largest attended in recent years. Kasturiranga Iyengar's group had put forth its plans for the ensuing elections. They even passed a resolution urging the electorate to return only Nationalists Members to the Legislative council.

57. NNPR, Madras Mail, Madras, dated 19, 22.04.1920.
58. NNPR, Madras Mail, dated 24.06.1920.
Soon after the announcement of the Turkish peace terms Gandhiji declared his intention of leading a Non-Co-Operation campaign directed to their modification and eventually on 1 August was declared a 'Day of hartals' to inaugurate this campaign. Yakub Hasan who had left Madras for Bombay early in July returned later in the month, but found that the local committee was not ready for a movement on a large scale and were inclined to wait for the decision of the coming special congress. Apart from Yaqub Hasan the most energetic personality among them being C. Rajagopalachari.  

In the meantime, in response to Gandhiji's instruction, on 1 August 1920 was observed as the Third Khilafat Day in Tamilnadu under the inspiration of Rajaji and Yakub Hasan. It was declared a day of hartal, signaling the inauguration of the Non-Co-Operation campaign. There was a general hartal with offering of the prayers and meetings on the Madras beach. Shops remained closed both in Madras city and in the Mofussils. The month of August was further signalized by the arrival of Shaukat Ali and Gandhi in Tamilnadu. The invitation to these two leaders seems to have been sent by Yaqub Hasan without the knowledge of the other members of the Khilafat committee and the announcement that they were coming to Madras took the


60. Young India, dated 14.07.1920.
public as well as the government by surprise. They arrived in Madras on 12 August 1920 and were given a grand welcome at the station.\textsuperscript{61} A meeting was held at the same evening on the beach at which the attendance was estimated to be about 20,000 and Gandhiji made a long speech explaining his ideas on Non-Co-Operation. This was the first appearance of Gandhi in Madras, since the beginning of the Non-Co-Operation campaign and his first speech Gandhiji proposed Non-Co-Operation as means to gain two specific objects the redemption of the 'promise' given to Mohammedans in connection with the Khilafat and the redress of the 'Punjab Wrong'.\textsuperscript{62}

While emphatically dissociating himself from doctrines of violence he hinted that Shaukat Ali was more than ready to plunge in to war and only restrained by his influence. In addition to the Non-Co-Operation programme with its four states he suggested; boycott of the councils, suspension of practice by lawyers for whom be suggested that occupation would be found in arbitration and Swadeshi courts, the withdrawal of children from Government schools which be stigmatized as factories of clerks and government servants.\textsuperscript{63} It is characteristic that he based his political


\textsuperscript{62} Government of Madras, \textit{Fortnightly Report}, 17\textsuperscript{th} September 1920.

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Ibid}. 
but his spiritual experience, as evidenced by the following words: - "I have
gone through the most fiery ordeals that have fallen to the lot of man. I have
understood the secret of my own scared Hinduism". 64

On the 13 August there was a meeting of the Khilafat committee
at which various politicians of different shades were present to discuss the
question of non-cooperation. The politicians generally argued against it but a
resolution in which only members of the committee voted was carried in
favour of Gandhiji's programme. On the evening of that day the party, with
the exception of Shaukat Ali who was unwell, went to Ambur in the North
Arcot District, where preparations had been made on a big scale for a meeting
to be held. It had been originally intended to hold it at Vaniyambadi, a more
important Muhammadan strong hold in the district but as a quarrel existed
between the Muhammadans and Hindus of that place in connection with the
building of a cattle slaughter-house, the venue of the meeting was changed.
Shaukat Ali and Gandhi then visited Kumbakkonam, Nagore, Tiruchirappalli,
Salem and other places and leaving the same evening for Bezwada from
which place they went on to Bombay via Hyderabad. Shaukat Ali’s previous
visit had its efforts had been chiefly directed to encouraging the people to
adopt non-cooperation at some future time. On this occasion the leaders
required tangible proofs of the readiness of both Muhammadans and

---

64. Government of Madras, The Non-Co-Operation and Khilafat Movement in the
Madras Presidency (Confidential), Madras, 1923, p.50.
Hindus to cooperate Gandhiji's appeals for funds were met by gifts of sums upto Rs.2000 and Rs.3000 but there was reason to believe that he was disappointed that the sums were not larger and so on. As a result of Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali visit to Madras the Gandhians gained popularity.65

Subsequently a meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress committee was held on the 15 August 1920 at Madras. Kasturiranga Iyengar presided and both nationalist and moderates were present. The latter maintained that non-co-operation being an unconstitutional movement designed to paralyse the government was opposed to the tenets of the congress whose object was to gain self-government by constitutional means. The lawyers of the nationalists party recommended that non-co-operation, barrying the boycott of the councils, accepted. After a long and heated discussion it was resolved that the principle of non-co-operation was accepted but the programme to be followed should be drawn up later on.66

The next round of the ideological conflicts began in the Calcutta congress special session was held on 4 to 8 September 1920 under the presidentship of Lala Lajpatrai. It witnessed a determined opposition to the Non-Co-Operation programme.67 By using Rajaji's alliance with the Khilafat Muslims and organizing his supporters to vote only for their partisans, Rajaji

second the election of Non-Co-Operators as the Madras delegates to the Calcutta Congress to the almost complete exclusion of their opponents. A special train was reported to have taken 200 Khilafat Muslims from North Arcot, Tiruchirappalli and Bangalore to the Congress.68

The proceedings of the congress ended in a victory for non-cooperation and a committee was appointed to prepare draft instruction as to the exact extent of the campaign. "The committee advised, first, the surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies; secondly, refusal to attend Government functions, darbars and other official and semi-official functions held by government officials or in their honour; thirdly, the 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 various provinces; fourthly, the gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts for the settlement of private disputes; fifthly, refused on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for services in Mesopotamia; sixthly, with withdrawal of candidates of their candidature for election to the reformed councils and refused on the part of voters to vote for any candidate who might, despite the advice of congress, offer himself for election; seventhly, the boycott of foreign goods; eighthly, Swadeshi in the form of

68. Young India, dated 15.09.1920.
a revival of hand-spinning and hand weaving; ninethly, the creation of a Swaraj fund and; lastly, the creation of volunteer corps for the purpose of disciplining the people and maintaining order".69 After the special session of the congress, the annual session of the congress was held at Nagpur in December 1920. The All India congress committee reaffirmed the resolution of Non-Co-Operation passed by the 'Calcutta congress' and declared to carry on all the programme effectively. After this session, the Khilafat issue was merged into the Non-Co-Operation movement.70

In the meantime, in order to inaugurate the new constitution, the British king announced in his Royal proclamation, that he would sent the Prince of Wales to India. As he was not in good health, in his place the Duke of Connaught was sent. The Nagpur congress session passed a resolution unanimously asking the people not to participate in the functions and festivals arranged by the government in connection with the visit of the Duke, as a part of the Non-Co-Operation programme.71 Gandhi had pointed out that the ministers of England intended to use these Royal personages as agents for carrying out a policy which was unacceptable to the congress and for creating

71. David Arnold, op.cit., p.51.
an impression in the public mind detrimental to the true interests of the people of India. It was this instinct which inspired Gandhiji to advocate this course.\textsuperscript{72}

As soon as the Congress delegates returned from Nagpur, they set to work on the visit of the Duke of Connaught. For a week, intense campaign for his boycott was carried on. Posters carrying headings like 'Boycott Connaught' and 'Remember Jallianwalah' appeared in many parts of Madras province.\textsuperscript{73}

In this regard, a meeting was held on 9 January 1921 in Madras and large procession went throughout the streets carrying banners, inciting the people to boycott the visit.\textsuperscript{74} There was a complete hartal on 10 January 1921, the day of his arrival to the Hindu Office, the gathering was over 60,000. But the officials welcomed the Duke and he performed the inauguration ceremony of the new legislative council.\textsuperscript{75} After the Duke’s visit the campaign to persuade students to abandon their schools and colleges was intensified.\textsuperscript{76} In a few districts of Tamilnadu it was reported that there had been some difficulty in inducing the village officers to collect the land revenue but no case of actual refusal to collect was reported. In Tiruchirappalli T.S. Rajan endeavoured to start a movement for the non-payment of land revenue.\textsuperscript{77}

\begin{flushleft}
73. \textit{The Hindu}, dated 08.01.1921.
75. \textit{Desabhaktan}, dated 10.01.1921.
\end{flushleft}
The economic strewn of the war left a legacy of high prices and labour unrest, which the Madras presidency inherited along with other provinces and countries. There had been much labour unrest in 1920 especially in Madras city and in 1921 non-cooperation agitators found a promising field for propaganda in the mass of vaguely discontented labourers while the so-called labour leaders who were for the most part not workmen but demagogues and political adventurers had nothing to lose and everything to gain by joining forces with the non-co-operators. It was men of this stamp such as A.Kumaraswami Chetti, A.S.Ramulu, Kalyana Sundara Mudaliyar, editor of the Navasakti, E.L.Ayyar, M.Singaraveli Chetti and Chakkarai Chetti in Madras city who organized meetings and formed unions among the labourers in their struggle with their employers preached to them that without Swaraj labour could never prosper and that the aim of the labour movement was therefore the attainment of Swaraj.\textsuperscript{78} The labourers were further told that they need not be afraid of the police because the leaders were baking them. Furthermore, non-cooperation propaganda was carried on in most districts throughout May 1921. The movement had made least progress in the Tamil districts and local Non-Cooperators were reported to be trying to induce Gandhi to visit that area. Several minor strikes occurred during the month and on 20 May 1921, employees in the cording department of the Carnatic mills struck without notice. The labour leaders were chiefly

\textsuperscript{78} K.Venkatesan and B.S.Chandra Prabhu, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.99-100.
Non-Cooperators and there was little doubt that the trouble was mainly political in origin. The labour situation in June 1921 at Madras became worse. The men of the Buckingham Mills were induced to go on strike on 20 June 1921 in sympathy with the men of the Carnatic mills and the labour leaders headed by one Kalyan Sundara Mudaliyar were for adopting desperate measures. As a result of the efforts of M.C.Raja, a certain number of Adi-Dravida workmen in the Buckingham Mills were induced to continue their work in the mills.\textsuperscript{79}

Subsequently, at the end of the month of July 1921 and in the first two days of July serious disturbances took place in connection with these strikes. The huts of the Adi-Dravida workmen were set on fire on three successive days and the fire brigade was attacked. In the course of the disturbances the policemen were shot, one of whom died and on the night of 1 July 1921, it became necessary to requisition troops from the Fort, who however were not required to play an active part in quelling the disturbances. The political leaders of the movement were summoned before the full cabinet on 5 July 1921 and warned that they would be held responsible if there would be any disorder and as a result of this and other measures no further serious disturbances took place. There was little doubt that the disturbances were the result of political agitation. Efforts to bring about a general strike in

Madras were made at the most critical period and on the night of 2 July. It is also perhaps of significance that as originally proposed Gandhiji would have arrived in Madras shortly after these disturbances began but that his visit was subsequently postponed indefinitely.\(^{80}\)

In Tamilnadu, students played a vital role in the Khilafat and Non-Co-Operation movement. It was in the light of these developments that the Nagpur Congress of December 1920 declared the object of the congress to be the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means. This was a definite departure from the earlier creed of the Congress. Hence forth, the congress was determined to work for the attainment of self-government outside the British Empire. In pursuance of its programme, the Nagpur congress resolved to take effective steps to call upon the parents and guardians of school children under the age of sixteen years to make greater efforts to withdraw them from schools. Owned, aided or controlled by the government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by other means, call upon students aged sixteen and above to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from the institution mentioned above, if they felt it against their conscience to continue in institutions dominated by a system of government which the nation had solemnly resolved to put an end. Such students were advised either to devote themselves to some special service or to continue their education in

\(^{80}\) Ibid.
national institutions, call upon trustees, Managers and teachers of
government affiliated or aided schools, and municipalities and local boards to
help to nationalize them and so on.\footnote{V. Sankaran Nair, \textit{Role of Students in Freedom Movement (with a special reference to Madras Presidency)}, Delhi, 1990, pp.73-74.}

On 24 November 1920, a meeting of the students of Madras
was held at the Soundarya Mahal, under the Chairmanship of
C.Rajagopalachari, in order to consider the question of the boycott of
government and aided schools and colleges. Students of Pachaiyappa's
College and the Madras-Christian College presented themselves in large
number at the meeting. At the outset, when C.Rajagopalachari was asked
about the steps that his sons took as regards the question of boycott, he
replied that both his sons R.Ramaswami and R.Krishnaswami agreed with his
suggestions to withdraw from the colleges.\footnote{K. Venkatesan, and B.S.Chandra Prabhu, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.304-305.} Subsequently P.V.Subiah,
P.K.Ramachari, Konda Rajaram and L.R.Muthukrishnan were the four
students of Madurai who discontinued their studies in the S.S.L.C class.\footnote{A. Ramasamy, \textit{Tamil Natil Gandhi} (Tamil), Madras, 1969, p.351.}
Even George Joseph withdrew his children from their school on account of the
students came out of the schools and colleges in Tiruchirappalli including

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item V. Sankaran Nair, \textit{Role of Students in Freedom Movement (with a special reference to Madras Presidency)}, Delhi, 1990, pp.73-74.
\item K. Venkatesan, and B.S.Chandra Prabhu, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.304-305.
\item A. Ramasamy, \textit{Tamil Natil Gandhi} (Tamil), Madras, 1969, p.351.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
K.S.Subramaniam, R.Krishnamoorthi, Manakkal Sadasivam, R.Krishnaswami, Mohammad Usman and others.\textsuperscript{85} Further more, Mayavaram S.Ramanathan and Ignatius who had left St.Joseph's College to involve in the movement, were arrested on the charge of violating section 144 of Cr.P.C., while addressing a public meeting held at Urariyar market in February 1922.\textsuperscript{86}

In Tamilnadu, great efforts were made at the beginning of the Non-Co-Operation campaign to induce boys and youth to leave government and government aided schools and colleges and by the end of March 1921 some 2,500 students out of a total 1,69,200 had withdrawn. As in most cases no adequate educational facilities had been provided by the Non-Co-Operation, such of the students did not become Non-Co-Operation propagandists. They very soon returned, to their schools or colleges. In some cases schools were converted into national schools by trustees or local bodies of non-cooperative tendencies. A terrific fight waged round the Islamiah High School at Vaniyambadi where threats of social and religious boycott directed against the boys and their parents reduced the attendance by seventy five percent. The trustees, however, stood firm. About 130 national schools were started during 1921 but by the following year most of these were


struggling for funds and only about twenty new schools were started during 1922.\textsuperscript{87}

Following this, the visit of the Prince of Wales was announced. The AICC met in July 1921 passed a resolution to boycott him also. On 13 January 1922, the congress announced that the Prince of Wales visited Madras, when the Non-Co-Operation movement was in full swing. Though boycott of the Prince of Wales was not a part of the Non-Co-Operation Programme, the congress utilized the opportunity to forge unity among the forces opposed to the British Raj and the day was observed with hartals.\textsuperscript{88} In some places it resulted into violence. For instance, about 200 persons held up six tram cars and pelted stones and smashed the window glass panes. They shouted Mahatma Gandhi-ki Jai. Motorcars belonging to the Europeans were stoned by them. Many shops were also closed.\textsuperscript{89} The volunteers also stoned the Willington Cinema Company, because they hoisted loyal flogs. The company reacted by firing and killed a Muslim from Triplicane. In their attempt to suppress the movement, the government killed two and wounded two volunteers. Even though the Prince of Wales was able to complete his visit, due to the Co-operation to Justice Party, it helped the masses to display their anger towards the alien rule. The adversaries of the movement were the


\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Navasakthi}, dated 25.01.1921.

\textsuperscript{89} Government of Madras, G.O.No.255, Public (Confidential) Department, dated 21.03.1921
British Raj, Congress Moderates, Home Rulers, Congress Nationalists and the Justice Party. T.V. Seshagiri Iyer, a Congress Moderate and a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly opposed it. Annie Besant in her New India attacked other newspapers such as West Coast Spectator and Cochin Argus which were much against it.\(^90\)

With the exception of the Hindu and the Muhammadan English newspapers in 1920 were opposed to Non-Co-Operation. 'The Hindu' strongly supported Gandhiji's creed and lost no opportunity of attacking government while the Muhammadan, a rapid organ of the Khilafat movement, advocated the adoption of Non-Co-Operation by Muslims. 'The Quami Report' was the only prominent Urdu paper supporting the movement. Expositions of the Non-Co-Operation creed were accompanied as a rule by highly coloured references to 'Khilafat and Punjab' wrongs, to 'Bureaucratic Government', to loss of faith in British Courts, to the effect of Non-Co-Operation in Ireland and Egypt and to the 'Satanic' character of western civilization in general and of the government of India in particular.\(^91\)

In 1921 the movement was aided and advocated by the majority of 'nationalist' papers which did not approve of the movement were often too

\(^{90}\) Government of Madras, G.O.No.342, Public Department, dated 13.03.1921.

ready to criticize Government for resorting to 'repressive' measures. It was aided towards the end of the year by a newspaper Swarajya which openly advocated the movement of the Tamil papers 'India', 'Desabliaktan' and the "Tamilnadu" which attacked the Government and supported Non-Co-Operation and the 'Swadesamitran' while criticizing government gave a wavering support to the various items of the Non-Co-Operation programme.\textsuperscript{92} Proceedings had to be taken against the 'Vaisyamitran' on account of its violent attacks on government. Moreover, the repeal of the Indian Press Act, 1910, which came into effect from the 29 March 1922 resulted in a still further deterioration in the tone of extremist press which became more unrestrained and openly anti-British than before, inspite of the fact that political agitation during the second half of 1922 was considerably less virulent than it was in 1921 and the earlier months of 1922.\textsuperscript{93} The editors of three papers, 'the Quami Report', 'Azad Hind' and 'Bharat Tilak' were prosecuted under the seditious sections of the Indian Penal code during the year. 'Swarajya' increased its circulation from 3,000 to 5,000. The Tamil papers that advocated Non-Co-Operation became divided on the question of circulation towards the end of the year.\textsuperscript{94}

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{92} Desabaktan, dated 23.12.1920; Swadesamitran, dated 21.01.1921.
\item \textsuperscript{93} The Hindu, dated 29.04.1922.
\item \textsuperscript{94} Government of Madras, The Non-Co-Operation and Khilafat Movement in the Madras Presidency (Confidential), Madras, 1923, p.51.
\end{itemize}
Remarkably, Gandhiji's call to women to join in the congress, Non-Co-Operation programme and participate actively in the non-violent struggle for Swaraj brought forth an appreciable and noteworthy response and in different parts of the country, women took out processions, participated in meetings. They also took part in 'Prabhat Pheri' Madras and propagated the use of 'Charka' and khadi as a basic duty, many young girls left government schools and colleges, and in the final phase, some even risked arrest. Gandhiji himself addressed innumerable meetings in various regions of the subcontinent in order to arouse women and locate female associates who could advance the nationalist cause. In a speech at Ahmedabad, the Mahatma openly acknowledged "I am, personally a beggar. In my begging, I especially seek out sisters. Men I have found everywhere. But I try especially to seek out sisters. For I Know that, unless our sisters in the country give their blessings, India's progress is impossible". As the Non-Co-Operation movement progressed, it became increasingly clear that there were several women all over the subcontinent who were willing, able and keep to play active roles in the congress campaign. Given the almost immediate and impressive response from India's women-folk, Gandhiji was encouraged, evenelated.

95. Navajivan, dated 09.10.1921.
Gandhiji incessantly traveled all over India to encourage people to take up the programmes of the Non-Co-operation Movement. He particularly wanted the women to participate actively along with men as he believed that the major objectives as well as the various dimensions of the movement could not be adequately fulfilled if fifty per cent of India's population (namely women) remained aloof or uninvolved in this non-violent campaign. He said, "If women do not share in men's tasks the country is bound to remain in a wretched state".\(^97\)

He, therefore, advised them to do whatever they could for the sake of the country because every act would be counted. In fact, Gandhiji was fully confident of women's strength, ability, sense of organization and sincerity in the performance of any kind of duty assigned to them. Their mental facilities, he argued, were matchless and they could be the best soldiers in the struggle for freedom.\(^98\)

Sarojini Naidu got capitulated wholly to the call given by Gandhiji and returned the Kajjer-i-hind gold medal awarded to her by the Government in 1908 for humanitarian work performed during the floods in Hyderabad city.\(^99\) She also accompanied Gandhiji to some places during his nation wide

\(^{97}\) The CWMG., Vol. XV, p.290.

\(^{98}\) Ibid.

tours and addressed meetings to popularize the programmes of the Non-Cooperation Movement. "We want daughter, she said, "for the free service of the motherland as without their wholehearted Co operation Satyagrahis would fight with half of their strength". Sarala devi Chaudhurani renounced her 'war broacher', granted for recruiting services with regard to the formation of Bengal Regiment and also toured many places to encourage people. Renuka Ray left the college with her friends following the clarion call of Mahatma Gandhi - Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay also left her college in England and returned to India. She set about traveling, lecturing, making new contacts, forming new branches, encouraging and inspiring women and younger generation to come forward to take their rightful place in the scheme of things.

While women in Western India had participated actively, the truly all-India nature of there Non-Co-Operation Khilafat up surge is manifest by its penetration into Southern India. Although the most famous women leader from the south - Annie Besant remained implacably opposed to Gandhi. From Tamilnadu, there were some women who participated actively in the congress programmes of boycott of foreign clothes, promotion

100. Ibid.
101. The Tribune, dated 04.08.1920.
103. Rajan Mohan, op.cit., p.158.
of Khadi, the picketing of liquor shops and conducting meetings press also played a leading role in mobilizing women. A correspondent to the Desabhimani recommended the Non-Co-Operation movement to the acceptance of women. It requested women to play their part in making the movement a success and concluded with the exhortation, "Ascend the steps of Swaraj, secure freedom to India, fame to yourselves, happiness to your sons and disgrace to our rulers". It also requested women to help men in carrying out Swadeshi and boycott movement. Picketing of liquor shops was a notable item in Non-Co-Operation Movement. From the beginning the Indian National congress viewed with much concern the growing consumption of intoxicants. The Allahabad congress session passed a resolution urging the government of India to adopt some such improved system as would discourage drinking. In the subsequent congress annual sessions as well as in the provincial and districts conferences, the same matter was discussed and passed resolutions against the use of it. Thus, towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century there began a prohibition movement.

Women in metropolitan Bombay were major source of strength for the Non-Cooperation movement. Through a large number of women's

104. Desabhimani, dated 18.03.1921.
105. Desabhimani, dated 03.04.1921.
106. All India Congress Committee Papers, Resolution of Indian National Congress, Allahabad Session, 1888, p.9.
meetings, vigorous spinning activity, several khadi exhibitions and participation in public processions and demonstrations, the women of Bombay played a remarkable rote in propagating and popularizing the nationalist message. The numerous prominent women who played key roles in Bombay during this period included among many others, Avantikabai Gokhale, Perin and Goshibehn captain, the petit women Jaiji Hehangir and Mithuben, the Faizi sisters, women from the Tyabji family, Manekabai Bahadurji and Sarojini Naidu.¹⁰⁷ Both, as individuals, and in their capacity as members of established women's organization of the metropolis such as the 'Bhagini Samaj', the Giyarati hindu Stree Mandal and hind Mahila Samaj, these leading women of Bombay sought to extend the message of national uplift and mobilize women especially for the constructive programme of Swadeshi. In addition to the organizations already in existence, annas Mirabilis of 1921 witnessed the establishment of three more associations for Bombay and most importantly, 'the Rastriya Stree Sabha.'¹⁰⁸ The Congress had declared April 6 to April 13 as the 'Satyagraha Week' and during this week Sarojini Naidu addressed a number of meetings in Bombay; it was at the last of these


meetings, on 13 April 1921 (Jallianwala Bagh Day), attended by over 500 women, that the women present decided upon the formation of a women's political organization, the 'Rastriya Stree Sabha' which would be independent of our work in close association with the congress. 109 A number of women's organization such as the Hindu Mahila Samaj, Rasthriya Stree Sabha conducted classes in spinning and embroidery on Khaddar. 110 In addition to all this, Bombay women also participated prominently in public meetings and processions. They also participated actively in the public bonfires of foreign cloth organized especially in the mill areas of the metropolis. An event that caused a tremendous impact upon popular consciousness was the participation of about one thousand women in a public procession organized in November 1921 to protest against the visit of the Prince of Wales to Bombay. 111

Women in Punjab also participated actively in extending the Swadeshi programme. The leading role in propagating the 'Charkho Khadi' message and organizing constructive activities among the Punjab women was played by Sarala Devi Chaudharani. During 1919-1922, Sarala Devi came in


111. The Bombay Chronicle, dated 18.11.1921.
close contact with and was deeply influenced by Gandhi, and began to share a strong relationship with him.\textsuperscript{112} At a personal level, Sarala Devi not only sacrificed most of her jewellery for the nationalist cause but also gave up the Padmawati, Gold medal of the Calcutta University of which she had been the first recipient.\textsuperscript{113} She also learnt to spin the 'Charkha' and adopted a purely Khadi attire and became some sort of a trend setter by even attending parties in Khadi dresses. In fact, her 'Khaddar Saris' apparently spread the Swadeshi cult 'more eloquently than her tongue', in a letter to Gandhiji, Sarala Devi wrote that her 'Khaddar Sari impressed her audiences more than her speeches, and her songs came nest, her speeches last'.\textsuperscript{114} During the non-cooperation era, she arranged and addressed several meetings throughout the province, organized Swadeshi centres, and everywhere sought to infuse nationalist feelings among Punjabi women. In addition to Sarala Devi, prominent roles in organizing women's nationalist activities in the Punjab were played by Radha Devi, Parvati Devi and Lado Rani Zutshi.\textsuperscript{115}

Gujarati women had been closely involved with Gandhi ever since his return from South Africa. As the Non-Cooperation movement

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{112} The \textit{CWMG}, Vol. XVIII, Ahamedabad, p.1.
\item\textsuperscript{113} Sukbhir Chowdhary, \textit{Indian People Fight for National Liberation 1920 -1922}, Delhi, 1972, p.85.
\item\textsuperscript{114} The \textit{CWMG}, Vol. XVII, Ahamedabad, p.429.
\item\textsuperscript{115} Man Mohan Kaur, \textit{Women in India's Freedom Struggles}, Delhi, 1985, pp.142, 154.
\end{itemize}
progressed, Gandhiji moved from village to village in Gujarat and was invariably accompanied during these sojourns by Kasturibai and Anasuyabehn and some other 'Ashramite sisters'. He addressed numerous women's meetings in different parts of the province urging women to spin by charka, wear Khadi, Boycott government educational institutions remove untouchability and promote Hindu-Muslim solidarity. As a consequence, women began to play an important role in the boycott and constructive programmes.\(^{116}\) Several girl students left government schools and colleges, prominent among whom were Manibehn Patel and Miss. Dessai who were publicly lauded by the Mahatma. Thereafter, Manibehn played significant part in spreading the Swadeshi message as also did Gangabehn Majumdar.\(^{117}\)

Though women of Madras also plunged into the movement from the beginning, yet their participation received a considerable fillip when Gandhiji visited Andhra to attend the All India Congress Committee session at Vijayawada on 21 March and 1 April 1921. He addressed several meetings of women in madras exhorting them to take more active part in the movement. As a result many women came forward to participate in the various programmes of congress and they also contributed money and ornaments


\(^{117}\) Rajan Mohan, *op.cit.*, pp.155-156.
for swaraj fund. For instance, Anna Purnadevi, a newly wed girl from Ellore. Set an example of sacrifice by giving whole of her ornaments save those which were the sign of her wedded life. She also started wearing khadi afterwards.118

Subbamma, one of the prominent women of Madras, after attending the meetings addressed by Gandhi, became politically active and book lead in the province. She addressed various meetings of women and exhorted them to wear khadhi and spin it in their leisure time. She further wanted them to realize that they were wasting a huge amount of money on foreign cloth. She also organised pickeling in front of the foreign cloth shops appealing shopkeepers to stop dealing with foreign clothes and stock khadi only. She also formed a women's cadre of Deva Sevikas (God devoted servants). Because of her active participation in the movement she was arrested and sent to jail. As a matter of fact she was the first woman of the region to go to jail.119

Durgabai, aged twelve, was another inspired organizer and a tireless worker, who worked for the cause of freedom in such a tender aye. Gandhiji's visit to Godavari district was a turning point in her life. She donated

118. Young India, dated 13.04.1921.

her jewellery and went around the town selling khaddar and enlisting volunteers for the progress of the movement. She also arranged a meeting for devadasis (God devoted women) to be addressed by Gandhiji after raising fire thousand rupees. The meeting was attended by around one thousand devadasis. Inspired by Gandhi’s fervent appeals these women took off their ornaments and denoted twenty thousand rupees and also took a vow to wear swadeshi hence forth.120

Ambujammal was also engaged in all programmes of the movement based on the principle of the non-violence.121 She organized various meetings, processions, etc. and also sold khadi and picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops. Similarly, Amjadi Bano, wife of Mohamed Ali, did not lag behind and took an active part in the movement by organizing various women’s meetings.122 In one of her meetings at Madras beach she exhorted women to spin daily and work ceaselessly to attain swaraj. She along with Bee Amma and some other women workers moved from place to place for collecting subscriptions for the nationalist movement.123

120. Bharti Thakur, op.cit., p.56.
122. S. Ambujammal, Mahatma Gandhi Ninaivu Malai (Tamil), Chennai, 1944.
123. Young India, dated 29.09.1921.
Subramania Siva of Batlagundu who was jailed for participating in the Shwadesi Agitation in the South following the Bengal partition was released in 1914. He started Tamil journals like ‘Prapancha Mitran’ and the ‘Indian Pilgrim’ and propagated nationalism through their columns. In 1921 he started the Bharata Ashram at Madras an organization pledged to train young men to service of the motherland. He gathered around himself on band of youths who were ready to sacrifice their life to the country.²⁴

Sadasivam Krishna Kunthu, Thyagaraya Sivam and other, nineteen in all, picketed the liquor shop at Ghoripalayam and were sentenced to fifteen months imprisonment. Everyday, they used to be marched on foot from jail with manacled into the court which was at a distance of about four miles. They went about with Bharathi’s songs on their lips and huge crowds used to follow them and the spectacle spured many people to be more active.²⁵

A. Vythianatha Iyer, a lawyer came out and took up national work. He joined with other leaders like S.D.Krishna Iyenkar, N. Narayana Iyer, P. Sundaram Pillai, Chidambara Bharati, Sundararajan and others. Padmasini wife of R. Srinivasa Varadhan Iyengar, took charge of the Ashram. She refused to were jewellery till her husband was released from jail and

124. Tamil Nadu Archives, History of Freedom Movement, Bundle No.108.
125. Ibid.
gave up even one meal. She used to spin daily and enrolled more than 500 ladies in the congress. She addressed meetings and made fiery speeches, carried on campaigns of Khadhi sales from house to house and was mainly responsible for the political awakening among women in India. At this time, disobeying for and order under section 144 Cri. P.C., C. Rajagopalachariar, Arni Subramania Sastri and E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker were imprisoned. When the Bharatha Ashram members came out of jail they decided in 1923 to start picketing of liquor shops once more in Madura. At a time all the liquor shops in the city were picketed and more than one hundred volunteers courted arrest on account of this action.\(^{126}\)

Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar was born on 1883 in the Isai Vellalar caste, a caste which, was closed associated with the devadasi system. She was initiated into the "dasi" system at a very early age and was brought up in a devadasi family in Moovalur village in Thanjavur District. Ramamirtham's political career began in the congress. After meeting Gandhiji at Mayuram in 1921, She became a congress propagandist at Thanjavur district, campaigning of non-co operation at the village level. Within congress, she allied herself with Periyar E.V. Ramasami Naicker, Varadarajulu Naidu and other leader who believed in a idealogical struggle against the conservative opinion by launching a social reform movement.\(^{127}\)

\(^{126}\) Ibid.

V.T. Kamalambal, the wife of N. Dhandapani Pillai joined the movement in 1919. She took part in Toddy shop picketing in 1922. Angammal and Thaialnayagi Ammal also joined the movement in 1920 and took part in the Toddy shop and foreign cloth shop picketing in 1932. Angammal died in 1955.\textsuperscript{128}

As early as 1920, the Madras provincial congress committee in its election manifesto included prohibition as one of its legislative programmes. Under diarchic, the transfer of the excise portfolio to an Indian minister politics. Even the Justice party claimed that prohibition was one of its aims.\textsuperscript{129} The congress took it as an easy way to promote the government to arrest and imprison them there by earn mass support and sympathy for the congress cause. Prohibition movement had spread in almost all the districts of Tamilnadu before the end of February 1921.\textsuperscript{130} The arrack and toddy shops had been boycotted in many places. The campaign reached its Zenith at the time of the auction sales of toddy shops in August 1921 and continued till the end of that year. C.Rajagopalachari, E.V.Ramaswami Naicker and N.S.Rangaswami Iyengar organized volunteer corp known as 'thondarpadai'


\textsuperscript{129} David Arnold, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.64-65.

\textsuperscript{130} Government of Madras, \textit{Fortnightly Report}, 1\textsuperscript{st} March 1921.
to picket liquor shops throughout Tamilnadu. The volunteers induced the workmen employed in the liquor shops to leave their masters. They prevented the men from carrying liquor to the depots and shops. The volunteers burnt few arrack shops. They persuaded the owners of the coconut trees not to give the trees to the renters for tapping or where such persuasion failed, they instigated the breaking up of pots on the trees and cutting of the spates. All these naturally affected toddy sales so much, that in several places resale of shops was ordered.

The Government of Madras placed substantial reliance on its income from excise duties and the prohibition campaign put it under serious pressures. At first the government disguised the impact of the agitation by attributing the sharp fall in income from toddy shop auctions to factors other than picketing. But in October 1921 the government of Madras was compelled to intervene directly because it listed nearly a quarter of its revenue came from duties on liquor. Prosecution were started on a large scale. E.V.Ramaswami Naicker, Rajaji, M.V.Subramaniya Sastri and others were imprisoned thinking that the movement would die in the absence of leaders.

---


132. Government of Madras, G.O. No.407, Under Secretary Safe File (Secret), dated 06.05.1926.

After their arrest, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker's wife Nagammal and his sister Kannammal along with many other women were drawn into the movement. The pursued passive resistance to make it a success at Erode. On seeing this; a number of women from Erode also participated in this agitation. Treating that the law and other situation would get out of control and if all the women were arrested, the government lifted the 144-ban order. When the congress asked Gandhiji to stop the movement, he replied that it was not in his hands and it was only in the hands of two women from Erode. Such was the involvement, Nagammal and Kannammal had in the movement.

Participation of women in Madras was comparatively less. Though they organized meetings, marched in processions and participated in picketing yet it was difficult to mobilise large number of women for action. Nevertheless, they supported swadeshi pledge and advocated spinning, wearing and selling of khaddar but there were no dramatic demonstrations and processions of women of the kind found in Bengal, Bombay and Punjab. But their participation undoubtedly gave a fillip to the movement.

On 5 January 1922, at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur District in the united provinces, a mob of 2000 villagers, led by volunteers attacked a

134. Tamil Nadu, dated 25.12.1921.


136. Young India, dated 13.04.1921.
police station and burnt to death the entire police personnel's consisting of twenty two.\textsuperscript{137} Gandhiji, much worried over the incident, decided to suspend the movement. The congress working committee met in Bardoli on 11 February 1922 suspended the Non-Co-Operation Movement and adopted constructive programmes.\textsuperscript{138}

Subsequently, one of the developments which exercised the minds of the people of Tamilnadu during 1923 was the nagpur Flag Satyagraha. The movement in the central provinces arose from the police authorities objecting to a procession carrying the supposed National Flag to some prohibited areas like the civil lines of the city, by the promulgation of section 144, I.P.C. On 1 May 1923.\textsuperscript{139} The volunteers under the leadership of General March Ershaw Avari, The chairman of the Nagpur municipality insisted on their right to carry the flag wherever they willed. They defied the prohibitory order. They were therefore arrested and sentenced. This developed soon into a movement earning the blessings of the All India Congress Working Committee which was held at Nagpur on 8, 9 and 10 July, 1923. The committee gave its assistance to the Nagpur Satyagraha Committee and further called upon the country to observe 18 July as the


\textsuperscript{138} New India, dated 27.02.1922.

\textsuperscript{139} Tamil Nadu Archives, History of Freedom Movement, File No.108, p.3.
'Flag Day'. The provincial committee's were instructed to organize flag processions in the prohibited areas in their respective places and bring about public display of the Flag.\textsuperscript{140} The Nagpur Flag Satyagraha soon developed into an all India movement and Vallabhai Patel took charge of it. The flag Satyagraha campaign went on for volunteers hoisted the flag at Jabulpore and Calcutta and a large number of people went to prison. Volunteers were also sent to Nagpur from several parts of India to vindicate the honour of the 'National Flag'.\textsuperscript{141} In Madras C.Rajagopalachari was eager that the congress activists should participate in the Satyagraha at Nagpur. This seemed to him a showpiece of Satyagraha, a vital demonstration of continuing efficacy of the Gandhian methods at a time when the conflict between them and the Swarajists was at its height. When the Satyagraha began in Nagpur in May 1923 he secured, the approval of the Tamilnadu congress committee and All India congress committee for sending volunteers to Nagpur. About hundred volunteers from several districts of Tamilnadu were selected and sent to Nagpur. All of them were arrested and imprisoned when they took part in the flag March and in the flag hoisting. In the Nagpur Jail, the volunteers experiment much difficulty. They were given uncooked 'Cholam bread' and green leave. They were compelled to draw the oil-crusher.\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{140} The Hindu, dated 08, 09, 10, 16, 23.07.1923.

\textsuperscript{141} Government of Madras, G.O.No.430, Public (Confidential) Department, dated 13.07.1923.

\textsuperscript{142} Government of Madras, \textit{Fortnightly Report}, First and Second half of May and July 1923.
While the Flag March was going on vigorously, C. Rajagopalachari wrote an article entitled 'call off the flag' in Young India. The authorities of Nagpur municipality were determined to put an end to the Flag Marches. The volunteers were mercilessly beaten up, arrested and imprisoned without trial. Similar incident took place in Madurai and other parts of Tamilnadu. Ansari who spoke in July 1923 condemned the repressive measures of the government and asked he volunteers to remove the insult done to the National flag. Similar speeches were made by Sarojini Naidu, an ardent patriot of the Madras presidency. She even moved a resolution at the All India Congress committee appreciating the steadfast and determined resistance offered by the brave Satyagrahis in honour of the National flag at Nagpur. Marriyam Bibi was one of the only Muslim women of Tiruchirappalli who participated in Nagpur flag Satyagraha arrested under section 109 and 188 I.P.C. and sentenced to six months imprisonment and kept in Central Jail of Cuddalore.

S. Kamakshi took part in Nagpur flag satyagraha movement of 1923. She was arrested and sentenced to seven months imprisonment. She kept in Nagpur and Betul Jails. A. Abishegathammal jointed the movement in

143. Young India, dated 21.07.1923.

144. Saroja Sundararajan, op.cit., pp.298-299.

1925 and took part in liquor shop picketing. She also participated in the Salt Satyagraha in 1930. She was imprisoned thrice in 1925, 1928 and 1930 and kept in the jails at Nagapatnam, Thiruthuraipoondi and Madras.\textsuperscript{146}

Despite many setbacks and repressive measures the government did not die out, there was a great wave of patriotism which spread far and wide in the country. The citizens of Nagpur along with the volunteers from other parts of the country participated in the Nagpur Flag satyagrah with great enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{147} The Anglo Indian and the Justice papers applauded the action of the viceroy in having given his assent to the bill while the nationalist papers went as far as to suggest that it would be well to rest the validity of the act in a court of law. If any programme of the Congress became more popular with the press during 1923, it was the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha. By encouraging the Congress activities and opposing the government prohibitory order, the press in Tamil Nadu played its role so well that it vindicated the honour of the National Flag. It goes, however, without saying that the Anglo-Indian Press and the loyalist press condemned the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{147} Swadesamithran, dated 24.07.1923.

\textsuperscript{148} Government of Madras, G.O.No.345, Public (Press) Department, dated 12.08.1923.
Neill Statue Satyagraha

The South Indian Rebellion (1800 – 1801) and the Vellore Rebellion (1806) were the major manifestations of native opposition to the British rule. A number of minor revolts that took place between 1808 and 1856 in several parts of India were indicative of the extent of discontent against the expansionist policy of the English East India Company. The aggressive actions of the company served only to aggravate the situation and left behind a blazing trail of discontent and disaffection throughout India. The annexationist policy of Lord Dalhousie created a sense of alarm among the states directly affected by it, particularly in North India. Political domination, economic exploitation, oppressive administration, social injustice, fear of religious conversion and military causes contributed to the bloody upsurge of people’s wrath against the British Rule. The incidence of "greased cartridges" provided the spark to set ablaze the powder magazine of popular fury. The result was the Rebellion of 1857. It was a significant landmark in the history of freedom struggle in India.¹⁴⁹

In January 1857, the rumour of the greased cartridges started from Dum Dum near Calcutta and it spread like wild fire. On 26 February, the soldiers at Berhampur refused to receive their hats for the parade on the ground that they were suspicious of the cartridges. On knowing this, Mitchell,

the Commanding Officer of the Regiment rose as one man at about midnight, loaded their muskets and shouted violently. Though the situation was normal, the next morning the open defiance of authority by the soldiers served as an inspiration. On 29 March, the first shot of the Rebellion was fired at Barrackpore when Mangal Pandey, a Brahmin Sepoy, fired at the Sergeant Major and wounded Lt. Bough, Panday was later tried and executed.\textsuperscript{150}

The fall of Delhi and the declaration of Bahadur Shah II as the Emperor of Hindustan electrified the entire North India. There were raisings of the sepoys at Firozpur, Muzaffarpur, Aligarh and Punjab. There were a number of mutineers in Oudh and North-West Provinces.\textsuperscript{151} Lord Canning, the Governor General, took all possible steps to stem the rising tide of the Rebellion. He assembled all the available forces from Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.\textsuperscript{152} Col. James Neill came from Madras to Calcutta towards the end of May and he was asked to secure Benaras and Allahabad and relieve Kanpur. In June, 1857 he relieved Banars and Allahabad from the insurgents. Neill let loose a reign of terror there. In July, General Henry Havelock, defeated Nana Saheb in a number of engagements. Nana's troops suffered

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., p.36.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., pp.36-37.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., p.37.
an ignominious defeat and Nana fled with his family to the other side of the Ganges.\textsuperscript{153}

Though the British had bungled in the beginning, they regained their superiority within a few months and displayed extraordinary ability in dealing with the conflagration. The British in India were for superior to the rebel leaders in their ideal, general plan, central organization, generalship, strategy and tactics, military skill and discipline of soldiers. The Lawrence brothers - Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, John Lawrence in the Punjab and George Lawrence in Rajputna-rendered eminent services. Havelock, Neil, Outram, Nichdson and Huge Rose provided superior military leadership. In memory of the eminent services rendered by Neill, a statue was erected at Madras.\textsuperscript{154}

However, in Madras City, in the month of August 1927 an agitation was started for the removal of the Neill statue from the Mount Road as it was felt that its retention was an insult to the public.\textsuperscript{155} For Neill was responsible for acts of cruelty against Indians in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.\textsuperscript{156}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., p.37.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., pp.38-39.
\textsuperscript{155} Government of Madras, G.O. No.248, Public (Confidential) Department, dated 13.03.1928.
\textsuperscript{156} MLCP, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 363-381.
\end{flushleft}
A public meeting was held on 18 September 1927 at the Beach of Triplicane under the auspices of the Madras District Congress Committee and the Madras Mahajana Sabha. Satyamurthi, the Prominent Congressman and nationalists moved the following resolution; “This public meeting of the citizens of Madras held under the auspices of the Madras District Congress Committee and the Madras Mahajana Sabha express the opinion that the statue of General Neill in Mount Road Commemorates a man who, whose barbarous, and cowardly acts of revenge do not reserve any recognition in any humane or civilized country and is further and insolent reminder to India of our helplessness and subjection at the hands of foreigners. Another one of this meeting, is that “the statue should be removed forthwith by the Madras Government from public views if it claims to be humane civilized and responsive to public opinion”.  

The proposition consisted of two parts; firstly the public opinion and secondly the duty of the Government. The statue on the Mount Road was an offence to the eyes of the Indians because of the misdeeds of General Neill which embodied the principle of terrorism in British Rule. In the matter of terrorism General Neill to General Dyer was on apostolic succession, if Government and Britishers wanted the co-operation of the Indians their

158. Ibid.
method of terrorising Indians into subjection and slavery, those ancient relics of barbarism and savagery, must disappear. Those insults like Neill’s statue on the Mount Road reminded Indians of their subjection and helplessness.\textsuperscript{159}

Gandhiji writes in Young India that "There is no doubt that the agitation for removing the Neill statue and the like, is likely to increase the feeling of hatred against the English. The reformer seeking to spread non-violence, must take note of the fact and guard against hatred but should not on any account hush the causes of hatred".\textsuperscript{160}

Some Volunteer from Tamilnadu probably inspired by the spirit of the 'Nagpur Arms Satyagraha' being to deface the statue of General Neill which stands opposite Madras club and started a campaign known as the "Neill Statue campaign". Though Gandhiji during his visit to the Madras sponsored the movement the leading local congressmen expressed themselves against it. The defeat of the motion in the Legislative Council for the removal of the statue was significant of the attitude of the responsible section towards the agitation. Speakers of a cheap and low type and men of no repute were behind this movement, and they attracted enthusiastic and immature youths to their ranks. They frequently quarreled over the funds collected for the movement and the personal of the Satyagraha Committee

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{160} Young India, dated 13.10.1927.
often changed. In this Satyagraha sixty-eight volunteers, including a few women and girls offered Satyagraha. Anjalai Ammal and her daughter Ammakkamal participated in Neill Statue Satyagraha 1927. Both of them were arrested. Ammakkamal was left in children’s Home Madras. The rest were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The movement showed signs of languishing as it had neither backing nor following.

Batches of volunteers daily from different parts of the province, offered Satyagraha before the place and attempted to disfigure the statue with tools. They were arrested and given deterrent punishments ranging from one year rigorous imprisonment to simple imprisonment for a few weeks with fines. The Madras Corporation Council passed a resolution demanding its removal. Huge public meetings were organized in which prominent congressmen like S. Satyamurthi spoke against the continuous retention of the statue and resolutions were also passed for its immediate removal from public sight. Mahatma Gandhi also approved the movement. But the Government declined to remove it as the legislative Council passed a resolution in favour of its retention.

Two young men of Madurai came to Madras walked along the Mount Road saw General Neill’s statue were reminded of the atrocities committed by him in India get in axe, a ladder and a chisel, mounted up the high platform, broke one of the strings which held at the sword in one of the hands of the statue. The movement was spreading day by day and the Magistrate was excelling himself by giving disproportionately severe sentences. On young men, women and in some cases children whose motives were beyond question and whose patriotism was beyond praise.¹⁶⁴

One T.G. Lakshmanaswami, a local tailor who figured in the Neill Statue Satyagraha campaign made himself obnoxious, during the early part of the year by making intemperate and objectionable speeches at meetings organized under the auspices of the National Volunteers Corps. Lord Cunningham ordered for the arrest of the tailor and warned him on 1 March 1930.¹⁶⁵

Subsequently, after the inception of the Civil Disobedience Movement T.G. Lakshmanaswami left for the mofussil on a propaganda four in connection with salt Satyagraha and joined the Satyagraha camp at Vedaranyam whose he, however managed to avoid arrest. He returned to the

---


¹⁶⁵. Government of Madras, G.O. No.11, Public (Confidential) Department, dated 09.01.1929.
city sometime back and has been making very objectionable speeches at meetings convened under various auspices.  

Subbarayalu and Saliah, who were arrested of alleged mutilation of statues were brought before His Worshipful Rao Bahadur P. Sambanda Mudaliar, Chief Presidency Magistrate. Hensmen, Engineer, Corporation of Madras, when examined stated that the lost of repairing the statue would be about Rs.300. Next Sergeant Philips deposed that he was on duty near Wellington Cinema, when a Major, who came by that side, informed him of what had taken place.

The first accused on being questioned, put in that the existence of that statue was a disgrace to the country. On reading history, he said that he came to the conclusion that late Neil was worse than Michael O'Dger. So, he took up some tools and mutilated it. He pleaded not guilty and said that I.P.C section 407 cannot be applied to him. The second accused confirmed the statement of the first. His worship ordered them to furnish securities, but the accused refused.

"On a consideration of the prosecution evidence together with the fact that the accused have not chosen to examine any of the prosecution witness and also taking into consideration the statement made by the fourth accused, there is only one conclusion to which I could arrive and that is, the

166. Government of Madras, G.O.No.699 (G), Under Secretary Safe file, dated 09.11.1930.

167. Government of Madras, G.O. No.11, Public (Confidential) Department, dated 13.03.1928.
first three accused are guilty of mischief under section 427 I.P.C. and that the fourth accused, is guilty of the offence of abetment thereof. I find them guilty accordingly. The accused say that they do not like to see the statue of Col. Neill placed there in that place. If that is their opinion, there are legal and peaceful means at their disposal which they are entitled to take to have it removed from its present position. But instead of doing so, they have taken the law into their own hands and committed a crime, they must take the legal consequence thereof. In awarding punishment, I have to take into consideration the fact that a similar crime was committed a few days back and that the accused have deliberately chosen with eyes open to repeat the same. I think I would be wanting in my duty if I do not pass a deterrent sentence. I accordingly sentence each of the accused to rigorous imprisonment for a period of one year, they are also sentenced to pay a fine of Rs.50/- each in default they would undergo imprisonment for a period of three months more. In the event of fine being collected amount would be paid to the corporation.¹⁶⁸

Though the statue was not removed at that time, Nationalists like Satyamurthi were optimistic that the agitation for its removal was bound to succeed and that it would not case until it was removed. They proved right, for exactly ten years later, on 19 November 1937, the statue of Neill was removed to the Museum by the first Congress Ministry headed by Rajaji.¹⁶⁹

As the Non-Co-Operation Movement continued it became clear that the women of Madras were willing to play an active role in the protest movement. Picketing of foreign wine and cloth shops and selling of Khaddar in the streets happened to the main areas of their activities. As regards the limitations and achievements of the Non-Co-Operation Movement, it apparently failed to achieve its object of securing the Khilafat good of the Punjab wrongs. The Swaraj was not attained in a year as promised. Still the retreat that was ordered on 12 February 1922 was only a temporary one. The battle was over, but the war would continue.