

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION – 1994

*Editor*

**Dr. K. R. HANUMANTHAN**

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

10,11 SEPTEMBER 1994

Published under the patronage of **Dr. N. MAHALINGAM**

Chairman, Sakthi group of Companies

101, Mount Road, Guindy,

Madras - 600 032

**AUGUST – 1995**

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**Dr. K.R. Hanumanthan**

General Secretary

Tamil Nadu History Congress

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**Dr. N. MAHALINGAM**

Chairman

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1. S. Kuppusamy  
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2. K.R. Peer Mohammed  
Yakub Hasan – a Biographical Sketch.
3. Dr. Asadulla Khan.  
The first Arab Principality within the Pandyan Empire.
4. S. Muthiah.  
Madras – The Forgotten city.
5. Dr. T. Ambrose Jayasekaran  
A glimpse of Madras during the early part of the 19th Century.
6. Mohana Dasan Pillai  
Sedition Committee Report and the revolutionary crimes in Madras.
7. Dr. Sadanand Patra  
Defence intellectualism in Sivasamy Iyer – A case study of his legislative resolutions.



8. Dr. Md. Koya  
Formation of Malabar as a British district.

## II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

9. Fr. M. Alphonse S.J.  
Paḍma Shri Brother K. V. Peter S.J. – The best Post Master in India
10. Dr. A. Ranjith  
Christian Missionaries and scheduled castes in Tamil Nadu
11. Mrs. Latha Swamy  
Gender bias in certain Hindu Rituals & Practices.
12. Dr. P.N. Premalatha,  
Restoring Women to History and History to Women.
13. P.K. Tripathy  
History of Famines in Ganjam District under Madras Presidency
14. R. Padma Srinivasan  
Hindusthani Seva Dal and its Medical mission to China.
15. Dr. Thomas Edmunds –  
P.G.S. Dinakaran and the impact of his lectures on Society.
16. Dr. T. Kamal  
Policies & Strategies against Female infanticide : Historical perspective
17. Mrs. Nageena Begum  
Socio-Economic life of the Kadars of South India.
18. G. Ramadoss,  
Impact of the multi-purpose irrigation projects on power generation in Tamil nadu.
19. A. Bollam Raju,  
Famine Relief measures in Madras City 1782-1901.
20. K. Vijaya  
Women and productive activities in Tamil Nadu – View through 7th Five Year Plan (1985-90).
21. A. Thennarasu  
A note on Communal Reservation in Tamil Nadu.
22. Mrs. Nirmala Arulprakash  
Concept of Human Rights.

## III ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY

23. K. R. Ramakrishna Rao  
Karanams of the Ancient Tamils.
24. Dr. S. Padmanabhan,  
Buddhism in the district of Kanyakumari (in Tamil).

25. Dr. A. Subramnian & N. R. Chandrasekaran  
Cultural geography of Sankaran Koil Region.
26. M. Valliammal  
Buddhism in Tamil country
27. M. Manikavasagam,  
Varmam & Tamil Culture
28. K. Manamalar  
The cultural legacy of the Marathas of Thanjavur
29. Dr. K. S. Krishnasamy  
Village Gods & Goddesses

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## PREFACE

The first session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, was indeed a grand success. It was well attended by scholars not only from Tamilnadu but also from the neighbouring states such as Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra, who deserve our special thanks for their abiding interest in the history and culture of Tamilnadu. More than sixty research papers were presented in the conference. But the Editorial Board recommended only half of them for immediate publication. I crave the indulgence of the authors of the other half, whose papers could not be published in this volume owing to sheer constraints of space. However, I thank all those who participated in the congress for all the efforts they have taken in preparing their research papers and presenting them in the conference. My special thanks are due to the members of the Editorial Board for patiently and diligently going through all the research papers and evaluating them. I am particularly thankful to Dr. P. Shanmugam for undertaking the arduous task of proof correction and editing of the papers.

Owing to the slender finances of the Congress, I requested Dr. N. Mahalingam to come to our aid in publishing the research papers. Without any second thoughts he immediately, agreed to publish them at his own cost. But for his munificence, the proceedings of the first annual conference would not have seen the light of day. On behalf the Tamilnadu History Congress, I register my deep sense of gratitude and profound thanks to Dr. N. Mahalingam for the generous gesture shown to us. I am very much thankful to the printers for their neat execution, and prompt delivery.

Madras  
25th August 1995

**K. R. HANUMANTHAN**  
(Editor)

## Executive Committee Members and Section Presidents

<b>Patron</b>	Mr. R. Venkataraman (Former President of India)
<b>President</b>	Dr. S. V. Chitti Babu
<b>Vice Presidents</b>	1. Dr. K.V. Raman 2. Mr. P.A. Daiva Sigamani
<b>General Secretary</b>	Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan
<b>Joint Secretaries</b>	1. Dr.P.Shanmugam 2. Prof. B. Ramanathan
<b>Treasurer</b>	Dr. G.J. Sudhakar

### Members :

1. Dr. P. Jagadeesan, Madras
2. Dr. A. Subbiyan, Annmalai Nagar
3. Dr. S. Manickam, Madurai
4. Dr. K. Sadasaivam, Tirunelveli
5. Dr. A. Suryakumari, Kodaikanal
6. Dr. P. Subramanian, Thanjavur
7. Dr. Asha Mohan, Pondicherry
8. Dr. K.L. Karuppusamy, Coimbatore
9. Dr. T. Edmunds, Poraiyar
10. Mr. N. Sethuraman, Kumbakonam

Editor : Dr.K. R. Hanumanthan

### Section Presidents: 1994

- |                          |   |                                      |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Dr. K. Rajayyan       | – | Political and Administrative History |
| 2. Dr. C.E. Ramachandran | – | Social and Economic History          |
| 3. Dr. K. V. Raman       | – | Art and Cultural History             |



# General Secretary's Report

**Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan**

General Secretary

**O**n behalf of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, I place before you the annual report.

## GENESIS

The need for having a separate history association for Tamil Nadu, for mutual exchange of views on History and interaction with like minded associations in the other parts of India such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Punjab etc. was keenly felt by scholars and teachers of history for quite a long time. But no one came forward to start such an organisation. In 1990 an attempt was made in that direction at Rajapalayam but in vain. In 1993, at Coimbatore, Government Arts College the Venue of the 13th South Indian Congress about sixty professors and lovers of history who were assembled under the chairmanship of myself on 10th January 1993 resolved to start an association by name "Tamil Nadu History Congress," with myself as the chief convener and Dr.G. J.Sudhakar from Loyola College as the Secretary cum Treasurer. Thus the congress which is an one year old baby now was at first conceived only at Coimbatore. I am glad to announce here that the Govt. Arts College, Coimbatore headed by Dr. K. L. Karuppasamy, has come forward to create an endowment of Rs.25,000/- in favour of our congress", the interest from which is to be utilised for awarding a prize of Rs.1000/- for a research based lecture on the history of Tamil Nadu to be delivered at the annual session by a renowned scholar of history to be nominated at its

annual session and also to award a prize of Rs.5000/- to the best book on the history of Tamil Nadu published within a period of five years. I hope scholars of history in Tamil Nadu will avail this opportunity and win the award and also do service to the history of Tamil Nadu.

## GROWTH

After its inception on 10-1-93 at Coimbatore, the association went on growing in numbers due to the untiring efforts of the secretary and other members. Owing to their efforts and others the number of members increased to about 200 by June 93. Therefore we wanted to give a legal status to the organization, and organized a special general meeting of the congress on 15.6.93, for that purpose. The meeting unanimously elected the following office bearers to register the society and carry on its administration according to the constitution and bye-laws.

Dr. S.V. Chittibabu, initially a famous Professor of History and later the Director of Collegiate Education, three times Vice Chancellor at Madurai and Annamalai Universities and at present the Vice Chairman of the State Council for Higher Education was elected as the President of our congress. He was kind enough to accept our request, and he is the kingpin of our society at present. Dr. K.V. Raman, a well known scholar in history and the Professor of Ancient history and Archaeology in the University of Madras and Mr. P.A. Daivasigamani, a lawyer and an ardent scholar in history, politics and economics

were elected as Vice-Presidents. Prof. B. Ramanathan of Krishnagiri Govt. Arts College and now a research fellow in the University of Madras and Dr.P. Shanmugam Reader in Ancient History and Archeology in the University of Madras were elected as joint secretaries. Dr.G.J. Sudhakar, Reader in History, Loyola College, Madras who was taking active interest in the congress from its very inception, was elected as the Treasurer, and myself as its General Secretary. Thus the baby of Tamil Nadu History congress was born on 15.6.93 in the Madras University premises.

As authorized by the Executive Committee I registered the society on 25.8.93. Before doing so, I had to cross many hurdles. For example the office of the Sub-Register of Societies refused to register the society in the name of Tamil Nadu History Congress as it resembled the name of a particular political party. Then I had to meet the Inspector General of Societies and Dr. Chittibabu had to convince him of the non political and purely academic nature of the association before getting it registered in the name of Tamil Nadu History Congress, with its own constitution and bye-laws. Thus the baby of Tamil Nadu History Congress was christened at Madras on 25.8.1993.

Later when the Executive Committee met for the first time on 18.9.93, ten more members were recommended for inclusion in the committee in order to give due representation to the various Universities of Tamil Nadu.

1. Dr. P. Jagadeesan  
(University of Madras)
2. Dr. A. Subbiyan  
(Annamalai University)
3. Dr. S. Manickam

(Madurai Kamaraj University)

4. Dr. Asha Mohan,  
(Pondicherry University)
5. Dr. K. L. Karuppaswamy,  
(Bharathiar University)
6. Dr. K. Sadasivam,  
(Manonmaniam Sundaranar University)
7. Dr. P. Subramanian,  
(Tamil University)
8. Dr. A. Suryakumari,  
(Mother Theresa Womens University)
9. Dr. T. Edmunds,  
(Bharathidasan University)
- 10.N. Sethuraman  
Kumbakonam

As decided by the Executive Committee the subscription fee was raised from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 for annual membership; Rs.200 to 300 for life membership, Rs. 500 to 750 for institutional membership and Rs. 1000 and more for Donors. In the Executive Committee meeting held on 24.11.93 it was also decided to have the inauguration of the Congress during December 93. Accordingly the congress was grandly inaugurated on 14th Dec. 93 by Mr.R. Venkataraman, former President of India who also kindly agreed to be the patron of the congress. Dr.Navalar Nedunchezian, Hon'ble Minister for Finance presided and delivered the Presidential Address, while Dr. Muthukumaran, the Vice Chancellor of Bharathidasan University felicitated. Dr.S.V. Chittibabu, General President welcomed the gathering, Dr. G.J. Sudhakar compered, Prof. B. Ramanathan read the messages and Dr.K.R. Hanumanthan, the Secretary proposed the vote of thanks.

At the 3rd Executive Committee meeting held on 23.2.94, it was decided to have

the annual session on 10th and 11th September as proposed by Dr. P. Jagadeesan who came forward to take up the local Secretaryship and conduct the session on behalf of the History Dept. of the University of Madras. Dr.K.Rajayyan, Dr.C.E. Ramachandran and Dr. K.V.Raman were selected as Section Presidents of I. Political and Administrative History, II. Social and Economic History and III. Art and Cultural History sections.

I am proud to tell you that the membership of the congress had crossed the figure 500 of whom 120 are life members and five are donors. Mr. R. Venkataraman has been kind enough to be our patron.

#### **OBJECTIVES AS PER BYE-LAWS:**

- a. To promote the study of history as a separate discipline in all the educational institutions of Tamil Nadu.
- b. To encourage micro-level research in the local history of Tamil Nadu in such a way as to plug the loopholes in it.
- c. To promote multi-disciplinary approach for the solution of the riddles of the history of India in general and Tamil Nadu in particular.
- d. To co-ordinate the research work going on in the various parts of Tamil Nadu in order to avoid overlapping.
- e. To suggest improvements in the quality of teaching, content of syllabus and research in History.
- f. To bring out the glory of Tamil culture and disseminate it throughout India and the world.
- g. To bring under one umbrella all those who are interested in the pursuit of historical studies, in Tamil Nadu.
- h. To undertake all other activities which are deemed necessary for the protec-

tion and promotion of the cause of history in general and history of Tamil Nadu in particular.

#### **ACTIVITIES TO BE TAKEN IN FURTHERENCE OF THE OBJECTIVES:**

- a. To collect and conserve fresh source materials in History.
- b. To consolidate the new research discoveries made all over Tamil Nadu and make them available to scholars for revising and rewriting the history of India in general and of Tamil Nadu in particular.
- c. To organise an Annual Session of the Congress in order to provide a forum for budding young scholars to present research findings in English as well as Tamil.
- d. To bring out a bi-lingual (Tamil & English) journal to publish the best articles presented in the Annual Congress session.
- e. To organise, if necessary, special seminars and workshops to resolve the riddles of history especially that of Tamil Nadu, after dispassionate discussion among scholars.
- f. To collaborate with the other Indian and foreign scholars in historical research and enrich our knowledge of history.
- g. To encourage the writing of books on the history of Tamil Nadu and arrange for the release of such books during annual conferences.
- h. To honour historians and senior teachers of history in Tamil Nadu.

#### **WORK UNDERTAKEN TO REALIZE OUR OBJECTIVES**

The Congress is open to all lovers of history irrespective of their basic degree



and residence; it is there for the protection and promotion of the study and research in history-in general and history of Tamil Nadu in particular. The association is there to promote micro as well as macro history. We want to give more emphasis to socio economic and cultural histories than mere political history. Of course we want to bestow more attention on the history and culture of Tamil Nadu and rewrite its history in detail. We also propose to conduct a series of seminars and symposiums to improve the quality of teaching History. We want to encourage the writing of micro level and macro level history of Tamil Nadu for which rewards will

be bestowed with the help of the endowment recently created by the Govt. Arts College, Coimbatore.

Our chief object of providing a forum for our scholars, especially youngsters, to present research papers either in English or Tamil in an Annual Conference has been more than achieved by this conference.

In short we want to create a congenial climate for the history students and research scholars of Tamil Nadu, to achieve excellence in their pursuits in such a way as to reach the national and international standards. Let us all strive our best to worship and serve Clio, the Muse of history to the best of our ability.

---

## Inaugural Function on 14th Dec '93

### INAUGURAL ADDRESS

**Mr. R. Venkataraman,**  
former President of India

**H**on'ble Minister Thiru. Nedunchezian, Dr.Chitti Babu, Dr. Avvai Natarajan, Dr. Muthukumaran and Friends

I have pleasure in inaugurating the Tamil Nadu History Congress. When I was invited to participate in this function by Shri Chitti Babu, I felt the conference aims at fulfilling a felt want.

Right upto the fifties, the emphasis in the University education and post-graduate research was more on the humanities than on the sciences. This is partly due to the hangover of system of education which Macaulay had initiated and was developed in the century that followed.

With the attainment of Independence, the need for modernising our production infrastructure and techniques and additional inputs based on scientific research were found necessary to cope with the needs and objectives of the planned development of the country. New science courses and faculties, institutes of technology and engineering institutions and polytechnics were needed to train skilled personnel who can be utilised in industry as well as in Government developmental programmes. I myself as the Minister in charge of Technical Education in the sixties in Madras had laid great emphasis on this aspect of our education and had tried to bring together the academic institutions and industrial establishments to understand and cater to each other's requirements.

It is however to be regretted that the pendulum has swung too far. Commercial studies syllabi and accounting, besides the scientific engineering and technical courses have claimed too large a proportion of our young minds. Consequently, arts and humanities like history and literature have no takers. The number of students voluntarily offering themselves for such courses in any institution can almost be counted in finger tips.

Another curious tendency is also noticeable. If we analyse the proportion of the candidates offering or getting selected for the Higher Administrative Service of the country including the Police in the earlier period after Independence say, in the forties and fifties the students who have taken degrees in humanities were far larger than those who have taken sciences. But latterly the number of engineering and even medical graduates appearing for the Administrative Services is increasing because of the greater prestige and popular attraction and perhaps the higher emoluments that are attached to these Services compared to those engaged in the medical or engineering professions.

Whatever may be the reason I am afraid that this is not a healthy trend. There has to be a balance between arts and science intakes between attainment in humanities and technical qualifications. If the technical education confers skill, the humanities also play a part in training the mind towards developing a historical per-

spective and learning lessons for life. I would therefore consider that one of the primary objects of the Congress to promote the study of history as a separate discipline in all the educational institutions in Tamil Nadu is a welcome emphasis placed on the need of the hour.

The second objective of the Congress is to promote research at the micro level. In a vast country like India there has to be a series of micro level studies before a macro presentation of the major trends in history of the country could be discerned and projected. Otherwise the historiography may remain stagnant. I feel that, in this respect Tamil Nadu has a large area left for original investigation. I am aware that investigation is essentially conditioned by the availability of material and evidence. The large corpus of inscriptions in our temple walls and elsewhere had attracted the earlier historians and epigraphists. In fact, a whole department was organised from 1886 onwards and it was built assiduously by great scholars.

Naturally, the analysis and extraction of inferences from the epigraphic data was the pre-occupation of the historians of South India from the time of S. Krishnaswami Iyengar. It was given to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri to harness the wealth of this material and present a well structured account of the history of the Cholas and the Pandyas. This has been followed up by further critical analysis and extraction of data and conclusions based thereon. The work was ably done by pioneers like Appadurai on aspects sketched by Prof. Sastri. Contemporary contributions from Japanese scholars like Noboro Karashima and by R. Thirumalai, IAS(Retd.) have enriched our knowledge of the social and economic conditions of townships of the Chola and the Pandya times.

However there are other areas which are equally important and which merit investigation. The history of Tamil Nadu prior to 7th Century is still largely based

on the 'Sangam' literature. Pre-historic conditions of this ancient part of our country are still to be worked out in fuller details. One reason for this is the inadequacy of archaeological excavations and explorations and material evidence on which the reconstruction of the history of the times could be done. I would earnestly plead both with the academic institutions as well as the Government that provisions should be made for more systematic and sustained archaeological exploration and excavations in Tamil Nadu.

Numismatics is another branch which should receive greater attention. Inadequacy of material cannot be very much pleaded in this branch of our source material. Large collections of coins are lying without classification, analysis, and study in the vaults of our Museums. It should be possible to further add to the volume of coinage from private collections. This is a source-material waiting to be harnessed to fuller study and in-depth research.

In fact the coinage referred to in the inscriptions like 'Akkam' and 'Kasu' have to be identified from the coinage collection and correlated, especially between the inscriptional evidence and the numismatic data. I trust the Congress will address itself to this aspect of our information gap in the history of Tamil Nadu.

I would also invite attention to a third sphere where research is inadequate. The post-Chola period right up to the emergence of the Vijayanagar Empire when, perhaps, Tamil Nadu was held by several local chieftains would merit attention. An account of the history of the different tracts like the Thiruvadi chieftains and Kongu Cholas and the Later Pandyas can be attempted. Inscriptional evidence also can be more fully harnessed. What is available is only a sketchy history in the last chapter on the Later Pandyas in Prof. Sastri's pioneering work. It gives a lead. But it will require to be worked out in fuller detail.



The same observation will also apply to the several Nayak principalities that had emerged in Tamil Nadu in the post-Vijayanagar period. Sathyanatha Iyer's work on the Nayaks of Madurai could easily be replicated in respect of several other principalities like Tanjore, Gingee and Tiruchirapalli. The short-lived Muslim dynasty in Madurai has also some original source material available.

Lack of material however, cannot be pleaded for reconstructing in a fuller manner the modern phase of the history of Tamil Nadu.

The Tamil Nadu Archives are easily the most reputed and well maintained treasure-house of original records, not only of the British administration, but also of the Dutch and the French. Material in French are also available in Pondicherry. The Central Department of Archives also have acquired the archival records of the erstwhile Zamindaries like Ramanathapuram. They can be analysed to bring out the economic impact of change in administration, the land tenures, and sub-tenures and the rate of rentals and the general impact they had on the agrarian population. To study all these original material, a knowledge of the languages French or Dutch or Tamil is essential. Without that knowledge it will be impossible to do any original work. Necessary facilities have to be provided for learning not only those foreign languages but also Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit for exploring the hidden wealth.

A similar approach to the Jesuit records mostly in Portuguese will be rewarding. The early Jesuit Fathers used to periodically report on the political, social and economic conditions in Tamil Nadu to the Pope. This correspondence, I understand,

are well preserved and available in the Vatican and in Spain. We should stretch our arms to these far off places where original records are available and harness the data to portray the actual conditions in Tamil Nadu from the 17th to 19th Centuries.

Indian history today is a chronicle of dynasties. There is no mention of contemporary life and times in other parts of India. We deal with the Maurya dynasty or the Gupta dynasty but nothing is said about contemporary conditions in other parts of India. I would therefore suggest that a history of India be written century by century describing the conditions throughout the country in this Century. If no material is available about some parts of the country at a given time in the history of the century, it may be so stated so that other scholars may try to fill the gap and research may be directed to that area. I had once made this suggestion to the Indian History Congress but I am not sure if any attention had been given to it.

Above all, the historian has to be true to fact. Fidelity to the evidence and to the critical reasoning applied to the evidence are the tools without which the historian cannot be a craftsman. This pre-supposes all a *priori* notions should be eschewed and we cannot proceed from our prior notions and canvass evidence in support. On the contrary, we should be prepared to go through the evidence and lend ourselves to be led by it to whatever inference it may culminate in.

I trust that this Congress will generate interest and zest for this work and that it will devote itself to areas which are only waiting to be explored and unravelled. I wish the Congress all success.

## Inaugural Function on 14th Dec 1993

### FELICITATION ADDRESS

**Dr. S. Muthukumaran**

Vice Chancellor, Bharathidasan University,  
Tiruchirappalli, Tamilnadu.

I am indeed happy to associate myself with the inauguration of the Tamil Nadu History Congress and felicitate the members of the Congress. There are two reasons for my happiness: one, in this part of the country, there is not much of an awareness for the relevance of history and consequently, history is not a subject in which our students are interested. Secondly, the history of this part of the world has not been properly written mainly because of the fact that there is not an awareness among the Tamils about the necessity to write their history properly. I hope that this Congress will bring in the necessary awareness among the citizens of this part of the world about the relevance of history and the necessity to study history, thereby resulting in attracting our people to take to research in this field and for the preparation of the true history of the Tamil speaking peoples.

What is the use of studying history?

To this question, the following reply was given by Arthur Marwick (1970) :

"..... to suggest that they try to imagine what everyday life would be like in a society in which no one knew any history. Imagination boggles, because it is only through knowledge of its history that a society can have knowledge of itself. As a man without memory and self-knowledge is a man adrift, so a society without memory (or more correctly, without recollection) and self-knowledge would be a society adrift."

When the students and the public ask, "Why history?", "What are we supposed

to be getting out of reading history?", the answer to these was given by Paul Gagnon (1988) : the study of history best prepared the student to exert a salutary influence upon the affairs of the country and that the study of history also gives us the invaluable mental power called judgement. We know that judgement is required for practising all professions whether it is medical, legal or even if it is in the field of sports. As a matter of fact, judgement is required for all citizens. Further, the study of history will definitely raise the level of the political debates in any country because by studying history one is able to know where the tools of the Government are and how to wield them. The study of history develops in the students a sense of share with humanity, to understand themselves and also understand others by learning how they resemble and how they differ from us over a period of time and space. It also makes us understand that ignorance of the past may make us prisoners of it; to realise that not all problems have solution; to be prepared for the irrational, the accidental in human affairs and to grasp the power of ideas and character in history. In order to prepare an individual to lead the life of a good citizen it is necessary to teach him how to face bad times. The question is not whether they will remember the right phrases; but whether they will turn the words into practice when they feel wrongly treated or fear for their freedom and security, or when authorities and the well-placed in the public or private sector appear to flout every value which is taught

in the educational institutions. One has to know how free societies have responded to crises in the past; how free societies have acted to defend themselves in bad times; why have some societies fallen and others stood fast? Citizens need to tell one another, before it becomes too late, what sacrifices are to be borne and comforts given up, to preserve freedom, justice and the civilization.

Every book which deals with the history of Tamil Nadu or the history of South India is based on literatures available in Sanskrit and other languages. It is not based on any literature in Tamil. It is unfortunate that we are willing to believe whatever is written in English or in some other language. But we are not willing to accept the truth that is found in our literature and traditions. For instance, our literature clearly indicates that the Pandya King established a Sangam known as the First Tamil Sangam. This existed at Madurai for 4440 years. Then, the city where the Sangam was established was submerged in the sea and the Capital of the Pandya Kingdom was shifted towards North and it was established in a new town by name Kapadapuram. The second Tamil Sangam existed in this new place for 3700 years. When there was again a submergence of the new city by the sea, the Capital was shifted to the present location of Madurai. The Third Tamil Sangam existed at this place for 1850 years. We are able to establish now that the Third Tamil Sangam must have

existed till the 2nd Century A.D. It should, therefore, be possible to do further research to establish the truth by scientific methods. The Tamil Calendar also indicates that the present year is 5094. With the advance in Science, especially in climatology, it should be possible today to definitely establish by scientific method when all the water level in the seas known now as Indian Ocean must have raised and lowered in the last ten thousand or twenty thousand years. Such studies have been conducted in the other seas. Our younger generation should take interest and we should also encourage them to conduct research into the various statements made in our old literatures and also in the inscriptions that are found in the various temples of our land, so that the real antiquity and history of the Tamil speaking peoples is established beyond all doubts and in a manner that is acceptable to the Historians of the world. Only then we the Tamils as well as the rest of the world will know our real history and we can also be proud of our achievements and we can move towards a great future.

I do hope that this Congress will lead to a better awareness of the need and relevance of history and will kindle the interest of our younger generation to take to research in history of this region.

I once again felicitate all those who are responsible for establishing this Congress.

Thank you,



## **GIST of the Address delivered by Dr. Navalar V. R. Nedunchezian, Hon'ble Minister for Finance on 10th Sept. 1994**

Inaugurating the first annual session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, Dr. Navalar V.R. Nedunchezian, Hon'ble Minister for Finance said that research findings should not be confined to book shelves, but must be serialised in newspapers or journals.

He further said "presently, although history was being taught in the universities, there was not much research in the discipline. The study of history should help in social and economic decision making. History, by teaching how things were in the

past, not only enabled us in understanding the present, but also helped us in deciding how things ought to be in future.

The discipline must not be merely a narrative history of Kings, and Queens but a comprehensive history of economic, literary, artistic and other developments. The Tamil Nadu Government is prepared to part-finance a historical research on Tamil history, culture and language" He announced that the Government was prepared to bear between 50 and 75 per cent of the total cost of the study.

## Report of the General Secretary

The first Annual session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress was held at the University of Madras, on 10th & 11th September 1994. Dr. S. V. Chittibabu, Vice-Chairman of the State Council for Higher Education as well as the Executive president of the Tamil Nadu History Congress presided over the function during the morning session on 10th Sept. 1995. Dr. P. Jagadeesan, local Secretary and Head of the Dept. of Indian History, University of Madras welcomed the gathering. Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan the General Secretary presented the annual Report. Dr. Navalar V. R. Nedunchezian, Hon'ble Minister of Finance inaugurated the conference and delivered the Inaugural address. Dr. S. V. Chittibabu delivered the Presidential address. Dr. Avvai Natarajan Vice – Chancellor of Tamil University, Prof. K. Rajaratnam, Director of the Centre for Research on New International Economic Order, Mr. R. Krishnamoorthy, Editor, *Dinamalar* and President of the Tamil Nadu Numismatic Society, Mr. V. V. Nathan Convenor of the Madras University Syndicate, Dr. Muthukumaran former Vice Chancellor of Bharathidasan University and Thiru M. Nandagopal Managing Director of Mohan Breweries and Distillers Ltd. Madras, offered felicitations. Dr. C. Venkatesan former Dy. Director of Collegiate Education proposed a vote of thanks. With that the morning session came to a close.

During the afternoon the sectional meetings were held. The Political and Administrative History section was held in the Prof. Krishnasamy Iyengar Hall. As Dr. K. Rajayyan, the Section President could not attend the conference owing to indisposition Dr. S. Manickam was requested to chair the section and conduct the proceed-

ings. He readily accepted the request and conducted the sectional meeting, Myself and the Executive Committee place on record our deep sense of gratitude and profound thanks to him for his timely help. The Social and Economic History section was held at Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Hall. Dr. C. E. Ramachandran presided over the section and delivered his presidential address extempore. Dr. K. V. Raman presided over the cultural history section at Prof. K. K. Pillai hall and delivered his Presidential Address. During the evening there was a cultural programme jointly organised by students and staff members of the International institute of Tamil studies, Womens' Christian College, Loyola College and Ethiraj College. The Congress is much indebted to them for their excellent performance.

The second day (11th Sept.) was utilised for the sectional meetings. During the noon the Executive Committee meeting of the Congress was held.

The General body meeting was held in the evening under the chairmanship of Dr. S. V. Chittibabu. He delivered an inspiring lecture on how to teach history interestingly. The General Secretary traced the origin and growth of the congress and the trials and tribulations he had to undergo in nurturing the infant organisation. He thanked the local secretary and the donors for making the Annual Session a grand success.

The following resolutions were passed by the General Body.

1. Resolved that the authorities concerned shall be requested to introduce History as one of the main subjects of study in the schools and colleges.

2. Resolved that the Universities which have no separate P.G. Depts. of History shall be requested to open such departments in them.
3. Resolved that History, especially the History of Tamil Nadu, shall be made a compulsory subject of study even for science Engineering & Medical Courses.
4. Resolved that History of Madras or the local history of the city where a university is situated be included as one of the optional subjects prescribed in the M. A. Syllabus.

The Registrar of the University of Madras  
Dr. P. Govindarajulu delivered the Valedic-

tory Address which harped upon the importance of the study of medical history and such other socio economic topics. Mr. Daivasigamani, Vice President welcomed him and the gathering. Dr. P. Jagadeesan the local secretary replied to the sentiments expressed by the General President and General Secretary of the Congress towards him. He thanked all the donors who gave liberal donations and his students, and research scholars who helped him in organising the first session successfully well. The meeting came to an end after the General Secretary proposed a vote of thanks.

**Dr. K.R. Hanumanthan**  
General Secretary



## General President's Address

Prof. Dr. S. V. Chittibabu

Hon'ble Dr. Nedunchezhiyan, Finance Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. Gopalakrishnan, Chairman, Indian Bank, Thiru. V.V. Nathan, Convener, Syndicate of Madras University, Distinguished Vice-Chancellor Dr. Avvai Natarajan, Registrar Dr. Govindarajulu, Thiru R. Krishnamurthy, Thiru. Nandagopal, Prof. Rajarathnam, Dr. Hanumanthan, Dr. Jagadeesan, Learned Members of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I, as the President of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, deem it an honour to have been called upon to preside over this First Annual Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, which, as you are aware, was recently constituted and inaugurated by our esteemed former President of India Thiru. R. Venkataraman and blessed by Dr. Navalar way back in December last.

This is the first Annual Session of the Congress which is being held under the auspices of the Department of Indian History of the University of Madras. Prof. Jagadeesan is the local Secretary who has been entrusted with the work of organising this Conference on behalf of the Tamil Nadu History Congress of which Dr. Hanumanthan is the General Secretary.

The object with which this institution has been set up is to see to it that in the treatment of South Indian History the contributions of Tamil Nadu in the shaping of the political, social, economic and cultural ethos of the South right from prehistoric times to the present day are duly understood and appreciated by historians and historiographers. In the past the South was marginalised while Indian history was reconstructed. This neglect was pointed out not only by some of our own South Indian scholars but also by such foreign

historians as Vincent Smith himself who had rightly remarked: "Hitherto most historians of ancient India have written as if the South did not exist". To quote an eminent scholar historian Prof. Sundaram Pillai, "the scientific historian of India ought to begin his study with the basin of Krishna, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai, rather than with the Gangetic plain, as has been too long the fashion". It is admitted now that books on Indian history written in the past did not place adequate accent on South Indian culture and that the imbalance in what may be called the Gangetic Valley bias continues in the writings of Indian history by north Indian scholars. However in the last few decades there has been an increase in the depth and richness of the understanding of the historical materials now available which point to the ancientness of the Dravidian culture and the Tamil language and literature.

Tamil Nadu History Congress has not been brought into being as a rival to the South Indian History Congress which was formed in 1980 with a view to providing a forum for historians who are interested in promoting historical studies on South India. The presently constituted Tamil Nadu History Congress is not to be looked upon as a breakaway group from the South Indian History Congress. The objectives of the Tamil Nadu History Congress are, specifically speaking, to promote historical studies on Tamil Nadu and identify the significant role played by the Tamils in particular with reference to the course of South Indian History in general. I personally feel that both the South Indian History Congress and the Tamil Nadu History Congress can function

with a union of purpose and with their sights set on the common goal of restoring South Indian History to its legitimate place of importance in the Indian History setting. In this task let the crucial principle of history laid down by Neibuhr and Ranke, the two great commanding figures in modern historiography be a guide for our historians viz. "In laying down the pen, we must be able to say, 'I have not knowingly nor without earnest investigation written anything which is not true.'" Moral judgement as well as various inferences are welcome no doubt and even necessary, only when the facts are established with a thoughtful concern for truth only, without being influenced by any preconceived judgement. The advice given by Pollard deserved to be recalled. "We should not indeed allow our politics to contaminate our history but we should use our historical sense to purify our politics."

#### **History vs other Fields of Study:**

Prof. Trevelyan says that history is not a subject at all but a mansion in which all subjects dwell. This statement is but indicative of the comprehensive nature of history which encompasses the multi-faceted development of the people covering the political, religious, literary, scientific and cultural aspects of their lives. It is no exaggeration to say that everything has its history and every theme needs to be presented in a historical framework. For this very reason it will not be difficult to relate history to other subjects in the curriculum.

History and geography are inter-linked as they deal with the time factor and the space factor in the history of mankind. Thus the course of Indian history in general and that of Tamilagam in particular have in a large measure been determined by the geography of our sub-continent. Each of the territorial units into which the hand of nature divides the country has a distinct tale of its own to tell.

Social studies reveal to us where we are in time, space and society and the relationship that binds the present with the future and the personal and national life with the lives and culture of other people elsewhere in time and space. As historians, we, while propounding our thesis, should take cognizance of the value of a unified presentation of knowledge with special reference to the study of inter-relations between geographical, historical, social, economic and cultural aspects of man's life. Then again history and literature go hand in hand. Different branches of literature-prose works, poetry, dramas, fiction, travelogues, diaries, hagiology – all these are products of history and as such they have to be used as materials to support some of our historical conclusions.

#### **The Rationale of Inter-disciplinary Approach**

One of the recent trends noted in the field of historical research is the adoption of the technique of inter-disciplinary approach. In as much as research in history is taking on more comprehensive dimensions than before, an inter-disciplinary approach is becoming necessary to tackle the nitty-gritty of some of the complex problems faced by the historian. As observed by Prof. Tarasankar Banerjee, "the political historian, the social historian and the economic historian can go hand in hand with the cultural anthropologist as well as the sociologist." But then the temptation to resort to the use of phrases and technical expressions, that is to say, the prestigious symbols of allied disciplines without relevance may generate more confusion in historical analysis and understanding. One is reminded of the caution sounded by a modern historian who has said, "we can beg, borrow or steal terms and concepts from other disciplines, but we must not go beyond that and dehumanise history in our effort to appropriate prestigious symbols"



It is therefore imperative that our historical studies should have their proper rapport with other disciplines like geography, social studies, economics, literature, etc.

### **OBJECTIVITY IN HISTORY :**

The problem of maintaining objectivity in the writing of history is of considerable importance in understanding the process of history. History is a record of the past and a record implies a recorder whose perceptions and convictions will influence his narration. There is the claim that history too is in a sense a science depending on the view that a historian can be objective. But can he be truly objective? The truth of the matter is that in one respect absolute impartiality seems to be not possible because the historian is a narrator and he scans the past from a certain angle or viewpoint. He cannot just write with no point of view and should he attempt such an account, it would smack of insipidness and fail to serve its purpose. Dilthey, an eminent historian believed that the study of human nature would play a notable role in historical explanation. Even like an artist, the historian cannot but give expression to his personality in his work. Walsh has this to say: "The artist is not content only to have and express his emotions; he wants also to communicate what he takes to be a certain vision or insight into the nature of things and would claim truth and objectivity for his work for that very reason". This parallel between the work of the artist and the historian is very valuable for a proper understanding of historical objectivity.

### **THE WHY OF REGIONAL HISTORY :**

Since Independence there has been the urge on the part of Indian historians to develop the idea of regional or local history with a view to setting aright the British Indian historiography's conceptualisation of the entire India as "one unit or entity vis-a-vis the centre of power". Under the influence of the British rulers there was

over-emphasis on macro-history of India being written with the Rajputs, the Mah-rathas or the Sikhs being regarded as the erstwhile indigeneous powers who alone needed to be dealt by the alien masters. Regional or local history, therefore, received scant attention. Curiously enough the Indian Nationalist Movement awakened a sense of awareness of the need to recognise the part played by regional history. And in the post-Independence period a genuine desire to know more intimately and completely the trials and tribulations, the triumphs and failures, the aspirations and achievements of the peoples of different regions of India gained increasing intensity. Unfortunately some historians appear to have been seized by the apprehension that the very concept of regional history may sow seeds of separatism leading to the disruption of national unity. But the point is, as been rightly observed by enlightened modern Indian historians, it is an erroneous impression in some quarters.... that regional studies encourage parochialism, local chauvinism and sectarian aggressiveness, ultimately ending in national dis-integration. Perhaps this apprehension and even suspicion can be allayed if only the scope of regional or local history is clearly defined and its goal identified without prevarication. One must remember that regional histories like the history of Tamil Nadu are but constituents of a macro-history of India.

### **SOME TASKS FOR THE TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS :**

#### **(i) Certain Yet-to-be Resolved Riddles**

(a) **Kumarikandam :** The racial origin of the Tamils continues to be a contentious issue. Were the Tamils autochthons of the Tamilagam of historical times or were they immigrants from outside? The so-called Lemurian theory which, for want of time, I do not propose to amplify is only too well-known to you. What I wish to say is that it deserves greater consideration than it has been given in the past. In view of



further explorations of the Indian Ocean and the adjoining seas, the Lemurian theory is no longer treated as either fantastic or speculative in character. There are scholars like Dr. N. Mahalingam who strongly believe that the Dravidians were the original inhabitants of Lemuria and that they must have moved gradually following a huge deluge to South India as early as 50,000 B.C. The late Prof. K.A. Nilkanta Sastri, as you know, pooh-poohed this thesis as a bizarre guess prompted by 'patriotism calculated to deny all foreign origins and connections'. Great archaeologists like Leaky and Prof. Burrow do not lend any support to his contention. Even so Scott Elliot and Sir Walter Raleigh are of the opinion that Lemuria was the original homeland of the Dravidians - an opinion that chimes well with the Tamil tradition that their ancestors lived at a very early time far out in the southern sea, where, it is believed, the first of the three Sangams flourished. Prof. Hackel also in his "*History of Creation*" and "*Pedigree of Man*" calls Lemuria or *Kumarikandam* as the cradle of mankind. Father Heras too, it may be recalled, declares that when Lemuria went under the sea, its inhabitants spread out and settled themselves in Africa, Mesopotamia, Europe and China where they propagated their culture. Panmozipulavar Ka. Appadorai in his '*Kumarikandam*' says that the first two Sangams were located at Ten Madurai and Kapadapuram in the lost *Kumarikandam*. The seat of the first Sangam was on the banks of the river Pahruli and its patron was Pandian Nediyan. When Ten Madurai was swallowed by the sea, he moved north and set up the second Sangam at Kapadapuram. When the second deluge drowned Kapadapuram, the Pandiyan King set up his capital at Manavur which too subsequently got submerged, forcing him to move on to Vadamadurai (present Madurai) where the Third Sangam was established. Sir J.E. Tennet in his '*History of Lanka*' speaks of

these deluges, one before 2000 B.C., another in 600 B.C. and the third in 400 B.C. All these deluges, he says happened in historic times. Contratov, the Russian author of "*Riddles of the Three Oceans*" more or less upholds the theory that mankind must have originated in the lost Lemuria. One finds in Iraiyanar Agapporul, Silappadikaram, etc. literary evidences to support the above argument. Dr. S.K. Chatterjee, a renowned authority on Pre-historic culture, states that "there is evidence, both direct and indirect that in Central India, in North India and in Western India and possibly also in Eastern India, Dravidian was at one time fairly widespread". Perhaps some more oceanographic and anthropological studies would finally clinch the issue in favour of the above generally accepted view.

#### **(b) The Conundrum of the Indus Valley Script :**

An objective approach indicates clearly that the Indus Valley culture was non-Aryan and pre-Aryan in character. Most of the arguments in support of this theory, as you know, have been presented with admirable force of scholarship by Father Heras in his path-breaking work on the Indus Valley Civilisation. He read old Tamil straightaway into the Indus Valley inscriptions citing a few words like *an*, *ur*, *vel*, etc. Dr. Mathivanan seeks to establish that the Indus Valley Script is the same as old Tamil script. He quotes Indra Bala of Yazhpanam who has discovered a seal which has a word '*Theevu Ko*' in the Indus Valley script and Brahmi script. In Tamil Nadu Brahmi script had been used for writing Tamil words. Iravatham Mahadevan calls it Tamili. Dr. Nagaswami and Sathur Sekharan too endorse it. Perhaps some more investigations are necessary to identify all the signs in the Indus Valley inscriptions indubitably.

The Indus Valley script is considered to be Dravidian or Tamil by Hunter (England), Marshall, Corana (Russia) and Asko

Parpola (Finland). Iravatham Mahadevan claims that it is pre-eminently Dravidian and related to old Tamil. However he has not been able to interpret the entire body of inscriptions because the script is pictographic. A copper seal found at Anaikottai in Yazhpanam contains both Brahmi and Indus scripts. Both are pictographic. Dr. B.B. Lal (ASI), and Dr. S. Gurumurthy of Madras University say that potsherds found in Tamil Nadu bear a script which is similar to the Indus script. The rock paintings discovered at Kilvalai in Ramaswamy Padayachiar District contain certain pictorial letters similar to those seen in the Indus Valley seals. In excavations made by Dr. Subbarayalu of Tamil University, Thanjavur at Kodumanal near Erode some potsherds were gathered containing characters similar to those we come across in the Indus Valley. Even so Tamil Jain inscriptions found at Kongarpuliyankulam in Madurai District and also some inscriptions found in Sri Lanka bear similarities to the Indus Valley script. Dr. R. Mathivanan too has identified Indus Valley characters in certain rock paintings of our Tamil Nadu. The contention of Sathur Sekharan is that the Tamil Vatteluthu and Tamil Brahmi have been evolved from the Indus Valley script. Natana Kasinathan points out the following striking similarities as between Tamil Civilisation and the Indus Valley Civilisation which deserve to be noted.

1. Both are urban in character
2. Both have used mud and burnt bricks for buildings
3. The script and letter resemble very much
4. Sakthi and Pasupathi are common deities
5. In both writing is seen to be from right to left
6. Horse was not known to both
7. Forts, granaries and great baths are seen in both

8. No yaga kundas are seen in either civilisation

9. Soapstone is commonly used for carving out animals like the humped bull, rhinoceros, camel, dog, man and birds.

As Dr. K.K. Pillay says, the time is not yet come when the identification of all the signs in the Indus Valley inscriptions can be indubitably established. The best that can be done is to examine further the parallelism with known scripts and languages and to finally determine the most likely language which can be fitted into it. In the light of the researches so far made it can at best be said that there is a great probability that the Indus Valley people were Proto-Dravidians and Proto-Tamils.

### **(c) The Age of the Tolkappiam :**

According to tradition the Tolkappiam is the oldest among extant Tamil works. But some scholars have attempted to fix its date with reference to the date of Panini, the Sanskrit grammarian. George Hart believes it to belong to the fifth century AD. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai too assigns it a post-Sangam date. But there seems to be no basis for propounding a theory like this. As Dr. Arokiaswami has shown, the diction of the Tolkappiam is about the most archaic known to students of Tamil. Many grammatical usages permitted by Tolkappiam do not find a place in any of the available anthologies of the Sangam literature. Many grammatical prohibitions listed in Tolkappiam are seen to be not taken note of in Sangam literature. This should positively and negatively prove the high antiquity of this prescriptive grammar and system of poetics. There are some scholars who would attribute this work to 10000 B.C. Anyway the question of fixing the age of Tolkappiam on definitive lines would need to be tackled in greater depth.

### **(d) The Kalabhra Interregnum :**

The few centuries succeeding the Sangam Age upto the revival of the Pandyan power in the extreme south and



the rise of Pallavan imperialism of Kanchi are being regarded as constituting a period of darkness in the history of Tamilagam. A lot has been written on this question and yet there are some baffling points to be met by scholars. In this connection it may be noted that a few inscriptions recently discovered in Tamil country have come to throw some light on this problem. One is a long inscription in Tamil and Vatteluthu from Pulankurichi in the Ramanathapuram District which speaks of one Chendan Kurran and some aspects of his administration. Different theories about the identification of the Kalabhras have been advanced by writers like M. Raghava Iyengar and Sathianathaier that the Kalabhras or Kalappirar were the same as Kalavar who ruled over Venkatam. T.A. Gopinatha Rao identifies them with the Muttaraiyar who belonged to the stock of the Kalabhras who enfeebled the Chera, Chola and Pandya Kings and became wealthy. Natana Kasinathan, the present Director of Archaeology, recently discovered an inscription dated 5th century A.D. at Adanur and by studying this piece of evidence he seeks to identify the Pulli chieftain beyond Tirupati with the Kalabhras. Whatever it be, it would appear that the Kalabhra interregnum would need more convincing explanations from researchers like you.

**(e) There are several other open-ended issues to be cleared such as**

- i. Recent under - sea archaeological explorations at Kaveripumpattinam and Cape Comorin.
- ii. The origin of the Pallavas.
- iii. The Pandyas of the First Empire in the extreme South and the Pallavas of Tondaimandalam from 900 A.D.
- iv. The role of the Feudatories of the Pallavas.
- v. The last phase of Chola Imperialism.
- vi. The history of the Cholas of Vengi.
- vii. The Pandyas of the Second Empire

(Dr. K.V. Raman and Mr. N. Sethuraman have done commendable studies on this subject)

- viii. The Re-emergence of the Cheras
- ix. The Post-Vijayanagar History
- x. The Role of Nattavar during the Vijayanagar Rule
- xi. The Nayak Kingdoms of Gingee, Thanjavur and Madurai
- xii. The exploitation of Peasants in Medieval South India
- xiii. The Maratha expansion into the Tamil territory.
- xiv. Socio-economic conditions under the rule of the Nawab of Arcot (Dr. Rajayyan's contributions are noteworthy in this context)
- xv. The evolution of a stable administrative system, the revenue system and the judicial organisation under the British rule.

No doubt a host of distinguished historians of Tamil Nadu like Prof. C.E. Ramachandran have written a lot about the socio-economic conditions in Tamil Nadu during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. British historians such as Vincent Smith, J.S. Mill and others have been biased in their assessment of the British administration. But certain others like Roberts and Thompson have deviated from the path of Imperial historians and have been critical in their observations.

The point now is that our Tamil Nadu historians must seize the opportunity to write a revised version of the history of Tamil Nadu under the British hegemony. The Madras Archives can provide a wealth of information in this regard. The State Council of Historical Research for its part extends scholarships to support young researchers. Non-governmental literature in the form of letters, diaries, manuscripts, firmans, sanads, legal documents, private papers in the hands of merchants and others have so much to offer for our



historiographers. In this connection I wish to inform you that our Tamil Nadu History Congress has constituted Committees to bring out a New Comprehensive History of Tamil Nadu besides the History of Freedom Struggle in Tamil Nadu.

## ii. Accent on the Socio-economic History of Tamil Nadu :

As G.M. Trevelyan has said, "Social life comes between what are usually called the economic basis and the political structure". For too long a time political history revolving round dynastic rules has been dominating, much to the neglect of the study of the socio-economic factors which have as a matter of fact influenced the common man's actions and interactions - internal and external - in the occurrence of events. The scope of social life covers the human society and economic relations of different groups and classes, the character of family life, the attitude of man with nature, the culture of each age, the changing patterns of religious outlook, literature, music, architecture, education and thought. Social and economic historians should eschew antiquarianism and the collection of indigested facts without concern for a "central unifying force".

Socio-economic history in the past was given short shrift. But now it is coming into its shape, thanks to the pioneering efforts of eminent historian like Dr. K.K. Pillay whose *"Social History of the Tamils"* has set the tone for many history scholars to emulate his example. The present trend is to approach history and analyse the evidence in the light of some conceptual framework like Marxism, feudalism, segmentary statism, etc. Specific themes such as social mobility, migrations, social protest movements like the Dravidar Iyakkam, agrarian settlements, mercantile organisations, social groupings, urbanisation, cultural renaissance, etc. are fit subjects for meaningful research with a fertile field to work upon. Foreign historians like Burton Stein of Hawai, Dr. Noboru

Karashima of Tokyo University, Hohn Mencher, Franklin Southworth have evinced great interest in the study of the peasant society in contemporary social science.

## iii. Micro Studies

The nineteenth century may be termed the period of macro-history, which exerted its influence on historical works of even the first three decades of this century. Macro studies do serve some purpose. But their broad sweep cannot reach the depth of a problem by probing into minute details. This results in imbalances in historical observations and interpretations. Micro-studies have therefore become necessary to present historical events in their correct perspective. A new school under the name "Subaltern Studies" has now come to the fore to encourage micro-level studies with focus on the role played by lesser people like peasants, Dalits, women, industrial workers, children etc. These studies will become meaningful only when they are properly inter-related with the political, social and economic milieu of the region and even the country as a whole. They are in fact a detailed analytical appraisal of the cultural pattern or the economic system or the political set-up of the social group at a given time. Prof. Ranjit Guha of the Australian National University has come out with a six-volume work on 'Subaltern studies on South Asia History and Society'. These studies treat of the subordinated and suppressed sections of our society such as peasants, Dalits, women and their protest movements against their exploitation. Sumit Sarkar has invited our attention to this aspect through his *Modern Indian History* from below. Some books have recently come into the field to rouse our awareness to the injustice meted out to the neglected and the downtrodden. *"Untouchability in Tamilagam"* by Dr. K.R. Hanumanthan, *"Slavery in Tamil Nadu"* by Dr.S.Manickam and *"The Devadasi System in Tamil Nadu"* by Dr. Sadasivam have

been eye-openers to our realising how wickedly the Scheduled Castes were treated in ancient and medieval ages. Dr. Mohan's *"Elevation of the Scheduled Castes"* offers the Nelson touch to our dealing with the elusive problem of eradicating untouchability. *"Social Reform Movements in Tamil Nadu"* is yet another field of study worth undertaking in the context of the dynamic leadership provided by Thanthai Periyar and Dr. Anna, two of the greatest revolutionaries of our times whose rationalist philosophy had made a spectacular impact on social and political institutions of Tamil Nadu.

Research may centre round some of the following topics :

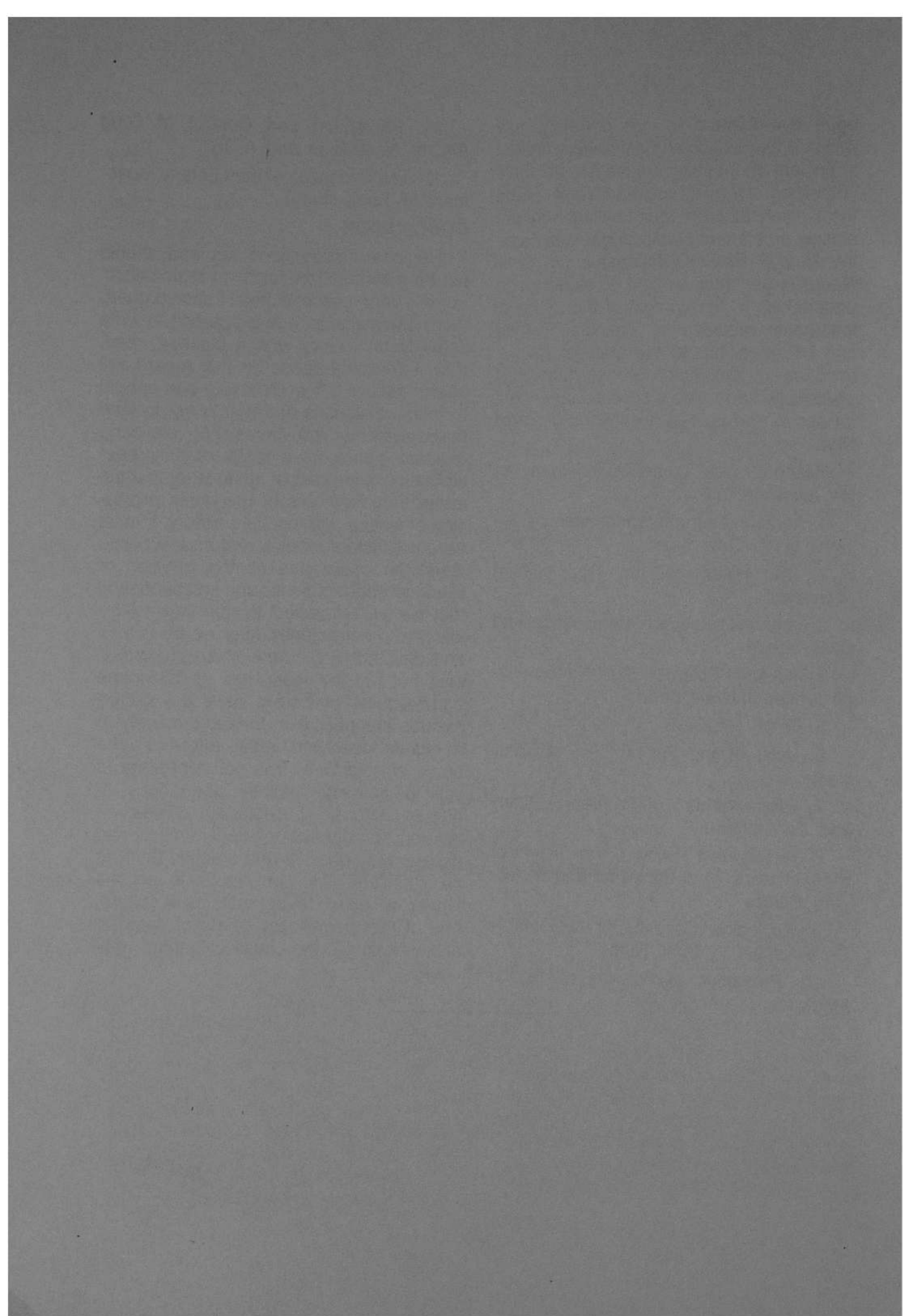
1. Agrarian Reforms undertaken by the Tamil Nadu Government
2. The History of the Trade Union Movement
3. Labour Problems - Perceptions and Challenges
4. Industrial Policy of Tamil Nadu in the post-Independence period
5. Tribal Problems
6. Uplift of the Fisher folks of Tamil Nadu
7. Empowerment of Women - Policy and Perspectives
8. Reservation Policy for the benefit of the Backward, Most Backward and Scheduled Castes
9. Ecological Security for sustainable Development in Tamil Nadu
10. Promotion of Schools of Siddha Medicine

11. Prevention and Control of Drug Abuse, Alcoholism and AIDS

12. The Dynamics of the Literacy Movement in Tamil Nadu.

### CONCLUSION :

Regional history need not and should not be a contributory factor to regionalism. For this very reason, scholars should guard themselves against any temptation to write Tamil Nadu history with a biased mind. K.M. Panikkar's appeal in this regard will bear repetition : "I would make one appeal to Indian historians and that is not to lend themselves to the heresy of elevating regional glories as a result of their specialisation with certain periods or certain areas". As members of the noble profession of writing and teaching history, it must be our constant resolve and endeavour to resist the onslaughts on the tradition of historical consciousness and independence that we are expected to maintain relentlessly and consistently. May we be faithful and devoted to Clio, the Muse of History. Last but not the least, we, as historians and teachers of history, have the sacred mission and obligation to lead humanity to a higher ideal and loftier future. In the name of objectivity, it is not necessary to call to memory "ghastly aberrations of human nature, of dastardly crimes, of division and conflicts of degeneration and decay. May positive and creative thinking be stimulated by our emphasis on the higher values of life, of traditions of culture, and of the magnificent deeds of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of human well-being.





**SECTION 1**

**POLITICAL AND  
ADMINISTRATIVE  
HISTORY**



Arulmiku Meenakshi Sundareswarar Thirukoil, Madurai  
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# 1. Address of the Sectional President

Dr. K. Rajayyan,  
Madurai

**P**resident of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, General Secretary, Section Presidents, Members of the Executive and Fellow Delegates,

I consider it my unique privilege to be invited to preside over the Political and Administrative History Section of the First Annual Conference of the Tamil Nadu History Congress. I take this opportunity to thank Professor K.R. Hanumanthan, the General Secretary of the Congress, for the same. There can be no better choice than Professor S.V. Chitti Babu for the Presidentship of the Congress, for he is the doyen among academicians, scholars and administrators, whose distinctions are all incarnated in him. It was at his initiative as Vice Chancellor of the Madurai Kamaraj University that the School of Historical Studies made the History of Tamil Nadu a compulsory paper in M.A. History curriculum. This has contributed to an unprecedented output of historical literature on Tamil Nadu. I am certain that this organisation will march ahead under his able guidance.

We recall with pride that Tamilagam, the traditional homeland of the Tamils, occupied in the remote past a magnificent territory. It extended from sea to sea and from the Tiruvenkadām Hills to the southern coast of Lanka. The early scholars, Tholkappier, Sikandiyar and Ilangoadigal described the Tamil Country as bounded by the northern Venkatam and the southern Kumari. This territorial restriction is to be attributed to the limitation of their geographical perspective, for the recent researches have established that the Tamils had made the southern island a part of their homeland. Once the Lemurian theory has any historical validity, the Tamil Country extended much beyond. In fact Tami-

lagam was an extensive territory with cool climate on the west, rich pearl fisheries on the east, colourful in natural scenery and more than self dependent in water resources. The early powers upheld the glory of the Tamils. Since then there developed social contradictions, contributing to the destruction of a glorious tradition. These contradictions developed, when the Tamil powers were apparently at the height of their glory. Since then we find a downward trend and the Tamils are on the retreat, whether it is in India or Sri Lanka.

We get a glimpse of the past through Sangam Literature. Yet what is clear is that the Tamil Country for long had served as a battle ground for different powers - the **Moovendar**, auxiliary powers and external powers. But the unification of Tamilagam was the work of the Kalabras. It is believed that the Kalabras were the inhabitants of the mountainous terrain extending from Kolar to Tirupati. As the Germanic hordes pored through the defenses of the Roman Empire, the Kalabras swept through the plains, defeated the traditional powers and brought the southern region of the peninsula under a common rule. Not only did they bring about the unification of the Tamil Country under a common rule but also evolved a central system of administration. They recognised the importance of trade in promoting prosperity and accordingly they developed Kaveripattinam into a great emporium of trade. As Buddhists or Jains they upheld local traditions, promoted the growth of Tamil, built monasteries and pallis and extended education to all. The immortal works, the *Tirukkural* and the epics of *Silapadikaram* and *Manimekalai* are attributed to the age of the Kalabras. In fact as a Dravidian power they laid the foundations for the greatness



of the Tamils. However, a Brahmanical reaction led by the Pallavas and supported by the Pandyas swept them out of power.

H. Krishna Shastri has attributed a semi Brahmin origin while T.V. Mahalingam a Brahmin origin to the Pallavas. Nevertheless the Pallavas from the north and the Pandyas from the south attacked the Kalabras and brought about the collapse of their kingdom. During the second half of the 8th century AD the Pandyas defeated a combination of powers - the Pallavas, Mutharayars, Adigaman and the Ays of Venad but they failed to reduce the entire Tamilagam under their hegemony. However the Cholas carried the glory of the Tamils to unprecedented heights. After subduing the local powers, they extended their conquests far and wide. By the end of the 10th century AD and early in the 11th century AD they marched to the north of India and sailed across the seas, conquering one territory after another. They occupied Anurathapura in Lanka and the islands of Maldives. As a result of their victory over the Western Chalukyas, they made Thungabhadra the northern boundary of the Chola Empire. Advancing to the north, they occupied Kalinga and from there extended their power to Bengal and to the East Indies. These represented significant achievements of the Tamils in military and maritime exploits.

In the early history of the Tamils what is noticeable is the pan Indian vision that dazzled the imagination of Tamil powers. Senguttuvan, a Chera prince of the Sangam period, as it is described in *Silapadikaram*, established an alliance with Satakarni, ruler of the Sathavahanas, and led a daring expedition to the Himalayas. On his return he in the presence of the rulers of Malwa and Lanka consecrated the Kannagi Temple. Raja Raja I of the Chola Dynasty not only did believe in the establishment of an overseas empire for the Tamils but also cherished a historical perspective. In the inscriptions that he engraved, he made

it a practice to give historical introductions of his exploits, which are of great help to the historians of the present day. In war, diplomacy and administration Rajendra Chola, who ruled over the country in the first half of the 11th century, distinguished himself as a unique figure. As a result of his military exploits the Cholas maintained their supremacy over the Pandyas, the Cheras, the Lankans, the Gangas and the Chalukyas. He extended the Chola supremacy from Kalinga to Bengal. Because of his overseas vision he made the Cholas a great maritime power and established the commercial supremacy of the Tamils in the southern seas. As a result, the Tamils established themselves as a great power not only in the sub-continent but also in the islands of Lanka and Indonesia.

No doubt the age of the Cheras, Pandyas and the Cholas represented a great epoch in the history of the Tamils not only in conquest and maritime expansion but also in literature, arts and architecture. But the paradox of this glory is that as in Heglian dialectic, the historical process was developing an internal contradiction of ominous dimensions under the impact of the Brahminical system. In early times the religion of the Tamils was essentially Dravidian. H.G. Rawlinson had described the ancient Tamils as hardy peasants and daring warriors, who worshipped the forces of nature - a mother Goddess, a father God, mountains, rivers and trees. However under the Kalabras two religions from the north, Jainism and Buddhism, spread in the Tamil Country. Christianity in the wake of St. Thomas mission reached the Tamils in the first century AD. As a result of the Roman conquest of West Asia, the Syrians and the Jews escaped to the western coast of Tamilagam and settled in the area. The demand for Arab horse and the scope for trade with South India brought the Arabs to the Tamil Country. In their wake there

came Islam. As Tamilagam served as a crossing point for the Arabs trading to the East Indies it was referred to as Ma'bar which signified crossing point. Subsequently, Ma'bar became Malabar with a restricted connotation.

If the Parasurama legend is to be given any credence, he settled the Brahmins in the *Kurinji* region of Tamilagam. As per tradition, Agastya lived in *Kudagu* and *Pothigai* hills and spread the Aryan culture. The Brahminical leadership gained the confidence of the rulers and with their support dismantled the Jaina-Buddhist system and took over their *viharas* and *pallis*. The rulers created *agraharas* and *chathurvedimangalams* for the settlement of the Brahmins and provided for free feeding in the temple premises. The *devadāsīs* in the temples provided entertainment. The idea was that more the *agraharas* and *Chathurvedimangalams*, more the hymns that the Brahmins chant reach the heavens and bring in favours to the rulers. Because of the collusion between prince and the priest, enforcement of *varnaashrama dharma* became the duty of the king. In return the rulers received the titles like Raja, Maharaja, Chakravarti and so on, as the supporters of imperialism received the titles of Raobahadur, Raja Sir, K.C.I.E. and so on from the British.

I am not certain whether the Brahminical system conferred certain benefits upon the Tamils. But evils stand out clear, for they worked against the interests of the Tamils. This is more so because whereas the Chinese developed Neo Confucianism to counter indolence that came in the wake of the spread of Buddhism there was no such movement in Tamil Nadu.

The imposition of *varna* on a varnaless society led to the victimisation of the major part of the population. Though there were classes in Tamil society, the people without their knowledge were now herded into different low castes and humiliated into

untouchables. It is to be concluded that the untouchables were the victims of Brahminical Hinduization. Such an iniquitous system created an unconcern among the untouchables for the political developments. The Tamil population developed a conviction that it made no difference whether Rama ruled or Ravana ruled. No wonder such a polity prepared the ground for foreign invasions. This was a major factor in foreign conquest and alien domination of the land of the Tamils for 1000 years. We find that after the fall of the Pandyas, the Afgans of the Delhi Sultanate, the Rayas of Vijayanagar, the Nayak powers, the Moghuls, the Nevayats, the Wallajas, the Wodayars of Mysore, the Marathas and the British took over the country, while the Tamil population were standing practically as idle spectators. The British found the Brahminical system useful as giving distraction to the people, for when the Valankai and Edankai disputes disrupted worship in temples, they interfered and saw to the working of the system, as Governor Edward Clive did at Mylapore in 1801.

Another significant development was that as a result of the Aryan influx and Sanskritization Tamilagam lost the *Kurinji* region namely the west coast-Kerala. Under the later Cheras there came into existence what was called the Nayar militia. While the Nayar men were to serve in battle fields, the Nayar women were to serve the Nambudiris. The matrilineal system permitted Nayar women to co-habit with the Nayars as well as the Brahmins. As a result there came into existence a caste of half breeds, who were Aryanised and Sanskritised and they were pro-Aryan and pro-Brahminical with their own language in Malayalam. More of developments contributed to the rise of a separate identity in Tamilagam's *Kurinji* region. The princes, the Nambudiris and the Nayars treated the ethnic Tamils as out castes and untouchable, took over their lands and carried out



a ruthless policy of ethnic cleansing. They were not welcome except as slaves. As per the Administrative Report of the Madras Presidency in 1879 and the accounts given by C.M. Agur, the rulers of Travancore -whom the Kerala historians have depicted as enlightened princes - imposed a large variety of discriminatory taxes on the Tamils. Thus they collected taxes for marriages, for huts, for building the houses, for keeping an umbrella, for growing moustache or wearing clean cloth. Apart from these the Shanars and other untouchables were subjected to poll taxes equivalent to *jaziya* and as per the 1875 Census Report it was two rupees and 7 *chakrams* per person. This represented a huge amount for it was the period when 50 to 60 bags of paddy was sold for one rupee. For fear of pollution they were not permitted either to take water from wells or bathe in water courses. In the event of default in payment of tax or violation of untouchability rules inhuman punishments were inflicted. They included amputation and blinding by pouring *chunnambu* or *milkhedge* (kallipal) into the eyes and murder. The Brahmins and the Nayars received no punishment when they proceeded with killing Tamils. The murder of the slaves or untouchable was not a crime, for the deed of transfer stated "You may sell or kill him or her". As a result of this oppression and persecution the Tamils evacuated the *Kurinji* region and moved into the barren tracts in the east-as the Tamils of Sri Lanka do today, and thereby *Kurinji* turned into Kerala. Tamilagam was self-dependent in water resources but with the loss of *Kurinji* the Tamils were left in possession the barren tracts on the eastern region which is present day Tamil Nadu. It may not be out of place to note that in 1977 the Central Water Commission estimated that in the forty one major streams of Kerala 2561 tmc water flow waste into the sea annually, of which the requirement of Tamil Nadu is just 375 tmc. While the British diverted a small part of Periyar waters to

Madurai area, the Central Government could divert not a single drop to the barren Tamil Nadu in fifty years of independence in this age of national integration.

Intolerance and exploitation on an unprecedented scale is to be attributed to the Brahminical ascendancy. The Brahminical forces in collusion with the political powers proceeded to take over the possession of Jain and Buddhist shrines. The *viharas* and *pallis* were converted into temples as in the case of the Nagaramman Temple at Nagercoil. The Jains escaped from hill top to hill top but they were chased and many were burnt alive. Human rights and social justice received no consideration. A major part of the sources of revenue was donated for the support of *agraharas* and *mutts*. In Thanjavur under the Marathas by 1798 the total donations and endowments that were given away to the Brahminical institutions worked as much as the state's revenue. To make up the losses the rulers and their *sibbendies* imposed on oppressive system of taxation and an inhuman system of punishment on the untouchables. No wonder under the Marathas of Thanjavur a separate establishment was to be maintained for the removal of the dead every morning. Because of widespread poverty and misery the villagers flocked to the streets of Thanjavur in search of job and food but failing to get any succor and failing victims to pollution they perished in the streets. Such a tyrannical system perpetuated misery and tribalism.

Despite repression, persecution and exploitation what is conspicuous in the history of Tamil Nadu is the absence of any revolution. The state has produced leaders of revolution but not revolutions. This is because the people were made to believe that they were born low and it was beyond their ability to bring about any change in their status. The caste interests becoming so ingrained in the social mind that the class interests failed to consoli-



date themselves. At the same time fatalism based on *karma* ruled out any scope for progress. Revolution is possible when class interests transcend caste barriers and fatalism is discarded. It would appear that when a movement reached a level of success, vested interests centered on caste emerge into a reaction and present internal contradictions, while fatalism render it into nullity.

Despite the formidable barriers created by *varna* and *karma* concepts and the consequent misery of the masses, the Tamil spirit made repeated attempts to assert itself. In 1800 the Tamils sent their missions to Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra to organise a rebel confederacy against the British and launched a resistance movement under the leadership of Marudu. The rebellion spread from Nanguneri to Kolhapur and it led to slaughter and destruction on a large scale. But the English supported by the princes suppressed the rebellion and consolidated their power. In South Travancore because of an intellectual stir generated by a galaxy of leaders, Vedakan, C. Masilamony, Vedamanickam and Sivagurunathan there broke out the Upper Cloth Agitation in 1820. After considerable blood - shed the Tamils obtained rights for women to cover their bodies and freedom from forced labour to Brahmins and Nayars through British intervention. In the wake of this movement there came the Temple Entry Agitation in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu. Because of the fear that the untouchable would embrace Islam or Christianity the state opened the temples for worship by different communities. E.V.

Ramaswami Naickar launched the Self Respect Movement in 1925 aimed at promoting a sense of dignity among the Dravidians. For the attainment of this objective, as the Nihilists of Russia believed, he declared that certain evils could be corrected only through destruction. Accordingly he advocated the destruction of caste, religion princely order and zamindari system, eradication of untouchability, inequality and distinctions based upon status and sex and creation of equal opportunities for all. In 1929 in its issue dated September 9 *Mitavadi*, published from Calicut deplored "If the Hindu leaders have the least fellow feeling towards the depressed communities they would no doubt have thrown their *Srutis*, *Smritis* and Puranas into the fire". In fact during the Freedom Movement the social issues overshadowed the political issues in Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu has to go a long way for gaining a pride of place in history. When we consider that crime record is the highest among the states of India, unemployment is three times than in the Punjab, 60% of our population live below poverty line, mounting corruption contributes to the denial of equal justice to the downtrodden, our fishermen are deprived of the traditional rights in our seas, our fellow Tamils languish under discrimination and death in their traditional home in the island southward and our peasants denied of a natural share of the waste flowing waters in the west- the *Kurinji* of Tamilagam - the reality of our progress in history becomes questionable.

## 2. Kamaraj and the Agitation of the Tamils in Kanyakumari, 1947

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The present paper deals with a significant stage in the struggle of the Tamils of Travancore, the erstwhile southern-most princely state for securing a separate district for them. The problem of the Tamils in Kanyakumari was part of the overall problems associated with the linguistic minorities of India which surfaced the attainment of freedom. The Tamils of Kanyakumari came to occupy a predominant position in the political and economical development of the State of Travancore. In spite of the socio-political maladies that afflicted them the Tamils endeavoured to attain a status of equality with the majority Malayalam-speaking linguistic group. This tendency, together with their long-standing desire for gaining a due share in the Travancore administration led to the emergence of the Tamil movement in the predominantly Tamilian centres. During 1938-1947, the Travancore State Congress launched political agitation for the ending of Diwan's rule in the state and for the attainment of responsible government for the people. Expecting political changes, the Tamils conceived the idea of a separate province for themselves in Travancore. For this purpose they organised an independent political party called the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (T.T.N.C.) on 16 December 1945 with S. Nathaniel as its president.

### (I) INVITATION OF KAMARAJ :

With the attainment of responsible

government in Travancore state in September 1947 the Tamils intensified their struggle for achieving their demands and the movement spread rapidly into Tamil towns and villages. The State Congress, as the 'would be ruling party' refused to consider the T.T.N.C. as a representative body of the Tamils and flatly ignored its demands. Therefore the T.T.N.C., began to mobilise mass support for its claim as the sole political party of Tamils. The Government countered it with repressive measures which resulted in the outbreak of violence in a few places during October-December 1947. At this juncture the Tamils sought help from the Congress leaders of Madras. Accordingly P.S. Moni, R.K. Ram and Nagalingom of the T.T.N.C. went to Madras on 30 November 1947. They met K. Kamaraj, President, Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and other leaders and invited them to visit the state to personally acquaint themselves with the true state of affairs besides seeking his advice regarding their future programme.<sup>1</sup> They also met a number of journalists of Madras and explained the reactionary measures of the Government. Based on the information supplied to them the Tamil dailies like *Dinamani*, *Dinasari*, *Thinathandi* and *Swadesamitran* wrote editorials in support of the struggle.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime, accepting the invitation, K. Kamaraj agreed to visit South Travancore on 4 December 1947. On

1. Special Branch Officer Nagercoil, *Copy of report*, 30 November 1947. D. Dis. 103/1948 C.S.

2. Moni P.S., *Tiru-Tamilar Iyakkam* (Tamil, Nagercoil) 1956, pp. 92-93.



receipt of information about his proposed visit the local T.T.N.C. leaders held on 3 December discussions in their office as to how his visit could be utilised to further their demands. The leaders wanted to give him a full picture of the whole situation in the Tamil areas with details of the 'high-handedness perpetrated by the authorities in league with the State Congress leaders'. With much jubilation and expectations, they decided to give him a rousing reception enroute from Trivandrum Airport to Nagercoil. They also made arrangements to give a fitting reception to the guest at a public meeting at Eraniel. Taking advantage of his visit, local youngsters who were strong T.T.N.C. adherents, moved about the Nagercoil in 3rd night and engaged in speeches justifying the T.T.N.C. cause and criticising the State Congress leaders. They also made the ordinary public to believe that Kamaraj was coming with a view to intensify the activities of the T.T.N.C. to achieve their goal. They created a feeling of disappointment among a section of the State Congressites.<sup>3</sup>

## (II) HIS ERANIEL SPEECH :

On 4 December accompanied by Saraswathi Pandurangam, member T.N.C.C., Kamaraj arrived at Trivandrum. He was received at the Airport by T.T.N.C. leaders - A. Nesamony, S. Sivathanu Pillai, S. Nathaniel, A.N. Satyanesan, P. Mahalingam Mudaliar, S. Sankaralingam, R. Ponnappa Nadar, Advocate, M. William, Municipal Chairman, Kuzhithurai V. Ponniah Nadar (Inspector under suspension) and a few others. In an attempt to make his visit a joyous occasion, local T.T.N.C. leaders gave receptions to him on the way, at

Kaliakkavilai, Padanthalumoodu and Marthandam. In the evening the leaders of T.T.N.C. attended a public meeting arranged at Eraniel. Popular enthusiasm stood high particularly at Eraniel, where shops were decorated with flags and festoons. The local T.T.N. Congressites received Kamaraj and Party at Eraniel and were led them in a procession to the meeting place at Monday-Market *maidan* with the accompaniment of band.<sup>4</sup>

The meeting began at 4.15 p.m. and lasted till 5.30 p.m. There was a huge gathering of about 10,000 persons of whom the majority consisted of 'the Nadars from suburbs'. Kamaraj was garlanded on behalf of the various branch organisations of the T.T.N.C. After an address of welcome by C. Janardhanan, a local T.T.N.C. leader, Mrs. Saraswathi Pandurangam made a short speech introducing the guest and explaining the object of his visit in the State. She condemned the repressive measures adopted by the Travancore Government against the T.T.N. Congressites and appealed for an amicable settlement of the differences between the T.T.N.C. and the State Congress. She also requested the Tamilians to strictly adhere to the principles of Gandhi for achieving their ideals.<sup>5</sup> Addressing a huge crowd K. Kamaraj said, that he had come to the State mainly to acquaint himself with conditions of the Tamilians and their eagerness to preserve their culture and language. As far as he could understand from the T.T.N.C. leaders, the Tamilians in the State wanted to protect their language and culture and that they should be given due share in the administration of the country.

3. Special Branch Inspector, Nagercoil, *report on visit of K. Kamaraj*, 4 December 1947. D. Dis. 104/1948/C.S.

4. *ibid.*

5. It should be noted that when Mrs. S. Pandurangam earlier visited Nagercoil, she addressed several meetings, held under the auspices of the T.T.N.C. She advocated for an intensive agitation for achieving their rights and assure the support of British Indian Tamilians in their struggle. Since she had changed her views in consonance with the views of K. Kamaraj, the T.T.N. Congressites in general did not relish her Speech. (*Ibid.*)



This the State Congress would not and could not deny. The T.T.N.C. leaders doubted the sincerity of the State Congress in conceding their rights and hence the present misunderstanding and trouble. The State Congress was an organisation working for the betterment of all classes of people in the State irrespective of caste or creed, and if it aimed at improving the lot of a section of the people only, it could not exist for a moment.<sup>6</sup> He fervently appealed to both the parties to amicably settle their differences and co-operate in successfully running the new Government in which rested the salvation of the masses.

As for the demand for a separate province of Tamilians, he said it was "not proper for the T.T.N. Congressites to press for such a demand when there was a king over both Malayalees and Tamilians. The division of the State at that stage would only aggravate troubles and help the continuance of reactionary elements working against the progress of the State. This was a period when monarchy was vanishing and sooner or later the Tamil areas in the State would be united with Tamil Nadu and the remaining parts with Kerala. Till then the Tamilians should be calm and patient and co-operate with the State Congress in the establishment of responsible government. It should not be the aim of the Tamilians to weaken the State Congress which represented the people of the State as a whole".<sup>7</sup> Condemning the oppressive measures against the Tamilians, he urged the Government to be free and liberal towards the Tamils. Finally, he reiterated his wish that both the State Congress and the T.T.N.C. should come to an early understanding with a view to prevent confusion. About the impact of his speech,

a police officer reported: "The audience in general appreciated the suggestions of the speaker. Yet there was some murmur noticed among a section of the T.T.N. Congressites as an expression of their feeling of disappointment over the idea of the speaker on the demand for a separate province for Tamilians. The saner section both in the State Congress and T.T.N.C. always wished for an amicable settlement of the present deadlock and they felt glad over the suggestions of the speaker..."<sup>8</sup>

### (III) COMPROMISE EFFORTS :

After the meeting at Eraniel, Kamaraj and Party left for Cape Comorin by 7.15 p.m. On the way they halted at the T.T.N.C. office at Nagercoil and addressed a gathering for a few minutes on similar lines as at Eraniel.<sup>9</sup> When they left Nagercoil for Cape Comorin by 8.15 p.m. for night stay, the T.T.N.C. leaders, A. Nesamony, M. Sivathanu Pillai, A.N. Satyanesan and V. Ponniah Nadar too followed Kamaraj in another car. At Cape, they explained in detail the situation in the Tamil areas till 11 p.m. and left for Nagercoil. Again on 5th morning, S. Nathaniel, Sri. V. Dhas, K. Kumbalingom Pillai, A. Nesomony, P. Mahalingam, Mudaliar R. Thanu Pillai, M. Sankaralingom, K. Nagalingam, G. George, N.M. Hussan, Umayathanu Pillai, C. Janardhanan of Eraniel and A.P. Vas visited Kamaraj at Cape Hotel and held discussions with him particularly about the atrocities committed by the authorities to put down their agitation. Later M.D. Anantharaman, Municipal Chairman, Nagarcoil, Fen Rasaliah, Vice-Chairman, V. Markandan and A.C. Sundaram Pillai, Councillors met him and talked on general political situation for a few hours. Kamaraj and party attended a public meeting at Karungal at 3.30 p.m.<sup>10</sup>

6. S.B. Inspector Nagercoil, *report on visit of Kamaraj*, 4 December 1947.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. I.G. of Police, 6 December 1947, *report to the Registrar, Secretariat*. D. dis. 104/1948/ C.S.

In the evening of 5th December by 7.30 p.m. he addressed a huge crowd of about 20,000 at Ramavarmapuram, Nagercoil. Here too Kamaraj pleaded for an amicable settlement between the T.T.N.C. and the State Congress, discouraged the idea of a separate province for the Tamilians in the State and deprecated the idea of creating a feeling of separation among the masses as Tamilians and Malayalees. S. Pandurangam made a short speech which protested against the 'high-handedness of the Government authorities against the Tamilians and appealed to the T.T.N.C. to achieve their legitimate rights on peaceful lines in co-operation with the State Congress. Both these speeches did not appeal to a large section of the audience who supported the T.T.N.C. activities. After the meeting the guests proceeded to the T.T.N.C. office and halted for sometime.<sup>11</sup>

It should be noted that perceiving the visit of K. Kamaraj to Nagercoil the State Congress leadership invited their Tamilian leaders such as S. Sivan Pillai, C. Sankar and others to Trivandrum and discussed with them about the ways and means of convincing Kamaraj about their political stand.<sup>12</sup> As a first measure of satisfying Kamaraj, top State Congress leaders as C. Kesavan, A.J. John, T.K. Narayana Pillai of Neyyattinkara, K.R. Neelakanta Pillai and others too participated at the Ramavarmapuram public meeting.<sup>13</sup> As a next step they invited Kamaraj for a dinner at Elankam House, Neyyor. In the same night at 10 p.m. he took part in the dinner in the company of A. Thanu Pillai, E.R. Elankath, K.P. Neelakanta Pillai and others and had friendly talks for some time. They decided to resume their talks again at Trivandrum on 26th evening. It was sig-

nificant to note that no T.T.N.C. leader accompanied Kamaraj for the dinner. The Party returned to Cape Comorin in the night at 1.30 p.m.<sup>14</sup>

On 6 December at 11 a.m. Kamaraj and party went to the Nagercoil Municipal Office and attended a function there. There too he appreciated the political awakening of the Tamils; but expressed the inadvisability of forming a separate Tamil province in the State. He emphasised the need to effect a compromise over the 'Tamilian question' and expressed hope about success in his endeavours. After this function, Kamaraj and S. Pandurangam came to the T.T.N.C. Office at Nagercoil, where all members of the Executive Committee except R.K. Ram were present. In addition, A. Nesamony, N.A. Noor Mohammad, K. Sivarama Pillai and M. Sivathanu Pillai also participated. Kamaraj had a free and frank discussion with the T.T.N.C. leaders over their demands till 1.30 p.m. Here again he reiterated the two suggestions already put forward by him in public meetings : i) the T.T.N.C. and the State Congress should co-operate with each other and ii) the non-feasibility of a separate province for Tamilians within the State. He appealed to the leaders not to lose heart and to be resolute and patient in achieving their demands.<sup>15</sup>

After lunch, K. Kamaraj and S. Pandurangam, accompanied by A. Nesamony, K. Sivarama Pillai left Nagercoil for Trivandrum at 1.30 p.m. While returning from Kanyakumari T.T.N.C. accorded warm send off to Kamaraj and his party at Martandam and Kuzhithurai.<sup>16</sup> As per the understanding with the State Congressites, they continued the compromise talks with Kamaraj at Trivandrum on 7 December. On

11. Special Branch Inspector, Nagercoil, *Confidential report*,

12. *Ibid.*, 4 December 1947.

13. *Ibid.*, 5 December 1947.

14. *Ibid.*, 6 December 1947.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*



behalf of the T.T.N.C. A. Nesamony alone took part in the discussions. Due to the dissatisfaction in the T.T.N.C. ranks, these talks failed to reach any understanding between the parties. In fact, A. Nesamony and his adherents listened to the suggestions of K. Kamaraj than those of any other leader of the T.T.N.C. This was due to their calculations of Kamaraj's future leadership in Madras politics rather than the immediate benefits for the Party. Yet the failure of compromise talks gave a sense of relief to him since he realised that its success would cause irreparable loss to the tempo of the T.T.N.C. struggle and for the political cause of the Tamils. Therefore A. Nesamony and his ilk wanted to pull on with the demands of the T.T.N.C. without co-operating with the State Congress till the elections were over. They feared that if a settlement was reached then, they would not have any chance in the ensuing election.<sup>17</sup> The compromise talks were reserved to be continued in Madras in the presence of K. Kamaraj on or after 20 December 1947. S. Nathaniel, A. Nesamony, A.N. Satyanesan and M. Sivathanu Pillai were entrusted with the responsibility of taking part in these talks.<sup>18</sup>

#### (IV) EFFECT OF HIS VISIT

Meanwhile on 7 December the Malayalam newspapers like *Swathantrakhalam*, *Kerala Kaumudi* and others published news about the talks misrepresenting what he had stated. On 8 December Kamaraj was given a feast at the Nadar Mansion, Trivandrum. At this juncture, he was informed of the pernicious propaganda carried on by the Malayalam press twisting portions of his speech and making it appear that T.T.N.C. should either merge with the

State Congress or disintegrate. Angered at these K. Kamaraj refuted these as false reports and issued a statement to the Associated Press of India at Trivandrum enumerating certain conditions to be followed for an effective settlement. They were : i) The State Congress should accept the T.T.N.C. as a political organisation of the Tamil areas and then enter into a compromise with it; ii) The Tamil areas should be given full powers to take a census of the adults in the Tamil areas and to elect their representatives; iii) Steps should be taken for the formation of southern taluks of the State into a separate revenue division with provincial autonomy and with necessary safeguards and self-determination for the Tamils; iv) Facilities should be given for safeguarding the interests of the Tamilians in the matter of education, language and culture; and v) As far as possible Tamilian officers should be appointed in Tamil area.<sup>19</sup>

The *Bharathi* of A.N. Satyanesan in its issue of 8 December published this statement of K. Kamaraj. Besides, the T.T.N.C. Committee, Martandam printed these in a Tamil leaflet entitled, "Tamil Nadu Congress-State Congress *Thammil Samarasam*" and circulated it in important towns like Martandam and Nagercoil. Ultimately due to the creation of a controversy over the efforts of K. Kamaraj, the proposed compromise talks at Madras did not materialise. As mentioned by A. Nesamony, 'neither A. Thanu Pillai keep up his promise to go to Madras nor K. Kamaraj seemed to have taken any further steps in the matter'.<sup>21</sup>

With high expectations the T.T.N.C. leadership wished to utilise the popular

17. I.G. of Police, 10 December 1947, *extract of a report to the Registrar, Trivandrum*, D. Dis. 17/1948/C.S.

18. *Ibid.*, 14 December 1947.

19. T.T.N.C. Committee, Martandam, *leaflet in Tamil*, 10 December 1947. D.dis. 17/1948/C.S.

20. *Copy of a confidential police report*, 13 December 1947. *Ibid.*

21. Nesamony, A., *Inside Travancore Tamilnad*, Madras, 1948, p.18.



image of K. Kamaraj for boosting their morale among the public. They also thought of making use of his political influence in the Indian National Congress and Nehru to counter the State Congress leadership at the all-India level. Contrary to these, instead of strengthening the struggle, the outcome of his visit created difference of opinion among the T.T.N.C. ranks. The police reported as follows: "On the whole, the visit of Kamaraj has disheartened the spirit of the T.T.N.C. leaders. They do not at all express any satisfaction over the suggestions put forward by Kamaraj. Already a split has come in the organisation. One section holding forward views strongly resent the suggestion of Kamaraj and opine that even if the State Congress leaders are able to arrive at a settlement over the Tamilian question in the presence of Kamaraj, that settlement would be only in paper and would not last long. They say that anything short of a Tamil administrative unit in the State would not be beneficial to the Tamilians. Another section viz., S. Nathaniel, K. Sivarama Pillai and others, influenced by A. Nesamony and M. Sivathanu Pillai do not express any criticism over the suggestions of Kamaraj and want the present deadlock to be solved somehow or other without greatly impairing the prestige of the organisation (T.T.N.C.)."<sup>22</sup>

"The visit of Kamaraj Nadar to the State has put the T.T.N.C. leaders into confusion

and they were wavering as to the future course of action to be adopted. A section of the T.T.N. Congressites, who do not see eye to eye with the State Congressites were openly abusing Kamaraj for his open expression in public meetings supporting the State Congress and disapproving of the demand for a separate province for the Tamilians in the State".<sup>23</sup> Yet it can not be denied that his visit gave a psychological impact upon the general public about the necessity and significance of the T.T.N.C. struggle. To Kamaraj Travancore State Congress formed part of the Kerala Committee of the Indian National Congress. As a prominent Congress leader on the line of Jawaharlal Nehru, he found it most creditable to effect a compromise between the T.T.N.C. and the State Congress. Most of the T.T.N.C. leaders too liked to be associated with the National Congress; but wished to be identified in a separate committee for the Tamils. They endeavoured to establish this claim through a plebiscite. During the General Elections of the Representative Body, held in February 1948, the T.T.N.C. which fielded eighteen candidates, captured fourteen of the contested seats in the Tamilian areas.<sup>24</sup> This election victory confirmed the genuineness of their demand to the State Administration as well as to the All-India Congress leaders.

22. Special Branch Inspector, Nagercoil, *copy of report*, 6 December 1947. D. Dis., 104/1948/C.S.

23. *Extract of a report on the reactions of visit of Kamaraj*, 10 December 1947. D. Dis. 17/1948/C.S.

24. Nesamony, A., *op.cit.*, pp. 22-37.

### 3. Political Conditions During the Reign of Pratapa Singh, at Tanjore

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**B**y the middle of the eighteenth century, the musnud of Tanjore was literally a bed of nails, and Pratapa Singh never aspired for it. But the clamour of the public, suffering under weak and inefficient rulers brought the illegitimate son of Tukkoji, to assume the rulership. It may be noted that among Marathas illegitimate birth was no bar to succession. By 1739 when Pratapa Singh came to the musnud, momentous changes were taking place in the political chessboard of South India. Taking the excuse that Pratapa Singh was not only irregular in payment but also disobeyed the Nawab of Carnatic on a number of occasions, he was pensioned off and a muslim officer was appointed to look after the kingdom. This led to an appeal to Chatrapati Sahu of Satara by Pratapa Singh, Setupati and Tondaiman, one of the rare occasions when the Southern rulers presented a united front against the intruders. Sahu, who was related to Pratapa Singh despatched a formidable expedition under the joint command of Raghuji Bonsle and Fateh Singh. This expedition defeated and slew the Nawab of Carnatic at the battle of Damal Cheruvu and restored Pratapa Singh, to the throne of Tanjore.

#### **RELATIONS WITH THE NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC :**

A little earlier the ancient Nayakdom of Madura, long in decline and fatally weakened by the internecine struggle between Rani Minakshi and her adopted son Vijayakumara was snuffed out by Chanda Saheb, the ambitious and ruthless son-in-law of the Nawab. This placed Tanjore between two territories under muslim con-

trol and weakened it vis-a-vis Muslim powers.

In 1743, Anwaruddin, an elderly subordinate of Nizam ul Mulk, was appointed as the Nawab of Carnatic. He led two expeditions against Tanjore, but for all the brilliant victories claimed by his panegyrists, he could only collect a bond for Rupees Seven lakh and some cash towards discharge of arrears. Soon after this Anwaruddin became one of the first victims of the Anglo-French struggles for supremacy in Carnatic. Anwaruddin was killed in the battle of Ambur, while opposing the forces of the French and Chanda Saheb. Chanda Saheb was surrounded by the army of the English at Trichinopoly and surrendered to Manoji, the Commander of Tanjore army, and was beheaded.<sup>(1)</sup> This removed from the scene a person who had ruthlessly harassed Tanjore and in fact dreamt of founding an independent dynasty of his own.

#### **PRATAPA SINGH & ANGLO-FRENCH WARS :**

Pratapa Singh was one of the great pragmatists of the period. Fully aware of the consequences for his small state, he strove to keep out of the Anglo-French wars. Aware of the strategic importance of Tanjore and the well deserved reputation of its cavalry, the French opined that in comparison, the cavalry with Chanda Saheb was a mere rabble. M. Dupleix, the brilliant Governor of French India, spared no effort to enlist Pratapa Singh in the cause of the French and their allies. Mme Dupleix added her considerable persuasive powers to those of her husband in enticing Pratap



Singh to the French Camp. Morar Rao, the freebooter who at this period, was a partisan of the French, threatened Pratapa Singh that he would burn every village in the Kingdom, if Tanjore joined the English.

The English and their ally Mohamed Ali were equally keen to attach Pratapa Singh to their cause. Mohamed Ali in particular showered encomiums and extended tall promises to Pratapa Singh. But Pratapa Singh demurred and kept both sides guessing.<sup>2</sup> However in December 1749, the French and Chanda Saheb invaded the Kingdom of Tanjore and laid siege to the fort. They demanded the arrears of tribute from the time of the death of Anwaruddin plus the expenses of the expedition, in all totalling four crores of Rupees, a fantastic sum, of course in those days. Pratapa Singh was a master of prevarication. He kept Chanda Saheb at bay by engaging him with sweet talks and endless negotiations. But an impetuous assault by the French troops sufficiently frightened him to sign an agreement with Chanda Saheb remitting the annual ground rent for Karikal and also added another eighty one villages to the French possessions. Chanda Saheb wanted to take advantage of Sahu's death in 1749, for deposing Pratapa Singh and crowning, his own son in his place. Duplexi vetoed this idea. But it was too late. Pratapa Singh realised that it was no longer possible to remain neutral and allied himself with the English. This was a severe blow to the carefully laid plans of Duplexi and can be rated as one of the turning points in the Anglo-French wars in the Carnatic. The Tanjorean cavalry greatly distinguished itself in the operations around Trichinopoly, and but for the constant flow of supplies from and through Tanjore territory the defence of Trichinopoly would have become untenable. In their anger the French destroyed Kovilady. The victories of Major Stringer Lawrence brought deliverance of the British from the fury of the French and their allies.

Pratapa Singh was warned by the Council at Fort St. George to expect further hostile action from the French, and it became a reality very soon. Comte de Lally, the newly arrived Governor at Pondicherry invaded Tanjore to collect the money against the bond given by Pratapa Singh earlier to Chanda Saheb. He looted a few temples and mosques. However the resolute defence of the fort at Tanjore and the appearance of the English fleet off the coast compelled him to retire to Pondicherry in disorder, a disorder brought about by the vigorous action of the Tanjorean cavalry. The decisive defeat of the French at the battle of Wandiwash in 1761 removed the threat of the French, from the Carnatic.

This however was the beginning of fresh and far more serious troubles for Pratapa Singh. The defeat of the French left Mohamad Ali supreme in the Carnatic. He immediately set about to assert his authority over his tributaries. Through out his life he was embarrassed by lack of funds. To his famished eyes, Tanjore looked a veritable El Dorado. He forgot the debt of gratitude, to Pratapa Singh and all the encomiums he showered on him during his darkest days when the support of Tanjore stood between him and disaster.<sup>3</sup> Mercifully Pratapa Singh passed away before the Nawab's demands changed into threats.

#### **TANJORE & SETUPATI :**

The long standing animosity between Setupati and Tanjore continued during the reign. The East India Company which was allied to both the Kingdoms was anxious to make peace between them particularly in view of the threat posed by Chanda Saheb. They advised Setupati to surrender the Fort of Arantangi and the dependent lands which were the bone of contention, to Pratapa Singh and make peace. The evasive ways of Setupati exasperated Pratapa Singh. He obtained the support of Tondaiman and with the assistance of an English column under Caillaud captured



Arantangi, thus keeping the quarrel alive. A little later Col. Heron, without consulting the Presidency, but tempted by the offer of settlements on the coast, allied himself with the Setupati and helped him to occupy Arantangi. A strong letter of protest by Pratapa Singh and Tondaiman, supported by the Nawab, who pointed out how vital Tanjore's help was to his cause, led the English to repudiate Col Heron's action.

#### **TANJORE & TONDAIMAN :**

Tanjore's relations with Tondaiman was a record of hostilities with an occasional opportunist alliance in between. Tanjore wanted Tondaiman to surrender Kiranelli and Tirumayam.<sup>4</sup> Tondaiman refused. Tanjore attacked and captured several villages. The Presidency's appeals for peace fell on deaf ears. However Captain Caillaud's warlike preparations worried Manoji, the Tanjore commander, who retreated from the newly occupied territories. And when Pratapa Singh appealed to Tondaiman during the operations of Lally, Tondaiman forgetting the late enmity, generously sent his troops for the assistance of Tanjore.

#### **PRATAPA SINGH AND THE ENGLISH :**

The English had long coveted a settlement on the coast of Tanjore. The superiority of the printed and dyed cloth that was available in the Kingdom and the greater ease in procurement was a powerful inducement. The English attempted to capture the fort of Devikottai, in support of the pretender Kattu Raja, but were repulsed. A later expedition under Major Lawrence was however successful. During the dark days prior to the relief of Trichinopoly, both the English and their ally Mohamed Ali assiduously cultivated the friendship of Tanjore. The President of the Council at Fort St. George addressed Pratapa Singh as 'Your Majesty'. But the same English assisted the Nawab to dethrone Pratap Singh's successor.<sup>5</sup> No wonder a century later, Lord Palmerston

declared 'great Britain has no permanent friends or enemies. Only permanent interests'.

#### **PRATAPA SINGH & MYSORE :**

While besieged at Trichinopoly Mohamad Ali was desperate in seeking allies. Dalavai Nanjaraj of Mysore was one such ally to whom Mohamad Ali promised to hand over Trichinopoly Fort. But once the danger was past he broke his promise. A justly enraged Nanjaraj promptly laid siege to Trichinopoly. In the tangled skein of diplomacy that followed, Pratapa Singh tried to play the part of a honest broker. But this did not prevent the Kingdom being ravaged by the notorious free-booter Morar Rao. Even a signal defeat inflicted upon him by Manoji did not rid the Kingdom of this unwelcome guest. Finally a bribe of three lakh rupees arranged by the Nawab secured his departure from the flinty delta. It was along with the army of Raghuji Bhonsle that Morar Rao first entered Tanjore. He was appointed the Governor of Trichinopoly by Raghuji Bhonsle much to the chagrin of Pratapa Singh. Perhaps Satara expected Morar Rao to serve as a counterpoise to Tanjore.

The criticism that is levelled against Pratapa Singh, was that even though he owed his restoration to the Marathas, once he regained Tanjore, he did not co-operate with them. From the beginning the Bhonsles of Tanjore were for keeping aloof from their compatriots of Poona and Satara. Sivaji's treatment of Ekoji was not conducive to encourage closer relations. Further Pratapa Singh must have realised that his destiny lay in the South and was wise enough not to get enmeshed in the expansionist policy of Satara, which was now focussing its attention towards the North. Further placing of the notorious Morar Rao literally at his door step would not have pleased Pratapa Singh.

#### **PRATAPA SINGH AN ASSESSMENT :**

Pratapa Singh succeeded to a most unenviable position. The state was in a

weakened and impoverished condition. The demands for regular payment of tribute by the Nawabs of the Carnatic were becoming more and more menacing. These reached a climax when Pratapa Singh was de-throned. While the intervention by Satara brought about his restoration it introduced a disruptive element in the person of Morar Rao. Pratapa Singh had to withstand the pressure from a masterful person like Chanda Saheb. He required all the diplo-

matic skills at his command to keep Chanda Saheb at bay. Again the Anglo-French wars placed him between two fires. It was only his great skills of diplomacy and an astute use of his army that saved Tanjore. If Tanjore survived as an independent Kingdom at the end of this turbulent period, it owes it to the sagacity, courage and the indomitable will of Pratapa Singh.

Certainly Pratapa Singh was the most capable of the Maratha Kings of Tanjore.

## REFERENCES

1. Robert Orme 'A History of Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1659. (London : J. Nourse 1763, Vol. 1) PP 236-7.
2. Robert Orme called Pratapa Singh 'The Willy Tanjorean'
3. *Fort St George Country Correspondence for the year 1753*. Letter dated 11th July 1753 from the Nawab to the Governor.  
On 6th I arrived in Tanjore. Pratapa Singh showed me his friendship and Civilities beyond measure and ordered Manozey the best and most experienced Sardar in his service to go with me with an army consisting of as they say 3000 horse....'
4. Fort St. George, *Country Correspondence* 1758. P 57
5. Letter dated 29th October 1774, from the President and Council at Fort St. George to the Court of Directors  
'We thought we could not refuse an ally of the Crown the assistance of Company's troops in reducing one of his tributaries, whose conduct has become obnoxious to him'.

## 4. Judicial Reforms in Madras - A Beginning

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**T**he acquisition of territory by the East India company in Bengal was soon followed by the acquisition of territory on the coromandel coast. While the Nawab of Arcot gave a Jaghir to the company in 1763, Lord Clive obtained the Northern circars in 1766 from the Mughal Emperor. Warren Hastings and his successors paid a great deal of attention to the introduction of judicial reforms in the territories under the Bengal Government. But the territories under the Madras Government were made to wait for nearly 40 years before getting the benefits of systematic administration of justice by properly constituted courts of judicature.

At Madras, there was of course, a Mayor's Court and the Governor and Council formed a Court of 'Oyer and terminer'<sup>1</sup> and gaol delivery, but these courts had jurisdiction only over European British subjects and such of the Indians in the town of Madras who submitted their disputes to them by mutual consent. The reason for the delay in the establishment of law courts is to be sought not in the unwillingness of the Madras Government to administer justice to the people under their control but in the difficulties which they had to encounter in this regard during this period. Before turning their attention to administrative reforms, they not only had to wage a long and costly war with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, but also had to reduce the zamindars, poligars and other chieftains to their authority.

During this early period, the Madras territories therefore, presented a picture of arbitrary administration and oppression. There was no regular machinery for administering justice. Both civil and criminal justice was administered by the amildars,

the renters and the zamindars in a summary, arbitrary manner and in most cases, where they were the parties themselves, in an oppressive manner. The people therefore generally preferred to decide all the disputes among themselves with the help of a mutual friend or a principal inhabitant and resorted to Government officials only when the dispute was violent or involved considerable property. It is said that in most districts there was a practice of compounding with the renter for fines for offences of different kinds by paying him a lump sum. Even under the direct administration of the company's officials the condition was only comparatively better.<sup>2</sup>

The administration of justice formed part of the duties of the collectors and the chiefs and councils, but as they were not bound to observe any judicial norms, they decided disputes and punished criminals according to their discretion. Only occasionally they referred civil disputes to arbitrators chosen by the parties. However, in one respect a great reform was introduced. In criminal matters, all punishments of a barbarous nature like mutilation of limbs were expressly forbidden and ordered to be substituted by imprisonment for a term of years.<sup>3</sup> But, there was no machinery for bringing criminals to trial and hence they were simply thrown into prisons, where they lingered and made good their escape after some time or were released without any trial.<sup>4</sup> Later on they were ordered to be sent to Madras to be transported from thence beyond the sea.<sup>5</sup>

Under such a system, which approached "almost a state of nature",<sup>6</sup> there could not have been any security of life or property. As the prosperity of the country and the



revenues of the government were intimately connected with the confidence of the people attempts were repeatedly made to establish courts of law and to administer justice on a sound system. The Circuit Committee investigating the state of the Jaghir proposed in 1775 a plan for better administration of justice. Under this plan a court was to be established in every parganah of the Jaghir consisting of the renter, the canango, the Karnams and the headmen. This court was to hear and decide all civil disputes. It was to refer matters relating to inheritance, marriage etc, to the heads of castes and to employ arbitrators to hear matters involving the examination of intricate accounts. It was to inflict corporal punishment for petty offences of a heinous nature. Besides the parganah court there was to be established in each cusbah of a magan a lower court composed of the overseer, the Karnam and the headmen of the Cusbah and the village to try petty causes pertaining to sums under 20 pagodas. These proposals being conformable to ancient usage were approved by the government but were not carried into effect due to the threat of invasion by Haider Ali.<sup>7</sup>

In 1784, shortly after the Second Mysore War, the proposals were referred to the Committee of Assigned Revenue constituted for administering the revenues of the Jaghir and the countries temporarily assigned to the Company by the Arcot Nawab to defray the war expenses. This committee prepared and placed before the government in 1785, a regulation, based partly upon the Bengal Regulations and partly upon the usage of the coast.<sup>8</sup> This regulation primarily intended for the Jaghir country was also suggested, if found suitable, for adoption in the other territories under the government. It provided for the establishment at Conjeevaram of a civil court called 'Vyvahara Durmasanam' and a criminal court called 'Dandana Durmasanam' each consisting of five judges chosen from among the people. Three of

these judges were to sit by turns thrice a week during the 6 non-harvest months to hear all civil disputes except those which related to revenue matters, and all the 5 judges were to sit once in a month to try criminal offences like murder, robbery and theft. Some of the special features of the regulation were the appointment of paid arbitrators to hear cases pertaining to a sum of less than 50 pagodas, the commutation of sentences of mutilation of limbs to imprisonment with hard labour, the commutation of corporal punishment to fine in the case of persons of high caste and rank, and the selection of all the judges from among the Hindus on the ground that the Muhammadans formed only a small minority. The two communities were, however, to be tried according to their respective laws in all civil matters and according to the Muhammadan law, to which both were accustomed, in all criminal matters. The superintendent of the Jaghir should not interfere with the courts except when the judges were found to be partial. This Regulation was forwarded to England in early 1786 and the consent of the court of Directors was obtained for its adoption.<sup>9</sup>

At this time, the Circuit Committee which was investigating the state of the Northern Circars, also brought to the notice of the government that the establishment of judicial courts was the only means of delivering the people from the oppression of the Zamindars and renters. The government, however, were not then in a position to consider administrative reform due to their war with Tipu Sultan. Indeed, some attempts seem to have been made to introduce the regulation proposed by the Committee of Assigned Revenue, but shortly abandoned owing to the difficulty of finding suitable persons from among the people to discharge the duties of judges.<sup>10</sup>

In 1792, the regulation was again taken up for consideration, after the Third Mysore War. To overcome the difficulty the gov-

ernment desired the Board of Revenue to revise the regulation to make it conform to the Bengal Regulations in every respect. The regulation thus prepared by the Board of Revenue conformed generally to the Bengal Regulations of 1787 and provided for the establishment of provincial courts of adalat at each of the district head quarters and a sadr adalat at the Presidency and prescribed elaborate rules for the administration of justice by these courts. But, while the Bengal Regulations were already being altered at this time by Marquis of Cornwallis so as to provide for the appointment of separate judges to the courts of adalat, this regulation laid down that the Collectors should be the ex-officio judges. In justification, the Board explained that a judicial authority separate from that of the collector would jeopardise the realisation of the revenue. In this respect the views of the Board of Revenue were as much behind the spirit of the Cornwallis Regulations as those of the earlier committees were in advance of them. It may be mentioned here that the proposal to appoint the judges from among the people themselves which emanated from the Committee of Circuit and the Committee of Assigned Revenue was one which was advocated by able statesmen like Sir Thomas Munro nearly 30 years later. Despite this defect the regulation was approved without remarks both by the government and the court of Directors and it was resolved to establish the courts as soon as it should have been translated into the country languages. The translations were made soon but the final arrangements were postponed from year to year on the ground that it was necessary to

acquire more experience, as in Bengal, and on the ground that doubts had been raised as to whether, in the absence of a special charter, the executive government of the country was competent to administer civil and criminal justice in the territories under its control. This doubt the Directors promised to set at right by obtaining a charter.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile, the Cornwallis system of revenue and judicial administration was gaining ground in Madras. Shortly after introducing his reforms in Bengal, Cornwallis presented to Sir Charles Oakley, the Governor of Madras, 2 volumes containing full details of these reforms. The court of Directors, in 1795, issued instructions for the introduction on the Coast, of reforms similar to those of Bengal. The Government of Marquis of Wellesley likewise impressed upon the Madras government the advantages of the Bengal System. As the ground had thus been prepared for the introduction of that system on the Coast, the Board of Revenue had no hesitation in recommending its adoption in Madras and the government in agreeing with its opinion and resolving to establish courts of justice without delay. Capt. Leith, an officer well versed in Bengal Regulations was specially sent to Bengal to frame regulations which would suit the conditions prevailing in Madras. 24 regulations were placed before the Government by Capt. Leith and were passed into Law by the Governor-in-Council on the New Year Day of 1802.<sup>12</sup>

The Institution of courts followed in due course and administration of justice on systematic principles became at last an accomplished fact.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A royal commission conferring upon a judge or judges the power to hear and determine criminal causes pending in a particular country.
2. *Revenue Consultations*, 28th July 1775, P.P. 329-30; *Circuit Committee Proceedings*, 12th September 1784, PP.7-8; *Circuit Committee Report*, 7th October 1784, P.7; *Ibid*, 9th February, 1785, P.3; *Ibid*, 26th April; 1788, P.7.
3. *Revenue Consultations*, 10th August, 1792, PP. 1952-53.

4. *Ibid*, 4th September, 1799, P.1757.
5. *Ibid*, 4th March, 1791, PP. 411-14.
6. *Ibid*, 18th June, 1785, P.1206.
7. *Ibid*, 28th July, 1775, PP. 329-31, Revenue Despatches to England, 14th October, 1775, PP. 23-25.
8. Revenue Consultations, 30th March, 1784, P.471.
9. *Ibid*, 18th June, 1785, PP. 1204-16; Jaghir Records, Vol. 14, PP. 65-70; *Ibid*, Vol. 4, PP. 71-129; Revenue Consultations, 18th June, 1785, PP. 1211-2; Revenue Despatches to England, 12th January, 1786, PP. 211-3; Revenue Despatches from England, 20th August, 1788, PP. 49-53.
10. Circuit Committee Proceedings, 12th September, 1784, P.13; Circuit Committee Report, 11th October, 1784, PP. 26-34; Revenue Consultations, 10th August, 1792, PP 1953-54.
11. *Idem*. Baramahal Records, Vol. XIV, PP. 1-29; Revenue Consultations, 10th April, 1793, PP. 418-9; *bid*, 26th April, 1793, PP. 677-8; Revenue Despatches from England, 21st May, 1794, PP. 50-56; Revenue Consultations, 26th April, 1793, P.678; *bid*, 4th October, 1793, PP. 2304-9; *Ibid*, 3rd January, 1794, P.9; Revenue Despatches to England, 2nd October, 1795, PP.257-66; Revenue Despatches from England, 4th October, 1797, P.151.
12. Revenue Despatches to England, 18th October, 1794, P.162; Revenue Despatches from England, 28th April, 1795, P.82; *Ibid*, 3rd July, 1795, PP.90-1; Revenue Consultations, 4th September, 1798, P.2863; *Ibid*, 4th September, 1799, PP.1735-2295; *Ibid*, 10th April, 1801, PP.710-773; Judicial Consultations, 1st January, 1802, PP 552-557.



## 5. Banned Tamil Pamphlets of C. Subramania Bharathi

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A study of national movement however careful will give us a vague picture if we do not examine the writings of the Press at that time. The Press played a significant role by rallying public opinion against the colonialists. In this respect, barring few exceptions, the Tamil Press gave a prominent coverage to the policies and programmes of the nationalists.

During the 19th century, majority of the "vernacular Press in Madras was loyal and harmless as far as the Government was concerned".<sup>1</sup> But things began to change formulating a definite pattern in Press coverage in the first decade of the twentieth century. The partition of Bengal in 1905 proved to be a turning point in shaping the radical elements in the Indian National Congress to wage a relentless struggle to liberate the nation from the clutches of the British imperialists. Majority of the Press shared the concern of the radicals and gave a wide publicity to the strategy and programmes of the nationalists. Thus the Press of the said period signalled the emergence of a new thinking force.

The Government noticing the unrest in India in which the nationalist Press took an active part, promulgated stringent measures like the Press Act of 1910 to curb such hostile writings about the British administration. In short, it wanted to muzzle the free Press by proscribing papers and

such other literature which the Government regarded as seditious.

In this article an attempt is made to study the contents as well as the impact of C. Subramania Bharathi\* two innocuous Tamil pamphlets namely *Kanavu* (Dream) and *Arilorupangu* (one sixth share) both of which were banned by the authorities.

The two pamphlets of Bharathi came to the notice of the Government which took strong exception to its contents. Why were the British so allergic to the two tracts? Did they preach sedition? A perusal of the pamphlets will provide answer to these questions.

*Kanavu* was highly critical of the English system of education. Bharathi's frustration is quite evident from his following observation: "My guileless father possessing abundant resources... consigned me to the fatal pit of foreign education - the frightful abyss from which it is difficult to emerge to live, - the horrid cave in which live the beasts of evil infatuation, doubt, insincerity in each and every work, dispute and false hood".<sup>2</sup>

Bharathi had endeavoured in this pamphlet to explode the myth of the superiority of English system of education. To quote Bharathi, "...my father sent me to acquire a worthless learning which produces much misery and is disgusting to the Aryans - a learning which is resorted to by such

1. C.J. Nirmal, *Nineteenth Century Press and Development of Indian Nationalism, Madras, 1979, p.79.* Herein after referred to as Bharathi.

2. English translation of *Kanavu* enclosed in Judicial., G.O. No. 1588, 11th October 1911, p.2.

men as menial servants and slaves who live insincere lives, as spies who wander like dogs, as eunuchs who, regarding their bread alone as important, sell their lives, and by those who speak flattery to others. Will my mind... be set upon the learning of these low men."<sup>3</sup>

Bharathi in order to substantiate his contention advanced more examples in his tract *Kanavu*. He contended that "after studying mathematics for twelve years, they (students) are unable to ascertain the position of a star in the dark sky. Though they may study thousands of beautiful poems, they cannot perceive the deep meaning of the poet. They will talk incoherently of trade and science of wealth but they have not heard of the loss of the wealth in the country in which they live. They will mention the names of a thousand... Sastras but all to no purpose."<sup>4</sup>

Bharathi was also very much pained that the students possessed very little knowledge and were ignorant of their cultural greatness. This prompted him to quip. "Those who resort to the schools where English is taught know nothing of the poets Kamban and Kalidasa, the astronomer Bhaskara, the grammarian Panini, the philosopher Sankara, the king Pandya, Chola and Asoka and the triumphant hero Sivaji who over threw the tyrannical, rule of the mlechchas (Foreigners)". Bharathi rejected this type of education outright and called it as "impotent learning". His anguish as well as anger is evident from the following passage: "The imbeciles who are tossed to and fro in acquiring this impotent learning are ignorant of the past glory, the present degradation and the future state of the country... Oh my heart burns."

Bharathi did not spare even his teachers who taught him this type of education. He reveals his disdain in unequivocal terms: "To the liars who, under such names as Aiyar and Dorai imparted to me what is called English education. I will say this... spending all the time in listening to your instructions, my body has become wearied, my eyes have sunk, I have lost my strength, my mind has become weakened, my doubts have increased. I have lost my liberty and my understanding has been agitated like a blade of straw caught in water".<sup>5</sup>

The parting shot comes from Bharathi in the following manner: "The stupid education acquired at great cost from persons of dull understanding is not worth a clod of earth... Why have I been born in this land of misery?"<sup>6</sup> Thus *Kanavu* launched a tirade against the type of education that was imparted to the Indians.

The other pamphlet *Arilorupangu* presented in the form of a story, contained Bharathi's views on Swadeshism and social reforms. Bharathi has adopted a novel way to convey his ideas. The characters in this play are used to convey the progressive views of the author. The tract refers to the pathetic condition of the people involved in the Swadeshi Movement. Describing the despicable condition, in India, one of the characters in the play remarks, "... the bachelors alone could protect the land of Bharata now. The land which has been very lofty has become much degenerated. It has come to such a state that in the place where the Himalayas stood, there exists a dreary wilderness abounding in thistles and venomous reptiles. In the mansion in which Arjun dwelt, bats seem to be hanging."<sup>7</sup> He exhorted the bachelors and men of strong will to come forward to

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.* P.3.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Bharathiar Kathaigal*, Madras, 1977, p. 444.

protect the land declaring, "wanted bachelors." Wanted men of spiritual knowledge. Wanted heroes who do not desire for themselves the pleasures of the world. This Swadeshimism is not a mere secular affair; it is a religious faith, Those who embrace it should possess such rare qualities as vigour, spirit and an active devotion to duty."<sup>8</sup>

*Arilorupangu* also contains Bharathi's views on social reform. He refers to the social imbalances in a forthright manner. The impact of this work on the readers was such that it was regarded as a social gospel and Kanagalingam, a disciple of Bharathi declared that this pamphlet supported the cause of the socially depressed.<sup>9</sup>

The Government sent the translated versions of the two Tamil pamphlets to the Advocate General<sup>10</sup> who advised the Government to initiate proceedings against the pamphlets under Section 12 of the Indian Press Act of 1910.<sup>11</sup>

The Government instructed the Criminal Investigation Department to investigate the matter. It was found out that *Kanavu* and *Arilorupangu* were printed in

Pondicherry at the Saraswathi Press. P.B. Thomas, the DIG for Railways and CID said in his report that the two Tamil tracts were widely circulated and were found in Madurai and Tinnevely Districts and also mentioned in the correspondence seized from the houses of the accused in the Tinnevely Security case.<sup>12</sup>

The Government thereupon issued orders prohibiting the importation of *Kanvu* and *Arilorupangu* into British India.<sup>13</sup> The Government, aware of the fact that the extremists in Pondicherry were printing and circulating political literature, took up serious measures. It ordered the interception of the articles addressed to V.V.S. Aiyar, Bharathi, S. Srinivasachari, S. Nagasamy Aiyar, S. Gurusami Aiyar, Madasami Pillai and other radicals who resided at Pondicherry.<sup>14</sup> This rigid attitude of the police, in fact prompted Bharathi at a later date to address a letter to Ramsay Macdonald, the British Parliamentarian denouncing the police rule in India.<sup>15</sup>

In short, the two Tamil Pamphlets of Bharathi were widely read at that time and the contents produced considerable reaction from British authorities.

8. Translated version of *Arilorupangu* enclosed in Judicial, G.O. No. 1588, 11th October 1911, p.3

9. Ra. Kanagalingam, *Yen Gurunathar*, Madras, 1934, p. 43.

10. S.H. Slater, Under Secretary to Government Official Memorandum No. 4188-1, Judicial dated 8th September 1911 enclosed in Judicial, G.O. No. 1588, 11th October 1911.

11. Chief Secretary to the Government, dated 26th September 1911, No. 927 (Confdl) enclosed in Judicial, G.O. No. 1588, 11th October 1911.

12. Judicial, G.O. Nos. 1909-10, 6th December 1911.

13. Home - Political (A) Proceedings, January 1912. File Nos. 74 - 75 p.3.

14. Judicial, G.O. No. 11, 4th January 1912.

15. Judicial, G.O. No. 1294, 4th June 1914.



## 6. Impact of Second World War on Technical Education in Tamil Nadu

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The Second World war broke out in 1939 and India, as a part of the British Empire, was also involved in that war. The war had its implications on the economy and resources of India as well as on Britain. As in the case of the First World War which had aroused an unusual amount of interest in the development of India's economic resources,<sup>1</sup> the Second World War compelled the British to realise the need of promoting Indian industries. The British were also put to the necessity of pressing into service the entire machinery of the Government as well as the personnel under their command to meet the challenge posed by the war. It was only then that the shortage of technical personnel required to assist the Indian Army and Ordnance Factories was felt by them. The utter paucity of facilities for technical education, which was responsible for such a sorry state of affairs, also drew the attention of the Government on that occasion.<sup>2</sup> Therefore a Special Training Scheme was inaugurated in 1940.

### **SPECIAL TRAINING SCHEME**

The Government of India passed an Ordinance in 1940 and set up the National Services (Technical Personnel) Office under the Labour Department of the Central Government. That Body announced the War Technicians Training Scheme in the

same year. The scheme aimed to train some 52,500 men by 1943 and develop about 300 centres in all, throughout India. Admission was thrown open to all men between the ages of 17 and 40. Matriculation certificate was required for higher grade training and no literary qualification was emphasized for lower grade training, like carpentry and smithy. The British also brought some hundred Technical Instructors from England<sup>3</sup>. Factories and workshops, in addition to the already existing technical institutions, were also involved in training the technicians.

The Provincial Government in Madras was asked to set up the National Service Labour Tribunal to monitor locally the training scheme. Regional Inspectors were appointed by the Central Government to supervise the training centres. The Technical Recruiting Officers of the Indian Army selected the candidates. It may be noted that there were 6,318 applicants for the training when the scheme was announced and only 2,452 were selected out of them. They were to be trained in some 23 institutions which were recognised as fit for training the war technicians.<sup>4</sup>

### **SELECTION COMMITTEES**

In the next year the Government of India wanted to make the fullest use of all facilities for technical training available in each Presidency. Therefore Provincial and

1 *Report of the Tenth Indian Industrial Conference, held at Madras in 1914, p. Intro. Chap II*

2 *Government of India, Progress of Education in India, 1937-47, Decennial Review, Vol. I, Publication No. 113, (Delhi, 1948), p.172.*

3 *Ibid, pp. 173-174.*

4 *G.O. (Mis.) S. No. 11675, Public Works Department, 12 May, 1941.*

District War Committees were set up to speed up the Selection of candidates in direct association with the National Service Labour Tribunal.<sup>5</sup> These committees consisted of the District Magistrate or Senior Magistrate with one or more Principals of technical institutions, a Local Railway engineer or Engineering Workshop Manager, The Technical Recruiting Officers or the Assistant Technical Recruiting Officers of the Army and selected members of the War Committees in the districts. They were called as the Local Selection Committees. It only shows the gravity of the situation under which the dearth of technical personnel was realised.

### FURTHER DRIVE

In the middle of 1941 the Labour Department of the Government of India announced that a very large number of fitters, turners and machinists were required urgently and increased facilities for training them were to be made without delay. For that purpose technical institutions which had lathes or machines to train their own students were to be used for working a second shift and the other institutions which did not have them were to get two thirds assistance from the Government, if they were willing to instal such machines.<sup>6</sup> By September, 1941 there were 66 institutions identified and selected as training centres in the Madras Presidency and there were about 3,895 trainees in them, which included 1,823 fitters, 559 turners and 379 machinists.<sup>7</sup> Quick on the foot of the speedy implementation of the War Technicians Training Scheme, the Government of India also took a decision to partially militarise certain training centres, which was called as the "Civil Plan".

### THE CIVIL MILITARY PLAN

The urgent and growing demand for trained men for the Indian Army, due to war, necessitated a large number of partially trained men to be readily available at any given time. Therefore it was decided in September, 1941 to (1) call for volunteers for the Indian Army from among the trainees of larger training centres, (2) enroll them in the Army at once, (3) transfer those who had completed four months training to Army training centres, whether they passed the prescribed trade tests or not, and (4) transfer those who had not completed four months training to special centres under the Labour Department, called as "Civil Training Centres".<sup>8</sup> Certain private institutions like the P. Orr and sons Limited, Madras, and the P.S.G. and Sons Industrial Institute, Coimbatore were also selected to serve as Civil Training Centres in the Madras Presidency.<sup>9</sup> In another three months 34 training centres were converted into Civil Centres in addition to the already recognised 26 institutions. In 1942 the civil plan was revised to increase the pay for the trainees and subject them to military discipline. There were about 6,145, war technicians getting training in 60 centres in the Madras Presidency. At the end of 1942 Madras took the lead from the rest of India with 8,202 trainees. Bengal was second with 5,571 trainees, the Punjab third with 3,819, the United Provinces fourth with 2,811 and Bombay fifth with 2,253 trainees.<sup>10</sup> The trades required by the Army for the purpose of filling vacancies at Civil centres were blacksmiths, carpenters, draughtsmen, machanics, electricians, engine drivers, fitters, instrument machanics, painters,

5. *Ibid.*

6. G.O. (Mis.) S. No. 2735, *Public Works Department*, 8 Nov. 1941.

7. *Ibid.*

8. G.O. Confidential (MNis.), S. NO. 2685, *Public Works Department*, 5, Nov. 1941.

9. *Ibid*

10. G.O. (Mis.), S. No. 2948, *Public Work Department*, 19 Aug, 1942.

pattern makers, surveyors, textile refitters, tin and copper vulcanists, welders (electric and oxy-acetylene) and wireless operators.

### THE BEVIN TRAINING SCHEME

The Government of India also introduced another scheme during the war period, known as the Bevin Training Scheme. Indian youth between the ages 20 and 30 with a little general education were sent for training in some selected centres in England in the Engineering trades under that scheme. The first batch of 50 trainees, which included a few from the Madras Presidency, left for England in April, 1941. They were followed by another four batches in the next year. On their return they were employed in responsible supervisory posts including that of commissioned officers in the Army.<sup>12</sup>

The war exigency also compelled the Government of India to send more Indian Students abroad for training in the various branches of technology under the State Technical Scholarships Scheme, which was in existence from 1904. It was planned to send about 1500 Indian students in all in 1944<sup>13</sup>. Ten candidates were sent from the Madras Province in 1945 and another three left in 1946<sup>14</sup>. Later when the war came to an end, the process of sending abroad Indians slowed down.

### ALL INDIA COUNCIL OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The Central Advisory Board of Education prepared a report called the 'Post-War Educational Development of India', otherwise known as the **Sargent Plan**<sup>15</sup>. It pointed out the prospective needs of post-war industry and commerce for skilled technicians and the establishment of an efficient system of technical education as a matter of great urgency. A suggestion for the establishment of an All India Council of Technical Education was carried into effect in 1945 and the Council began to conduct a comprehensive survey of the whole field of technical education.<sup>16</sup> But for the war situation this Body would not have appeared in that year.

Thus during the war period and after swift attempts were made to develop technical education in India as well as in Tamil Nadu. It was due to the immediate requirement of technical personnel at the outbreak of the Second World War and the post-war reconstruction needs. It gave a momentum of the progress of technical education in Tamil Nadu and in no doubt had its impact upon that branch of education. The tempo which it generated continued even after the war and India's independence.

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11. G.O. Confidential, (Mis.), S.No. 2685, *Public Works Department*, 5 Nov. 1941.

12. Government of India, *Progress of Education in India, 1937-47, Decennial Review*, Vol. I. pp. 173-174

13. G.O. (Mis.), No. 1462, *Education and Public Health*, 18 Sep. 1945.

14. G.O. No. 271, *Education and Public Health*, 9 Feb. 1948.

15. Government of India, Bureau of Education, *Post-War Educational Development in India, Report by the Central Advisory Board of Education*, (Simla, 1944), pp. 36-47.

16. G.O. No. 213, *Education and Public Health*, 31 Jan. 1946.



## 7. Sufferings of Freedom Fighters of Tamil Nadu : A Study

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India's struggle for Independence is one of the greatest events in the history of the World. Every region of India contributed its share to this unique movement and Tamilnadu played a notable role in this remarkable event. During the period of the Freedom Struggle, the nationalists and the common people had to face severe hardships and pay heavy penalties for their steadfastness and deep involvement in the national movement. Also, they had to face severe ordeals from the inhuman measures adopted by the Imperialists, towards their subjects in India. Yet, the Freedom Fighters of Tamilnadu stood undaunted. The present study analyses the sufferings undergone by the Tamilnadu Freedom Fighters during the period of the British Rule and their selfless sacrifices during the course of the national movement in India.

Many works on Freedom Struggle give a vivid picture of the nationalist activities of the Freedom fighters of Tamilnadu. But the actual sufferings undergone by these noble men and the specific charges framed against them and the inhuman treatment they were to face with are not adequately focussed in these works. Much of the information about them is found in several confidential records and documents of the Government of Madras and in many prescribed works. These sources throw light on the miserable life of the Freedom fighters in prisons and their hardships and ordeals in their personal life and official career.

One of the striking personalities among the nationalists of Tamilnadu is V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, who was born in Ottapidaram, in the heroic Tirunelveli district in 1872.

Chidambaram, after his education, started practicing in the Sub-Magistrate's Court in Ottapidaram. He then moved to Tuticorin in 1900 and set up legal practice there.<sup>1</sup> But the national scene and the people's conditions influenced him so much that he was drawn towards the Swadeshi movement. In 1906, he organized the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company Ltd. in Tuticorin by which he combined patriotism and business and Swadeshism and shipping. This venture of Chidambaram Pillai soon alarmed the British Indian Steam Navigation Company and also the white merchants and white officials. Further, Chidambaram's active interest in the nationalist activities and in the programmes of the Indian National Congress enraged the British authorities. Particularly, when Chidambaram, Subramanya Siva and Padmanabha Iyengar were making arrangements for the celebration of 'Swaraj Day' in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli during the early part of 1908, they were charged with the false offence of disseminating sedition. After court proceedings, the three leaders were taken to the District Jail and on the way big crowds greeted them with the shouting of slogans like "Vande Māt'haram".<sup>2</sup> This incident was not over with slogans

1. R.A. Padmanabhan, *V.O. Chidambaram Pillai*, National Book Trust, India, New Delhi, 1977, p.25.

2. *IBID.*, pp. 59-65.

alone. Startling developments followed soon after the arrest of these leaders.<sup>3</sup> Riots sparked off at different places in Tirunelveli and peace was very much affected for three days.<sup>4</sup> This made the British to take stern action against the leaders. Hence, Chidambaram was charged under section 124-A, 109 and 114 of the Indian Penal Code for seditious speeches and for abetment of sedition. He was sentenced for all his offences for two terms of transportation for life each of 20 years and the sentences to run concurrently.<sup>5</sup> This shocked the whole nation and after an appeal from Chidambaram the sentence was reduced to six years' rigorous imprisonment. He was taken to Coimbatore Central Jail. His sufferings in Jails of Coimbatore, Palayamkottai and Cannanore were miserable and the harassments to him were intolerable.

Vindictive and harsh treatment was given to Chidambaram Pillai in the jail. He was given tortuous physical labour that sapped his energies. He was tied to an old type of wooden mill used for extracting gingelly oil. He was strongly yoked to the oil press like an animal and made to come round and round throughout the day under the scorching sun. His head was shaved and a strong iron chain was put on his ankles preventing him from walking with ease. This inhuman torture was devised to break his morale and nationalist tendencies. In addition to hard labour, he was also given scavenging work. He was also not treated properly. He was given a food which was of a rotten nature with full of maggots. Also he was kept in a dark cell in the dirty atmosphere.<sup>6</sup> His protests were also unheeded. In fact, his sufferings in the

jail shocked his wife, relatives and friends so much that they could not recover from it for a long time.

Yet, Chidambaram did not deviate from the path of nationalism. He continued his nationalist activities and during the period of Gandhi, he gave moral support to his programmes of Satyagraha. In the latest years, due to divergent views he could not agree with the views of the later congress leaders and hence he kept himself away from active politics. However, the Swadeshi hero's thoughts and dreams were only about motherland and her freedom. He died on 18, November 1936 listening to the inspiring poems of Subramanya Bharathi, extolling the motherland.

Another, selfless freedom fighter of Tamilnadu who sacrificed his whole life for the Indian National Movement was Subramanya Siva. From 1906 till his death in 1925 he devoted himself to the task of uplift and Independence of India. Along with V.O. Chidambaram, he participated in the Swadeshi movement and in various nationalist activities. His fearless speeches for the support of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods and his appeal to the people for a united effort to win freedom for the country angered the British authorities. His speeches were considered as seditious and charged as heinous crime.<sup>7</sup> Further the riots in Tirunelveli consequent upon the arrest of V.O. Chidambaram and Subramanya Siva added fuel to the fire of fury of the British Imperialists. Siva was charged under Section 124-A of the I.P.C. for his speeches. He was sentenced to ten years' transportation. The entire nation was shocked to note the ferocious character of the sentences. However, on ap-

3. G.O. No. 1542, Judicial Department, Government of Madras, 3 Oct., 1911.

4. Native Newspaper Report, *The Hindu*, 15 March, 1908; and Report on the Administration of the Police of the Madras Presidency, 1908.

5. R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-69.

6. T.G. Raghunathan, "V.O. Chidambaram Pillai" in *Tamilnattu Thiyagigal* (Tamil), Southern concern, Madras, 1950, pp. 28-29.

7. T.R. Raghunathan, *op. cit.*, p.56.,



peal and also due to his ill-health the sentence was reduced and he was released after four years.<sup>8</sup>

It was in the Central Jail at Trichy that Siva had the unbearable sufferings. He was kept in unhealthy surroundings. He was forcibly employed to clean the sheep's wool soaked in lime. It was a degrading task for a Brahmin of his type. Yet, he patiently tolerated this brutal treatment. The dust of the lime and the woolen pieces affected his health to a great extent. "he coughed and spat blood."<sup>9</sup> The food given to him was also of bad quality. He was also tied with a big chain around his ankle to restrain his free movement. Further, he was to shave his face with a tin sheet as per the Prison rules which he felt as very much unbearable on earth. Sooner, his health deteriorated and he became a victim of leprosy.<sup>10</sup> Sivam neither enjoyed comfort nor the freedom he liked in his life time. His sufferings in prison and in his personal life did not affect his nationalist spirit. Till his death he took part in all the nationalist activities like, toddy shop picketing, boycott of foreign goods and Satyagraha activities envisaged by Gandhiji.

In the same way, his contemporary revolutionaries namely Nilakanta Brahmachari, V.V.S. Aiyar and Vanchinathan suffered very much under the repressive measures of the British. In the Ashe murder case Nilakanta Brahmachari was sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and his immediate lieutenant Sankarakrishnan got five years, rigorous imprisonment. The young Vanchinathan after assassinating Ashe, the Collector of Tirunelveli, shot himself dead when he found that escape was impossible. These young revolutionaries were enraged at the

atrocities of the British Collector committed on the nationalists of Tamilnadu. When the inhuman treatment and the repressive policies of the British continued the young revolutionaries and aggressive nationalists resorted to terrorist activities which brought upon calamities to their lives. These extremists had to face severe hardships in the prisons quite often. Extremists like Poet Subramanya Bharathi and V.V.S. Aiyar had to take asylum in Pondicherry,<sup>11</sup> as their writings were considered as seditious by the British authorities. They had to be away from their families - from their dear and near for a number of years undergoing trials and tribulations in far off places.

Another young nationalist who lost his valuable life to the cause of the Freedom Struggle was Tiruppur Kumarasami. He was an ardent follower of Gandhiji's concept of Ahimsa. Impelled by patriotic sentiments he carried the national flag and went in the procession that was conducted in the early part of January 1932 in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. The infuriated police officials charged the processionists with heavy lathis to disperse them. Heavy blows fell on Kumaraswami and he fell unconscious. The severe head injury and the heavy bleeding did not spare his life. But the striking feature of this incident was that Kumarasami was not inclined to run for his life. Nor he desired to escape from the blows showered on him by police officials. He kept the national flag aloft and uttered continuously the slogan "Vande Matharam" till his death.<sup>12</sup>

The most significant personality among the Freedom fighters of Tamilnadu is C. Rajagopalachari, popularly known as Rajaji.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-73.

9. *Ibid.*, p.77.

10. Subramanya Sivam, *Sirivasam*, Trichy, Passion.

11. Sami. Chidambaranar, "V.V. Subramanya Aiyar" in T.G. Raghunathan, *Thamizhanattu Thiyagigal*, pp. 64-65.

12. S. Ramanathan, "Thiruppur Kumaran" in T.G. Raghunathan (Ed.), *Thamizhnattu Thiyagigal*, pp. 42-44.



His nationalist activities started from the second decade of the Twentieth century. He was very much inspired by the appeals and activities of Gandhiji and became his close associate in the Indian National Movement. In fact, he popularised all the programmes of Gandhiji in Tamilnadu.

During the Non-Co-operation Movement Rajaji spread the principles of the movement in different parts of Tamilnadu. He toured all over Tamilnadu and gathered support for the movement. In December 1921, he addressed a big gathering at the Vellore Fort Maidan defying the Section 188 of the Indian Penal Code. He was charged of disobeying the order prohibiting them from addressing public meetings. The other speakers on this occasion were E.V. Ramaswami Naicker and Subramanya Shastri who was the President of the Provincial Congress Committee. Rajaji was sentenced for 3 months simple imprisonment for his speeches on Swaraj and defiance of the orders in force.<sup>13</sup> He was kept in Vellore Central Jail along with Subramanya Sastry. The cell in which Rajaji was kept was not clean at all. The mosquitoes, flies, bugs, lice and other insects were in abundance in the cells of the prison.<sup>14</sup> The food served to him was also not good. The sauce which was supplied with the food was described by Rajaji as a potwash fluid. Sometimes, they were not supplied with food and were to be without food for several hours. Further, the bad odour from the toilet room filled the cells completely. These insanitary conditions were quite averse to Rajaji. This affected his health very much and he was quite often troubled by Asthma due to the bad conditions in the jail. In addition, the treatment given to him in respect of his

movements within the jail was also far from satisfactory.<sup>15</sup> Again during March 1930, after the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha he was convicted under Section 145 of Indian Penal Code and Section 74 of Salt Law. During the 1930's he was sentenced several times and was kept in the prison to face deplorable conditions there. He tolerated all these with fortitude of mind.<sup>16</sup>

Another multifaceted personality among the Indian patriots is S. Sathyamurthy. His patriotic sentiments and his nationalist zeal have won for him a high place in the history of the Freedom Struggle in India. He steadfastly worked for the Swaraja and incurred the wrath of the British Imperialists several times. During the Quit India Movement his speeches and activities infuriated the British authorities and hence he was arrested at Arakonam on 11 August, 1942 under Defence of India Rules. He was taken to Vellore Jail and soon transferred to Amroati Jail. He was taken in rickety bus from Nagpur to Amroati without even water to drink. It was a terrible journey for him and his health condition became very critical. He was brought back to Madras on representation and admitted in to General Hospital where he died on 10 January, 1943.<sup>17</sup> During the period of the struggle against the British, Sathyamurthy bore all the sufferings with great endurance and patience.

Another important personality in Tamilnadu in the sphere of Freedom Struggle was K. Kamaraj. He participated in the Congress activities right from the days of the Non-co-operation Movement. In 1930, he participated in the Salt Satyagraha Campaign and was sent to jail for two years. From this time onwards his participation in the National Struggle be-

13. Saroja sundararajan, *March to Freedom in Madras Presidency 1916-1947*, Lalitha Publishers, Madras, 1989, p. 278.

14. C. Rajagopalachar, *Jail Diary*, Swaraj Printing and Publishing Company, Madras, 1922, p.6.

15. *Ibid.*, Passion.

16. Saroja Sundararajan, *op.cit.*, pp.467-69.

17. *Ibid.*, p.605.

came very vigorous and he was arrested and kept in prison several times. He lost his affectionate relatives due to his long stay in prisons. He also suffered much in prison, remained as a bachelor and spent his life for the cause of the Independence of India.<sup>18</sup>

K. Santhanam was the first nationalist to court arrest in Tiruchy under Section 144 during the Non-Co-operation Movement. He was sentenced for 6 months imprisonment and his imprisonment continued every now and then during the period of Indian National Movement. He also suffered due to rotten food, and insanitary conditions in the prison cells.<sup>19</sup> T.S.S. Rajan's patriotic spirit impelled him to participate in the Congress activities like, toddy shop picketings and Satyagraha activities which brought him to jail in which he spent many days. His health was very much affected due to the consumption of unhygienic food and unhealthy atmosphere of the prison cells.<sup>20</sup>

Hari Sarvothama Rao, Kalki R. Krishnamurthy, M. Bhakthavatsalam also suffered imprisonment for their participation in the Indian National Movement. C. Subramaniam too was convicted for his active involvement in the Freedom Struggle and was made to work hard in the prisons in different capacities like kitchen maintenance etc.<sup>21</sup> Namakkal V. Ramalingam Pillai, a great National poet of Tamil Nadu, who supplied the salt Satyagrahis proceeding to Vedaranyam with this inspiring marching song titled "without sword and without bloodshed a war is coming" was

imprisoned in 1932 and was kept in the Jails at Vellore and Madura for one year. Owing to the bad food supplied to him in jails he developed acute stomach pain which lasted throughout his life.<sup>21A</sup>

It is also worthwhile to note that common people and persons of lesser importance also suffered along with the leaders in the same way. In fact, their sufferings were also immeasurable and beyond the power of description. Their prison experiences were quite appalling. They were ill-treated, insulted and brutally beaten on defiance to the orders of the authorities. Yet, these common men magnanimously bore the sufferings with courage.

Throughout the districts of Tamilnadu many people took active role in the Nationalist activities. In Kanyakumari region protest meetings were held under C.P. Elango, the Chairman of Thovala Taluk against the Simon Commission.<sup>22</sup> Also, Muthusami Pillai, S. Sivam Pillai of Theroor, A. Sivathanu of Vadasserri, S.V. Muthukkaruppu Pillai of Kottar led the people in the Khadar Movement, Salt Satyagraha, Vaikom and Suchindram temple Satyagraha Movements. They were arrested and kept in prisons under rotten conditions. Boothalingam Pillai of Alagiya Pandiyapuram Village in Thovala taluk rendered selfless services to the cause of nationalism and spent most of his life in the prison.<sup>23</sup>

The Imperialists victimised all sections of the Indian Community for their vigorous involvement in the national movement. When the advocates of Salem suspended

18. Chockalingam, *Kamaraj*, Madras, 1955, (Tamil Nadu Archives).

19. A.L. Sabapathy, *Indhiya Sundandira Por* (Tamil) Trichy District Freedom Fighters Congress Committee, Trichy, 1976, pp. 785-86.

20. T.S.S. Rajan, *Ninaivu Alaigal*, Kalaimagal, Madras, 1947, pp. 225-240.

21. C. Subramaniam, *Hand of Destiny, Memoris Vol. I, The Turning Point*, Bharathiya Vidya Bhavan, 1993, pp. 45-50.

21(a) Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai 'Enkathai', palaniappa Bros.

22. K. Karunakaran Nair, *Who is Who of Freedom Fighters of Kerala*, Government Press, Emakulam, 1975

23. *Ibid.*, *Passim*.



practice at Court in 1922 for picketing at the toddy shops and for delivering speeches on nationalism they were arrested and harassed. Students were also warned severely and were victimised when they joined with the Non-Co-operators. Government servants were also every now and then penalised for their support to the nationalists. The Non Co-operators were convicted under Sections 107, 144 and 188 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.<sup>24</sup> Even women were not spared by the British government and they were also convicted for participating in the Quit India Movement in February 1943 and detained under Rule 20 of Defence of India Rules.<sup>25</sup>

For the British government, caste, sex or religion was not a consideration as regards the punishments to the nationalists. Nationalist Muslims were also subjected to harassment and humiliation for their zeal in the nationalist activities. Abdul Shukur of Thiruvannamalai, Mohideen Basha of North Arcot and many more muslims were convicted under false charges and kept in privation for anti-British activities. Mohideen Rowthar in Tanjore jail suffered from total blindness due to excessive suffering in the prison. Many muslims lost their employment also for their activities against the British administrators.<sup>26</sup>

The labourers of Tamilnadu too were penalised for their involvement in the Indian National Movement. The labour Movement was an integral part of the Freedom Struggle of India and the British authorities never hesitated to curb the

upsurge of the labour force also. They were also periodically suppressed and harassed. Yet, the labour force could not be controlled and to the amazement of the Imperialists, they turned out to be a great force on the side of the Nationalists by passage of time.<sup>27</sup>

This was then followed by a mass upsurge all over Tamilnadu. The common people who become more conscious of the developments around, gave a helping hand to the leaders in their struggle against the British Imperialism. When the leaders were convicted and put to great hardships, in prisons, the mantle was taken up by the men of lesser importance. This second line of leadership was supported by the common people of Tamil Nadu and this process continued throughout. The British authorities were perplexed over this development and their efforts to curb this ended only in failure.<sup>28</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The leaders and common people of Tamilnadu suffered greatly in prisons and their personal and official lives due to their patriotic sentiments and involvement in the Freedom struggle against the British rule. However, their spirit would not be controlled or contained by the repressive measures and inhuman treatment of the British authorities. These freedom fighters bore the sufferings and ill treatment with great courage and fortitude of mind. It is this steadfastness and determination of the Freedom Fighters that amazed the British administrators who at the end decided to Quit India once and for all.

24. Saroja Sundararajan, *op.cit.*, pp. 281-301.

25. *Ibid.*, p.609.

26. *Biographical sketches of Muslim Freedom Fighters in Tamilnadu*, Tamilnadu Archives.

27. Arandhai Naryanan, *Viduthalaipporil Tolilalar*, New Century Book House, Madras, 1990. *Passim*.

28. A.L. Sabapathy, *op. cit.*, *Passim*.



## 8. Women's Education : Attitudes of Indian Intelligentsia and the British Government.

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The development of Women's education is integrally linked with the perception of their roles within the Indian Society. The British conquest and its rule over India in the 18th century brought about a transformation of Indian Economy as well as Society. The new economic system and administrative machinery required a new type of educated personnel which resulted in the establishment of Western educational institutions. As a result a new class of intelligents trained in modern Western Sciences and cultures emerged in the Indian Society. The articulate intelligentsia became the pioneers of all progressive democratic movements-Social, Political, Economic and Cultural. Of all the activities of this group, emancipation of Indian Women is more significant.

The Indian intelligentsia felt that by providing education to Indian women, the social evils that were linked to the issue of preserving and strengthening basic family structure could be eliminated and good wives and mothers could emerge from the same. The Women's education movement was "Indianized" over the course of the 19th Century. "If the sati Abolition Movement provided one of the "reasons" advanced in favour of reforming women's conditions, the Women's education movement was to provide another."<sup>1</sup> The importance of educating women was first discussed publicly in Bengal by the Atmiya Sabha, founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy

in 1815. With the establishment of the Bethune School in Calcutta in 1849, Indian initiative in the sphere of Women's education was formalised. In the years following a number of schools were started particularly in the three presidencies.

The movement for women's education is generally described as having been formed by emerging intelligentsia which wanted to adapt its women to a western milieu. With the growth of western education and new employment opportunities for men, the public private dichotomy grew into an opposition between the world and the home, rather than a complementarity of the two. The Women's education movement was soon given a new fillip by the entry of nationalist women, who in turn, redefined the rationale for women's education. From its inception, the movement has concentrated on educating women to fulfil their roles as wives and mothers. In 1904, Annie Besant elevated this into a national quest saying, "The national movement for girl's education must be on national lines; it must accept the general Hindu Conceptions of women's place in the national life.... India needs nobly trained wives and mothers, wise and tender rulers of the household, educated teachers of the young, helpful counsellors of their husbands, skilled nurses of the sick rather than girl graduates".<sup>2</sup> Sarojini Naidu also expressed similar views regarding Women's education. To her, education was a birthright and

1. Radhakumar, *The History of Doing: An illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Peminism in India 1800-1990* (New Delhi, 1993 p.14)
2. Annie Besant, *Wake up India* (Madras, 1913) P.73.

those who denied it to their women robbed themselves and the nation, for Indian women were mothers of the nation.<sup>3</sup> The rudiments of reading, writing and little arithmetic, hygiene, needlework, embroidery and the vernacular language as well as English were regarded as being more adequate for girls than for boys. There were not only debates on the kind of syllabi and text books to which girls should have access, but also little unanimity about the amount of education to be given to them. One such debate took place in the meeting of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George regarding the medium of instruction in the Government Girl's School, Triplicane in 1916.

Triplicane is one of the suburbs of the Madras City and owes its fame and popularity to its ancient Sri Parthasarathi temple.<sup>4</sup> It is the first village acquired by the British in 1676, for a rent from the Sultan of Golconda.<sup>5</sup> Triplicane, Egmore, Purasawalkam and Tondiarpet villages are described in the East India Company's records as the "Four old Towns".<sup>6</sup> By 1916, it became a crowded residential quarter for Brahmins of the official and Professional Classes. There is a Government Girl's Secondary School attended nearly by 290 girls. The Secondary Schools in the Madras Presidency had the following classes: Infant Class, First Class, Second Class, Third Class, Fourth Class, First Form, Second Form, Third Form, Fourth Form, Fifth Form and Sixth Form.<sup>7</sup> As per the Madras Education Rule 68 with rule 69, below the third class and including third, all students should in all recognized, both

the government and other Secondary schools should receive instruction through their own vernaculars. As an exception to the Madras Education Rules, in the Government Girl's School, Triplicane, English was the medium of instruction from the third class upwards as majority of the parents of the girls attending the school specially wished that their daughters should be taught English.<sup>8</sup> The Inspectress of Girls' School considered that it is only by so doing that girls, who unlike boys have practically no opportunity of speaking English outside the school, can attain the desired standard in English by the time they reach fourth form.<sup>9</sup> The Indian intelligentsia introduced a resolution seeking modification of the system which was in vogue in the Triplicane Girls' School. There is an interesting debate that took place between the intelligentsia and the British officials, which reveals their attitudes towards women's education. From their arguments it was explicit that the intelligentsia felt women's education should revitalize and preserve the patriarchal family system, produce more companionable wives and better mothers.

There are diverse opinions as to whether the medium of instruction in higher educational institutions should be English or the Vernacular languages. One school of thought supported English as the medium of instruction whereas the other School of thought subscribed to the idea of instruction in vernacular languages. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, a member of the Governor's Council presented a Resolution (No. XVIII) and requested the Governor-in-Coun-

3. Sarojini Naidu, *Speeches and Writings* (Madras, 1904), pp. 18-20

4. C.S. Srinivasachari, *History of The City of Madras* (Madras, 1939) P. XXXIV.

5. K.L. Narisimhan, *Madras City: A History* (Madras, 1968), P. 13.

6. Ibid.

7. *Report on the Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1911-12 and for the Quinquennium 1906-07 to 1911-12* (Madras. 1913). P. 17.

8. G.O. No. 966 (Miscellaneous). 3-9-1915, Education Department TNA (Tamil Nadu Archives).

9. Ibid.



cil for a modification of the system in vogue in the Government Girls' School, Triplicane.<sup>10</sup> He presented the following information in the Governor's Council. In the Triplicane Girls' School with the special permission from the Inspectress of Girls' school right from third class onwards the medium of instruction is English.<sup>11</sup> Srinivasa Sastri visited the Girls' school of Triplicane and ascertained the fact that from infant standard upwards, the whole instruction is given in English.<sup>12</sup> The assertion made was the parents of the girls, at least a great majority of them desired this system should be followed. He said he was not against the girls learning English, but sound knowledge may be conveyed in such subjects as history, geography and arithmetic, if they were taught on reasonable principles through their own vernaculars instead of through a foreign language. "After all, the school life of the girl is not very long... Give the girls during the few brief years that they spend at school as much of this educative knowledge as possible in as clear and in as impressive a way as possible, by all means, combine with it as much facility to talk English as you can, but do not, in the name of sound education teach them everything through the medium of English."<sup>13</sup>

Rao Bahadur B. Narasimheswara Sarma, another member of the Governor's Council said that the love of mother tongue shall be implanted, especially in the case of girls who have the future of the homes in their hands. "The 250 or 290 girls whatever may be the strength of the school are intended to be trained, not so much

for any particular profession as to be the mothers of the future generation".<sup>14</sup> K.R.V. Krishna Rao another member of the Council is of the opinion that a girl received education upto her 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> year and the girls should be taught in the vernaculars so that these girls may be enabled to pursue their studies after leaving the school. A.S. Krishna Rao, Dr. T.M. Nayar, Rao Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar members of the Governor's Council also laid emphasis on teaching girls through vernaculars.<sup>15</sup>

J.H. Stone, Director of Public Instruction replied to the queries presented by the Indian intelligentsia in the Governor's Council. He said that he had received few days back a petition from a number of influential parents of Triplicane who stated that while they wanted their girls to learn English as much as possible, they did not want that medium for their instruction in ordinary subjects like history, geography and arithmetic, lest they should suffer. The Director of Public Instruction had visited this school and considered it as a well-organised and well-taught school.<sup>16</sup> "It is a pre-eminent school amongst girls schools. In his opinion, judged by the results, the girls of the school were learning English particularly well, and their progress in general subjects was not suffering much. He had received a petition from 25 parents out of 290 girls in that school and he opined that not very many parents were represented in that petition. Amongst the signatories to the petition, there were intelligentsia such as professors of colleges, High Court vakils, government pension-

10. Sec. G.O.No. 966 (Miscellaneous) 3.9.1915 and G.O.No. 371 (Miscellaneous) 4.4.1916, Education Department TNA

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George assembled for the purpose of making laws and Regulations from July 1915 to June 1916 (Madras, 1917), P.407. (Hereafter mentioned as Proceedings of the Council of the Governor.*

13. *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor, P.140.*

14. *Ibid.* P. 421.

15. *Ibid.* PP. 417-21

16. *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor, P. 413.*



ers, men belonging to various callings, and professions.<sup>17</sup> He concluded that there is no need for any modification in the system of English as medium of instruction. Ultimately, the Resolution regarding modification in the system of English as medium of instruction in the Government Girl's School, Triplicane was placed in the Governor - in - Council and lost.

The above mentioned debate reveals the dichotomy that prevailed among the intelligentsia regarding women's education. While a group of them argued for granting of education of girls in English because they as much as boys are to develop their total personalities, there was another forum which demanded education through vernaculars. Western education had created a new breed of young men who expected some thing more from their prospective brides. There were certain tangible benefits to be had from giving girls some basic learning, skilfully interwoven with fables, stories or even moral education which taught the value of obedience, patience, chastity and of course, the joys of motherhood. By and large, the aim of

education was to create not only competent wives and mothers but also intelligent companions for Indian men. As noted by scholars<sup>18</sup> of women's education, women's education in the 19th century and well into the 20th century, had little to do with economic functions, needs, or development of professional expertise among women. Education for men was directly related to the pursuit of employment whereas, women's education had no economic function. It is precisely over an interpretation of roles that a conflict arises between the ideals of womanhood and the ideals of education. The purported aims of education which are the creation of a certain measure of independence of thought, a spirit of enquiry and of objectivity could well threaten the well maintained differences between the sexes. A workable via media between the two sets of ideals was established in British India with the ideas of separate curricula and subjects for boys and girls. Thus, the concept of women's education was limited to producing good home-makers and perpetuating patriarchal ideology.

17. *Ibid.*, P. 416.

18. See Gulam Murshid, *Reluctant Debutante: Response of Bengali women to Modernisation, 1849-1905* (Rajshahi, 1983); Meredith Borthwick, *The changing Role of Women in Bengal 1849-1900* (Princeton, 1984) & Gowri Visvanathan, *Masks of conquest : Literary Study and British Rules in India* (London, 1990).

## 9. Sir Thomas Munro as the Civil Administrator in The Baramahal (1792-1799)

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**T**homas Munro joined the service of the East India Company as a Military Cadet and arrived at Madras on 15th January 1780 and continued in the same service upto 1792. He was employed in the civil administration from 1792 to 1807 in several places i.e., Baramahal, Kanara and Ceded Districts. From 1814 to 1818 he worked as President of the Judicial Commission and finally from 1820 to 1827 as the Governor of Madras.

The aim of this paper is to throw light on the Civil Administration of Munro in the Baramahal Region during 1792-1799. The experiences he gained in this territory as an Assistant Collector for seven years stood him in good stead in his future assignments with the Company.

By the treaty of Srirangapatnam, which ended the Third Mysore War in 1792, Tipu Sultan ceded half of his dominions to the East India Company and its allies - the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas. The Company got as its share the Malabar District on the West Coast and the Baramahal i.e., the Modern District of Salem, Dharmapuri and a part of Tirupathur<sup>1</sup>. For the Civil Administration of the territory, Lord Corn Wallis, selected Captain Read as the Superintendent of revenue and appointed Munro and two other Military Officers, namely, Macleoad and Graham and his assistants.<sup>2</sup>

The administration of the Baramahal before the British took over had been oppressive. The observations of Nilmani Mukherjee bring home the point "the evils which characterized Tipu's land revenue administration could be described as heavy

taxation, inadequate revenue to the State, administrative inefficiency, departmental corruption and the misery of the ryots<sup>3</sup>. The obvious reason for such a state of affairs was that Tipu engaged himself in frequent wars and as a consequence, was compelled to be absent from the capital. Naturally, the administration fell into the hands of his corrupt subordinates. While Tipu remained ignorant of the activities of his subordinates, they exacted as much as they could from the ryots, who were thoroughly discontented<sup>4</sup>.

Under these circumstances, Alexander Read took over the administration of the territory and divided it into three divisions viz., North, South and Central. Graham and Macleoad were allotted North (Krishnagiri) and South (Salem) Division respectively and Thomas Munro was given charge of administration of the Central Division with its Headquarters at Dharmapuri, which consisted of Sankargiri, Trichengode, Yedapadi, Mallesamudram, Nangavalli, Omalur, Tenkaraikottai, Harur, Pennagaram, Adamankotta and Morapur<sup>5</sup>.

The immediate problem of Munro was two-fold : 1) to maintain the existing collection of land tax, and (2) simultaneously, to collect the particulars which would be helpful to decide upon the land tax to be levied by the Government on a permanent basis<sup>6</sup>.

To achieve these ends, Munro moved from village to village, mixing freely with the people among whom his whole time was spent and very soon he acquired considerable knowledge and experience<sup>7</sup>.

In each village, from time immemorial,

accounts had been maintained, showing accurately the amount of produce, of each field, in the year of the yield, what crops had been grown on these lands, and cultivated by whom, how much had been the ryots' share, how much had been levied by the Government, and what had been the extent of contributions levied for spiritual and temporal wants of the villages<sup>8</sup>. The entries of the revenue village accounts supplied by the village officers of Tipu did not tally with the data collected by Munro<sup>9</sup>.

Thomas Munro observed that those who were responsible for the treaty of 1792 did not know the exact value of the territory ceded by Tipu and that of the territory retained by him. But it could easily be seen that Tipu deliberately undervalued the unwanted territory, which he handed over to the British<sup>10</sup>. When the relevant papers were demanded, the Karnams and other officials of Tipu dallied in producing them and when, at last the papers were produced, they were absolutely unsatisfactory. "Papers of this description would serve no useful purpose as they did not state the revenue of any particular year, but were made up of the extract of the accounts of different years"<sup>11</sup>. The accounts were cooked up for the occasion.

Therefore Munro sought permission from the company to conduct a survey of the Villages in order to find out the resources of the territory. Before that, lands in small portions were rented out, initially for one year by bid to patels or other inhabitants of character and with property. The renters were asked to collect from the produce of the land  $\frac{2}{5}$  of the average crops or its equivalent in money, as land tax. This was subsequently raised or lowered according to the nature of the land. While fixing the Thirvai or tax, distances from town and market, strength and health of ryots' stock were also to be considered. In all cases, the ability of the ryots' was also taken into

account<sup>12</sup>. It is interesting to note that Munro enumerated 66 different rates of Thirvai on dry land averaging 0.21.40 pagadas per acre and 51 different rates on wet land averaging 2-3-28 pagodas per acre<sup>13</sup>.

A curious and peculiar method of tax collection adopted by Read, the Superintendent of the territory was the joint responsibility of the Villagers for payment of revenue of a village. Munro felt that such joint responsibility would give room for the prevalence of laziness among some farmers, who knew that their failure to pay the rent would be made up by others. However Read was of the opinion that this joint responsibility assured a definite receipt of revenue to the Company, therefore a strict vigilance was advocated for the implementation of this responsibility<sup>14</sup>.

Regarding Inam lands status quo was maintained till their cases were verified. Instructions were given to Jaghirdars, Palems and others who claimed their rights to meet the respective officers incharge of this assignment with their Sannads and other documents to prove their claim.<sup>15</sup>

Munro, farmed out the collection of revenues to inferior patels of village, depriving the headman of the Village from exercising influence over large tracts of land for a number of years. Munro's notions seems to be that inferior patels would not resort to heavy taxation of the ryots<sup>16</sup>. But patels appointed by Munro, evaded payment of their own rent, favoured their friends and collected extra taxes from others. They also violated the instructions of the Government by collecting  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the produce instead the stipulated  $\frac{1}{3}$ .<sup>17</sup> Macelod and Graham also had the same type of bitter experience with them. Therefore it was decided to introduce a system that provided opportunity for the ryots to pay taxes directly to the Government, thus eliminating middlemen. This system later on was popularly known as Ryotwari System.



To achieve this, a through land survey was undertaken in addition to the demographic and economic survey of the region to provide information about the inhabitants, their ways of life, the products, land tenure, the state of cultivation and other facts of agrarian economy. Thirvai or money assessment could have been done without much tedious survey, provided the Karnam gave the correct account and the ryots told the truth. But because both the Karnam and the ryot concealed as much truth as possible, a detailed survey became imperative to Munro<sup>18</sup>. He turned his attention more fully to land revenue settlement. His approach was essentially pragmatic, uninfluenced by any ideology. With practically none of the basic guidelines except his own commonsense, complemented by the wide consultations with the local expertise and concern for the ordinary ryot, Munro, by trial and error, devised a mechanism of survey and settlement of land tenure in a manner advantageous to the ryot, and with an assured revenue to the Government. His zeal for work left him hardly any time for pastime or physical comfort. A glimpse of his daily routine can be had from a letter he wrote to his mother on 17 May, 1795: "where I am now, I have no choice of study, or society, amusement. I go from Village to Village, with my tent, settling the rents of the inhabitants; and this is so tedious and teasing a business, that it leaves room for nothing else - for I have no hour in the day that I can call my own"<sup>19</sup>. He displayed this type of hard work and interest through out his career as a Civil Administrator in other parts of Madras Presidency also.

After the completion of the land survey, the settlement officers prepared pattas for individual ryots under the Ryotwari System. This was a mode of settlement with small farmers whose average holding was about 6½ acres and pattas were issued on individual basis or on joint holding basis. Once joint patta was issued, it must

however remain joint until all the parties agreed to a division<sup>20</sup>.

With all the precautions undertaken by the Company Authorities, there was a heavy fall in land revenue in the territory in the year 1797<sup>21</sup>.

Thomas Munro analysed the reasons for the fall of revenue thus: the assessment was so heavy that the ordinary inhabitants of the village could not pay the prescribed rent<sup>22</sup>, the privileges given to the ryots to cancel the allotted land annually, if they could not cultivate it, resulted in a loss to the Company<sup>23</sup>.

Many of the ryots did not have even a single bullock, and they borrowed a pair for a short time, during the ploughing season and cultivated the land. They were unable to properly manure the land and they could not remove the weeds regularly. The produce was usually insufficient even for their subsistence during the year. If the production was plenty, they gave whatever they could spare, if it was otherwise, they gave nothing<sup>24</sup>.

The simplicity and cheapness of cultivation tempted even the labourer to become the owner of the land under the ryotwari system. Whenever he saved a few rupees, he bought a pair of bullocks and a plough which did not cost him more than a rupee and rented a few acres of land from the Government, and commenced the cultivation. If he was successful he continued his business, otherwise he sold his cattle to pay his rent, returned to his employment as a common labourer<sup>25</sup>. Since the yield from the cattle-stock was more profitable and less taxable than the produce of the land and since there was every chance to conceal the income from the cattle, the farmers were prepared to improve their cattle stock rather than cultivate the land under this system<sup>26</sup>.

Before Read could proceed further he was called back for military duty. Munro was transferred to Kanara, and was not

available to set right the defects that had crept in the system during the time of its implementation<sup>27</sup>.

The primary intention in introducing the survey was to eliminate the intermediaries, who were terribly oppressing the ryots. The privileges of farming extended to several small land holders destroyed the monopoly enjoyed by a few polegars and zamindars<sup>28</sup>. The defects that were found in the Ryotwari System in the Baramahal Territory, were to a great extent rectified by Munro, while he introduced the same system successfully in Royalaseema where he was a Principal Collector<sup>29</sup>.

In the territory some polegars, patels, and Jaghirdhars were disturbing the peace, by encroaching on others' territories, and by inducing thieves to rob the property of other polegars. Some appropriated the money collected and fled to the territory of other polegars. Munro took severe action against such people with the support of other officials<sup>30</sup>. The experience he gained in curbing the powers of some polegars and others made him successful while he was tackling the polegars in the ceded districts. When some eighty polegars with 3000 armed followers, indulged in looting the Villages and creating terror among the people, even Madras Government hesitated to take stern action against them. But Munro with the help of General Campbell was able to subdue the polegars and disband their armed followers<sup>31</sup>.

Regarding judiciary he entrusted the revenue officers with the responsibility of dispensing justice to the people. The judges should consult religious scriptures while delivering judgement on cases of religious matters. Panchayat courts were also allowed to function. All the judgements were to be translated into local languages<sup>32</sup>. When he became the President of the Judicial Commission, he submitted a report in April, 1816. Most of his recommendations like the transfer of supervision of Police from the Judge to the Collector, the

appointment of Village Officials to deal with petty thefts were all on the same lines as had been practised by him in the Baramahal territory<sup>33</sup>. He believed that in a populous country like India Justice could be well dispensed only with aid of Indians themselves. European Judges should only watch over their proceedings and see that they executed their duties properly<sup>34</sup>.

Thomas Munro as Civil Administrator in the territory realized the importance of the knowledge of the local language to the officials. He suggested to Read that Pat-tas, Government Circulars, Judgements should also be in the local languages. He insisted that British Officials should learn the local languages. Based on his experience in the territory, when he became the Governor of Madras, he insisted upon the British Officials to have a knowledge of the languages of the places where they were to serve. He said that no man should get the charge of a District, who does not understand the language of the natives; for unless he was hardworking enough for this he will never have enough qualification for being a Collector<sup>35</sup>.

The great service that Thomas Munro rendered in the field of revenue settlement in the Baramahal was an important landmark in the history of Madras Presidency.

The survey and land settlement was a pioneering work and as actually a bold venture undertaken by Munro and other officials with a good intention. So despite the drawbacks that usually went with such innovative enterprises the survey was a thorough piece of monumental work. The range and variety presented by the survey was unequalled and the minute details brought out by it were unprecedented in the annals of agrarian innovation<sup>36</sup>. The greatest tribute to the settlement was paid when it was reintroduced in the territory and other parts of Madras Presidency later with little modifications by Sir Thomas Munro. Therefore though the innovator of Ryotwari Systems was Read, this system

was attributed to Munro, who perfected and popularised it throughout the presidency.

Munro had his apprenticeship years at Baramahal which experience served him enormously when he held several administrative offices in the Presidency before he

became Governor of the Presidency. Munro became one of the most popular Governors of Madras Presidency and his initial training ground was Baramahal where he displayed his accumen, his sympathetic understanding of the natives and his penchant for hard work.

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## 10. Subramania Siva's Patriotic work in Dharmapuri District

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In the beginning of the 20th century, the great Nationalist leader Subramania Siva of Tamilnadu contributed immensely to the movement for the liberation of Indians from the slavery of the British rule. He was one of those selfless patriots who sacrificed their lives for the cause of the national movement in Tamilnadu under the leadership of Tilak. The others were poet Subramania Bharathi, V.V.S. Iyer, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai and Vanchinatham. Poet Bharathi described Subramania Siva as 'Shivaji'.<sup>1</sup> He was a very close associate of V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, founder of Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company at Tuticorin. Siva inculcated a sense of nationalism and patriotic fervour to the people of Tamil Nadu which played a great role in the National movement.

### EARLY LIFE:

Subramania Siva was born in Vattalakundu, in Madurai district of Tamilnadu on 4-10-1884, to the parents Rama Iyer and Nagalakshmi Ammal<sup>2</sup>. He had his early education at Madurai, Trivandrum and Coimbatore. While he was at Trivandrum, he was inspired by the lecture delivered there by Chandra varma of Arya Samaj in 1906. He developed his love for the country and started "Dharma Samaj" and induced the youth for fighting

against the British for freedom. While he was at Tuticorin, he got the friendship of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Bharathi. Siva was arrested for his anti-British propoganda, and was imprisoned in Salem Jail for 6 years. After his release in 1912, he came to Madras and started a journal called "Gnana Banu" and "Prapancha Mithra"<sup>3</sup>. Siva attended a conference at Calcutta held under the presidentship of Lala Lajpathi. He preached his ideals to the nook and corner of Tamilnadu. The British Government gave him a lot of trouble. Even then he was not frightened and pointed out the atrocities of the foreign rule to the people. He was in prison for a total period of 9 years. at Salem jail<sup>4</sup>.

### SIVA AND HIS ACTIVITIES

Siva had many followers in Dharmapuri district. With their support he spread the message of nationalism far and wide with devotion and dedication<sup>5</sup>. Thiyaagi Theerthagiri Mudaliar of Dharmapuri encouraged Siva in many ways. Siva used to call him as Emden<sup>6</sup>. Chinnamuthu Mudaliar, of Papparappatti (25km from Dharmapuri) was a close friend of Siiva and helped him liberally during his campaign against British Government in Dharmapuri District<sup>7</sup>. He inspired the youth to fight for freedom and gave them

1. *Thiyagi Theerthagiri Cenenary Celebrations Survenirs, Dharmapuri 1985 Page 78*

2. 'Subramania Siva' by T.V. Rangasami, Madras.

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6. *Letter of Siva dated 11-2-1922 from Kumbakonam.*

7. *Interview by the author with Thirunavakkarasu, S/o. Chinnamuthu Mudaliar of Papparappatti on 6-12-1987.*

training to do so. He founded a "Bhajana Sangh" and propagated the patriotic songs of "Mahakavi Subramania Bharathi throughout Tamil Nadu by going from place to place by foot. His disciple Kandasamy was a great singer in his group. Siva gave him a title "Kodaiyidi Pulavar" <sup>8</sup>. He sang Bharathi songs such as "Vazgha Tilakar Namam Vazgha." "Veezhga Kodunkonmai Veezhga" in a loud voice to the villagers.

His other disciples were Sundara Bharathi, Srinivasa Varadan, Somayajulu, Chidambara Bharathi etc. Through his dramas like Shivaji, Desingu Rajan, Bhakta Ramdas etc, he spread the patriotic spirit throughout Tamil Nadu <sup>9</sup>. With the help of his friends and admirers, Siva wanted to build a "Bharat Matha Temple" at Papparappatti. He wanted to invite Mahatma Gandhi for the inauguration of the temple <sup>10</sup>. As Mahatma did not come due to his active political work, the foundation stone for the temple was laid by the National Leader "Desabandhu" C.R. Das on 23.1.1923 at Bharata Puram, 4 Km from Papparappatti.

#### **BHARAT MATHA TEMPLE:**

His Bharat Matha temple symbolised the national unity of India. Siva allowed all the people irrespective of caste or religion to enter temple and perform pooja. There was no Poojari to perform Archana. He wanted that instead of adorning the deity with gold jewels a factory may be built out of the temple funds, thereby creating employment opportunities to all poor people. He wanted that wealth obtained through the temple should be distributed to the poor people. According to Siva, service to Nation is service to God <sup>11</sup>. In 1921 at Madurai Court he said, "My religion is

Bharatheeyam. My deity is Bharat Matha. My Dharma is to preach Satya and fight for the freedom of Bharat." He appealed to the people to support the extremists to achieve Poorna Swaraj and to boycott foreign goods. <sup>12</sup>

#### **BHARAT ASHRAM AT PAPPARAPPATTI.**

It was founded by Siva during the second week of January 1921 at No. 11. Hamilton Bridge road, Triplicane, (Madras) <sup>13</sup>. Its aim was to take serious efforts to make Bharath independent of foreign control. In order to get success in such an endeavour people should develop Desa Bhakthi or devotion to Bharat Matha for whom temples should be constructed everywhere. Siva was the president of the Bharatha Ashram. The chief priest must be a Sanyasi according to him. If a Sanyasi is not available a Brahmachari can hold the post. The chief priest must follow the principles of Bharatheeyam sincerely. This Bharatha Ashramam is to be built at Bharathipuram at Papparappatti. He wanted people of Bharathapuram to follow his principles with dedication and devotion. They must get up early in the morning, offer prayers and do social and national service to the people. Foreign cloth and Kerosin were prohibited in the village. They must wear simple dress and must develop good character. Free housing, a hospital, and a school were provided for the villagers. The people must not only accept the rules of the Bharat Matha Ashram but also pay one tenth of their income to the Bharata Matha as Kanikka. The assets of the temple will belong to Bharat Matha only. Annual conferences will be held in different places, to honour Bharata Matha. Anyone who

8. Author's interview with K. Shanmugam, S/o. Kodaiyidi Pulavar Kandasamy of Papparappatti on 26.6.1987.

9. Viduthalaipporil Thamilagam, M.P. Sivagnam, Madras-17. Page 544

10. Letter of Subramania Siva dated 4-3-1921.

11. Siva's article on "Bharat Matha temple" published in "NAVASAKTHI" (News paper) Madras dated 17-4-1924.

12. Viduthalaipporil Thamilagam - M.P. Sivagnanam Madras, P. 193.

13. Bharatha Ashram - Swadesa Mithran (News Paper) Madras, dated 11-6-1924, Page-2.

violates the rules, will be sent out of the village. Along with his disciple Sundara Bharathi, Siva reached Bharatha Ashramam at Papparappatti on 22-7-1925 to start the construction of the temple of Bharatha Matha. But he suddenly passed away on 23-7-1925 at the age of 41 at Papparappatti <sup>14</sup>. So the temple work was stopped and it was not taken up by any body. In memory of Siva, a (Samadhi) memorial was built at Bharathipuram.

#### ESTIMATE :

Siva was a lover of mankind<sup>15</sup>. He was a great writer, orator, dramatist and what not. He was brave and courageous. Even poet Bharathi appreciated his brave na-

ture, when he met him at Palayamkottai Jail<sup>16</sup>. Indeed he was a great revolutionary leader of the early 20 th century <sup>17</sup>. His intention to start Bharatheeya religion, and to build Bharathamatha temple at Bharathapuram, shows that he was a great nationalist without any selfish interests. His ideals will ever encourage our countrymen to achieve national unity and solidarity for the promotion and preservation of Bharatheeya cult. Not only the people of Dharmapuri District, but also Tamil Nadu will ever remember the services rendered by Siva for the cause of nationalism and freedom movement. He has earned a significant place in the history of Tamilnadu. <sup>18</sup>

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# 11. An Unpublished copper plate of Krishnadevaraya

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A copper plate issued by Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar dynasty is found in a temple dedicated to Sri Sringiavara, in a village called Mappedu in the Tiruvallur Taluk of Chengalpattu M.G.R. District, Tamil Nadu.

The copper plate is in rectangular shape. It consists of three leaves, strung by a copper ring with a seal bearing the figures of boar, crescent moon, sun and the dagger which is the royal seal of the Vijayanagar rulers. It is in the Nandinagari script while the language is Sanskrit.

The charter is written on both sides of the second leaf and on one side of the other leaves. These three plates were strung on a copper ring and the royal seal was soldered on its joints. The ring passed through the holes made on the top of the plates.

This charter begins with an invocation to Ganesa. "Sri Ganadhipatiya Namah"

It has a genealogy of the Vijayanagar rulers. It mentions Timmarasa and his queen Devaki who belonged to Tuluva dynasty. After them mention is made of Isvara and his queen Bukkamadevi. It mentions that Vijayanagara empire was ruled by Narasayanaka who defeated the Chera, Chola and Pandya kings, the rulers of Madurai and many Muslim rulers. It further says, that he founded many victory pillars in memory of his triumph and success, and made several donations. It says that he has two wives, Timmaji and Nagala devi, and two sons Narasimha and Krishnadevaraya and records that Vira Narasimha a benevolent king ruled the empire. It mentions the boundaries of his

kingdom. It extended from Ramesvaram (in the south) to mount Meru (in the north) and Udyagiri (in the east) to Hastagiri (in the west). It mentions poetically his philanthropy and says that he made donations to the temples at Sri Kalahasti, Sri Kanchi, Venkatadri, Srisailam, Tiruvannamalai, Ahobalam, Srirangam, Kumbhakonam, Nandyala, Gokarnam, Ramesvaram etc.,

The charter records that Krishnadevaraya had made renovations to many temples, gifted thousands of well decorated Cows and built a number of gold plated chariots in memory of Vira Narasimha, made Tulapurusha *danas* in several temples, as mentioned in the agamas. It mentions that he was praised by all as Rajadhiraja and Jayajiva. He captured Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and extended his empire, and ruled the Vijayanagar empire as an honest and benevolent ruler.

In the Saka year 1435 (1513 A.D) in Srimukha year, in the month of Margasirisa, on a Makara Sankranti day, on Krishna paksha dwadasi, Wednesday, on the Banks of Tungabhadra river, in the presence of God Srivirpaksha a Sarvamanya gift of a village called Krishnarayapuram lying in the south of Tirumangalam, in Tundiramandalam of Chandragirirajya was made.

The second plate mentions the gift of 22 units of lands to the brahmanas who were regarded as *bhusuras* (gods on the earth). The gotra, sutra and the names of the brahmanas are also mentioned. The following table gives the details of the donation made to the brahmanas.

Gotram	Sutrm	Vedam	Name	Share of the land
01. Kaundinya	apastambha	Yajus	Krishnayya	2
02. Kaundinya	"	"	-	3
03. Gautama	"	"	Yellayya	2
04. Kasyapa			Perubhatta	1
05. Harita	"	"	Chavali	1
06. Kausika	"	"	Gurisuri Tirumalayya	1
07. Gautama	"	"	-	1
08. Kausika	"	"	Samaratali	1
09. Kausika	"	"	Tirumalayya	1
10. Harita	"	"	"Somayya son of Vemuribbatta	1
11. Gautama	"	"	-	1
12. Harita	"	"	" Son of Purushottama bhatta	1
13. Kaundinya	"	"	"	2
14. -	"	-	-	1
15. -	-	-	-	1
16. -	-	-	Krishnabhatta	1
17. Lohita	apastambha	Yajus	Perumbhatta (son of Nagapalli Purushottam)	1

The third plate consists of the exhortation or admonition to the future kings of the land whether his own or of any other royal house, to the contemporary rulers, and those who might replace him or his descendants and to his own officials, dependents and subjects including the villagers of the area where the gifted land is located. It is requested that they should respect the grant made by him. It is mentioned that this is a free grant and it should be enjoyed by all. In the end of the plates the imprecatory verses say that one who protect this gift will get the moksha and those who do not do so will attain naraha (hell).

The charter was prepared by Viranachari, son of Mallanna. In the end the name of the God Sri Virupaksha is written in Kannada.

The charter throws light on the predecessors of Krishnadevaraya, which are similar to the information found in the stone inscriptions, contemporary literature and foreign works.

The village Krishnarayapuram might be the old name of Mappedu, Which is confirmed by the boundaries given in the charter. The villages mentioned in the charter are still found in the vicinity of the present Mappedu village.

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## 12. Anna - As an Administrator.

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**U**nder the parliamentary democratic system, the real power lies in the hands of the leader of the political party, that has got majority in the legislature<sup>1</sup>. In the fourth General Election held in 1967, the D.M.K captured 137 constituencies out of 234<sup>2</sup> and made a big change in the politics of Tamil Nadu. Known as Edmund Burke of Tamilnadu Dr. C.N. Annadurai, by his eloquence and hard work, brought the D.M.K. to the corridor of power, and thereby formed the first non-congress cum non-coalition ministry. While his counterparts in other States like Kerala, Orissa, Punjab and West Bengal struggled for their very survival due to the coalition nature of their governments<sup>3</sup> Anna enjoyed solidarity, and absolute majority in the legislature.

For this political change Anna had to toil hard for 30 years. He was trained and shaped by Pachaiyappa's college, Justice camp and Dravidakazakam. In Pachaiyappa's he identified his feelings with the welfare of workers.

To eradicate ignorance from Tamil Nadu<sup>2</sup>, to blaster Brahmanism, to prevent the imperialism exercised by the North, to thwart the imposition of Hindi, were the ideals of Anna. He was a rationalist, radicalist and a Socialist and above all he was a pro-Tamil. Anna's role in the D.K. and the D.M.K. parties and his writings and speeches both inside and outside the legislature are enough to reveal the maturity of his ideology.

He was neither an extremist nor a conservative. He was an extremist at the time of formulating the ideas and a moderate at the time of enforcing them. His abandonment of the demand for

Dravidanadu is an example of this trait in him.

The D.M.K. party's Tamil oriented policies, its Anti-Hindi campaigns, its Dravidian feelings, its campaigns against price - rise above all dissatisfaction of the public over the congress rule etc. were the main reasons for the D.M.K.'s success in 1967 election.

Administrative functions of Annadurai began on February 28, 1967 the day on which he was elected the leader of the legislature<sup>4</sup>. On his advise the Governor, Hon. Sardhar Ujjal Singh appointed 8 other Ministers.

Neither the structure of the State nor its administrative system underwent any drastic change during Anna's rule, except the name of the State (The name of Madras State was changed into Tamilnadu - which came into force on January 14, 1969.)<sup>5</sup>

During his office, the Tamilnadu Legislative Assembly sat for 90 days and passed 46 bills on various heads. Anna had to meet only one no 'confidence' motion that was moved by the opposition leader Thiru. P.G. Karuthiraman which was defeated by a majority vote.

When Anna accepted office the treasury of the Government had a surplus of income over expenditures by a margin of Rs.600.20 Lakhs. So also Anna left the exchequer with a surplus of Rs.914.08 Lakhs<sup>6</sup>. During his office Anna presented three budgets in the Tamilnadu legislative Assembly. Agriculture, minor irrigation Scheme, Co-operation and Social development are given priority with an allotment of Rs.4.48, 5.77 and 4.39 lakhs respec-



tively. But only one lakh was allotted for advertisements. This shows the anxiety of the Government to execute its promises in terms of deeds and not in words.

Abolition of levy on dry lands

Assigning waste lands to the landless poor

Free education for poor students in P.U.C.

Formation of Prosperity Brigade

Gold medal award for inter caste marriages

Extension of compensatory allowances to Suburban areas of Madras and Madurai<sup>7</sup>

Intensifying Nationalisation of the buses, were some of the salient features of the budget.

During Anna's rule 451 buses were nationalised<sup>8</sup>. Anna who stood for nationalisation of big industries, when he came to power encouraged private enterprise in order to keep the tempo of the industrial growth of the State on par with other states. This pro-capitalist attitude of Anna caused much resentment among workers. However, Anna proved his proletarian outlook by his announcement of May Day as holiday.

Anna's Government showed a remarkable interest in the handloom sector. He showed a considerable interest in the betterment of film industry, by the institution of prizes for the best films and performers in order to encourage the cine actors.

Anna's government successfully held the Industrial Fair at Madras, at Annanagar from February 12, 1968 to February 17, 1968 in a peaceful manner inspite of the student's unrest that haunted the entire Tamilnadu.

As a step to reduce the expenditure of the State, Anna's Ministry worked for five months without pay from July when they received half of their salaries only. Anna advised all his colleagues to use only

Ambassador cars and not foreign cars. The collectors were ordered not to accompany the ministers unless their visiting places happened to be the headquarters of the respective districts. By these economic measures Anna set an example to others. When it was suggested that revoking prohibition would bring more revenue to the state treasury Anna refused<sup>9</sup>. Anna conducted the Fourth All India prohibition conference at Madras in April 1968 under the presidency of Dr. Sushila Nayyar M.P.

He increased the revenue of the exchequer by introducing systematic raffle schemes and by encouraging small savings.

Tamilnadu witnessed 265 strikes and agitations during his regime<sup>10</sup>. A ghastly fire in kilvenmani of Thanjavur District arising out of agrarian -cum-communal clashes which claimed forty two innocent lives was a bitter event of his days.<sup>11</sup>

The hot summer of 1967 was followed by a horrible episode of unusual fire accidents in Madras. From July 1967 to July 15, 1967 alone there were 32 such accidents. The government collected a relief fund amounting to Rs.37 lakhs. A special police unit was constituted and it proved fruitful in preventing such 'accidents'. The state Housing Board constructed fire-proof tenements for the victims<sup>12</sup>.

The election manifesto of the D.M.K. promised the people rupee a measure rice scheme. Anna boldly started the scheme on may 15, 1967 in Madras and Coimbatore. Thirty lakhs of people were benefitted by the scheme.<sup>13</sup> Due to cyclone in Ramnad and Thanjavur district and lack of Central fund, this scheme was abandoned.

In the field of public works the Coovam improvement scheme and the Veeranam project were the two important schemes.

I Education: Madurai University was Started only during his period. Ten Gov-

ernment Colleges, and seven private colleges were also started. Introduction of free education for poor in P.U.C, Central Government valuation for S.S.L.C Examination, introduction of three year Law course for the degree Bachelor of General Law, introduction of Tamil Medium classes in all colleges of state govt. raising of income limit for scholarship for S.T, S.C and B.C<sup>14</sup>, removal of Hindi teaching in schools, introduction of General Kitchen schemes in panchayats, providing free books and stationary to the pupils of the corporation schools of Madras etc. were the notable contributions of Anna's rule, in the field of education.

### **Tamil Development:**

Anna's ardent faith in Tamil was a known secret and it even exceeded his ideal of Dravidian Nationalism. On January 23, 1968 the Chief Minister announced the bi-lingual formula of the State in the place of three- languages formula of the previous Government. Tamil Development Research council awarded prizes for nine books, in order to encourage the production of literature in regional language. To boost the morals of the Tamils, the Second World Tamil Conference was held at Madras from January 3 to 10-1968. On this occasion the statues of 10 Tamil Savants were unveiled along the attractive Marina beach road. They were V.O. Chidambaram pillai, Robert Caldwell, Kambar, Bharathiyar Kannagi, Thiruvalluvar, Bharathidasan, G.O.pope Avvaiyar, and Veeramamunivar. An overall introduction of Tamil terms into governmental affairs was remarkable. The secretariat at Fort St. George was named in Tamil as Tamizhaga Arasu Thalaimai Cheyalagam.

Inspite of being a staunch atheist Anna never ignored the administration of temples or other religious and charitable endowments. He brought a scheme of awarding a silver rolling cup for the best maintained temple. He diverted the surplus amount of temples towards a common fund in order

to use it for the maintenance of poor temples and for the education of the poor.

By amending the Hindu Marriage Act of 1956 he legalised all the self respect marriages with retrospective effect.

Slum Clearance Board and Department of Backward Classes came into existence<sup>15</sup>.

The Burma repatriates were allowed to use the First line Beach, Madras to run their shops, and now this place is called Burma Bazaar. For them a pre Industrial training course was started at Gummidipoondi and it started functioning on April 2, 1968.

Anna's Government took all efforts to propagate the teachings of Tiruvalluvar as it promised earlier. The buses of state Transport corporation were adorned with the portraits of Thiruvalluvar along with a kural written on a board.

Anna insisted on the eradication of Zamindari system in 1945. Even before the very formation of the D.M.K. party, the same was abolished. In 1963 he gave up his demand for Independent Dravidanadu and adopted the policy of State autonomy, in its place.

Note worthy features of Anna's Administration

He named the Madras State as Tamilnadu.

Removed Hindi from Educational Institutions and the N.C.C.

Declared May Day as a holiday.

Nationalised the power projects.

Intensified the nationalisation of buses.

Did his best to implement the most controversial "Rupee a measure rice scheme"

Intensified the use of Tamil in Educational Institutions and various Governmental departments.

Legalised self respect marriages.

Prevented the concentration of wealth in the temples.

Made PUC education free to poor students.

Invited opposition party leaders to participate in state functions and discussing important state problems.

Many of his promises went unfulfilled also:-

- Abolition of horse races,
- Attaining state autonomy
- Nationalisation of industries
- Rupee a measure rice scheme
- Starting of new fertilizer plants.
- Reducing the rising prices.
- Establishment of the Salem steel plant
- Getting Devikulam, Peermedu, Neyyatangarai etc. from Kerala.

Inspite of the short duration of his office, the Tamils felt a significant change in the political climate. To promote the glories of Dravidian culture and its antiquity, to bring out the richness of Tamil language, to bring prosperity to the oppressed were the goals towards which the state travelled during his office.

Inspite of certain ifs and buts Anna did well, even though we need not accept that his government carried out all that was expected by the people or all that were promised by him. He tried to make both ends meet to the extent possible.

He had never been a doubtful warrior in his promises even though many things went beyond his capacity. It was definitely Anna's cup of tea, as it exhibited the qualities aspired by him.

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### 13. Immigration From Mysore Kingdom to the Carnatic - Its Political effects

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The kingdom of Mysore and the Carnatic are the neighbouring areas which occupy a pivotal position in the socio- economic and political transactions of South India. During the second half of the eighteenth century, Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sultan ruled the Mysore Kingdom. The Nawab of Arcot, the Rajahs of Thanjavur and Pudukkottai, the English at Madras and the French at Pondicherry were some of the powers in the Carnatic who controlled their respective administrative units. Mohammad Ali and his son Umdat-ul-Umarah who were the Nawabs of Arcot depended on the English for military and financial support. The rulers of Mysore made several attempts to establish their rule over the Carnatic. But it was thwarted by the joint efforts of the British and the Nawab of Arcot. The allied powers in the Carnatic were equally ambitious to establish their position over the Mysore kingdom and were waiting for a chance to fulfil their ambition. At this juncture the unsettled problems connected with the immigration provided a golden opportunity to the British to eliminate the 'Sultan of Mysore and reduce the political supremacy of the Nawab of Arcot. Thereby the British emerged as a Supreme Power in South India.

The mass immigration of people from Mysore Kingdom to the Carnatic started during the Third Mysore War (1790-'92). This war started between Tipu Sultan and the English and their allies. In the name of protecting the territory of the Nawab of Arcot, the British assumed his revenue

administration on the condition of giving 1/5 of the total collection to him, for meeting the expenses of the war. The British found it difficult to improve the cultivation partly due to the scarcity of people to undertake the agricultural activities. Therefore the British decided to adopt some liberal policy in order to induce the people of Mysore Kingdom to come and settle in the Nawab's territory. They determined not to collect any tax from the people for the goods carried by them.<sup>1</sup> They also announced that they would allot house plot to the immigrants for their stay. They decided to give agricultural lands and loans to the peasants who were interested in agriculture. They also promised to the coolies to provide them employment opportunity.<sup>2</sup> Besides, the defeat of Mysore forces in Krishnagiri, Salem, Dindigul, Coimbatore and Bangalore helped the British to open a free passage between Mysore and the Carnatic region.

The liberal concessions sanctioned by the British and opening of the direct route between the two regions, encouraged many thousands of people of Mysore to go and settle in the territory of the Nawab of Arcot. Most of them settled in the Arcot Province. Of the immigrants, some of them were the original inhabitants of the Carnatic, who went to Mysore voluntarily or as captives.<sup>3</sup> The immigrants consisted of people of different types. Majority of them were the peasants and agricultural labourers and the others were artisans, rebels and official debtors who owed money payment to Tipu

Sultan.<sup>4</sup> The undertaking of agricultural operation by the immigrants increased the State revenue and helped the British to defeat Tipu Sultan in the battle of Srirangapatam in February 1792 and to annex Malabar, Dindigul and Baramahal districts. As per the provisions of the Definitive Treaty of Srirangapatnam signed between Tipu Sultan and the British on 18th March 1792, both parties agreed that they would not provide protection to the zamindars and amulders whose payments were due to their respective superiors.<sup>5</sup> But this treaty did not mention anything about the condition of other category of people who came from Mysore and settled in the Carnatic.

After the end of the war the British surrendered the Revenue Administration to the Nawab of Arcot. But to strengthen their position, the British wished to retain their control over the immigrants who stayed in the territory of Mohammad Ali. On 12th July 1792, the Governor-in-Council at Madras signed a treaty with the Nawab of Arcot, by which the latter agreed that he would not make any contact with Tipu Sultan without the permission of the British.<sup>6</sup> Infact, it was a great diplomatic victory on the part of the British, for they could preside over Mohammad Ali's foreign affairs. Besides, the allied powers wanted to provide facility to the new immigrants who were willing to come to the Carnatic.

At this juncture, Tipu Sultan decided to introduce post-war reforms in order to reconstruct the war economy and there by he wished to consolidate his position in Mysore. He attempted to subjugate the rebel zemindars and the poligars who had assisted the English against his administration during the war. He removed the zamindars of Konkan in Dharapuram, Ratnagiri, Punganur, Muliavakal,

Annagundi, and Uchangidurgam from their positions.<sup>7</sup> More over he increased the taxes on the peasants, artisans, weavers and merchants. For instance the Southern division of Kaveripuram was usually rented for 5000 Canterai pagodas but it was over assessed for 16,000 Canterai pagodas.<sup>8</sup> Besides, the merchants were forced to give loans and to sell the goods at cheap rates or give as gift (Nezerana) to the Government.<sup>9</sup> Tipu Sultan inflicted cruel punishment on the disobedient people like cutting the flesh and forcing them to eat the same.<sup>10</sup> Hence, these measures caused disaffection among the different groups of people of Mysore and they decided to quit Mysore and settle in Carnatic.

Altogether nearly 10,000 people, most of them during the war, and others after the war, went to the Carnatic.<sup>11</sup> Among the debtors, Timba Govindan, the zamindar of Konkan and Rangan Chetti and Chinna Tambi Gaur, the renters in Dharapuram had to pay to Mysore Government rupees twelve lakhs, thirty thousand and ten thousand respectively.<sup>12</sup> Assisted by the officers of the allied powers, rebels of Tipu Sultan like Petti Govindan, Nevi Khan Naick, Reddi Chein Nair, Gooki Kedria, Tirumal Nair, Resava, Appaswamy<sup>13</sup> Timma and Bissa plundered the properties of the people of Mysore and took many as captives to the Carnatic. The booty was divided between the people of the Carnatic and the rebels of Tipu Sultan.<sup>14</sup> On account of the evacuation of people of Mysore into the Carnatic, Tipu Sultan was able to collect only half of the total estimated revenue. Added to this, the depredation of the rivals of Tipu Sultan with the assistance of the Carnatic people further exposed the Sultan to a critical situation. Consequently, Tipu Sultan faced difficulties in the collection of revenues and to carry on the regular administration.<sup>15</sup>



Tipu Sultan wanted to get back all the immigrants and to prevent the allied powers from forming any alliance with his rivals in future. So he wrote to the Governor of Madras Council that he desired to maintain friendship with the allied powers.<sup>16</sup> He proposed to the English that he would like to come to the Carnatic with his forces to capture the people of Mysore who had settled there. Tipu Sultan requested them to extend the help of the allied powers to accomplish his purpose.<sup>17</sup> If the English were not prepared to accept the proposal, Tipu Sultan wanted the return of the immigrants to him.<sup>18</sup> Tipu Sultan threatened the English that he would invade the Carnatic, in case they did not accept his proposals.<sup>19</sup>

The English also followed an equally adamant stand. They replied to Tipu Sultan that the immigrants were considered the lawful inhabitants of the Carnatic.<sup>20</sup> The English, however, added that since the provisions of the Treaty of Sreerangapatnam required them not to give protection to the Zamindars and amuldars who owed money payment to Mysore government. They would return after an enquiry of such people who had settled in the Carnatic after the conclusion of the treaty.<sup>21</sup> The English also assured that they would surrender the criminals as a symbol of friendship in order to keep tranquility in the border regions.<sup>22</sup> In the case of renters, merchants, artisans, weavers and ryots who owed arrears of taxes to the government the English told Tipu Sultan that they would make them clear the arrears and would not surrender them to Mysore.<sup>23</sup> As far as the labourers, peasants and coolies the English replied to Tipu Sultan that they should not be returned to Mysore.<sup>24</sup> The English further added that the Native Court or the Panchayat consisting of equal members from each side should be constituted in

order to study the nature of the immigrants and prove their guilt based on the evidence. The decision for the restoration of the immigrants would be taken as per the final resolution of the Native Court.<sup>25</sup> The British decided to restore the notable criminals and official debtors to Tipu Sultan as a gesture of friendship and by which they prepared to prevent the immediate expedition against the Carnatic.<sup>26</sup>

Tipu Sultan was not satisfied with the proposals of the English and tried to form a secret alliance with Mohammad Ali to overthrow the English. So he wrote to Mohammad Ali that he considered all the Muslims in the Carnatic as his brothers.<sup>27</sup> Further if the Muslim rulers in Mysore and the Carnatic joined together they could establish a Muslim rule in South India.<sup>28</sup> Tipu Sultan demanded from Mohammad Ali the restoration of the immigrants settled in his territory and to abstain from giving future protection.<sup>29</sup> Tipu Sultan deputed his wakil Syed Mohammad Ameen to Trichirapalli to settle the question of the refugees.<sup>30</sup>

Mohammad Ali informed Tipu Sultan that he supported the English against Mysore hoping to get political benefit at the end of the war. But he found that the English were not willing to enhance his status. So Mohammad Ali informed Tipu Sultan the necessity of forming a union between the Muslim rulers in order to defeat the English.<sup>31</sup> As a preliminary step of the coalition, Mohammad Ali agreed to surrender Petti Govinden and Navi Khan (settled in Trichirapalli), Reddi Chein Nair, Gooki Kebria, Tirumal Nair, Rasava and Appaswamy (settled in Satgarh) who committed disturbances in Mysore.<sup>32</sup> Mohammad Ali proposed to Tipu Sultan that he would sign an alliance against the English, if he surrendered his opponents who settled in Mysore,<sup>33</sup> and restore Mysore



Payeenghat territory <sup>34</sup> partly annexed by the British and partly retained by Tipu Sultan. Tipu Sultan did not like to restore the rebels and the territory to Mohammad Ali, for it would make the Nawab a strong power in the Carnatic. This delayed a coalition between the Muslim powers of Mysore and the Carnatic against the British.

When the English came to know of the renewal of friendly relationship between Tipu Sultan and Mohammad Ali, they tried to separate them and protested to Mohammad Ali that the treaty of Sreeranga patnam stipulated that the problems connected with the immigrants should be settled between the English and Tipu Sultan. He had no right to deal the matter as he was not a party in the treaty.<sup>35</sup> Further they reminded Mohammad Ali of the treaty with the English in 1792 by which he agreed that he would not establish any direct contact with Tipu Sultan without their mediation.<sup>36</sup> The English asked Mohammad Ali to sever his friendship with Tipu Sultan by sending back his vakil and encouraging the immigration.<sup>37</sup> The English warned Mohammad Ali that if he continued his hostile activities they would take military action against him. Mohammad Ali who was afraid of the English promised that he would not make any direct dealing with Tipu Sultan,<sup>38</sup> and sent back the vakil of Tipu Sultan to Mysore<sup>39</sup> and encouraged the immigration.<sup>40</sup>

After the death of Mohammad Ali on 13th October 1795, Tipu Sultan attempted to make an alliance with Umdat-U1-Umarah, the son of Mohammad Ali. Umdat-U1-Umarah wrote to Tipu Sultan that he was very much desirous of a union of the Muslim rulers of Mysore and the Carnatic.<sup>41</sup> However, he did not take any individual decision as he was protected by the British. Umdat-U1-Umarah asked Tipu

Sultan to accept the proposal of the English and to depute a Commission for settling the problems.<sup>42</sup> In fact Mohammad Ali earlier wished to form an alliance with Tipu Sultan with advantageous terms. The refusal of Tipu Sultan to make immediate settlement with Mohammad Ali helped the English to work out the divide and rule policy. The inconsistent policies of Mohammad Ali and his son Umdat-U1-Umarah helped the English to keep them under their strict control, and thereby the English succeeded in preventing the creation of any coalition between the local Muslim rulers against the Company. The British were afraid of attack from Mysore. So they did not take any action against the Nawab, and they prepared to wait for a chance to interfere in the administration of the Nawab. Meanwhile, Tipu Sultan had no other alternative but to accept the proposal of the English. Tipu Sultan thought that by arranging the Native Court, at least he would make the English to surrender the official debtors and distributors. Thus the change of political atmosphere in the Carnatic and the critical situation in Mysore forced Tipu Sultan to take a decision for deputing the representatives to the Carnatic in order to attend the Native Court.

In the Court of Enquiry held at Calmaspalli in May 1797, Macpherson, the English Officer, Meer Ali Khan, the Nawab's representative and Venkatapati Masiska Chellapattu Nayak, the Commissioner of Tipu Sultan, had enquiry on the charges connected with Timma Gaur, the zamindar of Muliavakal (Mulbagal) and Bissa. It was fixed rupees 8078 as the total compensation for the loss incurred in the disturbances in Mysore<sup>43</sup> of which the Nawab had to pay on-fourth i.e. Rs2019-10 to Tipu Sultan because his officers offered protection to the rebels. The remaining Rs.6058-14 should be paid to

Tipu Sultan by his rebel subjects.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, in the court of enquiry held under the Presidentship of William Harrington in Dindigul, the Commissioners resolved to surrender Mutthan, a renter of Munjicumpatti Village in Dharapuram and Timba Govindan, the zamindar of Konkan in Dharapuram and their followers to Tipu.<sup>45</sup> The English assisted by the Nawab seized Muthan and surrendered him to Tipu Sultan.<sup>46</sup> When the people of the Carnatic had tried to arrest Timba Govindan he went to Mysore where he was taken prisoner by the soldiers of Tipu Sultan.<sup>47</sup> The allied powers consisting of the English and Umdat-U1-Umarah failed to force the merchants, artisans and riots to clear the debts to Tipu Sultan and also to surrender all the rebels and the official debtors to Mysore. The denial of the allied powers to restore all the immigrants aggravated Tipu Sultan's animosity towards them.

So Tipu Sultan decided to enter into hostile alliance with the French ruler, Napoleon Bonaparte to wreak vengeance on the allied powers for their failure to restore all the immigrants to Mysore. The critical situation of Napoleon Bonapart prevented him from forming a coalition with Tipu Sultan against the allied powers. However, the English argued that Tipu Sultan's attempt to make an alliance with the French was equivalent to a declaration of war against the Carnatic, and decided to commence an immediate offensive operation against Mysore.<sup>48</sup> The English troops assisted by the Nawab of Arcot, the Rajahs of Thanjavur, Pudukkottai, Travancore, Coorg and Nizam Ali, waged a war and killed Tipu Sultan at Sreerangapatnam on 4th May 1799.<sup>49</sup> The English annexed the fortress of Sreerangapatnam, Mangalore, Honavar, Soonda, Wynad, the district of Coimbatore and parts of the district of Chitaldrug.<sup>50</sup> The English wanted to get the sympathy of the Hindu Wodeyar

family against the Muslims. Therefore they installed Krishnaraja Wodeyar on the throne of Mysore and restored to him some places ruled by Tipu Sultan including the fortress of Mysore, on the condition that the English should retain civil and military authority.<sup>51</sup> The defeat of Tipu Sultan eliminated the Muslim rule in Mysore, established by Haidar Ali and led to the ascendancy of the English in South India.

The destruction of Tipu Sultan freed the British from the threat of any coalition of the Muslim powers of South India. Therefore the British were waiting for a favourable opportunity to annex the territory of the Nawab of Arcot. The discovery of the voluminous correspondence, between the Sultan of Mysore (Tipu Sultan) and the Nawabs of Arcot (Mohammad Ali and Umdat-U1-Umarah) from the Sreerangapatnam Palace Archives, provided an opportunity to the British to defend their policy of intervention in the administration of the Nawab. It was made clear that the correspondence was intended to settle a matrimonial alliance between the two Muslim families. But it was not materialised.<sup>52</sup>

However, Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras regarded the secret Correspondence of the Nawabs to make an alliance with the Muslim rulers of Mysore as a "strong evidence of internal treachery and of open opposition to our interests in the Carnatic established by treaty". Thus the English decided to go ahead with the annexation of the territory ruled by Umdat-U1-Umarah.<sup>53</sup> Before the realisation of the intentions of the Governor of Madras, Umdat-U1-Umarah died on 15 July 1801. It led to the change of system which the English had long believed to be necessary and inevitable. When Ali Hussain, the successor of Umdat-U1-Umarah as the Nawab of Arcot refused to surrender the administration to the English, the latter



dethroned him and enthroned Azeem-U1-Doula, the second son of the Mohammad Ali on the condition that he would accept a new settlement with the English<sup>54</sup> According to the provisions of the new treaty settled between the Madras council and Azeem-U1-Doula on 31st July 1801, the latter vested the civil and military administration with the English and the Nawab became a mere pensioner.<sup>55</sup>

In fact the intention of the Nawab of Arcot to make an alliance with Tipu Sultan against the British was known to them much earlier. Due to their intervention, no such coalition was settled. But the British did not like to annex the territory of the Nawab then, because they were afraid of an attack from Mysore. Hence they first utilised the strength of the Nawab for the destruction of the Sultan of Mysore and when they were freed from the threat of

Tipu, they decided to annex the territory of the Nawab. Therefore the real reason for the annexation of the territory of the Nawab of Arcot was not the Srirangapatnam papers but the death of Tipu Sultan.

## CONCLUSION

The British utilised the strength of the immigrants to destroy Tipu Sultan and to establish their power in Mysore. As the British wished to prevent the Nawabs of Arcot from making any contact with Tipu Sultan, they crippled the foreign affairs of the Muslim rulers of the Carnatic and subsequently they annexed the territory of the Nawab. Thus the problems connected with the immigration led to the downfall of the Muslim rulers of Mysore and the Carnatic and the rise of the British as a paramount power in South India.

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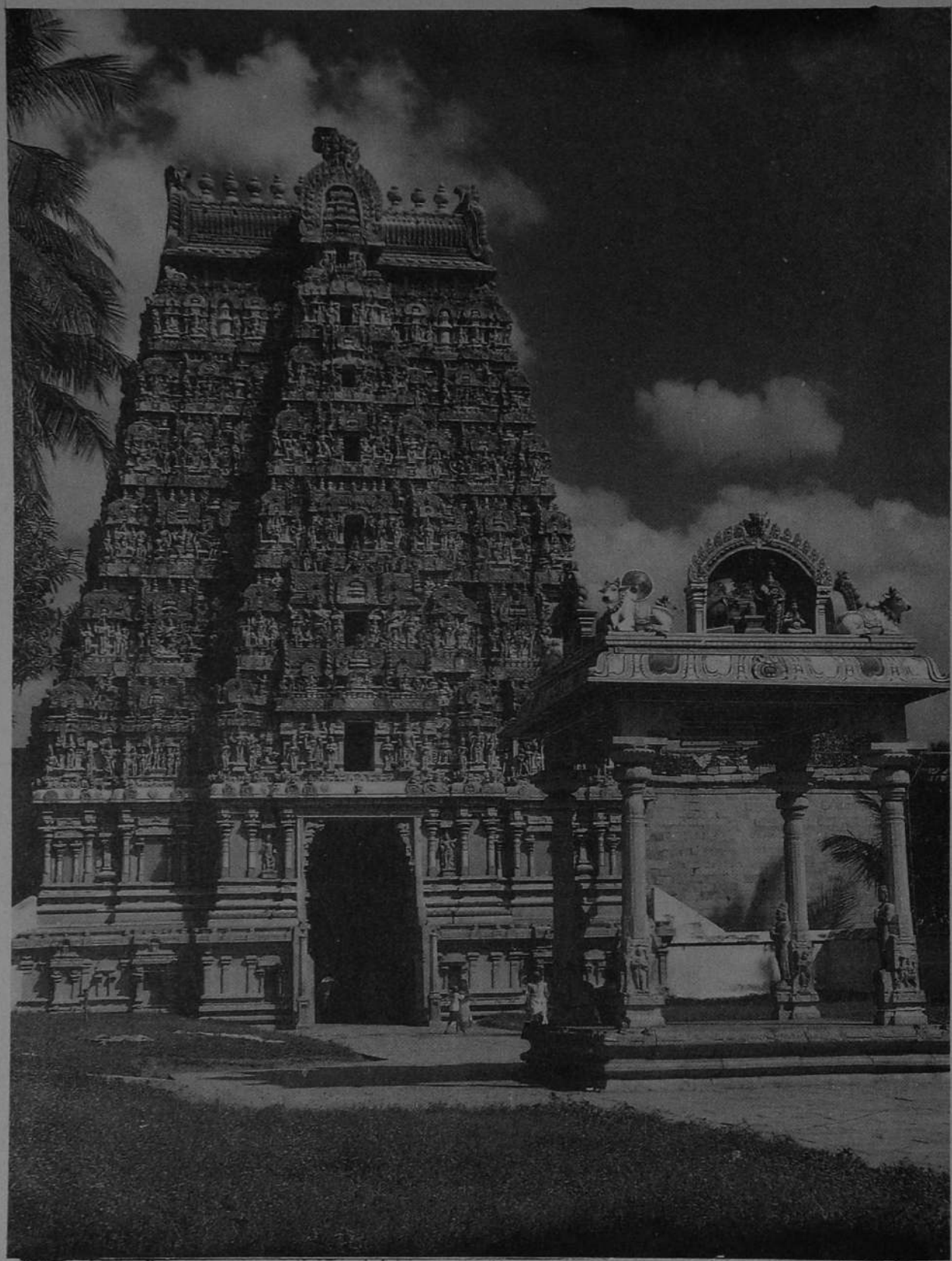
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## SECTION II

# SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY



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## 14. The Rockefeller Foundation and its Healthcare Programmes in Tamilnadu During The 1920s

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The British rule in India witnessed profound changes in the social and cultural life of the people. Among the many variables, the British policy on sanitation and personal hygiene played a vital role in the process of modernization. In the sphere of public health, the colonial administration had introduced the Western ideas and practices. However, they were cautious in interfering in the life-styles of the people. Also, they seemed to have understood the limitations of their power in changing the attitude of their colonial subjects. Hence, the Government had intended to educate the masses so as to enable them to understand the value of modern sanitation. In such an endeavour, the colonial administration, in addition to their strenuous efforts, involved several voluntary organisations, both foreign and indigenous, in the task of inculcating the western notions of sanitation and hygiene. This paper deals with one such voluntary organisation, namely the Rockefeller Foundation of the United States of America. The activities of the Rockefeller Foundation in the Tamil Districts of the erstwhile Madras Presidency during the 1920s and the ambivalent attitude of the people provides an illustration to the limitations of an alien system in penetrating the cultural barrier of the indigenous people.

The Rockefeller Foundation was instituted in New York, USA, in the year 1913.

It was one of the several philanthropic organisations founded by John D. Rockefeller, the famous American industrialist and philanthropist. Its object was "to promote the well being of mankind throughout the world."<sup>1</sup> Public Health occupied one of the chief activities of the Rockefeller Foundation and its anti hookworm campaigns during the 1920s attracted many countries of the world including India. Madras was the only province in India which had availed the services of the Rockefeller Foundation in the eradication and prevention of hookworm diseases.<sup>2</sup> Hence, in 1920, the Ankylostomiasis Bureau was set up in Madras to conduct anti-hookworm campaign. Dr. George P. Paul was sent by the Rockefeller Foundation as its Director. The Public Health Department of the Government of Madras provided all the necessary infrastructure for conducting the anti-hookworm campaign. The main object of this programme was to prevent the hookworm infection by improving the rural sanitation in the Madras Presidency.

Before 1920, scant attention was paid to improve the sanitary condition of the rural areas in Tamilnadu. Except for a few sanitary inspectors employed by the local boards, who were mainly doing the vaccination work, there was no other machinery to look after the sanitation of villages. The demand for the employment of permanent rural sanitary parties was nega-

1. *The Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 23, USA, 1960, p.599.

2. *Royal Commission on Agriculture In India*, Vol. III, Calcutta, Govt. of India, 1927, pp. 507-8.



tived by the Government in 1918.<sup>3</sup> However, the introduction of the Mantagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 and the consequent transfer of the responsibility of medical and public health to the provincial governments, and also to the Indian Ministers had lasting impact on the public health policy of the colonial government. During the 1920s and 1930s, disease had been viewed by the colonial administration an obstacle to 'development'.<sup>4</sup> Not only the epidemic diseases but also endemic diseases such as leprosy, tuberculous and hookworm received the attention of the authorities. Infact, there was a lot of activities in the sphere of public health in Tamilnadu during the 1920s. In this context, the Anti-hookworm campaign of the Rockefeller Foundation started its work in Tamilnadu in 1920.

At the outset, Dr. George P. Paul, the Director of the Anti-hookworm campaign, conducted investigations to find out the level of infection. He had elected Cannanore Jail, Nilgiris Tea Estates and Buckingham and Carnatic Mills at Madras for this purpose.<sup>5</sup> After conducting investigations for nearly a year, he submitted a report to the Government of Madras. These investigations revealed "the alarming extent to which the disease exists in South India, and the serious menace it offers to the economic, industrial and social progress of the Madras Presidency".<sup>6</sup> As a result, in 1922, the Director of Public Health, A.J.H., Russell, prepared a Memorandum on Hookworm disease and circulated it to all local boards and municipal councils to take immediate action and submit reports to the Government.<sup>7</sup>

In the meantime, Dr. George P. Paul was replaced by Dr. Kendrick as the new Director of the Anti-hookworm campaign. Dr. Kendrick had suggested an idea of selecting a particular district and conduct an intensive educational campaign, offering the people free treatment for the purpose of demonstrating to them the truth of the debilitating effects of hookworm disease.<sup>8</sup> The Government of Madras approved his proposal and also accepted to bear fifty percent cost of the scheme i.e., Rs. 13,500 per annum, while the other fifty percent was contributed by the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>9</sup> The Arakonam taluk of North Arcot District was chosen for the purpose of intensive educational campaign, which lasted for nearly three years.

Dr. Kendrick who led this campaign reported that "definite opposition was totally absent, yet, there has been a certain amount of apathy which has to be overcome".<sup>10</sup> For him, it was easy to persuade the people to undergo treatment but to induce them to take preventive measures proved to be a difficult task. As prevention of the disease was more important than its cure, Dr. Kendrick strongly advocated the prevention of soil pollution which was the root-cause of the infection. In spite of three years' incessant campaign in North Arcot District, his attempts to secure latrine construction in villages had been almost futile for only three were constructed in the whole district. He reported that a number of influential villagers had promised to construct latrines but the difficulty was to stir them to action and his innumerable visits to these houses, resulted in nothing.<sup>11</sup>

3. G.O. No. 112, Local Department, Govt. of Madras, 28 Jan. 1919.

4. David Arnold, *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, Delhi, OUP, 1989, p. 12

5. G.O. No. 130, Public Health Department, Govt. of Madras, (hereafter referred as P.H.) 12 Feb. 1921.

6. G.O. No. 765, P.H., 1 June 1922.

7. *Ibid.*

8. G.O. No. 1668, P.H. (Miscellaneous), 1 Dec. 1922.

9. G.O. No. 604, P.H., 10 April 1923.

10. G.O. No. 935, P.H., 12 June 1923.

11. *Ibid.*

The Anti-hookworm campaign was also conducted in the rubber and tea estates in the Nilgiris district during 1920s. The Government of Madras took special interest in this area and appointed a first class health officer exclusively for anti-hookworm campaign. He was designated as Health Officer, Planter's District with Ootacamund as his headquarters. Reports of his work were printed and copies were supplied to all planters through the office of the United Planters Association of South India (UPASI)<sup>12</sup>. The owners of plantations came forward to provide the necessary basic facilities for their employees. Hence, efforts were sincerely made to improve the health conditions of the coolie populations in the estates. This could be seen as a way of improving labour efficiency in order to promote colonial economic interests.

Anti-hookworm campaign was carried out simultaneously in all parts of the Madras Presidency during this period. Hundreds of lectures were delivered to lakhs of people. In 1922, a special lecture on hookworm infection was delivered before the Madras Legislative Council. Lakhs of leaflets and pamphlets in English and vernaculars were distributed through post offices, revenue department, missionaries and educational institutions. The press media had also extended a staunch support. An imported Ford car "the Ankylostome" was used for propoganda. A documentary film entitled "Unhooking the Hookworm" was exhibited for a number of times in Madras City and Trichinopoly<sup>13</sup>.

These propaganda efforts proved to be of little value in changing the attitude of the people. Dr. Kendrick recognised the immense difficulty of effecting a revolution in habits, which had persisted for a long period. After his failure in approaching the individuals and communities, Dr. Kendrick

began to persuade the local bodies to provide amenities in suitable localities. His proposal was placed before the Local and Public Health Advisory Committees in December 1925. However, these committees expressed the Financial constraints of the local bodies in implementing this scheme and suggested that Dr. Kendrick's plan could be carried out in a small area on an experimental basis<sup>14</sup>.

At the same time Dr. Kendrick realised that the solution did not lie in providing sufficient number of toilets but in making the people to use it which required extensive education. Yet, there was another example of Madras City where the hookworm infection was heavy inspite of provision of toilets and wide diffusion of education. This was due to the apathetic attitude of the people in using the toilets, he believed. Also, he recalled the fate of his intensive educational campaign in North Arcot District, whose object i.e. to influence the people to protect themselves permanently from the ravages of this and other filthborne diseases by the installation and use of sanitary latrines, was not attained.<sup>15</sup> In view of these facts, the Rockefeller Foundation decided to withdraw from the Madras Presidency in 1926. In the meantime, Mr. Foulkes, the President of Madura District Board came forward to finance an experimental scheme for rural sanitation. A sum of Rs. 20,000 was sanctioned by the Madura District Board. Therefore, Dr. Kendrick had shifted his programme of intensive educational Campaign from North Arcot to Madura District. The scheme for the prevention of soil pollution was inaugurated at Usilampatti in 1926. A new type of latrine known as 'borehole latrine' was tried there in an experimental basis. The scheme was, also, extended to other villages in the District. Nevertheless, the

12. *Annual Report of the Director of Public Health for the Year 1927*, p. 50.

13. G.O. No. 935 P.H., 12 June 1923.

14. G.O. No. 1035, P.H. 18 June 1926.

15. *Annual Report of the Director of Public Health for the year 1927*, p. 51.

Rockefeller Foundation terminated its munificent participation in the hookworm campaign in Tamilnadu with effect from 1st April 1927.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Victor G. Heiser, an officer from the Rockefeller Foundation visited Madras and he justified the withdrawal of Foundation's aid as their policy was "only to assist the projects only sufficiently long to demonstrate to local governments the feasibility and desirability of carrying on the work".<sup>17</sup> Yet, the Director of Public health in Madras, Russel was not happy over the withdrawal of the Rockefeller Foundation and remarked that "it was earlier than anticipated and considerably sooner than desired".<sup>18</sup> However, the Rockefeller Foundation continued to give financial aid to the Malaria Control Programme and Health Unit Scheme in Tamilnadu during 1930s.

The work of the Rockefeller Foundation was partly successful in the estates due to the cooperation of the Planter's Asso-

ciation (UPASI), thus removed the obstacle to 'development' by way of improving labour efficiency. In the social sphere, it was otherwise. The introduction of the new ways and means of Public Health in India during the British rule was considered by some of the contemporary British administrators, as a part of their mission "to bring a higher civilization into India". No doubt, the Rockefeller Foundation of the United States of America came to Tamil Nadu during the 1920s on such a 'mission'. Yet, their efforts to induce the people to adopt Western methods of sanitation and hygiene proved to be futile. They were not able to effect a change in the social habits of the people. Their experiences remained a clean proof to the fact that a change in society usually occur not in rapid strides but in slow pace. Even today, it is a matter of concern in remote villages, whether the people are using the modern methods of sanitation.

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18. *Ibid.*



## 15. Liberal Feminism

### Dr. (Smt.) Durgabai Deshmukh

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**T**he position of women in Tamil Nadu of the early times was relatively high and they were respected members of the society. They were elevated to the status of "Goddesses" and house hold "Devis". But in course of time some social evils in the form of Child marriage, Sati, Widowed Life, Devadasi System, Purdah, Infanticide and Polygamy cropped into the Hindu customs to the detriment of women.

Luckily the western education imparted by the Europeans and the advent of the freedom struggle brought many pioneer women to the forefront of public life. Among these galaxy of women, particular mention may be made of Dr. Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh. Durgabai was born on July 17th, 1909 at Kakinada in Andhra Pradesh. She was married when she was a child of eight years of age and was constrained to lead the widowed life at that young age after the demise of her husband. She dedicated her life with full vigour for the public service.

In her school days she was very much inspired by National spirit and wisdom. So she boycotted her schooling where English was taught. She started Balika Hindi Patasala to teach Hindi at the age of fourteen, to prepare volunteers to handle the task of the Congress Session held at Kakinada in 1923. Overwhelmed with the desire to wear only Khadi, she burnt all her beautiful colourful clothes bought for wedding. She followed Gandhi as his interpreter in his Andhra tours. She also joined in the Hindustan Seva Dal in Bombay.

Durgabai was actively involved in Salt Satyagraha, a National Movement

organised under the leadership of Gandhi. This was a symbolic movement against the Salt Tax. Imposed on Indian by the exploitative colonial regime. In South India this Movement was lead by C. Rajagopalachari from Trichy to Vedaranyam. After a lot of persuasion Durgabai, as a young woman became the volunteer of this movement, in Madras, which was spearheaded by Nageswara Rao and T. Prakasam.

Accordingly on April 1930, Salt Satyagraha was organised all over India and many arrests were made. In Madras both Nageswara Rao and T. Prakasam were arrested. To continue this Salt Satyagraha after imprisonment they deputed Durgabai as the leader, who continued this movement with relentless zeal for over a month. Durgabai was also arrested and sent to the Central jail for women at Vellore.

As a punishment for her total involvement she was transferred from Vellore to Madurai Jail, where the sentence was practically solitary confinement with hard labour which started with a daily grinding of ragi and chillies for hours at a time. She refused to take advantage of her release offered by the Jail authorities, when she courageously intervened in protecting a child from the frenzy of a woman co-prisoner trying to kill her own child. Durgabai considered it as a "mere act of providence". So she opted to stay in the Jail. After the signing of the Irwin pact by Gandhi she was released along with the other prisoners on March 17th, 1931.

Once again she was arrested in 1932 on charges of treason when she sold Khadi clothes discouraging the sale of the

British textiles. She was released later in 1933. Her health was completely ruined by torture by torture and rigorous imprisonment. Considering Durgabai was an active participant in the freedom struggle, she was harassed under severe punishment with solitary confinement in a dark room. The meal was of poor quality and quantity served in a iron plate. She took her place a patriot among her seniors, the giants of India's independence movement. She was honoured with Tamra Patri for her heroic role as a freedom fighter.

After the release in 1933 she could not take an active part in the freedom movement, because of her health. She concentrated on education and passed the Matriculation examination of Benaras Hindu University as a private candidate in 1936. In 1937 her brother Narayana Rao was appointed as the personal assistant to Sambamoorthy, the then speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly. Thus arose the necessity of shifting of her family to Madras permanently. This ended the Balika Hindi Patasala and signalled the beginning of Andhra Mahila Sabha in Madras, and the first stage of its being called the Little Ladies of Brindavan.

Putting here heart and soul in social service promoting the Little Ladies of Brindavan, she took her B.A. and M.A. from the Andhra University. This Little Ladies of Brindavan was created with funds raised by Durgabai and her brother through their relentless energy and by writing creative stories and radio scripts. She opined that she could do some service for the children aged 4-10 by teaching them songs and dance and telling them stories. The Madras All India Radio Station had started a children's section which provided an opportunity to train the children for broadcasting children programme. Soon the number had increased to over 100 children and 50 women and the Little Ladies of Brindavan spilled over to the speaker's house nearby.

It was in 1939 the Channapuri Andhra Maha Sabha was about to celebrate its Silver Jubilee. Durgabai had by then completed her B.A. Honors and joined the Madras law College. She became one of the three secretaries of the organising Committee of the celebration of Chennapuri Andhra Maha Sabha and her Little Ladies of Brindavan had been affiliated as women's and Children's section of this Sabha.

But very soon she realised that the Chennapuri Andhra Maha Sabha was essentially a men's club and their activities centered round men only. The atmosphere was not congenial for women and children to grow. So Durgabai decided that they should function as an independent body. Thus she started Andhra Mahila Sabha.

As education is considered to an important instrument to raise the self-confidence of women, Durgabai started the Mahila Vidhyalaya in the Luz Church Road of Mylapore at Madras. It conducted classes for the women to enable them to appear as private candidates for the Matriculation examination of the Benaras Hindu University and the intermediate examinations of the Madras University. At Santhome in Madras Durgabai started a Parisramika Saka of Andhra Mahila Sabha to cater to the needs of the growing Industrial Classes. In this Saka women were given training in tailoring, embroidery, spinning and weaving, bamboo and cane work and the manufacturing of hand made paper.

When Government of Tamil Nadu allotted two grounds of land in Adayar to extend the activities of Andhra Mahila Sabha, it started Auxiliary Nurse - Mid Wives Training centre. Originally the scheme started providing training for 50 students with assistance extended by the Central Government. It was subsequently increased to a total of 125 trainees.

The medical relief for the poor and the needy, provided by the Andhra Mahila Sabha is laudable. The two grounds of lands given initially at Adayar soon devel-



oped into a big campus of ten acres which became convenient for the Andhra Mahila Sabha to construct many buildings for the Nursing Home. Apart from the Maternity Ward with considerable number of beds, it had an Operation Theater and a Surgical ward with several other departments. The daily services included general care of women and children and Gynaecological services, to Ladies, Paediatric services, screening facilities for women and children early diagnosis and prevention, pre and post natal care facilities, after care clinic for family planning adopters, screening of infants and toddlers for morbidity, immunization services for children and consultation facilities in all major medical surgical and ophthalmic problems. It also started Iswari Prasad Dattatreya Orthopaedic centre for the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped as well as mentally retarded children. Because of its proximity the Madras Andhra Mahila Sabha became very much popular among the poor people living at the adjoining nearby areas. They called it as Andhra Hospital, were distinguishing it from the General Hospital. The medicine prepared in the dispensary itself and was administered to the patients at cheap rates thereby minimising the cost of treatment.

The marriage of Durgabai with Chintamani Deshmukh, the Finance Minister of India in 1953 further strengthened her zeal in social work at the Andhra Mahila Sabha. She became the member of the planning commission. Chintamani and Durgabai were able to make their contribution as the member of the planning commission, severally on some times jointly at other times and worked for the promotion of the welfare of society. To extend further the activities of Andhra Mahila Sabha it had opened another branch of this institution at Hyderabad in 1958.

Durgabai through the Andhra Mahila Sabha rendered yeomen services in the field of literacy programmes constituting self employment, training centres for women and health care centre to provide medical

relief for the poor and the needy. Durgabai stood as a unique personality, behind the tremendous growth and expansions of Andhra Mahila Sabha emulating the reformers like Pandit Ramabai Ranade. Her life was the life of a crusader. Without falling a prey to the imitation of the west she evolved a happy blend of the Eastern and Western cultures into a cohesive unit in Andhra Mahila Sabha.

Such a glorious personality of Durgabai, the epitome of service to humanity came to an end in 1981. The undaunted spirit of Durgabai, was mostly responsible for the continuous development and growth of Andhra Mahila Sabha. It has become the symbol of women's Renaissance in Contemporary India and speaks volume of dynamism of the founder, Durgabai. Her motto was "Kindness" and she was "Rest to the Weary" delight to the discouraged and sunshine to the gloomy. Her social service is matchless. She endeavoured to improve the living conditions and the needs of women in general. For her continuous service to the poor and needy she was honoured with several awards like UNESCO, Nehru Literacy and Paul G. Huffman awards. The Grateful Govt. of India recognising her services proudly honoured Durgabai Deshmukh with the coveted title of "Padma Vibhushan".

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## 16. Significance of Micro Historical Studies

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**A**fter the first World War, there had been a great explosion in the historical studies, and new approach had been initiated by a group of French scholars. Their efforts were interpreted as new history related to new historical sources and interpretations. The new history, which is more accurately revealed by the term, the history from below, or grassroots history highlighted new themes and dimensions in the discipline of historical studies. Simultaneously the 19th Century traditions and concepts of historiography were rejected by these scholars who searched for new tools and new sources for interpreting the historical past. Marx with all his intellectual legacy of dialectical materialism and economic interpretation of historical forces was relegated to the background. It was not because that they were looking forward to new understanding of history.

Annales, a prominent French school of historical thought as represented by the journal, *Annales de l'Histoire, Economique et Sociale* since 1928, took up historical studies to new fields like anthropology, sociology, demography and art. Their interdisciplinary approaches to these fields unearthed fresh sources and data and thus they were able to incorporate the methodology of those academic disciplines in their studies. Their new approach took them far away from the traditional scholarship and opened new Vistas of thought related to human progress or retrogress. Marc Bloch, an authority of the new school, once stated in his "the Historians Craft (1953) that there is no history of France but only the history of Europe. His own colleague Fernand Braudel further clarified that there

is no history of Europe but only the history of world in his identity *de le France* (1953). Theoretically they had appreciated the concept of a total history, leading to the global history. Even with broad approach like this, the *Annales* and others gave emphasis to the micro-level studies. The term literally meant "abnormally small", is a pattern of analytical and descriptive study borrowed from the discipline of economic history. It stands for locality instead of a region and a total state. Therefore it is closely related to local history. The historian who traces local history has some advantages than his counter part of regional or national historian. Local History is a specialised technique of historical research. It is stated :

The Local historian on the other hand with his feet planted firmly on the ground, has a clear and timer view, with his limited horizon, than the national historian surveying vast field from his elevated watch tower. (1)

However micro-historical studies are not merely the local historical studies, but in fact a detailed analytical study of the cultural pattern or economic system of a social group. This can be elaborated through examples. It is generally evaluated by historians who deal with medieval and late medieval periods of Kerala History, that it was a period of feudalism or feudal relations. They are rather based on generalisation and they could even explain what is feudalism with its characteristic features. But for a historian who works at micro-level, can provide a case study of a political elite family and establish the various aspects of feudalism or feudal

relations. (2) here micro level studies are on one side correlated to theoretical hypothesis and on the other to empirical data. Therefore such studies widen the scope of understanding of social formations and institutions. However they have their own limitations also. The Sectarian and communal historians can distort, micro-studies like any other historical studies for promoting social disharmony and fundamentalism. This is easier for them that their data deal with a specific theme or area of research. The trends can be resisted only through proper unbiased historical accounts.

In a vast country like that of India, regional historical studies have great significance in maintaining social harmony, feeling of oneness, and national integration. If such regional studies are not properly integrated with national history, they would also promote regionalism and trends of disintegration. Therefore micro studies are to be integrated with regional studies and regional studies with national history. Only a scientific historical tradition will help such integration at national, regional and local levels.

The Micro studies particularly in the field of culture, art and economic system, help us understand the local variations and identities. It also help us to trace the inter-relationship of localities with macro-situations. Therefore, grassroots history as defined by E.J. Hobsbawm is a distinguished form of academic studies.

Recently a new school has come into existence in the historical studies, under the popular title "Subaltern" studies. The promoters of this school have also adopted micro aspects or regions but mainly concentrate on the history of ordinary people, particularly the peasantry and their autonomous struggles against the colonial system. The theoretical aspects of such studies are given by Ranajit Guha in his well documented study, "Elementary Aspect of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India"

They criticise the elite character of Indian nationalist historiography and the neglect of peasant struggles. They even declared that it was legacy of the imperialist historiography. The subaltern history treats a peasant as a maker of his own rebellion, and attributed a consciousness to him. These scholar emphasis the role of spontaneity in such movements. But in their frame work there is no place for ideology, organisation and leadership. Although the elementary aspects or characteristics of peasant insurgency can be enumerated, an insurgency is the result of the function of total social elements of a locality and their interactions. Further the peasantry is not a homogeneous class and its stratification adversely affects the process of insurgency. However the subaltern studies are meaningful when they are properly interrelated to the total political or social milieu including the economic factors of the locality, region and that particular country. In fact the voluminous primary sources which are highlighted by the subaltern scholars related to particular events and localities are to be appreciated, as they help to pursue in-depth micro-studies of social behaviour and institutions. It also helps to employ new concepts like 'lunge duree' for a rich dialogue among various disciplines.

In reality the micro-studies lead to the mutual enriching of various disciplines with a renewal of subjects as of its methods. History has undergone the transformation of its own craft through adopting the wisdom of anthropology, sociology, and economics, and this wisdom is best expressed in the micro-studies which are further attentive to the study of concrete workings of human society and Civilization.

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## 17. Labour Movement in Pondicherry in the Pre-Independence Period

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### INTRODUCTION

**T**he origin of labour movement in Pondicherry dates back to A.D. 1908. There are three distinct stages in its growth. The first stage was between A.D. 1908 and A.D. 1918. The second stage was between A.D. 1918 and July, 1936. The most important third stage included events between A.D. 1936 and A.D. 1939. The labour consciousness was developed mainly around textile industries and the rest of the working communities shared their programme of common interests. It is interesting to analyse its salient stages of development, socio-political consequences and its proximate relationship with the Freedom Movement of Pondicherry upto A.D. 1940.

### IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL GROWTH.

The unorganised labour force for the first time went on strike in May 1908 in Rodier Mill demanding an increase of half an anna in daily wages. The mill was closed for more than ten days and the management succumbed to the pressure of the workers finally. In A.D. 1910, the same textile mill accepted to increase the wages of the workers by 20%. This precedence was not accepted by the Savana Mill in the neighbourhood.

**Sovajanarandi Jani** : a local journal carried a message to the workers to organise themselves into a trade union and demanded the reduction of working hours and other facilities enjoyed by their fellowmen in France. The ideological setting of the labour movement had its

rudimentary form in this fashion. The textile labourers identified themselves with those in France. There was the confluence of national, regional and french factors in the genesis of the movement. The working community wanted the reduction of working hours from 11 to 10 as it was done in the textile mills at Madras. Both the French administration and the Municipal Mayor of Pondicherry, Mr. Nandagopal Chettiar were not favourable to this proposal.

The next recorded reference of A.D. 1922 speaks about the unemployment of a number of textile labourers due to apathetic attitude of both the management and the government. In A.D. 1924, all the three leading mills in Pondicherry namely Rodier Mill, Gacbel Mill and Savana Mill were brought under one umbrella to discuss their common problems. However, their integrated efforts did not last longer due to lack of coordination and proper direction. The labour unrest continued upto A.D. 1926 without major rewards. However, the details of compromises between the labourers and the management are not available.

With worldwide depression in A.D. 1929, there was a whole-scale slash in labour force in the textile mills of Pondicherry. This pitiable condition added fuel to the fire and untold sufferings of the labour community were many.

The first labour conference was held under the leadership of Selvaraj Chettiar at Odiansalai. The objective was to mitigate the sufferings of the ousted textile



workers. Dr.P.Subbarayan and Kanaka Sankara Kannappan were the main speakers. The labour community failed to impose their solidarity even at this stage. Amir Hyder Khan of the communist party of India wanted to start its branch in Pondicherry. The French government had declared this party as an illegal organization. Prominent labour leaders like P.R.K. Sharma, Shiva Rao and Selvapathy Chettiar came to Pondicherry to promote labour consciousness. Labour Protection League<sup>1</sup> was organised and the first trade union came into existence under the auspices of the Communist Party. A trade union committee was set-up in July, 1934 at Pondicherry. It was to function as a secret committee since the trade union movement was declared illegal and denied in Pondicherry.

The labour force of the Savana Mills organised a strike on 04-02-1935<sup>2</sup> demanding the reduction of working hours to ten, increase in wages, sparing of women labours during night-shifts and protection of child labourers upto 14. Rodier Mill and Gacble Mill joined the strike later. The General Trade Union Confederation in France was contacted in the same year and they gave modalities for the organisation of the labour force.

Eminent National trade union leaders like V.V.Giri and Guruswami were contacted. An organised meeting of the textile workers took place on 03-06-1935.<sup>3</sup> The fundamental rights and other privileges accepted in the Geneva agreement were not extended to the French India under the article 409 of the Treaty of Versailles. Jamnadas, President of the National Trade Union Federation was persuaded to lodge a complaint against the French administration for deliberate denial of labour rights.<sup>4</sup>

V.V.Giri, with the earnest cooperation of Madras and Southern Mahratha Railway Employees' Federation., prevailed upon the French government to issue labour laws in accordance with the Geneva Convention on 23-05-36.<sup>5</sup> However, the right to organise trade union was not extended. After prolonged struggle, labour laws were published for the first time in the Gazetteer on 16-06-1936.

All the three leading textile mills organised a common strike in July, 1936 seeking the fundamental right to form trade unions. The defiant government under the Governor Bonvin gave shooting orders and 12 workers died in the incident. The whole nation was attracted towards this atrocity and the public Meetings were organised in Madras and Andhra Pradesh condemning this colonial master. 15th of August, 1936 was observed as 'Shooting day' and a public inquiry was demanded through the columns.

The Minister of colonies in the Chamber of Deputies brought to the notice of the Government of France on December, 1936 the details of the shooting incident. The coalition government ordered an immediate inquiry and Senateur Justin-Gadart was deputed for this purpose to Pondicherry to study the problems of the workers. When Governor Bonvin was replaced by Salomic, a detailed report was submitted to the French administration. The French administration appointed V.V.Giri to settle the labour disputes in Pondicherry in consultation with the French Governor Salomic. It was hailed as a great victory for the labour force. Absolute freedom for public meeting was given. Arrested leaders were freed. Prominent Leaders toured the villages and spread the message of freedom from colonial rule.

1. *New Times Observer* - Chap.II, Part-2, 09-04-1973, Pondicherry

2. V. Subbiah, *Saga of Freedom of French India*, New Century Book House Pvt. Ltd., Madras, 1990- P.53.

3. *The Hindu*, dt.21-04-1936

4. *Ibid.*,

5. *New Times Observer*, Part-4, dt.23-04-1973, Pondicherry,

## **LABOUR MOVEMENT AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN PONDICHERRY**

The labour movement sponsored the freedom struggle in Pondicherry. To curb its activities, political barbarism was pampered with the blessings of the French Government. Prominent leaders like V.Subbiah and his disciples supported Justin-Gaudart and the democratic parties of France in April 1936. On 31-10-1936, the French Government extended a number of concessions to the working community.

At the instance of the labour force, Nehruji was invited to address the public meeting in Pondicherry on 17-10-1936. V.Subbhash went to France to mobilise support for the suppressed people of Pondicherry as the first step towards emancipation. Nehruji gave letters of introduction to Andre Violie, the Editor of Vendravdi and popular socialist leader Pierriecot and the republican Marxist leader, R.Palem Dutt. Union leaders like Jamigon, Pierre Semue and Gabriel Periwere met. Maurice-Thaurace, the General Secretary of the Communist Party and the Minister of colonies, Marie-Maulet were briefed.

Liberal labour codes were introduced on 06-04-1937 and they were progressive than anyone introduced in Asia. With the help of Herald Butler of International Labour organisation, the rights of the workers were established.

The growing popularity of the labour movement converted it into a mass movement and served as the substratum for the Freedom Movement. 'Mahajana Sabha' came into existence with leading personalities like R.Dorairaj, V.S.R.Purushothama Reddiar, S.R. Subramanian and Xavier in August, 1937. They emphasised social, electoral and industrial reforms. Simultaneously Youth League, Harijan Sevak Sangh and members of the Ramakrishna Reading Room merged with the Mahajana Sabha. Against this wave of independence, Franco-Hindu Party under the lead-

ership of David soft-peddled the freedom issue.

The intensity of the freedom struggle was impeded by the activities of the government indirectly when they started dividing the union on caste and religious grounds. Still, the government failed in its designs. When the government indulged in manipulations during municipal elections to favour pro-government Franco-Hindu Party, it was openly challenged by the Mahajana Party demanding the resignation of the elected members. V.Subbiah attended the Congress Session at Haripura in December 1937. The communists were forced to become members of the Congress Socialist Party to achieve their ends both as workers and nationalists.

In AD 1938, the repressive period started in France, Philipona, the judicial head removed the members of Mahajana Sabha nominated by earlier Governor Crochia in July 1938 and put Franco-Party people in power again. The Mahajana Party was condemned as a band of revolutionary People and the party was banned. V. Subbiah was arrested and released later only on 16-06-39. After 1940, there was the simultaneous march of communist movement and freedom movement.

### **CONCLUSION :**

It is obvious that the textile labour community was responsible for a number of labour laws enunciated between 1935 and 1940. This mass-basis provided the substratum for the freedom movement in Pondicherry. However, there was clearcut divergence between the socialists and the communists after 1942. Thus the labour movement had the distinction of being the brain behind the freedom movement on one hand and it was responsible for a number of welfare laws enunciated under the foreign yoke on the other side.



## 18. Indigenous Medical Policy in Madras State from 1910 to 1925

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In this paper, I shall be concerned with the concept of a 'medical system' with relation to medical policy in Madras State. Specifically, I shall argue that prior to 1920, there was no indigenous medical 'system' in India, as far as the Madras Government was concerned, whereas after 1920 there suddenly developed a conceptualization of Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani as distinct medical 'systems', in line with constructs derived from Western medical institutions and theories. The implications of this insight for the study of indigenous medical history in India will briefly be considered.

The British were long aware of the limitation of medical regulatory policy as applied to villages. As noted at the time of the Poisons Regulation Act in 1905: 'We must take things as we find them. There are no "chemists" in the villages & no Members of the Royal College of Surgeons, & it was never intended that the native population would be deprived of their arsenic which is a popular febrifuge, or of their mercury, because of this Act.'<sup>1</sup> When the Corporation of Madras approached Government year after year for sanction for grants to Ayurvedic dispensaries and institutions in Madras, an attempt was made to impose some degree of regulation over these indigenous bodies. These attempts were, however, repeatedly thwarted by the various Surgeon-Generals, who viewed indigenous medicine as wholly outside the bounds of professional medical

practice. Thus, in 1911, a grant of Rs. 500 was approved by the Corporation to the Sri Kanyaka Parameswari Devasthanam Ayurvedic Dispensary in Georgetown, on the condition that the dispensary would be subject to inspection and Supervision by an officer of the government medical department to be deputed by the Surgeon-General and that a report would be submitted at the end of the year on the number of patients treated and types of drugs used in the dispensary.<sup>2</sup> About the time of this grant, Government received a letter from Mr. T.B. Seshadri Aiyar (dated 11 March 1911), urging that Government support be given to Ayurvedic schools and colleges in Madras and vicinity. Surgeon General W.B. Bannerman, however, in response to reports on the workings of these Ayurvedic schools, stated (on 27 July 1911) that 'no support ought to be given to these Ayurvedic medical schools on the grounds that they teach nothing as to the methods of diagnosing disease nor do they teach the anatomy of the body on which such methods are necessarily based.' Accordingly, Mr. T.V. Seshagiri Aiyar was informed by Mr. H.A. Stuart, Acting Chief Sec'y to Govt., that 'The Government... would hardly be justified in devoting public money to training young men in a system which, whatever its merits as an empirical system, is undoubtedly less scientific and comprehensive than the modern European

1. G.S.F., 12-04-1905; G.Os. 805 & 806 Judicial, 16 May 1905

2. G.O. No.1171, Municipal, dated 27 July 1911



system. They feel that they are bound to devote the whole of the limited funds at their disposal to the assistance of the more modern method of medical education.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the protests of the surgeon-General, a grant of Rs. 100 was sanctioned by the Corporation of Madras to the Venkataramana dispensary and school, Mylapore in 1912.<sup>4</sup> The following year, in 1913, when the Corporation of Madras again approached Government for sanctioning contributions to the Ayurvedic dispensaries in Georgetown and Mylapore, Surgeon-General W.B. Bannerman stated, with reference to Colonel Donovan's report on the Venkataramana Dispensary and Medical School, 'it appears certain that no useful knowledge is likely to be acquired from the practice of such dispensaries, for the diagnosis of the cases is generally incorrect, and no notes of the effects of the remedies are taken. I therefore do not recommend that any further grants be given to them' (31 March 1913). Government responded with a memo to the surgeon-General asking him to ascertain whether Colonel Donovan's remarks were based on a priori grounds, and to suggest a form of register to be prescribed in such institutions as a condition of assistance for public funds 'as he may consider necessary' (Memo 1999-1., 5-5-13). The Surgeon-General churlishly responded that Colonel Donovan's remarks were not based on a priori grounds, and that 'A register if filled in would be absolutely useless from a scientific point of view on account of the ignorance of those attempting to keep it.' (25 June 1913). Government however pressed through the issue of the register, noting with reference to Colonel Donovan's remarks 'I attach no weight to his opinion. I am certain it is a priori', and the grants were sanctioned on the condition that

accurate maintenance of registers showing treatment prescribed be maintained.<sup>5</sup>

The following year, in 1914, Surgeon-General W.B. Bannerman made a final protest against inspecting Ayurvedic medical dispensaries. 'I have given the matter my serious consideration, and I do not think that I should be called upon to ask any medical officer to inspect the dispensary. It is certainly degrading and unprofessional for any qualified medical man to undertake to inspect an institution which is carried on by persons dispensing quack remedies.... The passing of a grant to such institutions after inspection tends to encourage the idea in the popular mind that they are approved by, and that their methods have the sanction of Government.' (17 July 1914). Government noted, with respect to the surgeon-General's view, 'It is quite useless to have these institutions reviewed by doctor who have no sympathy but only contempt (and an a priori contempt) for other systems' (7-8-1914). Accordingly, it was decided to dispense with the Surgeon-General's control and with the conditions of inspection, and grants were sanctioned by the Madras Corporation to the Ayurvedic dispensaries in Georgetown and in Mylapore subject only to the condition that 'The Corporation will be requested to make its own arrangements for the inspection of these dispensaries and for the enforcement of any conditions subject to which it may decide to give them grants.'<sup>6</sup> To this order the Corporation promptly responded that they had resolved that grants be paid to these dispensaries without any conditions whatsoever.<sup>7</sup> Grants continued thereafter to be routinely sanctioned by Government from the Corporation to Ayurvedic dispensaries through 1917.<sup>8</sup>

3. Letter No.90 Public, dated 23 January 1912

4. G.O. No.187 Municipal, dated 25.8.1913

5. G.O. No. 1647 Municipal, dated 25.8.1913

6. G.O. No.1574, Municipal, dated 20.8.1914

7. G.O. No.2216, Municipal, dated 11.11.1914

8. G.O. No. 179, Municipal, dated 3.2.1917

In 1917, a resolution was moved by A.S. Krishna Rao 'to appoint a special Officer to investigate the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine with a view to encourage and improve the systems'. The resolution was approved in modified form, on the understanding that it was the drugs in particular that were to be investigated, rather than any distinct medical system apart from that of Western medicine. As surgeon-General Bannerman noted to sir Alexander Cardew (31 March 1917): 'Now, as to the "systems". The views of those who practice those systems are exactly the same as those of Pythagoras and Plato, and their therapeutics much the same as Galen's... Their pathology is founded on imagination not on research, and it is largely the same as the mediaeval humoral pathology. We might as well therefore propose to investigate the old English system of medicine which was founded on the same ideas..... The "medicines" used by these practitioners are however in a different category, and many of them are included in the British Pharmacopoeia.' Thus rather than an investigation of an indigenous 'system', the idea was to incorporate certain indigenous drugs into the Western system: 'What I take it we want to do is to get one or two of the more important drugs used by the principle Ayurvedic and Unani Physicians and have them analyzed by competent chemists, experimented with in laboratories by competent physiologists and pharmacologists, and thereafter have them tried on human beings' (Bannerman to Cardew, 26 Jan. 1917). Accordingly, Government sanctioned the deputaion of Civil Asst. Surgeon G. Srinivasamurthi' to undertake an investigation into the indigenous drugs used by Ayurvedic and Unani Medical Practioners in this Presidency.<sup>9</sup>

While Government policy towards indigenous practice continued to remain quite ambivalent, much popular support existed at the level of local bodies. For example, during an outbreak of plague in Dharapuram, the Municipal Council bought Ayurvedic medicines from Pandit Gopalacharlu, and requested that the expenditure (Res. 46) be sanctioned by Government. Government suggested that the same principle might be followed in this case as that permitting the Madras Corpration to make contribuions in aid of the Kanyaka Parameswari Devasthanam Ayurvedic dispensary. Surgeon-General Bannerman, however, who was consulted, curtly retorted: 'The Government cannot expect me to support the use of quack medicines such as this compounded from 'about 100 Indian drugs". This multiple composition alone is enough to condemn it..... As well might a grant be given for the blowing of cholera horns because "the public in this town had a great desire for and faith in their use" '(18 Oct. 1917). so Government sanctioned the expenditure already incurred, but warned that no expenditure should be incurred in future from municipal funds on the purchase of such medicines.<sup>10</sup>

By 1918, when the Corporation again approached Government for sanctioning Rs. 500 support to the Sri Kanyaka Parameswari Devasthanam Ayurvedic Dispensary, it was noted in the Municipal Dept.: 'I should be rather inclined to disallow the proposal, as we have burnt our boats in regard to Ayurvedic medicine & definitely declared that we won't give public money to it' (14-9-1918). Yet, as Sir Alexander Cardew noted: 'A refusal put now on this would revive a controversy which shows some signs of dying down'

<sup>9</sup>. G.O. No. 285, Medical, dated 27.6.1917. G. Srinivasamurthy subsequently proceeded on military duty, so this investigation had to be postponed until Dr. koman was later appointed. See below.

<sup>10</sup>. G.O. No.1867 Municipal, dated. 1-11-1917



(29-1-18). Government therefore decided to avoid explicitly sanctioning the expenditure, but to inform the Corporation that sanction was not presently necessary since 'By passing this expenditure year after year from 1912-13, the Government have accepted the view that the expenditure is admissible under the (City Municipal) Act' (12-11-18). The Corporation was so informed, with the added proviso that: 'as the Corporation have, however, asked for sanction, they are informed that the Govt. would deprecate the payment or the continuance of such payments.'<sup>11</sup>

In 1918, a resolution was again moved recommending a provision of Rs. 30,000 for grants-in-aid of Ayurvedic and Unani institutions. This resolution was disallowed.<sup>12</sup> G. Srinivasamurti, who had been appointed to investigate indigenous drugs, had subsequently been transferred to military duty, and the Surgeon-General was requested to submit the name of another officer who could carry out the proposed investigation. Surgeon-General G.G. Giffard responded (8 June 1918): 'I have the honour to inform you that I have made a personal enquiry from all the Assistant Surgeons who seem in any way qualified to conduct an investigation into indigenous drugs. I regret to have to inform you that I have not found a single Assistant Surgeon who is willing to undertake the work. An enquiry into the indigenous drugs of this country, as used by the practitioners of Ayurvedic and Unani Medicine, would entail a close personal association with these men. Any such close personal association is looked upon with great suspicion by the Medical Profession ... My own opinion ... is that an enquiry by an Assistant Surgeon would be quite useless, but I have nevertheless made a very considerable attempt to find one and have failed.

Surgeon-General Giffard added : 'I am prepared to believe that there may be in the hands of Ayurvedic Practitioners a certain number of remedies which are useful but in order to arrive at a correct understanding of the value of these remedies it would be necessary to establish a laboratory and to set to work a biologist, a physiologist, a toxicologist, and a physician of the very first rank, in order to obtain any reasonable results. Men of the type required do not exist in India. It would be necessary to import them from Europe or America. Government insisted, however, that an officer be deputed for the intended investigation and the surgeon-general finally appointed Rao Sahib M.C. Koman, even though he had written a letter to the surgeon-general ' begging the S.G. to get him off the work, as he doesn't want, at the end of this career, to be entrusted with a mission wh. will discredit him'<sup>13</sup>.

In 1918, another resolution was proposed to the Governor in Council that district boards and municipalities be permitted to contribute to the maintenance of Ayurvedic and Unani schools as well as dispensaries. This too was opposed by Government on the ground that indigenous medicine did not constitute a distinct system in the Eastern sense of the term. As R.A. Graham noted : 'It may be pointed out that local boards are not likely to be able to find any Ayurvedic or Unani practitioners' assessable qualifications or any one capable of exercising professional control over them if found. The proposal if accepted would amount to giving blank cheques to all persons claiming to have any knowledge of Ayurvedic or Unani medicine. It seems necessary to discourage the use of the word "system" in connexion with these practices. The word connotes some recognized uniformity of practice which, so far as we know, does not exist' (Notes, 21-3-1918).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup>. G.O. No. 1801 Municipal, dated 18-4-1918

<sup>12</sup>. G.O. No.258, Medical dated 6.6.1918

<sup>13</sup>. G.O. No.307, Medical dated 26.6.1918

<sup>14</sup>. G.O. No. 314, Medical dated 1-7-1918



The same issue was raised when the Madurai Municipal Council proposed, on the recommendation of Major D.G. Rai, District Medical and Sanitary Officer, to open two schools for teaching Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. To this proposal, Surgeon-General G.G. Giffard responded (9 May 1918):

'I have the honour to state that there is no such things as an Ayurvedic or Unani system of medicine. I have studied the question very closely and I consider that Public funds are wasted if used to prop up a dying or dead system.'

'By as much as the Ayurvedic or Unani practitioners learn modern science, they depart from the Ayurvedic and Unani practice on Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, etc.... The proper course is to train and send out practitioners of Modern Medicine in as great numbers as possible.'

Government agreed with the Surgeon-General's views, and observed that 'the Govt. are not prepared to assist or to allow local bodies to assist in the maintenance of schools for teaching the Ayurvedic or Unani methods of medicine'<sup>15</sup>

In the Surgeon-General's view, indigenous medical research should be limited to testing those drugs collected by Dr. Koman in his report, with a view to incorporating them into the British Pharmacopeia. 'If the Madras Government intends to make full use of these drugs and to my mind, it is as we can go along the path to meet the Ayurvedic and Unani Systems of Medicines, Government should do one of two things (1) Initiate a laboratory in Madras which would be presided over by two Scientific persons called respectively Pharmacologist and an Analytical Chemist... (2) The alternative is for Government to assist by subsidising the work at the Tropical School and ask in return, that reports may be sent to us....

if we can show our Ayurvedic friends that we are willing to test their drugs and make use of them and so meet them on one common ground viz., the ground of Pharmacology, we shall go a long way to settle our differences of opinion.'<sup>16</sup> Thus, through the institution of the scientific laboratory, indigenous drugs and formulas were gradually to be absorbed and incorporated into the Western medical system.

Government continued, in 1919, to debate its policy toward indigenous medical institutions, with reference to a resolution passed by the Corporation of Madras (19 August 1919) regretting that Government had disapproved of its proposals to continue annual contributions to the Madras Ayurvedic Dispensary, the Sri Kanyaka Parameswari Dispensary and the Venkataramana Dispensary. While generally disapproving of support for indigenous medicine, Government preferred not to articulate this position explicitly, so as to stay clear of controversy. Yet a firm stand was considered essential, as larger political issue were also at stake. As noted by C.G. Todhunter (20-10-1919):

'The past history of the case shows that we first made grants to these institutions but attempted to impose conditions, including inspection, and finding it impossible to enforce the conditions, we began to withdraw the grants and finally in a debate in the Council declared ourselves altogether opposed to spending money on Ayurvedic medicine.....

'Nor does the question of the grant by the Corporation stand alone. The question is really one not of medicine but of politics. The managing directors of the institutions are vakils. The Mahajana Sabha has circularised local bodies to secure support for them.... Ayurvedic medicine is a plank in the Home rule platform. If we give way in the case of the Corporation, we shall

15. G.O. No. 390 Medical dated 28.8.1918

16. G.O. No.477, Medical dated 19.10.1918

have applications for permission to give grants from dozens of local bodies...

If I saw any graceful way of retiring from the position, I should recommend it. For instance, I think it might have been wise to ignore the fact that the Corporation had made provision in the budget and to sanction the latter without question. Failing any such means of retirement, the only disposal I can suggest is that we should record the resolution of the Corporation, which amounts after all only to a criticism of our action.'

Thus, as a basic matter of principle, sanction could not be accorded to the Corporation's grants for indigenous medical institutions; as L. Davidson noted (23-10-1919): 'So long as the sanction of Government is a pre-requisite to such contributions it seems to me that we are bound to withhold it, if we believe, as I personally do that aid to Ayurvedic or Unani institutions reduces *pro tanto* the funds available for medical relief conducted on scientific lines.' Thus the resolution of the Council was to be simply recorded though, as noted by Willingdon (31-10-1919): 'the fact need not be communicated to the Corporation.'<sup>17</sup>

In 1920, the Corporation of Madras tried a new tactic, when it approached Government for sanction of 4 indigenous dispensaries (The Madras Ayurvedic Dispensary, Sri Kanyaka Parameswari Dispensary, Venkataramana Dispensary, and Kannan Chetti Dispensary) together with two 'modern' institutions (Society for the Protection of Children and Deaf and dumb School, Mylapore). As noted by F.J. Richards (8-6-1920):

'It is open to the Government to refuse to sanction the doles proposed in items (1) to (4) for Ayurvedic dispensaries or to sanction these doles along with others,

which would mean receding from the position already taken up.

'Either of these courses would be invidious. Evidently the proposals have been put up as a test case and the combination of approved institutions such as San Thome Dispensary with the Ayurvedic institutions is subtle. Presumably the one set has been included as the price of accepting the other set.'

Thus the grants were reluctantly sanctioned, with Mr. Davidson, however, dissenting from this decision.<sup>18</sup>

Following this decision, Surgeon-General G.G. Giffard requested Government to explain whether G.O. No. 833, Municipal, dated 22 June 1920 represented a change in the policy of the Government with regard to Ayurvedic Medicine in Madras Presidency (From G.G. Giffard to Govt., 4-9-1920). The Surgeon General was informed that the orders in this G.O. 'do not represent any change in the attitude of the Government towards the indigenous systems of medicine since 'the Govt. cannot commit themselves to an encouragement of these systems until investigation has shown that they are worthy of encouragement.' In the case of the sanctioning of the payment of certain grants proposed to be made by the Corporation of Madras towards certain Ayurvedic institutions, it was explained, 'the sanction was granted because it was considered inexpedient to interfere with the discretion of the Corporation in the matter'.<sup>19</sup>

In 1920, Dr. Koman's report on the investigation of indigenous drugs was forwarded to Government. The conclusion of the report was that 'having regard to the progress attained in the Western system of medicine, there is very little if anything to be learnt from the methods of treatment followed by practitioners of the indigenous

17. G.O. No. 1767 Medical dated 4 November 1919

18. G.O. No.833, Municipal dated 22 June 1920

19. G.O.No.479, Medical dated 4.9.1920



systems'. The only practical suggestion made by Dr. Koman in his report was the inclusion of some of the important Indian drugs in the lectures on materia medica presented to students in the Medical College.<sup>20</sup>

On 31 March 1920, a resolution was moved by Mr. T.R. Ramachandra Ayyar recommending to His Excellency in Council that a committee be appointed for the investigation into and encouragement of ayurvedic and unani systems of medicine in vogue in Madras Presidency. The resolution was passed in modified form (dropping the words "encouragement of") and Government solicited the names of experts on indigenous medicine who might serve on the proposed committee. These names were forwarded to the Surgeon-General, with a request for his remarks. Surgeon-General G.G. Giffard indignantly stated that no good whatever could come of such a committee and, much as his predecessor W.B. Bannerman had reacted to the proposal to inspect indigenous medical institutions in 1914, G.G. Giffard made it absolutely clear that he would have nothing to do, as a medical man, with any indigenous medical investigations: 'A scientific enquiry into the subject could only in my opinion be carried out by a committee of scientific experts aided by Sanskrit pundits. The composition of the committee as at present proposed would in my opinion be entirely useless and the results of its labour, if any, would carry no weight either with the medical profession or in the scientific world. I desire to dissociate myself entirely from any committee of the nature of the Committee proposed by Mr. Ramachandra Ayyar and I hope that no registered medical practitioner will have anything to do with it.' (From G.G. Giffard to Govt., 8 March 1921). Faced with the Surgeon-General's criticisms, it was agreed

in the Public Health Department that 'To do the thing properly it would be necessary to get half a dozen or more experts out from Western Europe' and that failing this, it would be best not to associate any official medical men with the Committee, 'but to leave it to the Committee to state their case for scientific criticism hereafter' (Medical Dept. Notes: 17-9-1921). Accordingly, a committee was appointed with Khan Bhadur Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur M.L.C. as Chairman, and G. Srinivasamurti, B.A.B.L., M.B.C.M. as Secretary, 'to afford the exponents of the Ayurvedic & Unani systems an opportunity to state their case fully in writing for scientific criticism and to justify state encouragement of these systems'.<sup>21</sup>

At the time he was first approached by Government for serving as a member of the Committee, Dr. A. Lakshmi Pathi had proposed that a hospital containing one hundred beds for in-patients should be placed at the disposal of the committee to conduct their investigations (From A. Lakshmi Pathi to F.J. Richards, 28 March 1921). Government responded to Lakshmi Pathi that they would 'be prepared to give the Committee all reasonable facilities for doing its work' (letter from P.H. Dept. to Lakshmi Pathi, 11-4-1921).<sup>22</sup> Once the committee was formally constituted, this request was renewed in a resolution 'that the Government be requested to place at the disposal of the Committee an experimental Hospital of not less than 50 beds for a period of one year' for use in demonstrating the general efficacy and comparative cheapness of indigenous systems of treatment. This request was turned down by Government, on the ground that treatment of in-patients in hospitals is not a feature of the 'indigenous' systems in Madras Presidency. 'The Committee seems to want to beg the question of

20. G.O. No. 343-343 Medical dated 5.7.1920

21. G.O. No.964, Public Health, dated 10.8.1921

22. *Ibid.*



improving on existing indigenous systems and, for the purposes of their report to create an entirely new type of institution which does not at present exist, viz. an Ayurvedic and Unani Hospital modelled on the lines adopted in allopathic institutions. This is not playing the game" (P.H. Dept. Notes, 21-1-1922). The request was therefore not approved by Government.<sup>23</sup>

The Committee on Indigenous Systems of Medicine submitted its recommendations and Government, on the basis of these, decided on 2 February 1924 to constitute a Board to formulate, among other things, proposals for a School of Indian Medicine to be started in Madras.<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, on 14 April 1924, a sum of Rs. 30,000 was allocated by Government towards the Indigenous Systems of Medicine.<sup>25</sup> Government decided to use this for the opening of a School of Indian Medicine with attached Hospital in Madras with Captain G. Srinivasamurthi as Principal, to provide training in the three systems of Ayurvedic, Siddha, and Unani medicine, along with supplementary training in Allopathic medicine.<sup>26</sup>

From the above detailed course of events, it will be seen that there was a dramatic shift in indigenous medical policy and practice between 1918 and 1925. As of 1918, the British Government viewed 'Western' medicine as the only medical system throughout the world, and Major D.G. Rai was sharply upbraided for rec-

ommending the opening of schools to teach Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine; from 1925 onwards, a Government School of Indian Medicine was established providing training in four distinct 'systems' of medicine. In 1918, Surgeon-General Giffard had asserted: "It is quite impossible to.... graft Ayurvedic and Unani practice on Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, etc." From 1925 onwards, this is precisely what the Government School of Indian Medicine was attempting to accomplish, through supplementary courses in 'modern' medicine. In 1921, Government declared with reference to A. Lakshmi Pathi's proposal for establishing a hospital of 'indigenous medicine' that an in-patient institution was most definitely not a part of the indigenous system. Several years later an indigenous medical school was functioning with an attached hospital for in-patients. It is precisely these underlying contradictions between Indian and Western 'systems' and 'institutions' which, when highlighted, make the study of the history of institutions such as the Government School of Indian Medicine of particular interest. Thus, by focusing on the manifold contradictions in indigenous medical policy early in this century, one can gain some appreciation of how truly modern and western the concept of a 'system' is when applied to certain realms of 'traditional' Indian culture and society as they existed prior to intervention by the British.

<sup>23</sup>. G.O. No.156 Public Health, dated 30-1-1922

<sup>24</sup>. G.O. No.313 Public Health, dated 22-4-1924

<sup>25</sup>. G.O.No.583, Public Health, dated 14 April 1924

<sup>26</sup>. G.O.No.1235, Public Health, dated 29-8-1924

## 19. Evolution of Forest Policy

### With Special Reference to Tamil Nadu

Dr. (Tmt). D. Janaki

**F**orest administration is the organisation charged with the implementation of the national forest policy through the application of forest law. In principle, the object of all administration is to apply specific legislation and to that extent the forest administration has a number of features in common with all other state administrations and services, some have special character because of the duties assigned to the service.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of preparing forest plans on scientific basis was recognised in 1855, by Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General who issued a Memorandum of the Government of India bringing out the policy for forest conservancy for the whole country. Owing to the mutiny progress was delayed and extension of the policy was postponed.<sup>2</sup>

In 1864, Dr. Brandis, a German was appointed as the first Inspector-General of Forest to the Government of India to formulate a scientific method to manage the forests. He initiated the management of forests on scientific lines. He was truly the founder of Indian Forestry.

The earliest Forest policy in India was carried on under executive rules, but legislation soon followed the establishment of a regular forest department. In 1865 the first forest Act VII was passed. It extended to the whole of British India excepting the southern Presidencies, and Bombay remained without Forest Law until 1878 and Madras until 1828.<sup>3</sup>

India was the first country with in the British Commonwealth to adopt an enlightened forest policy and the administration of Indian forests was governed by a Comprehensive law more than thirty years before most colonial territories had began to discuss the subject.<sup>4</sup>

The first ever forest policy for India was enunciated during the British rule in 1894 in the form of a circular. Prior to the advent of this Forest policy, there was no uniform system for the management of the forests which were mostly the properties of princely states, Nawabs and Zamindars. The forests were mainly used for hunting. The Forest policy of 1894 classified the forest in to; a) forests the preservation of which were essential on climatic or physical grounds; b) forests which afford a supply of valuable timber or commercial purposes; c) minor forests and pasture lands.<sup>5</sup>

This policy kept forestry sub-servient to agriculture by emphasising that in the event of effective demand for cultivable land, such lands from forests should be relinquished for agriculture without hesitation. The result was that agriculture expanded considerably at the expense of forests. This policy also emphasised the need for state control over forests and the need to exploit forests for augmenting states revenue. In essence this policy was more agriculture and revenue oriented rather than forestry oriented.

1. Francois T., *Forest Policy, Law and Administration*, (Rome, December 1950), Chapter XIX P.151

2. *British Empire Forestry Conference* (London, 1920), P.11.

3. *Ibid*

4. Gordon, W.A., *The Law of Forestry* (London, 1955) P.322

5. ICircular NO. 22F dated 19.10.1894, Department of Revenue, Government of India.



On 12th may 1952, by virtue of the brilliant work done by M.D. Chaturvedi, the first Indian-Inspector General of Forests, the Government of India enunciated a new National Forest Policy, enlarging on the earlier Forest policy of 1894 and making good the omissions in it.

In the interim period between 1894 and 1952, the country experienced the pangs of two worldwars and the emergence of reconstruction schemes like river-valley projects, development of industries and communications which depended heavily on forests. Government of India deemed it prudent to take stock of the situation and re-orient its forest policy to suit the situation existing then. It proposed the classification of forests on a functional basis in to protective forests, national forests, village forests and tree lands. The policy laid stress on a) weaning the tribal people, by persuasion, away from the beneful practice of shifting cultivation, b) increasing the efficiency of forest administration by having adequate forest laws, c) giving requisite training to the staff of all ranks, d) providing adequate facilities for the management of forests and conducting research in forestry and forest products utilisation, e) controlling grazing in the forests, f) the need for promoting the welfare of the people.<sup>6</sup>

The policy aimed at maintaining one third of the land area under forests, with 60% in the hills and 20% in the plains.

Also in 1950 - 52, new efforts began to a) adopt a national Festival of tree planting (Vanamahotsava), b) to devise measures for wildlife conservation and c) to place soil conservation on all India footing. The latter has since emerged rapidly as a separate organisation, dealing with the problems of soil conservation on

all lands including forests lands. The national Forest policy of 1952 was a very well conceived document and reflected the aspirations of young India. The policy continued to make a great deal of impact on the national forestry scene.<sup>7</sup>

The national commission on Agriculture constituted in 1972 gave its final recommendation in 1976, gave a new thrust and meaning to forest management in the country. This report for the first time in Indian forestry studied forestry sector in totality and gave wide ranging recommendations touching all aspects like forest policy, forest protection, production forestry, social forestry, wild life management, forest based industries etc. It was the NCA report which initiated the social forestry programmes and the forestry development corporations. The forestry sector in India went through far reaching changes after the NCA report.<sup>8</sup>

As a sequel to the recommendation of the National commission on Agriculture and with an increase in the awareness on Agriculture stability, ecological balance and bio diversity, the Government found it necessary to review the situation and evolve new strategies for forest conservation. The outcome was the National forest Policy of 1988. Its principal aim is to ensure environmental stability and maintenance of ecological balance, including atmospheric equilibrium which are vital for the sustenance of all life forms, humans, animal and plant.

Some of the basic objectives of National Forest Policy of 1988 are the maintenance of environmental stability through preservation and where necessary restoration of the ecological balance that has been adversely disturbed by serious depletion of the forest of the country.

6. *Report of the National Commission on Agriculture, part IX Forestry, (New Delhi 1976) P.18.*

7. *Prakash M. Shingi, Patel M.S. Sanjay Madwalkar, Development of social Forestry in India, (New Delhi, 1986), p.p.14,15.*

8. *Joseph K.J. National Forestry Action Programme India, State Forestry Action Plan Tamil Nadu State (Trivandrum 1994) p.15*



a) The policy also envisaged of conserving the natural heritage of the country by preserving the remaining natural forests with the vast variety of flora & fauna, which represent the remarkable biological diversity and genetic resources of the country.

b) Checking soil erosion and denudation in the catchment areas of rivers, lakes, reservoirs in the interest of soil and water conservation, for mitigating floods and draughts and for the retardation of silting of reservoirs.

c) Increasing substantially the forest tree cover of the country through massive afforestation and social forestry programmes especially on all denuded, degraded and unproductive lands.

d) Meeting the requirement of fuelwood, fodder, nonwood forest product and small timber of the rural and tribal population.

e) Increasing the productivity of forests to meet essential national needs.

f) Creating a massive people's movement with the involvement of women, for achieving these objectives and to minimise pressure on existing forests.<sup>9</sup>

Tamil Nadu one of the most heavily populated tracts of the country continues traditionally to depend on agriculture as the main source of livelihood. Inevitably, vast areas of forest-clad lands were brought under the plough.

The golden rule that the forest land should cover at least one third of the total land area could not be followed. Therefore the extent of forest in Tamil Nadu has reduced to less than the half of the above rule. Various factors have contributed to their sorry state. They are :

a) Transfer of some forests in the twenties to village forest panchayats and retransfer of the same to Forest Department after 25 years in an almost denuded state.

b) The second world war made very heavy demand on forest resources and the state had to bear more than its share of supplies, for defence needs. The end of the war inevitably saw much of wasted and depleted forest lands. The abolition of zamindaries in 1948 had to wholesale exploitation of forests.

From the beginning of Forestry a number of Acts were passed in the present day Tamil Nadu. The Indian Forest Act of 1865 and subsequent Act of 1878 were not extended to Tamil Nadu due to opposition of the Board of Revenue, which held that the rights of the villagers over jungles were of such nature as to prevent the establishment of an absolute state forest property. Later, after Dr. Brandis's visit to Madras and based on his recommendation, the Government in Tamil Nadu appreciated the necessity of a forest Act for the effective management of forests and passed its Forest Act of 1882'. This Act provided for the preservation of forest areas and for the formulation of various rules to regulate forest working.<sup>10</sup>

The policy they adopted was to conserve and improve the forest growth to the extent possible, especially on the hill tracts where it could exert its greatest influence on the local economic conditions. Forests were to be managed both as a source of revenue to the Government and for the general benefits of the agricultural population.<sup>11</sup>

With the development of political economy there was discussion as to whether and how far forests needed to be maintained in a country, whether the state as such should hold the forest lands, or whether the maintenance of forests might be left to private enterprise and this a further branch called forest policy was created.<sup>12</sup>

During the early British rule, extensive forests were either disreserved or leased

<sup>9</sup>. *Ibid.* P.16

<sup>10</sup>. Stebbing, E.P., *The Forests of India*, London, (1926), Vol. III., P.342

out for raising tea and coffee by private individuals and companies in the Nilgiris & Palanis.

Mention must be made here of the world famous Niambur Teak plantations started in 1842 and of the plantations of Australian Acacias and Eucalyptus started from 1856 onwards, in Nilgiris and the Palanis. Casuarine plantations also deserve mention this connection. This species has shown itself well adapted to the coastal conditions and even private enterprise has taken to planting this tree.<sup>13</sup>

Since the enunciation of the policy in 1952 developments of far-reaching importance have taken place in the economic, social and political fields.<sup>14</sup>

The tempo of establishing man made forests increased with the advent of five year plans which gave priority to production forestry in the early periods. This trend came to an end in 1980 with the advent of Forest conservation Act.

Tamil Nadu realised the importance of preserving wild life and as early as 1873 passed the wild Elephants preservation Act. The state realised the importance of regulating tree cutting in the hills, and passed the Tamil Nadu Hill areas (preservation of trees) Act in 1955. It also passed an Act in 1961 for the assumption and management of private forests.

Even before the National Commission on Agriculture came out with its recommendation on social Forestry in 1976.

Tamil Nadu set the trend way back in 1960 with the introduction of "Farm Forestry" scheme which in reality is the precursor of the present day social forestry programme. Between 1960 and 1980 about 13,000 ha, were thus afforested outside reserved forests. The social forestry project was intensified since 1981 with massive financial assistance from the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA). Large areas have been afforested outside the reserved forests under SIDA assisted social forestry project. People's participation and benefit sharing are the key notes of the present social forestry project.<sup>15</sup>

Since 1986 an innovative and multi-disciplinary interface forestry programme is being implemented in degraded reserved forests under the social forestry project. Participatory, management, people's involvement and benefit sharing are the salient features of this programme.<sup>16</sup>

The foregoing discussion reveals that Tamil Nadu has achieved remarkable progress in formulating its own forest policy. Due to the effective and efficient implementation of the forest policies, the state is able to reach optimum results in forestry. Tamil Nadu Government has achieved laudable progress in the social Forestry project and thereby became pioneer in involving the participation of the common people in forest programmes. This is possible because of the systematic evolution of forest policies in a prudent manner.

11. Dyson, W.G., *The Madras Forests*, (Madras, 1912), P.4

12. Schlich, W.M., *Manual of Forestry*, (London, 1906), Vol. I, P.3.

13. *Proceedings of the Chief Conservator of Forests No.231/55, dated 9.8.55*

14. *Report of the National Commission on Agriculture, Op cit, P.20*

15. Joseph K.S., *National Forestry Action Programme India, Op cit, P.18.*

16. G.O. M.s. No.7, *Environment & Forest Department, dated 4.1.93*

## 20. British Economic Policy and Cottage Industries in Madras 1870 - 1947

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From time immemorial till the close of the eighteenth century, India had been renowned for the skill of her craftsmen and all the excellence of her manufactures. The period 1800-50, however saw changes of a fundamental character in the nature of the country's productions. India from being an exporter of manufactured articles, became an importer of them and began to grow and export raw material in increasing quantities. Infact the "roles" of India and Europe, particularly England were reversed<sup>1</sup> and India began to depend more and more on the west for the very articles in production of which she was believed to be unrivalled.

However, much of this excellence was by the middle of the nineteenth century, a thing of past. India was indeed no longer a manufacturing country. The decay of the local manufactures was partly due to the rapid technical advance made in the west, during the later part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of nineteenth century. Improved communications accelerated the movement by making cheap foreign goods accessible to the people in the interior of India. All handicrafts patronized by native courts such as painting, manufacture of articles of luxury, pith-work etc., have disappeared with the courts. With the end of royal patronage these art declined.<sup>2</sup>

British administrators wanted Indians ever to remain poor and miserable. They did not want them to prosper in industry, arts and crafts and grow rich. Wherever they showed inclination to encourage agriculture, trade, industry and education, and build communication lines etc., it was with a view to enhancing their political and economic power.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to the advent of mechanical devices with their mass production processes on factory lines, industries were carried on a small scale as a hereditary family vocation in the house the cottage - and hence they came to be popularly known as cottage industries. From this angle they could be regarded as a poor legacy handed down from father to on. India being one such country the importance of cottage industries has not only been recognized but its development has also received considerable attention.

In Madras presidency, the handloom has always been the most important cottage industry. Nearly 1/3rd of the population of Madras Presidency was engaged in this important industry. In 1877, when a famine raged in Madras, government made elaborate arrangements for the production of cloth. It procured the required quality of yarn of different colours from the local market and distributed them among the weavers in such a quantity to each,

1. Sarada Raju, A., *Economic Condition of the Madras Presidency 1800-50*, (University of Madras, 1941), P.147

2. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, *memorandum on the Progress of Madras Presidency during the last forty years of British Administration Part II*, (Madras, 1892), p.89

3. Chopra, P.N. Ravindran, T.K. Subramanian, N., (eds), *History of South India*, (Delhi 1979), P.164.



as they were was capable of working them out.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of their importance Cottage Industries had no firm organisational basis and were carried on mainly by the agriculturists who were scattered about. It sometimes formed the occupation of an entire family. Weavers were organised on caste basis also. The Devangas, Sourashtras, Sengunthas, Kaikolas, Padmasalis being the main weaving castes. Besides this there were "coolies" who were hired.<sup>5</sup>

In the early years of the nineteenth century, it was the textile industry that interested the company most. A large amount of money was invested in it. But from 1815 onwards there was a downward trend as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution and this was gradually being felt in India. The English goods had the advantage of "powerful machinery" abundance of imported raw materials and facility and economy of shipment in the mother country and therefore they were able to undersell the native manufactures. As contrasted with this the methods of Indian manufacture were slow and the implements used were almost archaic and as a result the prices of his products were high. The Indian was opposed to any change in the quality of the product to suit the market. The native industry succumbed to the competition offering goods. The company then began to curtail its investment in various factories<sup>6</sup> and began to foster the growth of commercial crops.

Nothing was done for the relief of the weavers, who were thrown suddenly out of work. On the contrary the fiscal policy

of the government only tended further to discourage the industry. A small relief was granted to the weavers when the inland transit duties were abolished. But this concession was not enough to stem the tide of goods surging into India. Certain significant changes took place in this important cottage industry because of the English competition viz., in the quality of materials used, and the patterns produced and the varieties manufactured. Concentration on finer texture was no longer pursued, for its cost of production went up. This was to a certain extent attributed to the fact that the manufacture of fabric for the Indian market had passed into the hands of British capitalists, who with the use of steam driven machinery, produced fabrics at a lower cost than these produced by handicrafts men in India<sup>7</sup>

A committee was set up by the Imperial Government in 1884. Which suggested the setting up of a network of committees such as a Provincial Committee, School of Arts in the Province and an Art Committee to guide and aid all workmen through schools,<sup>8</sup> designs exhibitions and museums. The only suggestion adopted in 1885 was the starting of museums<sup>9</sup> where good samples of the art of the past were preserved to serve as specimens to native workmen, Exhibition and art publications recommended by the Committee were also accepted. Special attention was given to silk industry as the government wanted to make this Presidency a major source of supply of this raw material to the European market.<sup>10</sup>

By the turn of the century, of all the indigenous arts of the Presidency the only one which now employed any con-

4. 30th August Boards Proceedings No.3853

5. Sarada Raju, A., op.cit., p.194

6. 25th January 1884, Boards Proceedings NO.299

7. 1st May 1886 Boards Proceedigns No.998

8. 30th November 1885 Boards Proceedigns No.3267

9. Museum in Madras had a collection of art pieces of Madras Presidency (e.g.) armoury of Tanjore, quaint pith models of the Raja of Tanjore, made many years ago.

10. 5th January 1870 Board's Proceedings No.32

siderable number of persons was the weaving of silk and cotton, and even this entered the decaying stage. In 1902, the imports of foreign cotton piece-goods at the ports of Madras were valued at 171 lakhs, while the exports of the locally made fabrics amounted to only 59 lakhs.<sup>11</sup> In comparison with collection of the block-printed and hand painted cotton stuff, its decline was rendered conspicuous by a comparison of the collection of these fabrics exhibited at the Delhi Durbar Exhibition in 1903, which were sent to the Indo Colonial Exhibition in London in 1886. European manufacturers have not hitherto produced anything which could compete with the fine cotton and silk cloth for female attire made at Tanjore, Madura, Adoni, Arni etc. The fine lace-like patterns in the fabrics of Paramagudi, Manamadurai and Papanasam were exceedingly attractive. Many artistic works like brass and bronze work, for which Southern India was once famous, has become a lost art. Madras city which had a reputation of its silver ware, adapted itself to European models.<sup>12</sup>

By the beginning of this century a more consistent policy came to be evolved affecting in general all the industries in Madras.

The education of workers, improvement in techniques, financial aid for marketing facilities etc., received particular attention. Industrial and technical schools were started.<sup>13</sup> The Director of Industries appointed in 1908 was guided by the maxim laid by the Industrial Conference (1908) that the primary object was to improve the quality of the work of the hereditary artisan classes and these industries were to be located in centres where the connected industry was carried on.

The government recognized the importance of continuing general education and training in crafts. In 1922 a Textile Institute was established in Madras with the object to (1) devise manufacture and demonstrate new appliances, (2) to introduce new methods, and (3) to provide practical instruction and training.

The government started a peripatetic weaving party in 1913, which should go into the interior of the districts to demonstrate the use of new appliances and train them in the use of the new implements. Meanwhile in 1917 the government of Madras appointed a Weaving Expert and started a Textile Institute.<sup>14</sup> The Retrenchment Committee of 1923 considered that demonstration at the weavers doors the efficiency of improved appliances was one of the ways to tackle the problem of the weavers. It also recommended that the expenditure should be made on an intensive basis rather than extensive basis.

The Textile Institute formed in Madras in 1922,<sup>15</sup> induced people to visit their establishment to observe various machines at work and lent the machines to any person who was in a position to work on it. This gave a feeling that there was no need of the peripatetic parties, and so they were thus wound up on 1934.<sup>16</sup> At this juncture, the Government of India agreed to divert to the provinces some of the proceeds of the increased duty to handloom promotion schemes and this made the Government of Madras to launch its vaunted Co-operative Marketing Scheme. The Madras Handloom weavers Provincial Co-operative Society was established in 1935 as a Central Marketing organisation for affiliated societies of weavers, but, despite

11. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Madras, Vol.I, (Calcutta, 1908), p.64*

12. *Ibid.*, pp.66-67

13. 10th August 1921, G.O. No.1418 Development Department

14. Baliga, B.S., *Compendium on History of Handloom Industry in Madras*, (Madras, 1960) pp.11-18

15. Boag, C.T., *The Madras Presidency 1881-1931*, (Madras, 1931), p.81

16. 24th November 1934, G.O. No.1609, (MIS) Development Department.



government financing, it made little progress before the Second World War.

But still, the condition of the cottage industries remained the same. Government appointed an officer to conduct a survey of the cottage industry in 1927 and collect detailed information regarding cottage industries; their methods in practice, tools and appliances, number of persons employed, availability of raw material and the market for the finished product so as to provide a revival on an economic footing.<sup>17</sup> The government decided to entrust the work of stabilising of cottage industry with the revenue officers and ordered that the divisional officers and Thasildars should furnish information to the Director of Industries in their respective jurisdiction.<sup>18</sup>

The Madras State Aid to Industries Act of 1923, had been amended many times in respect of cottage industries<sup>19</sup> but the quantum of assets required for financial assistance was too high and so the hire purchase system of implements to cottage workers was recommended. But the more important suggestion on cottage industry was the need for the organisation of co-operative societies. It was felt that under such an organization small amounts of capital could be more readily amassed and hence there was no need for the cumbersome procedures of aid practised under the Act. The societies would not merely supply raw materials, but also find market for the product. The cottage worker had become much dependent on the middlemen, without whom he found it very difficult to procure raw materials and market his goods; and the middle men also had the resource and experience much more than the cottage worker. At a Textile Conference assembled in 1929, it rejected any scheme of assistance to the handloom

industry through changes in tariff or railway rates, and contented itself with some moralisings such as condemning the weavers addiction to alcohol and with some pious hopes about the efficacy of Co-operative Marketing Schemes. In the same year D. Harayana Rao's Report on cottage industries also identified marketing as the main problem of the industry and recommended the extension of Co-operative Marketing Schemes as the best method to expand the facility. But upto this time co-operative schemes made little impact on the handloom industry and no attempt was made to translate the advice into action.

In 1936, the attitude of the Madras Government started to shift. In that year, the loss of markets in North India and overseas caused major distress and disorder in the three main centres of Salem, Coimbatore and Madurai. The Director of Industries, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and the Government Textile Expert all made investigations into the state of the industry in the major centres and recounted the extent of unemployment and distress. There was no attempt at welfare work but D.H. Amalsad who was the Textile Expert, came out with a tirade against the policy of protecting the mill industry at the expense of the handlooms. One of the last acts of the Justice Party Ministry before it was swept of office in 1937 was an attempt to introduce a scheme of market sharing through negotiations between representatives of mill and handloom industries. Government was clearly moving towards a policy of cultivating both a mill and handloom industry side by side.<sup>20</sup>

From early 1944, government ordered that mills could only manufacture certain prescribed sorts of standard cloths, and

17. 15th February 1927, G.O.No.225 (MIS) Development Department,

18. 11th August 1930, G.O.No.1520 Development Department

19. Nasir Tyabji, *Focusing State Aid to Industry - Madras 1921-37*, (M.I.D.S., W.P.no.83, 1988) pp.19-40

20. Baker, C.J., *The Indian Rural Economy 1880-1955 - The Tamilnad Countryside*, (Delhi, 1984) p.408



that handlooms could henceforth have a monopoly in all their sorts of goods.

The end of the war and the restoration of export opportunities made the price of handloom cloth soar. In 1946, the government issued an order fixing the wages of weavers and setting up local handloom boards. These measures had to be tightened up further in 1947. Between December 1947 and February 1948 government dismantled many of these controls and by 1948 the mills had returned to normal production and the market for handloom goods rapidly crumbled.

It was often complained that the Indian goods did not meet the standard of foreign market as it did not cater to the changing needs and fashions. These defects were directly, the causes for the lessening of the foreign markets as in the case of lace and embroidery.<sup>21</sup> Further more cottage industries lacked the necessary advertisement and propaganda to promote their sales. To promote the export, the cottage industry recommended the appointment of an agent in London to study the European markets and transact business in London. But the idea was dropped because it incurred a lot of expenditure. It proposed to render all assistance to Victoria Technical Institute, which dealt mostly with luxury goods, and articles of artistic value manufactured by village artisans. This institute had the advantage of a show-room attached to the Trade Commissioner's office in London and functioned as business agent. It received an annual grant of Rs. 3,000 for 3 years to meet the cost of advertising and other sales function.<sup>22</sup>

With regard to the cane industry, the methods which were used for splitting and rounding cane was most primitive and that

resulted in a very low quality of cane articles, that could not command even a third of the price given to European manufactured article.

The Director of Industries reported that a hand operated machine was available in the Europe and requested a grant of Rs. 2,500 to the government to import the machine from Germany. It was agreed and the German Machine was installed in the School of Arts for demonstration purpose.<sup>23</sup>

The marketing arrangements for the cottage industries products lacked co-ordination between production and sale. The Committee on cottage Industries suggested the establishment, in the case of handloom, of a Central Weavers Co-operative Society at Madras with a number of local subsidiaries affiliated to it. The weaving occupation was in a sense over-crowded and it needed a large network of co-operative societies, but the Subvention Scheme was wholly inadequate as it was able to set up only some 100 odd societies as against the possible 2500.<sup>24</sup>

Besides finance, marketing was a great problem. Dyeing industry also faced the same problem when the vegetable based dye came to be replaced by the aniline dyes. Further the competition from machine made rugs adversely affected the handmade carpet and rugs. The Government of India agreed to grant a subsidy for 5 years to protect the industry.<sup>25</sup>

Hand spinning was another industry which had declined almost completely with the advent of mill made yarn, though there was sporadic use of it. The cost of the mill made yarn went up.<sup>26</sup> The government did not see any advantage in fostering hand spinning as it could not compete with power mills except in low counts. But the

21. 25th June 1930, G.O. No.1282 (MIS) Development Department.

22. 28th March, 1934, G.O.No.416 Development Department

23. 30th January 1933, G.O.No.132 (MIS) Development Department.

24. Report on the Weaving of the Subvention Scheme - 24th Sep'1940, G.O.No.2267-2267A, Development Department.

25. 9th March 1837 G.O. No.569 Development Department.

26. 12th October 1940 G.O. No.23, 24 Development Department.

swadeshi Movement revived it. The all India spinners Association founded in 1925 organised handspinning and other connected industries in various parts of the country. Under the State Aid to Industries Act, the association was granted Rs. 2 Lakhs to set up a research workshop, as development and progress of the industry depended on the efficiency with which the various process of manufacture was carried on.

Although none of the other petty industries was quite so large and important as handloom, many of them underwent similar process of change in the early twentieth century. The tanning, carpet-making, beedi-rolling and metal work industries were all organized on roughly the same lines as handloom. Each was scattered in numerous small workshops. On one estimate there were 400 small tanneries in the Tamil districts while beedi-rolling was carried out on the doorsteps and in the back rooms of thousands of poor households. Wages were generally pitifully low. Many of the industries expanded in the twentieth century with some help from export demand. In the First World War Madras (with a little help from Bombay) supplied three-fifths of the British army's boot uppers and even in the years following the armistice the war office bought Rs. 6½ crores of tanned hides and skins in Madras. The trade in

beedis followed the Tamil migrants and expanded particularly well in Ceylon. At the same time these industries became more reliant on foreign markets. The metal work utterly depended on the imports of brass-copper and iron. The involvement in overseas trading, made petty industries vulnerable to international instability and many of them experienced sharp swings boom and slump. This was followed with the concentration of the industries in the major towns, the influx of more casual workers, and the growing dominance of a small number of putting-out capitalists. The towns of Tamilnadu were rapidly becoming work-house for the poor.

Looking back on the condition of the cottage industries, it is seen that they had enjoyed the patronage of the company in the initial stage, but were left to fend themselves owing to the impact of the Industrial Revolution. Though there was a decline, they withstood, especially the handloom industry. Government tried to resuscitate the cottage industry by improving the techniques and technical education. When it was found that marketing facilities were needed, it tried to improve this also. The aspect to bring into being an organisation for setting up a network of co-operative societies should be viewed as a step in the right direction for developing the cottage industry.

## 21. P.M. AUDIKESAVALU NAICKER'S ROLE IN THE TAMIL NADU LABOUR MOVEMENT

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The First World War (1914-1918) adversely affected the Indian Industries and consequently worsened the conditions of the workers employed in factories. Nominal wages did not keep pace with the rise in prices of commodities and the labourers were put to hardship. They found life miserable. Discontent among the workers increased. Further the workers were illiterates. They were highly ignorant, and backward. Naturally they were unable to organise themselves.<sup>1</sup> They were a heterogeneous mass coming from different parts of the country. Some workers left their families back in the village while they reverted to a bachelor existence in the factories. Submerged in poverty, these workers lived in dirty slum "areas". They wore the dirtiest dress and received inadequate wages. The condition of labourers in Tamil Nadu was the same as in the rest of the country.<sup>2</sup>

It was at this juncture that the concept of Trade Union occurred in the mind of Audikesavalu Naicker who realised the need for improving the lot of the labourers especially in Tamil Nadu. He resolved to work for the upliftment of the labourers by associating himself with the prominent labour leaders of his times. He became one of the pioneers of the labour movement. He zealously fought for the cause of the down trodden toiling people of pre-Independent era in Tamil Nadu.<sup>3</sup>

Audikesavalu Naicker joined the labour Movement in 1916. It was in that year that he became the President of the M & S M Railway young Mens Union and also the President of the Massay & Company Employees's Union. He also organised the Madras Kerosene Oil workers' Union.<sup>4</sup>

In organising the above labour unions, Naicker had the able support of T.V.Kalyana Sundara Mudaliar, Editor of the *Navasakthi* in Tamil and thereby he also became a close associate of Singaravelu Chettiar who was then a prominent labour leader in Madras.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the eloquent speeches of B.P.Wadia, another labour leader of the times, were instrumental in inspiring the listeners to join the labour movement. Audikesavalu Naicker was one among them who were highly influenced by Wadia's speeches. He gained a vast knowledge and rich experience in this field from his senior labour leaders such as T.T. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar and Singaravelu. He was also a close associate of V.Chakkarai Chetti and G.Selvapathy Chetty.<sup>6</sup>

Audikesavalu Naicker organised the first labour strike in 1917, when he was General Secretary of the North Madras Labourers Union.<sup>7</sup>

He organised WIMCO Match Factory workers Strike and B & C Mill employees'

1. S.G. Panandikar, *Industrial Labour in India*, Longmans - Green & Co. Ltd., 1933, P.187

2. *Ibid*

3. Interview with Venugopal Naicker, son-in-law of Sardar P.M. Audikesavalu Naicker.

4. *Who's who of Freedom Fighters*, Vol-I, Madras August'73, p.273

5. Sen, p.187, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1974.

6. Interview with Sundararaja Naicker

7. Vasanthi Kannan, *Aayvukovai*, Vol-XVII, Annamalai Nagar 1986, p.447.



strike. The WIMCO factory was situated in Tiruvottyur. So he took a special attention towards the employees of the company. He never missed any of the meetings which were held by them. In his meetings or discussions with them he advised the men not to yield to the greedy designs of the management.<sup>8</sup>

He gave some good suggestions to them and took his own decisions on behalf of them. Ultimately he brought success for them. Simultaneously he joined with T.V.Kalyanasundara Mudaliar and others in organising the B & C Mill strike. Their demands were many. They pertained to the wages and amenities to workers. A few of the demands were conceded owing largely to the tireless efforts of Audikesavalu Naicker. Hence the strike proved to be a partial success.<sup>9</sup>

#### **MADRAS LABOUR UNION :**

The interests of the workers in Madras State were ably protected by a labour organisation known as Madras Labour Union. It came into existence on 27th March 1918 at Perambur Barracks<sup>10</sup>

B.P.Wadia was the founder President. Kesava Pillai and T.V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar were the Vice Presidents. Selvapathy Chettiar and Ramanujulu Naidu were the secretaries of the M.L.U.. Initially M.L.U had a very low strength. Workers meetings were generally held in the premises of M.L.U. in which various leaders from different organisations used to take part. Audikesavalu Naicker was one of the important leaders who invariably participated in these meetings.<sup>11</sup> He associated himself with the organisation from its inception and strove hard to consolidate it by serving it along with his colleagues.

Thanks to his efforts new members were inducted into the organisation which subsequently became a force to be reckoned with.

#### **MADRAS TRAMWAY MENS' UNION :**

Barrister E.L.Iyer used to attend the workers of the M.T.M.U. at M.L.U premises. Some Tramway men approached Chelvapathy Chettiar and expressed their sufferings under untold conditions. They were subjected to a lot of harassment, untimely working hours and victimisation. They requested Chelvapathy Chetty to start a Union for them. Egmore was the spot where these Tramway men met frequently. They wanted that the Union could be located there itself. Thus the M.T.M.U. was started in 1919.<sup>12</sup>

As the Union did not have its own premises the first meeting of the Union was held at E.L.Iyer's residence situated adjacent to the Magistrate Court, Egmore.<sup>13</sup> E.L.Iyer presided and formed the general body meeting of the M.T.M.U. Audikesavalu Naicker was one of the advisers of the newly formed union and in that capacity he contributed towards the growth of the Union.<sup>14</sup> E.L.Iyer published a biweekly titled 'Swadharm' in which he wrote about the activities of the union. The grievances of the Tramway Men were redressed through the union by means of which the workers derived many benefits.<sup>15</sup>

#### **M & S.M. RAILWAY EMPLOYEES UNION :**

Like the workers of B & C Mills, those of the Madras Southern Maratha Railway Employees' Union were suffering under intolerable and inhuman conditions. They were subjected to several hardships

8. Interview with Sundararaja Naicker

9. Ibid

10. K. Murugesan & C.S. Subramanian, *Singaravelu-First communist in South India*, New Delhi, 1975.p.34.

11. Interview with S.Ganapathy, Secretary of the Freedom Fighters' Association, Coimbatore.

12. Murugesan and Subramanian, *op.cit.*,

13. Ibid.

14. Interview with Venugopal Naicker

15. Ibid

and misery. They resorted to agitational means to present their legitimate demands and indulged in strikes.<sup>16</sup> Chelvapathy, T.V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar and Ramanujula Naidu rendered their valuable help in strengthening the M & S M Employees Union. Audikesavalu Naicker also joined the union as one of the leaders and subsequently became the President.<sup>17</sup> He served the union with devotion. As President of the Union, he discharged his duties to the satisfaction of its members and protected the interests of the workers.<sup>18</sup>

On 13 December 1920 a union meeting took place in which clerical staff also attended. The meeting was addressed by Annie Besant and G.S.Arundale.<sup>19</sup> Audikesavalu Naicker also attended the meeting. The union in the workshop grew strong day by day with the help of some active workers. Management immediately granted increase in wages, overtime allowances, provision of toilet facilities, tiffin sheds and drinking water facilities.<sup>20</sup>

#### **P.W.D. WORKSHOP EMPLOYEES UNION:**

It was founded in July 1926 when there was an intense awakening among the workers.<sup>21</sup> Audikesavalu Naicker and Ramadoss assumed leadership of the union and involved themselves in its activities.<sup>22</sup> The main object of the union was to ameliorate the social economical and other working conditions of the members through constitutional methods.<sup>23</sup>

May Day was celebrated in Singaravelu's house on 1 May 1927. A lunch was provided to the labour leaders and the

workers who participated in the celebrations. On the same day evening a meeting took place. It was presided over by Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu. Singaravelu moved a resolution of solidarity of Madras workers.<sup>24</sup>

In May 1927, Sakatwala, a communist M.P. visited Madras. Singaravelu was responsible for making several arrangements for his stay in Madras. A mammoth meeting took place at Triplicane Beach. It was presided over by Satyamurthi. Sakatawala addressed the Railway workers meeting at Perambur.<sup>25</sup> Audikesavalu Naicker made excellent arrangements for this meeting. He delivered a welcome address in the meeting.<sup>26</sup>

The city of Madras witnessed two important strikes in 1927. They were Burma Oil Company Workers strike and Massey and Company Engineering Workshop workers' strike. A detailed study of these two strikes helps to throw light upon the role of Audikesavalu Naicker in these strikes and his involvement in the labour movement.

#### **BURMA OIL COMPANY WORKERS' STRIKE:**

Chakkarai Chetty was the President of the Kerosene Oil Workers' Union in 1927. Most of the meetings of the union were organised in his residence at 13, Kummallamman Koil Street.<sup>27</sup> Singaravelu and Audikesavalu Naicker also worked unitedly for the welfare of the oil workers. Audikesavalu Naicker was an active member of the special executive committee of the oil workers' union. The committee

16. *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, Southern Railway Employees Sangh, 1919-1979, Madras.*

17. *Ibid*

18. *Sen.op.cit. p.187*

19. *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, S.R.E.S. 1919-1979*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *G.O.No. 1137-L, Public Works and Labour, 1 September 1926*

22. *Ibid*

23. *Ibid*

24. *Murugesan & Subramanian, op.cit. p.*

25. *Ibid*

26. *Interview with Venugopal Naicker*

meetings took place at 13, Pillayar Koil Street, Tandiarpet, Madras. The representatives of the workers made the following demands to the higher authorities of their management.<sup>28</sup>

1. Reinstatement of 119 workers
2. Restoration of wage cut off for workers
3. Provision of benches for workers to do their work
4. Increase in wage i.e. an increase of one anna per day in wage.<sup>29</sup>

Failure of the management to concede the demands led to the strike.

This strike began on 19 April 1927. The workers of B.O.C. were joined a few days later by the Asiatic Petroleum Company men and some of the Standard Oil Company men.<sup>30</sup>

On 10 May, the Commissioner of Labour and his Assistant and the Commissioner of Police and his deputy had met Audikesavalu Naicker and the representatives of the labourers of B.O.C. and had a talk at H-3 police station which was about two furlongs away from the scene of the disturbance. They discussed and settled with them certain terms on which the labourers were to be advised to return to work. The officers and the labour representatives had left the conference about 10 a.m. after arriving at a settlement. But before they could reach their destinations and the labour representatives could meet their men, a disturbance had occurred which upset the settlement arrived at and postponed it for ten days more.<sup>31</sup>

While negotiations were going on at the H-3 Police Station a large body of the

strikers estimated at about 800 men had assembled in the open space near Senni Amman Kovil, where they used to hold meetings, awaiting for their representatives who were in conference at the Police Station. Another body of strikers estimated at two to five hundred, many of whom had lathies, had posed themselves in a coconut tope near the principal entrance of the B.O.C. installation.<sup>32</sup>

The next group of men attacked the clerical staff who had not gone or participated in the strike. The Policemen on duty warned the strikers to allow the clerical staff to go to their work. Incidentally four of the strikers brought some logs and kept them across the road to obstruct the traffic. One of the police constables had noticed it, and intimated it to the police inspector who strengthened his team but the policemen were unarmed. When the lorries loaded with petrol came out of the company, the strikers rolled the logs on the road and blocked them. But the police removed the logs. Some strikers soon attacked the lorries and pelted stones on the lorries. Even a lorry was set on fire. Fifteen striking men were injured in the incident and a few policemen also sustained minor injuries.<sup>33</sup>

A meeting of the strikers of the B.O.C., Asiatic Petroleum Company and Standard Oil Company was held on 11 May 1927 at the Madras High Court Beach. It was presided over by Chakkarai Chetty. Audikesavalu Naicker participated in the meeting.<sup>34</sup> He moved a resolution which sought to provide the relief of men who were out of work. Through this resolution he made an appeal to the public to render financial aid to the union as a mark of the

27. G.O.No. 1261, L. Public Works and Labour - 9 June 1927

28. *Justice*, 10 May 1927

29. K. Murugesan and C. Subramanian, *op.cit.* p.47

30. G.O. No.779 Public (Confidential) 24 August

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid*

33. *Ibid*

34. *Justice*, 12 May 1927



sympathy towards the poor strikers. He further stated that a special committee would be authorised to collect the same. He explained the necessity for such an aid being given to the poor strikers and pointed out how the world would be without labourers.<sup>35</sup>

The strike came to an end on 17 May 1927. The management conceded three of the demands of the workers such as-

1. Reinstatement of workers
2. Restoration of wage cut off for 23 workers
3. Provision of benches for workers to do their work.

Their fourth demand was also agreed to be conceded by the management later. Thus the joint efforts of Audikesavalu and those of his colleagues and the utmost co-operation of the workers were responsible for the success of the strike.<sup>36</sup>

#### **MASSEY & CO. WORKMEN'S STRIKE**

Audikesavalu Naicker played an important role in bringing about a settlement in Messrs Massey & Company workmen's strike.

The workers of Messrs. Massey & Company's Engineering Workshops, Madras made certain demands to the management. Their demand included rise in wages. The committee of Managing Directors gave a reply on 23 May 1927 declining to consider the demands of the workers.<sup>37</sup> Thirty men out of 700 workers of the company were dismissed on 24 May 1927.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, the workers of the company went on strike from 25 May 1927 onwards. A strike committee consisting of

leaders of Massey & Company Union was constituted with Audikesavalu Naicker as its President.<sup>39</sup>

A meeting of the strikers was held with P.M. Audikesavalu Naicker in the chair. He spoke about the negative attitude of the management towards conceding the legitimate demands of the workers. He appealed to the men to be firm and united for achieving their object.<sup>40</sup>

Subsequently, Audikesavalu Naicker started holding daily meetings of the striking workers. Along with other labour leaders, he addressed the men and was giving hopes of speedy settlement.<sup>41</sup>

In one of the meetings of the workers which was held on 29 May 1927 at Robinson Park, Audikesavalu Naicker said that the employers ultimatum to forfeit gratuity was but a bluff and that the men would not resume work unless there was an honourable settlement of the dispute.<sup>42</sup>

In another meeting which was organised by the striking committee on 31 May 1927 in the same park, Audikesavalu Naicker explained some of the objectionable methods resorted to by the capitalists to compel the men to resume work on the next day and asked the workers not to show any sign of weakness or discouragement and fall an easy prey to the employers.<sup>43</sup>

After prolonged attempts at negotiations, the strike came to an end on 18 July 1927. The management conceded the demands of the workers and the dismissed workers were reinstated.<sup>44</sup> Thus the success of the strike was largely due to the untiring efforts carried on by Audikesavalu Naicker and other labour leaders.

35. *Ibid*

36. K. Murugesan and C. Subramanian, *op.cit.* p.47

37. *The Hindu*, 26 May 1927

38. G.O. No.1668-L, *Public Work & Labour*, 2 August 1927

39. *The Hindu*, 25 May 1927

40. *The Hindu*, 26 May 1927

41. G.O. No.1516, *Public Work & Labour*, 20 July 1927

42. *The Hindu*, 30 May 1927

43. *The Hindu*, 1 June 1927

44. G.O. No.1668-L *Public Works & Labour Dept.*, 2 August 1927

## 22. Social Reform Movement in Tamil Nadu With Special Reference to St. Ramalinga

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**H**istory deals with human society which is the centre of all human activity. Arnold J. Toynbee was one of the earliest historians who mooted the idea that "Society" should form the basic unit of any historical study.<sup>1</sup> As the society evolves and concepts change, reforms become imperative. Reform is a substitute for revolution. The tree that does not bend to the wind breaks.

The social disabilities were the offshoots of Hindu social institutions.

Great reformers registered their protests against the exclusiveness of castes and the notions of the superiority and inferiority which they bred. The Buddha was the first one to take up the cudgels against the iniquity. He believed in a moral and virtuous life, free from castes and rituals. Mahavir who followed the Buddha also protested against the flagrant social inequalities.

In the medieval period, saints in Maharashtra such as Ramdas, Jnaneshwar and Tukaram, and Chaitanaya Prabhu in Bengal made strenuous efforts to loosen the rigidity of the caste system by raising the Sudras to the level of the Brahmins. In the south, Nayanmars and Alvars promoted the Bhakti Movement which spread spiritual fervour irrespective of castes among the people. Moreover, the Bhakti

Movement in the South brought the Nayanmars and the Alvars together as devotees of God but it did very little to unify the common people. Vemanna in Andhradesa and Basava in Mysore preached about equality among men.

India came under the influence of Western culture even right from the arrival of the portuguese at the Western coast of India at the end of the fifteenth century and with the arrival of the European Missionaries at Serampore in 1707 on the Eastern coast. With the advent of the British rule in India in the second half of the eighteenth century, Western culture took deep root. There arose a clash between the two cultures. The English Missionaries attacked the Hindu religion, its customs and traditions. Charles Grant, a Missionary, described the Hindu religion as 'idolatry with all its rabble of impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstition, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions.'<sup>2</sup> The wholesale condemnation of the Hindu religion led to rethinking on the part of the intellectuals which resulted in the birth of the Social Reform Movement in India in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It was even said that "fear of Christianity was

1. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. I, (Oxford 1935,) P.1.

2. Cited by V.K.R.V.Rao, *Swami Vivekananda- The Prophet of Vedantic Socialism*, (Builders of India Series), (New Delhi, 1979), p.2.

the beginning of much social wisdom in India". Educated Indians who represented mostly the middle class consisting of landlords, businessmen and intellectuals reacted to the Western criticism of the Indian culture. Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshab Chandrasen and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and others who advocated changes in the Indian social structure were determined to remove the social excrescences like Sati, infant-marriage, and enforced-widow hood, human sacrifices, the Devadasi system and untouchability.

Their unbounded enthusiasm was manifest in the educational, economic, political and cultural spheres. Mightily Socio-religious Reform Bodies like the Brahmo Samaj (1828), the Prarthana Samaj (1867), the Arya Samaj (1875), the Theosophical Society (founded in the U.S. in 1875 and shifted to India in 1879) came into existence.

### ST. RAMALINGA (1823-1874)

St. Ramalinga, a contemporary of Vaikundaswamy (c. 1809-1851) in South Travancore and Sree Narayana Guru (c. 1854-1928) of Kerala, was an integral part of the Renaissance.

He came at a time when Tamil Nadu was in the grip of communal tensions. Christian Missionaries also added fuel to the fire. St. Ramalinga endeavoured to integrate in his philosophy the tenants of all religions with a view to creating a Universal True Path which he named *Samarasa Suddha Sanmargha* (i.e., the pure Righteous Path of religions equality.)

St. Ramalinga's philosophy consists mainly of four facets, namely. (1) *Jeevakarunya* (Compassion for all living beings), (2) *Anmaney'a Orumaipadu* (spiritual Oneness), (3) *Suddha Sanmargha* (Pure Righteous Path) and (4) *Maranamil apperuvadu* (Embodied Immortality).

### HIS CAREER

St. Ramalinga was born on October 5, 1823 at Marudhur near Chidambaram. When he was a five-month old baby, his parents, Ramaiah Pillai and Chinnammayar took him to the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. From one of his songs, it is understood that the child had a mystic vision of Lord Nataraja, the presiding deity of the temple.

“தாய் முதலோரோடு சிறியபருவ

மதில்தில்லைத்

தலத்தினுடைய திரை தூக்க தரிசித்தபோது

வேய்வகை மேல் காட்டாதே என்றனக்கே

எல்லாம்

வெளியாகக் காட்டியான் மெய்உறவாம்

பொருளே<sup>3</sup>

On the death of his father in 1824 when Ramalinga was hardly an eight-month-old baby, his family moved to Ponneri, near Madras. From 1825 to 1858, the Saint stayed at Madras visiting temples and composing songs.

Developing a deep interest in a spiritual life and disliking mere wordly living, Ramalinga left Madras around 1858 for Karunguli. The Saint preached love and compassion to his disciples and also to the people who lived in and around Karunguli. His language was simple and hence even the illiterate people were able to understand his teaching.

Imbued with the humanistic spirit, St. Ramalinga endeavoured to inculcate his ideals of Compassion and love in the minds of all human beings.<sup>4</sup> With this end in view, he founded the Samarasa Suddha Sanmargha Sangha on July 18, 1865 at Karunguli.\* People were admitted into it irrespective of their of their caste and creed.

3. *Tiruarutpa, Sixth Canto, Arulvilakkamalai, (4133) lines 1-2.*

4. *T. Dayanandan Francis, Ramalingaswamy, (Madras, 1972), p. 10*

\* *Currently, it functions at Vadalur near the Gnana Sabai*



“துன்மார்க்கம் எல்லாம் தொலைத்து விட்டேன்  
சுத்தசிவ  
சன்மார்க்க சங்கம் தலைப்பட்டேன் என்  
மார்க்கம்  
நன்மார்க்கம் என்றே வான் நாட்டார்  
புகழ்கின்றார்  
மன்மார்க்கத்தாலே மகிழ்ந்து”<sup>5</sup>

In 1860, the Saint moved from Karunguli to Vadalur (previously known as Parvathipuram) and established there the Sathiya Dharuma Salai on May 23, 1867 in order to feed the poor and the hungry. The oven which he lit at Vadalur in 1867 is still burning uninterruptedly. In 1870 he moved to Mettukuppam, a nearby village where he established *Siddhivalakam* (Abode of Siddhi). While staying at *Siddhivalakam*, the Saint made arrangements for the construction of the *Sathiya Gnana Sabai* (Hall of Wisdom for universal Worship) at Vadalur. On January 25, 1872, the *Gnana Sabai* initiated worship.<sup>6</sup> From 1870 to 1874, the Saint resided at *Siddhi Valakam*. On the basis of his directives, his disciples worshipped God in the form of Light. On October 22, 1873 he hoisted his *Sanmargha* flag containing yellow and white colours at *Siddhivalakam*.<sup>7</sup> He went into solitude there and on January 30, 1874, he is said to have disappeared.<sup>8</sup>

St. Ramalinga aimed to create a casteless society with God (*Arutperumjothi*) as its guardian. His teachings of *Suddha Sanmargha* and *Anmaneya Orumaipadu* have had an impact upon the Tamil Society. His introduction of worship of *Light* as God became a distinctive form of worship bringing together people of various sects.<sup>9</sup> His principles of One Religion (*Smarasa Suddha Sanmargha*), One Reality (*Arutperumjothi*) and One society

(*Sanmargha Society*) pointed to the fact that he was for unity, solidarity and the promotion of mankind. As Saint Ramalinga was deeply concerned with the upliftment of the individual who formed an integral part of the society, his views could well be considered the basis for the movement of the Depressed Classes and also the self-Respect Movement which started in South India in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The *Sanmargha* Movement which had left its imprint on the Tamil society in the later part of the nineteenth century occupies a unique place today as can be seen in the existence of the *Samarasa Suddha Sanmargha Sanghas* in Tamil Nadu and abroad.

### SATI

The Social Reform Movement in India in the nineteenth century started with the Anti-Sati Movement. Sati meant the immolation of a widow either voluntarily or by compulsion on the funeral pyre of her husband. The reasons attributed were (1) Contempt for the widows (2) Glorification of the dead person and (3) the woman's fear of a miserable life as widow. Sati Stones,\* seen in various parts of Tamil Nadu, bear testimony to the fact that Sati did exist in Tamil Nadu, though on a smaller scale. Sati, which was prevalent among the royal families and nobles, was widespread in Tanjore. C.M. Lushington, the Acting Magistrate of Tanjore reported in 1813 that between 1806 and 1813, hundred cases of Sati were recorded at Kumbakonam in Tanjore District.<sup>10</sup> Two cases of Sati took place at Pudukottai and Tanjore, in 1807 and 1817 respectively. In his letter (dated February 15, 1807) to Lord William Cavendish Bentick, the Governor of the Madras Presidency, W. Blackburne,

<sup>5</sup>. *Tiruarutpa, Sixth Canto, Suddha Siva Nilai* (5506), lines 1-4.

<sup>6</sup>. *Uran Adikal* (ed.), *Tiruarutpa*, (Vadalur 1972), p. 30.

<sup>7</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup>. *Idem.*, 31,

<sup>9</sup>. M. Shanmugam, *Philosophy of Saint Ramalingam* (Madurai, 1983), p. 62.

\* *The Hindu*, April 26, 1993.

<sup>10</sup>. *Judicial Consultations*, vo. 226, *Consultations*, Vol. 226, Cons. dated 2 February 1830, p. 385.

the Resident at Tanjore, reported that when Raja Tondaman of Pudukottai died on February 4, 1807, his wife ended her life in flames and became a Sati.<sup>11</sup> The second Sati took place on August 2, 1813 at a Village called Agaramaangudy near Kumbakonaam in the Tanjore District. One Narnapiiah of the said village died at 12 noon on August 2, 1813. His wife Kaveri Ammal burnt herself to death with the body of her deceased husband, though attempts were made by the British officials to prevent the tragedy.<sup>12</sup> Thanks to the efforts taken by Raja Rammohaan Ray and William Cavendish Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India, Act No. XV of 1829 was passed on December 4, 1829 which declared that 'the practice of Suttee, or burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, is hereby declared illegal and punished by the Criminal Courts.'<sup>13</sup> This Act came into force in Tamil Nadu in 1830,<sup>14</sup> and Sati became very rare.

By the end of the nineteenth century, it disappeared completely even in Tanjore. All widows belonging to the upper castes began to lead a humane and respectable life. As R.C. Majumdar has rightly observed, the abolition of Sati gave a fillip to the movement for social reform.<sup>15</sup>

#### INFANT-MARRIAGE AND ENFORCED-WIDOWHOOD

Infant-marriage and enforced-widowhood were inter-related problems, for in-

fant-marriage in many cases led to early widowhood. Brahmins had their children married between the ages of 6 and 7.<sup>16</sup> In 1881, the total number of Hindu girls married in the Madras Presidency was 157,466 and the number of widows in the same year was 5621.<sup>17</sup> The Census of 1891 for the Madras Presidency showed that the total number of married girls between 1 and 9 years was 166,544 as against 157,466 in the Census of 1881. Those who became widows between 1 and 4 years were 988 and those between 4 and 9 years were 4147 making a total of 5,135.<sup>18</sup> B.M. Malabari, a Parsi reformer from Maharashtra endeavoured to stop infant-marriages. He organised a powerful movement and thanks to his efforts, the Age of the Consent Act in 1891 was passed which raised the age of marriage for girls to 12 from 10.<sup>19</sup>

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) championed the cause of the widows. He organised a powerful campaign for widow-remarriage which culminated in the enactment of the Widow Remarriage Reform Act No. XV of 1856. This Act declared that no widow re-marriage should be declared illegal and that no issues should be declared illegitimate on the ground that the woman had been previously married or betrothed to another person who was dead at the time of such marriage.<sup>20</sup>

In the wake of the passing of the widow Remarriage Reform Act in 1856,

11. *Collectorate Records, Tanjore District*, Vol. 4355, dated 15, Feb. 1807, pp. 423-424.

12. *Papers relating to East India Affairs Viz., Hindu Widows and Voluntary Immolations*, 10 July 1821, p. 270.

13. *Papers relating to East India Affairs, Viz., Regulations passed by the Government of Bengal, Fort St. George and Bombay in the Year 1828 (Calcutta, 1829) Regulation XVII*, p. 45.

14. *Judicial Consultations*, Vol. 226, Cons. dated 2 Feb. 1830, p. 400.

15. R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, (Calcutta, 1971), p. 270.

16. *Papers on Indian Reform - The Women of India* (n.p.)

17. *Report of the Fifteenth National Social Conference held in Bengal, dated 29 December 1901*, (Poona, 1903), Appendix H, p. 94

18. *Ibid.*, p. 947.

19. *A Collection of the Acts Passed by the Governor-General of India-in-Council in the Year 1891*, (Calcutta, 1892), p. 1.

20. Theobald, W., *The Legislative Acts of the Governor-General-in-Council*, Vol. II, 1852-1858 - *Hindoo Marriage Act*, No. XV of 1856, p. 501.



various widow re-marriage associations were started in Tamil Nadu such as widow Re-marriage society (1873), the Madras Hindu widow Marriage Association (1874), the Hindu women's Re-marriage association (1882) Madras Hindu Marriage reform Association (1882) by G. Subramania Iyer. The Act marked a milestone in the history of women's progress in Tamil Nadu in the nineteenth century.

## SLAVERY

Slavery' a blot on the Hindu society, existed from olden days. Besides other factors, it was poverty that made the low caste Hindus slaves. Slavery which existed in a larger measure in Tamil Nadu in the nineteenth century, consisted of two types, namely; (1) Domestic slavery and (2) Agricultural slavery.

Slave trade abounded in Tanjore, Tinnevely, Madura and South Arcot. Agricultural slavery existed in Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely,

Chingleput and Salem, Agricultural slaves were sold with land or free of land. They were mortgaged also. In south Arcot a slave mortgaged his brother to the master in lieu of the interests by executing a bond. <sup>21</sup> Legislation were passed in 1843<sup>22</sup> and 1860.<sup>23</sup> Freed slaves were sent to overseas countries also. Christian Missionaries particularly T. B. Pandian came forward to emancipate the erstwhile slaves by converting them to his faith and also by giving their children education. Yet slavery continued to linger on. Economic dependence was attributed to be its major cause.

## TEMPLE ENTRY

Temple entry formed an important phase in social reform. Restrictions were placed on the low -caste Hindus, particularly the Parayar, Pallar Nadras and the Komutti Chettis from entering the temples. The Nadars agitated for temple entry at Tiruchendur in 1872, <sup>24</sup> at Madurai in 1874, <sup>25</sup> at Tiruthangal in 1876/78, <sup>26</sup> at Gollapatti in 1885, at Tiruchuzhi in 1890, at Ettaiyapuram in 1895, at Kamuthi in 1897 and at Sivakasi in 1899.<sup>27</sup> Finally, temples were thrown open to all low caste Hindus in 1949 by means of Act No.XIII.<sup>28</sup> It should be mentioned that temple entry in no way brought them social equality which remained a distant dream. Hence, the Nadars strove hard to improve their economic position. To achieve this end, the Nadars established the Nadar Mahajana Sangam at Porayar in 1910. Subsequently, it was shifted to Madurai where it is currently functioning.

## CONCLUSION

The analysis of the Social Reform Movement in the Tamil Society of the nineteenth century presented in the preceding pages, reveals that Tamil Nadu did come under the spell of social reform. New ideas began to take root, making the social changes manifest in the Tamil Society. There arose a public awareness in the urban areas of Tamil Nadu towards the end of the nineteenth century. The Madurai Mail (dated June 2, 1894), wrote that 'Social Reform is slowly making headway among our people and that there has been a distinct step towards progress.

21. Tremenhoe, *Note on the Pariahs of Chingleput (Pamphlet)*, (Madras, 1896), p. 28.

22. *The Unrepealed General Acts of the Governor-General in Council with Chronological Table in Three Volumes*, Vol. I, (1834 to 1863), (Calcutta, 1875), p. 53.

23. *A Collection of Statutes Relating to India in Two Volumes*, vol. II (1871 - 1899), (Calcutta, 1901), p. 569.

24. *Judicial Department (Press)*, G.O. No. 2017-18 (Confdl.), No. 176, dated 12 December 1899, Vol. I. p. 5.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

26. *Judicial (1901) Department*, Ordinary M.S. G.O., No. 985, dated 4 July 1901, p. 2.

27. *Judicial Department (Press)* G.O. No. 2017-18 (Confdl.) No. 176, dated 12 December 1899, Vol. I, *Disturbances in Madura and Tinnevely*, p. 8.

28. *The Madras Temple Entry Authorization (Amendment) Act, 1949*, (Madras Act XIII of 1949), p. 27.



Social reform is engaging the attention of our English-educated country-men'.

The Social Reform Movement in Tamil Nadu as such was instrumental in suppressing traditional practices like Sati (1830), Slavery (1843), Enforced-Widowhood (1856) and Infant Marriage (1891). The sporadic social reform activities which began with the dawn of the nineteenth century got itself integrated into an organized movement reinforced by the Indian Social Conference founded at Madras in 1887 by Mahadev Govind Ranade.

St. Ramalinga of Vadalur played a prominent role in the Socio-Religious Reform Movement of his native region. His songs and works were a harmonious blend of social reform and religious sentiments. He tried his best to find solutions to the social problems by uplifting the downtrodden, the ignorant and the illiterate through inculcating spiritual awareness in them. His religious approach to social problems became an integral part of the Indian Renaissance Movement of the nineteenth century as can be seen in the establishment of the BrahmoSamaj by Raja Rammohan Roy, the Prarthana Samaj by Atam Ram Pandurang, the Arya Samaj by Dayanand Saraswathi and the Ramakrishna Mission by Swami Vivekananda. His principle of One Religion (*Samarasuddha Sanmargha*), One Reality (*Arutpermjothi*) and one society (*Sanmargha Society*) pointed to the fact that he was for unity, solidarity and promotion of mankind. The Sanmargha Movement which had left its imprint on the Tamil Society in the second half of the nineteenth century, occupies a unique place today as can be seen in the existence of *Samarasuddha Sanmargha Sanghas* in Tamil Nadu and abroad.

Sati which was not widely prevalent in the Tamil country during the period of study, was a rare occurrence among the royal families of Tanjore, Ramnad and

Pudukottai. Thanks to its legal suppression in Tamil Nadu in 1830, Sati is no longer practised today.

The statutory abolition of Sati was followed by the Widow Re-marriage Reform Act in 1856. But the impact of such measures was not very significant in Tamil Nadu. Most of the Tamils shuddered at the concept of widow re-marriage. They said that 'they were born once, marry once and died once.' The result was that widows continued to suffer. Only in the twentieth century, the forward and progressive social policies adopted by the Justice Party and the Self-Respect Movement by E.V. Ramaswami led to the acceptance of the widow re-marriage concept in Tamil Nadu. Infant-marriage no longer exists, but child-marriage takes place in the rarest of the rare cases.

Slavery, considered a blot on the Hindu society from the ancient times, was challenged by the enlightened classes. Owing to the pragmatic and the untiring efforts of the Christian Missionaries and also the introduction of Western-educational system, slavery fell into disfavour. Its relics still linger on in the form of bonded labour.

Caste-inequality, another significant shortcoming of the Tamil Society, came to be challenged by the Tamils with progressive views. Temple Entry Movement could be cited as a suitable illustration. The temple entry agitations at Aruppukottai, (1860), Tiruchendur (1827), Kamuthi (1897) and Sivakasi (1899) contributed to the spirit of resurgence which resulted in the Movement for equal rights and justice. This in turn opened the gate for the Dravidian Movement in Tamil Nadu in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The temple Entry Movement of the Tamils thus could be considered a link connecting the Tamil Renaissance in the nineteenth century with the Dravidian Movement of the twentieth century. The general impression

that there was no Social Reform Movement in Tamil Nadu in the nineteenth century is thus a misleading assumption. However, it has to be acknowledged that the idea of social reform did not take deep roots in the conservative Tamil Society till the middle of the nineteenth century. Class and caste disparities between the rich and the poor continued to delay social progress. Only by the end of the nineteenth century, the Tamil society was ready enough to be ushered into the modern era. Again, unlike the nineteenth century Movement which covered few areas, the twentieth century Movement covered the entire gamut of the Tamil Social life which included many significant areas like education and uplift of women, rural development projects, organisation of the Depressed Classes and the formation of trade unions.

One word about women's progress. One swallow does not make a summer.

One Mrs. Indira Gandhi or one Mrs. Sonia Gandhi or one Ms. Jayalalitha could not make the yardstick for women's progress. Development to be effective, must atleast be seemingly full. A redhot change has to be effected in the economic structure of the Indian society where possibilities for economic exploitation are rampant. Economic equality being the prerequisite for social equality, the Indian Constitution has to be amended for equal distribution of wealth. Socialism in the true sense will help the society achieve social justice.

Reform has not slackened yet; on the other hand, it has gained fresh momentum. The constitution in 1980 and the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report in the early 1990's are the best illustrations of how the society is forging ahead towards social equality. The Social Reform Movement of the nineteenth century thus gave birth to the Social Reform Movement of the twentieth century which is under way, heading towards more social justice.

## 23. Voluntary Organisation and Their Socio-Economic Programmes for the Welfare of Women in the City of Madras since Independence

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**S**ocial Welfare has its origin in charity, philanthropy and relief for the poor and it covers a wide and broad spectrum of human activities. It denotes services meant to cater to the special needs of persons who by reason of social, economic, physical or mental handicap are unable to avail themselves of or are traditionally denied of the amenities, facilities and services provided by the society. The beneficiaries of these services include physically handicapped persons, like the blind, deaf-mute and crippled; socially dependent individuals, like the orphans, widows, destitutes and mentally retarded persons; economically under privileged groups and women inhibited by restrictive social traditions or practices.<sup>1</sup>

Social Welfare activities depend more on voluntary action by the people. Voluntary action is spontaneous and also flexible, to suit various requirements of the needy. It is initiated by a group of like minded people to change and transform the socio-economic life of the people, especially the weaker sections, based on social justice and not merely for charity or relief.<sup>2</sup>

The essential feature of voluntary action is that it is problem-oriented. It is initiated not only to solve the problem but also to prevent the occurrences of the

problems. It calls for understanding and identification of the problems, fixing up of priorities, formulation of programmes taking into consideration the problems and available resources and finally efficiently carrying out the programmes by a group of individuals working independently without external control or coercion. Voluntary action ultimately aims at creating a situation conducive to the development of potentialities in individuals, groups and communities to find solutions to their problems, and to seek ways and means to handle these individuals suitably in order to realise their ultimate goal.

Voluntary action includes wide range of activities like construction and maintenance of educational institutions, hospitals, inns, laying of roads, providing jobs to the needy through various economic development programmes and community services. It also includes organised social action for social justice and eradication of exploitation- social, economic and political. The basic task of any voluntary action group is to foster self-reliance in an individual and not just to organise services alone for the individual.

Women as important constituent of the society, have been the focus of attention of different social and political reformists, thinkers and philosophers, social scientists

1. *Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India*, Ministry of Welfare, Govt. of India, August, 1987, pp.219-220.

2. *Ibid.*, p.220



and planners. Different developmental measures and programmes were launched by the Government of India, voluntary organisations and active political leaders to uplift their socio-economic status. Though there have been positive results, the major proportion of Indian women living in rural and backward areas still reel under depressed, deprived and battered conditions.

After Independence, the Indian Government, realized the need to give a fillip to these welfare activities and set up a Women's Welfare Department to pay special attention to women's welfare. Under this programme the Madras State Social Welfare Board (The State branch of the Central Social Welfare Board) was set up in 1954 to aid and sponsor welfare programmes for women and children, handicapped, aged and other weaker sections of the society. After the initiation of Panchayati Raj in 1951 women's welfare in rural areas was being attended to, through community development agencies. There were three agencies in the field of women's welfare.<sup>3</sup>

An important landmark in the development of welfare programmes in this State was the integration of these agencies in the field of women's welfare. The Women's Welfare Department, the State Social Welfare Board and Community Development Agencies dealing with women's welfare merged in 1961 to form a State Social Welfare Board consisting of 23 members, out of which 17 members constitute leading social workers of the State and the other 6 members are officials of the Government.<sup>4</sup> The Board works along with the Department of Women's Welfare in evolving welfare programmes and implementing them.

Thus, a voluntary body consisting of non-official social workers, works along

with a set of paid social workers, thus integrating the non-official and official agencies in this field. This integration is effective from the village level welfare committee to the State level welfare committee.

It also serves as a model for the other States in India. This has enabled a lot of concentrated attention being paid to welfare activities and avoidance of overlapping, duplicating and competing agencies working in the field of women and child welfare.

### **GRANT-IN-AID**

The State Social Welfare Board gives grants-in-aid to voluntary bodies to the tune of about Rs.10 lakhs every year for running orphanages for boys and girls, running old age homes and other such institutional care activities.<sup>5</sup> The voluntary organisations were in existence even during the pre-independence period in the whole of Tamilnadu. In the city of Madras many organisations carried on this work with regular programmes for the uplift of women. The primary objective of these organisations are the upliftment of women in the socio-economic spheres. The organisations chalk out periodically regular work-oriented schemes and train the women to be self-reliant.

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRAMME**

Attempts are being made by the organisations to introduce socio-economic programmes for women in crafts like toy-making, mat-weaving, cloth-doll-making, lace work and pith work. After undergoing training for a period of six months to one year, they are employed in industries outside. With the help of the Central Social Welfare Board, Voluntary Organisations receive grants for giving such training to women. The Department of Women's Welfare has also been con-

3. *Women's Welfare Activities - Madras State, India, Government of Tamilnadu, 1966, p.2*

4. *Ibid., p.2-3*

5. *Ibid., p.7*

ducting such training centres for women belonging to the backward class and is continuing to run production units for their benefit.<sup>6</sup>

### **WOMEN'S CLUBS**

One of the basic tenets of women welfare programme is to have Women's Clubs (*Madhar Sangams*) throughout the State. Women meet once a week at these clubs and discuss about health, sanitation, family planning, hygiene, child care, kitchen, gardening, bee-keeping, promotion of small savings and other topics of general interests. They have also formed Radio Listening Clubs and listen to the programme for women broadcast through All India Radio. The women of these clubs conduct periodic seminars about women welfare at District levels. They are also given some training at State level in order to improve their general educational standards.<sup>7</sup>

### **WOMEN'S INDIAN ASSOCIATION**

The Women's Indian Association, Madras is the mother organisation of many bodies working for communal welfare and social advancement of women.

This organisation has got a large share in initiating or helping and expediting several pieces of progressive legislation such as prohibition of child marriage, the abolition of the Devadasi system, the closing of brothels, and the extension of compulsory primary education for girls.

It has organised community centres for the distribution of milk and medical aid to children.

It is running a free reading room and library in Madras after Kamala Nehru.

Women and children are taught handicrafts such as spinning and carding, cut-

ting and tailoring, needle work and embroidery.<sup>8</sup>

Hindustani classes and special bhajans are conducted every Friday evening. Spinning classes and needle work classes are conducted. Feeding and free medical aid to children are rendered here.

A free reading room, library and an employment bureau for women are made available to the women to encourage women to read, study and think of themselves about various problems of public welfare.<sup>9</sup>

### **AVVAI HOME**

The Sheltered Workshop and Training-cum-production Centre provides training in weaving, cane furniture repair, chalk making, plastic and plastic wire articles to the adult blind women.<sup>10</sup>

They also run a printing press and a production unit for school requisites.

In the adult women section, non-formal education is provided to the adult women. Vocations such as printing, weaving, dress-making and needle work are taught to them in the Industrial and Craft Training Centre, in order to equip the deserving and needy women.

It also runs an after-care centre, which provides employment for women students who have completed training in their respective professions.

### **ANDHRA MAHILA SABHA**

The Andhra Mahila Sabha has been a refuge centre to the destitute, the poor and the needy women. These women have varied interests and to cater to their needs, the Sabha started the Art and Cultural Centre and the Industrial Centre.<sup>11</sup>

6. *Ibid.*, p.5

7. *Ibid.*, p.6

8. *The Guild of Service (Central) Madras, Annual Report, 1947-48.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, 1950-51 p.68

11. 'Andhra Mahila' Inauguration of Industrial Centre, July, 1946, p.6

The Art and Cultural centre has been conducting classes along with the Hindi, music, dance and vocal and instrumental classes.<sup>12</sup>

Regularly dramas and orchestra are staged in order to encourage women in their culture pursuits and also partly to raise funds.

#### *Industrial Section or the Pariramikasakha*

Women, sought refuge in the Sabha were not only helpless and needy but also not interested in studies. It has become imperative to find some avenues for their employment. So, as early as 1941, new sections were started for spinning, weaving, hand-made paper, tailoring, embroidery and bamboo and cane work.

Later, mat weaving was introduced. These sections promoted handicrafts and cottage industries. They sold, products such as mats, ready-made dresses, embroidered cloth and hand-made paper.

Besides tailoring, embroidery, composing and printing, trades like knitting of socks, banyans were introduced with the help of small machines.

In 1947-48, the Government of Madras had requested the Andhra Mahila Sabha to take a batch of 20 war widows and destitutes in order to train them in the Industrial Training Institute. A stipend of Rs.60 per month was given per candidate for two years.

Around the same period, the Andhra Mahila Sabha bought a printing press. It printed and published the Andhra Mahila Sabha journals, the note books and exercise books for students of the Andhra Mahila Vidyalaya.

The running of the printing press and the publishing of the 'Andhra Mahila' pro-

vided training to a number of poor women in composing and book binding sections.

As the Industrial training institute became popular, the Government of India instructed the Government of Tamilnadu to give the Andhra Mahila Sabha more equipments for training the women. Equipments of tailoring, embroidery, sewing machines, implements of carpentry, sanitary sections and parts of printing press and composing and book binding sections were supplied.

However, the Andhra Mahila Sabha kept only a few sections such as composing and book-binding, dress making and embroidery sections and gave up the others in favour of the Stree Seva Mandir.

In 1958, the Industrial Institute received a great setback when Durgabai shifted the printing press and important industrial sections to Hyderabad.

#### **STREE SEVA MANDIR**

Principles underlying Gandhiji's Basic Education and Vocationalisation of Education have been adopted by the Stree Seva Mandir, since its inception. They are realised as the only means of ensuring total rehabilitation of needy women and children.

Thus, a variety of occupational skills are taught to the dependent otherwise unqualified inmates, school dropouts and other needy women.

A tailoring unit and handbook printing press was started in 1949 and in the course of five years a toy manufacturing unit was also started. In 1958, the Government of India entrusted the management of the Industrial Training Centre for Women to the management of the Stree Seva Mandir and the facilities of craft education were extended to the day students and to the students hailing from

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept., 1946, P.6

<sup>13</sup> Durgabai, *The Stone that Speakes*, Vol. I. P.18.

<sup>14</sup> *Stree Seva Mandir, Madras, Bulletin No.32 (Jan,1993-Jun.1993), pp.22-29*



outside Districts. Simultaneously the nonformal tutorial classes for hobby learners and for those who wanted to take the examinations conducted by the Technical Education Department, Madras were arranged.

From Santhome, the units were shifted gradually and in 1962 the whole training wing and the hostels were shifted to T.Nagar. In 1964, the I.T.C. had 16 units and 7 different trades including Radio and Television assembly and, instrument mechanism.

They also give training and effective coaching to students desirous of appearing for Government Technical Examinations in the fields of Commerce, Accountancy, Secretarial practice and for technical courses like typing and shorthand.

In 1962, non-formal coaching in areas of composing, book binding, printing, envelope and box making, manufacture of Baalwadi equipments was also started with the assistance received from the Central Social Welfare Board.<sup>15</sup>

The financial assistance from Germany flowed in, in the form of stipends to trainees equipment grants and provision of amenities to the trainees.

Gradually, in 1960's a new building 'Mahodaya Complex' was built at Ashok Nagar to accommodate the school for various Arts and Crafts in the name of the Veteran German Social worker Loffe Lemke.

Presently, the Stree Seva Mandir conducts courses in tailoring, embroidery, typing, shorthand, accountancy, music, veena, vocal and bharatanaayam.

The Director of Social Welfare, and the Tamil Nadu Social Welfare Board support specific schemes for the welfare of the

backward classes and schedule caste candidates.

The trainees of this institutions are well placed in Government and Non-Government organisations, like the Railways, Electronic Industries, Export Corporations and the like. Many trainees are well settled as stenographers, typists, and other administrative staff in recognised organisations.

The Nandhini Industrial Training Institute (1986) Saligrammam, a unit of the Stree Seva Mandir is the second joint venture of the Industrial Development Bank of India and the Stree Seva Mandir to train instrument mechanics. The trade is designated for apprenticeship training and the trained personnel, have sufficient job opportunities in various industries.

#### **WOMEN VOLUNTARY SERVICE SOCIO-ECONOMIC UNIT**

A small unit for the manufacture of rice vadam (eatable) is run by this centre. The leisure time occupation is arranged here. It has also started classes to teach making juice/jam and cookery.<sup>16</sup>

#### **VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN**

So far 1,394 candidates are given training in typewriting, 202 in shorthand, 625 in tailoring and 15 in music. It has also organised courses in photography with assistance from the Corporation of Madras, under the scheme of Nehru Rozgar Yojana. A stipend of Rs.150/- per month is given to 40 girls and 10 boys every year.

Training course in tailoring, embroidery, ready-made garment manufacture is provided for 25 candidates with the assistance from the Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Ltd. A stipend of Rs.250 per month is provided to each trainee.<sup>17</sup>

15. *Ibid.*,

16. *Women Voluntary Service of Tamilnadu, Pamphlet, p.5*

17. *Ibid*

Six candidates of the stenography course are assisted to undergo software training in arrangements with Maijo Computer Training Division of the Maijo Computers Ltd., Madras -18.

## SEWING MACHINE

Sewing machines under 'Group Purchase Installments Scheme' are distributed periodically to many women beneficiaries. Few machines are made available in adult education/Jana Shikshan Nilayam Centres. The Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Ltd., Madras has aided

by way of distributing sewing machines to the trainee of the tailoring courses.<sup>19</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Thus, voluntary organisations are doing yeomen services in the field of women welfare activities. To a great extent the problems of women are mitigated by their socio-economic programmes, by way of additional income to their family and this support by the organisations enable the women not only to stand on their own potentials but also give them a moral strength to proceed ahead with their cherished objectives in life.

## 24. EXTERNAL TRADE FROM COASTAL TAMILNADU TO MALAY PENINSULA

### AN EXAMINATION OF PORTUGUESE ARCHIVAL RECORDS RELATING TO EXPORT OF TEXTILES (A.D.1511-1548)

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It had been generally pointed out by historians who used the epigraphical sources that the textile production in Tamilnadu and its trade catering to the internal market demand was expanding in South India during the sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>. Although there is no second opinion in this regard, the details on external demand of textiles could not be studied in detail since very little information on overseas textile trade had been mentioned in indigenous sources of Tamilnadu in this period. The use of Portuguese archival data is therefore necessary and we can cull the statistical details on textile trade conducted from the Coromandel coast with the Malay world in the sixteenth century. It is argued that expansion in the production of selected textile varieties was carried, by an increase in external demand at the Malayo-Indonesian markets of the sixteenth century. The present study is chiefly based on the Portuguese archival records preserved at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Bibliotheca Nacional de Lisboa, Municipal Library of Elvas in Portugal.

Hinterland of the Coromandel coast was one of the major textile producing areas besides Cambay and Bengal. In India where cloth was woven from the yarn out of different materials generally distinguished under the two categories of cotton and silk. Tamil literary evidences<sup>2</sup> describe some delicate designs which made the cloth look like the slough of a snake and specialisation in the process of textile production had extended to varieties often named after the place and nature of cloth used in weaving. During the sixteenth century *Panos* a general term was used by the Portuguese and its literal meaning was to describe the cotton cloth of various sizes having different number of threads and also different types such as printed, striped, plain and spotted fabrics of fixed breadth and length woven by the weavers. Manufacture of textiles of all these varieties of cloth was undoubtedly standardised and the textiles produced in the looms were patterned by the application of dyes after weaving. The patterned textiles were classified into two categories namely printed and painted

<sup>1</sup> On the use of epigraphical sources, See, A.I. Chicherov, (Trs.) *Don Danemanis, Indian Economic Development in the 16th - 18th Centuries: An Outline History of Crafts and Trade*, Moscow, 1971; Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1985. Weaving was sponsored by various temples. They describe the grants of Coromandel temples, given with privileges aimed at attracting the Kaikola weavers to settle down in the sites owned by the temples around it during this period. Sources mention that lands were assigned by Perumukil Nayaka for raising Tirumadavaligam at Mangadu village during the period of Achutadevaraya. See also P. Shanmugam, 'Pattadai and Industries in the Tamil Country under the Vijayanagar Rule', *Journal of the Asian and African Studies*, No.37, 1989, pp.31-49; On Portuguese sources dealing with external trade, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Imperial Enterprise: Portuguese Trade and Settlements in the Bay of Bengal*, Delhi, 1990, M.A.P. Meilink Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500-1630*, The Hague, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> P.V. Somasundaranar, *Pattupattu, Tirunelveli*, 1971, I-82-83; U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, ed., *Purananuru* (Anthology), *Ancient Commentar* (Anonymous), 5th Edition, 1956, verse 274.



varieties and they had been generally mentioned as pintados in Portuguese sources. Various scintillating colours were freely employed in dyeing cloth with the help of huge brick vats. Some inscriptions record the existence of textile dyeing centres at Devikapuram, Tiruppanangadu, Kulathus and Manimangalam in Coromandel during the sixteenth century<sup>3</sup>. The prefix *pattadai* known as production centre or workshop is used before another term *nul ayam* shows that it meant tax on yarn levied for the *pattadai* where process of dyeing was undertaken. Tiruppanangadu and Kunrattur inscriptional texts mention that dyeing centres were generally owned by many *kaikolars*. Further we also find merchants who owned dyeing centres. Portuguese sources record that lac from Pegu imported into Coromandel was used as a red dye<sup>4</sup>. Scarlet-in-grain dye was imported from West Asia to Pulicat<sup>5</sup>. The root of Chang plant which yielded a fine red dye was much used. Sapan wood and Brazil wood were also used in dyeing textiles at Santhome and Chandragiri regions<sup>6</sup>. Multi coloured painted and printed textiles produced were generally called *as Pachaveloes Emrolados* besides with the names of the places where they were sold known as *Roupa Java e Malaya* in Portuguese sources<sup>7</sup>.

Another variety of Coromandel textiles was the plain cloth which consisted of

various grades of calicoes and muslins in the region. The highest grade of calicoes were fabrics densely woven cotton patches. One of the varieties of calico was called *Morin* in the Portuguese sources. These are pieces of blue cloth woven in the Coromandel localities. It is corroborated with Tamil literary sources where it is said that indigo was commonly used as vegetable dye and this blue cloth was in Tamil known as *nila kachchai*. Finer kind of textiles than calicoes produced generally were called *Tapis* in Portuguese sources. They are muslins white in colour used for turbans. Red muslins were also produced and exported from the Coromandel region<sup>8</sup>. Sarees of the women were made of cloth mingled with threads of gold and silver in the Coromandel region. They are called *sarasas* or *sarangs* produced in this region<sup>9</sup>. Some leading manufacturing centres of silk textiles were Kanchipuram, Devikapuram and Nerumbur in the Coromandel region. Kanchipuram was the most famous place where silk textiles were produced as known from the Madras Museum copper plates<sup>10</sup>. Evidences from Kanchipuram show that *Pattu Selei*, *Manchetti Selai*, *Ponneluthu Selai*, *Pattavalipattu* and *Sallapattu* were manufactured in this period<sup>11</sup>. These silk fabrics could be identified with the usage of the inscriptional term *Pattu Vargam* referring to silk saree or silk cloth<sup>12</sup>. These rich orna-

3. Annual Report on Epigraphy (hereafter ARE, 240 of 1906 (1510), 294 of 1897 (1524), line three of the Manimangalam inscriptional text runs as follows: "Pala pattadai Kudimakkal".

4. Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Delhi, 1989, Vol. II, p.153.

5. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.77-78, 132 and 162.

6. R.H.Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1857. See *Travels of Nicolo Conti*, p.78

7. *Bibliotheca Municipal de Elvas, Codice No.5/381, f1.3-3v*. See also, Adelino de Almeida Calado, "Livro que tratadas coisas da India e do Japao" *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXIV, 1960, pp 40-43 See also Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500-1650*, Cambridge, 1990 p.109

8. P.M. Joshi, "Textiles of Golconda" in Satis Chandra, (ed) *Essays in Medieval Indian Economic History*, Delhi, 1980.

9. John van Linschoten, *The Voyages of John van Linschoten to the East Indies*, ed. by A.C. Burnell and P.A. Tiele, Vol I, London, 1885, p.91.

10. ARE., 272 of 1912 (1436); *South Indian Inscriptions* (hereafter S.I.I., Vol.III, No.128.

11. Ibid., vol.I, No.446 (1586); ARE., 50 of 1900 (1532)

12. ARE. 193 of 1940

mental silk varieties were called patolas and they had no reverse side. Thus textiles produced catering to export markets flourished greatly.

In a pioneering study on the history of weaving, Vijaya Ramaswamy had identified and catalogued seventy four medieval textile centres in Tamilnadu between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries<sup>13</sup> leaving it blank<sup>14</sup> for the 16th century. A recent study on Coromandel had filled up the gap that existed in the historical literature. Portuguese sources mention the ports from where the textiles were exported and do not give the details of weaving centres from where the textiles originally came to Ports. Coromandel Chetti merchants had conducted export of textiles before the arrival of the Portuguese and it was chiefly sent to the port of Malacca and redistributed to the Malay and Indonesian markets. A letter written by Francisco Albuquerque to the king of Portugal describes Nina Chettia native of Coromandel as the leading textile trader. These Chettis had generally conducted trade from Pulicat with Malacca at Upeh which was a major settlement of Tamil speaking Chettis in this period. By and large they sailed in Malay junks which carried coarse cloth of Pulicat<sup>16</sup>. They exchanged textiles in return for gold from Malacca and returned to Pulicat<sup>17</sup>.

The merchants of Coromandel generally unloaded their consignments of cloth

and paid revenue due at the port of Malacca. Their merchandise consisting of textiles had quick sale since there was always heavy demand. The prevailing port system of Malacca was such that ten or twenty merchants assembled together with the owners of merchandise and later prices were fixed and divided among them all in proportion<sup>18</sup>. Thus it is learnt that the Coromandel traders did not have a free hand in the sale of textiles and to some extent were conditioned and controlled by the Malacca merchants till the first decade of the Sixteenth century. Port of Malacca was conquered from the hands of the Sultan in 1511 by the Portuguese and Coromandel merchants were encouraged to trade there. The Portuguese captain of Malacca narrates that the ships of Coromandel possessed rich cargo and the trade conducted was voluminous which brought good revenue to the Portuguese trading factory at Malacca. Abundant supply of textiles from Pulicat to Malacca demanded a shahbhandar exclusively appointed for Coromandel merchants to look after their welfare<sup>19</sup>. Although the Sultan of Malacca lost his kingdom, he continued to trade with Coromandel and a letter written to the king of Portugal describes that he owned a junk which was captured by them while trading at the port of Pulicat<sup>20</sup>.

13. Vijaya Ramaswamy, *op. cit.*, p.7

14. S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Coromandel Rediscovered: Economy, Society and Polity in South India, 1500-1600*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1994

15. *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, Portugal, (hereafter) A.N.T.T. Corpo Cronologico (hereafter) C.C. Part Ia, Maco 13, Document No.74, F1.14*

16. Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica, (hereafter) D.I., Roma, 1952 Vol. V, p.671; Castanheda, op.cit., III, p.135. The rate of custom duties levied at Pulicat on 1st January 1521 found in an inscription at Kariamanika perumal temple of Nagalapauram mentions that merchants*

17. Fernao Lopes da Castanheda, (hereafter Castanheda) *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses, 9 books in 2 vols, Porto, 1975, Book II, p.112.*

18. Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Rodeiques, Delhi, 1990, Vol. II, p.273.*

19. Letter of Rui de Brito Patalim to the King of Portugal, 6th January 1514, A.N.T.T., C.C.-1-14-49; *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, (hereafter) C.A.A., 7 vols, Lisboa, 1884-1935, Vol.III, p.94, Tome Pires, op.cit., II, pp.273-74*

20. Letter of Albuquerque to the king of Portugal, 1st April 1512, A.N.T.T., C.C.-I-22-80.



The Coromandel merchants were allowed to pay custom duties at a concessional rate of six per cent while others were asked to pay ten per cent. Further, Jorge de Albuquerque the Portuguese factor of Malacca declared that great privileges would be granted to merchants who hailed from the ports of Coromandel coast if they settled down at Malacca.<sup>21</sup> In order to develop the commercial activities the Portuguese captain of Coromandel initially resided at Pulicat and he looked after the collection of textile bundles in bales and export of the same to Malacca. From the foregoing discussions it is inferred that the Portuguese participation was comparatively insignificant and the Coromandel merchants dominated textile trade with Malacca. Drought and famines that continuously prevailed in the Coromandel region between 1531 and 1532 and from 1535 to 1540 probably affected textile production. It resulted in the decline of textiles trade with Malacca and these years witnessed gradual withdrawal of Coromandel merchants from cloth trade as described in a letter written during 1540.<sup>22</sup> It further mentions that the merchandise consisting of black cloth alone came to the value of 4000 cruzados since no ship came from Pulicat or any other ports of Coromandel to Malacca. The earlier periods witnessed an annual average revenue of one hundred thousand cruzados from Pulicat to Malacca but this had come to a halt. Two other letters written in the months of

October and November of 1545 also corroborate that the trade with Malacca declined in the absence of Coromandel textile supply<sup>24</sup>.

As the trade of the private merchants declined, the crown shipping was introduced in the revival of Coromandel-Malacca textile trade of the Portuguese at the end of the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. The ship left Pulicat at the end of August or the beginning of September for Malacca. The voyage usually lasted a month and the return voyage from Malacca was generally made in the month of January<sup>25</sup>. The captain of the ship could load his cargo before all other merchants. He was allowed a limit of one hundred and fifty bales of textiles free of duty or to transport those of other merchants who had to pay him freight and duties on them. Procurement of textiles from various ports like Nagapattinam, Kunimedu, Santhome of Mylapore, Armagon, Caliture and Masulipattinam was an important activity in this period. Portuguese evidences describe that twelve houses of weavers at Pulicat had monopoly supply of textiles to the Portuguese traders and Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos was granted permission by the Portuguese viceroy of Gao to lay claim to these twelve families of weavers for the preparation of his voyage from Coromandel to Malacca for trade in textiles in 1547<sup>26</sup>. A treaty signed by the king of Vijayanagar and the Portuguese viceroy of India residing at Goa on nineteenth September 1547 had

21. Simao Botelho, "Tombo do estado da India" in *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1848, pp.104-108; Diogo do Couto (hereafter, Couto), *Decades da Asia*, Lisboa, 1973-74. V.2, p.138, Letter of Garcia Chainho, Factor of Malacca to the king of Portugal, 31st August, 1521, A.N.T.T., C.C., -III-7-115.

22. Gaspar Correa, (hereafter Correa) *Lendas da India*, Porto, 1975, op.cit., IV, pp.131-32, A.N.T.T., C.C.-I-68-86.

23. A.N.T.T., C.C. - I-68-88

24. A.N.T.T., C.C.-I-76-102, Fl. 3v, C.C.-I-77-18 fl.2v.

25. *Codice Cadaval*, Mss. 972; *Arquivo da casa cadaval*, fl.1v-2, Fl. 26v-28v; See also Texeira do Mota, *Um Manuscrito nautico Seis Cartista re encontrado Centro do Estudos de Cartografia Antiga*, Lisboa, 1975, p.11.

26. Antonio Baião, *Historia Quinhista in Editio do Secundo cerco de Dio, Ilustardo com a correspondencia original Tambem in edita de D. Joao du Castro, D. Joao de Mascarenhas e outras*, Coimbra 1925. P.308



greatly facilitated the organisation of textile trade at this time.<sup>27</sup> There is a provision in the agreement which exclusively states that all textiles in the kingdom of Vijayangar particularly from the region of Coromandel under the rule of several subordinates would be made available for the purchase of the Portuguese. This agreement certainly helped the Portuguese to some extent. They transported textiles in the ships sailing from Santhome of Mylapore to Malacca, and in the naus of Moluccas routed via Coromandel besides crown ship leaving annually from Pulicat<sup>28</sup>. Thus Coromandel took control of the wealth of South East Asia trading through the Arts of Pulicat and Santhome of Mylapore at the end of the fourth decade of the Sixteenth century.

**Portuguese Exports of Textiles from Coromandel to Malacca (A.D.1511-1548)<sup>29</sup>**

Period	Value (in cruzados/pardaos)
1511	9,000 cr.
1512	15,000 cr.
1515	12,000 cr.
1522	90,000 cr.
1540	4,000 cr.
1548	84,840 par.

To conclude we may say that the Coromandel Chetti merchants initially had exchanged textiles for gold at Malacca. Thus large amount of Gold was imported into Tamilnadu and it had been used as marketable merchandise in exchange<sup>30</sup>. Malacca received its supply of gold mainly from the two gold mines which existed in Sumatra. As early as 1506, the portuguese came to know that Coromandel owned a lot to Malacca for the supply of gold<sup>31</sup> Which received its supply chiefly from Minangkabu through the ports of Indragiri and Panshar in Sumatra as well as from Siam and Patani to meet the demand. The poorest quality of gold came from Borneo<sup>32</sup>. Minanagkabu traders brought six, seven or eight candils of gold at a time and exchanged it for the purchase of Coromandel textiles. They were attracted by the various types of textiles exchanging for the excellent quality of gold dust in different particles and sizes of which, when melted had a gold content of twenty three and a half carats<sup>33</sup>. Each Katti of gold at Malacca paid for the price of 200 cruzados was sold at the rate of 280 cruzados at Pulicat during 1540.<sup>34</sup> Later with the participation of the Portuguese in textiles trade we find change in the commodity composition of imports. It is recorded that spices and drugs were imported from Malacca in exchange for Pulicat textiles. Imports of cloves from Moluccas via Malacca had also been found in the

27. See, *Subsidios para..... P.225. on Black textiles C.C. 1-68-86, (1540); Silk cloth C.C. 1-60-17. f1.8v.(1537)*

28. Elaine Sanceau, *Collecao Sao Lourenco, 3 vols, Lisboa, 1973-83, (hereafter C.S.L.) II, 493; See also Armando Cortesao & Luis de Albuquerque*

29. A.N.T.T. C.C. 1-77-18, f1.2; C.C. 1a-11-50; II-53 93.f.;319; li-46-98; I-16-106; I-60-17.f1.8; I-68-86; Elaine Sanceau, *Cartas de D. Joao de Castro, Lisboa, 1954, p.213; Biblioteca Municipal de Elvas, Mss. No.5/381, f1.3-3V.*

30. Joao de Barros (hereafter Barroos), *Decadas da Asia, 8 vols, Lisboa, 1973, Decada II, Liv. VI, Cap.VI, p.89*

31. A.N.T.T. *Gavetas, 20-4-15; C.A.A., II, p.390*

32. The total incoming gold at Malacca was estimated as ten bahars in 1510/ pires, *op.cit., Vol. I, p.161; C.R. Boxer, Fidagos in the Far East, The Hague, 1948, p.7.*

33. Couto, *op.cit., Decada VII, Liv.9, Cap.XVI*

34. For details of gold sales in 1517, See C.C., Pt. I-22-62; for sale of gold during 1540, C.C., Pt.I-68-88.

35. Correa, *op.cit., Cap. X, Tomo I, Pt.I, p.739; Barros, op.cit., Decada. I, Part. II*

references. The captain of the Coromandel ship loaded considerable volume of spices for re-export to Portugal when he returned from Malacca<sup>35</sup>. The external trade of Coromandel by the Portuguese led to production of special varieties of textiles in Tamilnadu catering to the need of the Java and Malaya markets. Hence we may agree that the Portuguese trading system was a re-distributive one than a productive enterprise. It resulted also in the import purchase of spices in South East Asia instead of gold that was imported by the Chetti merchants. There was a move under the patronage of the Portuguese to attract weavers from the hinterland villages to the ports where weaving was encouraged and this was different from the weaving sponsored by temples and Nayaka rulers that catered to the internal market demands.

#### APPENDIX

##### Translated from the Portuguese version

*Municipal Library of Elvas, Portugal.  
Codice no.5/381, fl. 3-3v.*

These are the textiles that were carried in the ship trading with Malacca from the Coromandel coast

Java and Malaya item of cloth of one hundred and twenty bales. Each bale having two hundred cloth pieces packed in rolls. Each one value ranged from seven to fourteen *panams* done in the account at this moment, to twenty four thousand *pardaos*

XXiiij *paradaos*

And of the painted cloth known as *tapis*, *sarrassas*, and *morins* seventy bales. Each bale valued one hundred and twenty pieces *pachaveloes* to the reasonable price oft twenty two *panams*, at this moment, seventy bales, to eighteen thousand four hundred and eighty *pardaos* of *panams*.

Xbiiij iiij<sup>c</sup> LXXX *pardos*

And of *morins* of that of Santhome

eighty bales having each one hundred and twenty pieces, each valued 12 *panams*, at this moment, each bales one hundred to forty two *pardaos* all that in total to eleven thousand three hundred and sixty *pardaos* of *panams*.

Xj iiij<sup>c</sup> *pardaos*

And of *morins* of Nagapattinam carried eighty bales, the cloth each price valued seven or eight *panams*, each bale having one hundred and twenty *pachavelous* at this moment, reasonably to one hundred *pardaos* each bale eight thousand *pardaos* of *panams*

biiij *pardaos*

And of the painted textiles again of Nagapattinam to two thousand *pardaos*

ij *pardaos*

And of *morins* of Kunimedu with fifty bales the fine textiles again, costing fifteen *panams* valuable, a bale of one hundred and twenty pieces *pachaveloes*, one hundred and eighty *pardaos* in total nine thousand *pardaos* of *panams*

ix *pardaos*

And of printed textiles of the same Kunimedu to our thousand *pardaos*

iiij *pardaos*

And of the white cloth of Masulipatnam, painted cloth of Caliturai and Armagaon, secured to the tune of eight thousand *pardaos*

biiij *pardaos*

This total value secured for eighty four thousand eight hundred and forty *pardaos* of *panams*, reasonably making five *tangas* each *pardao*, that are *xerafins*

LRij iiij<sup>c</sup> *pardaos*

These quantities are salable with freight charges according to the regulations of the customs house of Malacca to the reasonable rate of twelve per cent, knowing six or freight charges and six for customs duty, eleven thousand and eighty eight *pardaos*

<sup>35</sup>. Correa, *op. cit.*, Cap. X, Tomo I, Pt. I, p.739,; Barros, *op.cit.*, Decada. I, Pat.II

## 25. Women's Development Corporation and its role in Women's Development

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**W**omen throughout the world have been the worst sufferers of lopsided development, structural imbalances, developmental contradictions and economic crisis. The 1989 U.N. Report on the Role of Women in Development has revealed that the status of women in developing countries and their existence revolves around poverty. Education and changing mores have rightly opened up several new avenues of creativity and social productivity, and women have donned the role of wage earners.

In the past attempts at reform & development, Women have been looked upon either as victims of social practices or targets for development but never as participators in development. Now the emphasis is on considering women as equal participants in shaping the new society rather than a victim to be saved as objects of Welfare.

The national perspective plan for women, emphasises the need to perceive women in a holistic manner and to ensure that the programmes of all ministers reflect concern for the all round development of women. In the schemes mooted, women should be perceived as producers and participants and not as clients for welfare. Emphasis should be placed on providing access for women to basic services such as credit, technical advice and land for cultivation. The National Commission on self employed women and women in the informal sector emphasised the need to devise strategies to provide women with ownership and control over productive assets. Women when extended the facilities and resources have demonstrated

high productivity, a better record of repayment of loans and retention of the assets.

If women are to be dependent on the others for access and to use of productive assets they continue to be dependent on others for their economic well being. Secondly provision of productive assets in the hands of women provides for a greater potential for regeneration and recycling. Thirdly ownership of and control over productive assets provides a different level of confidence and hope to poor women which is not possible through other interventions. Ownership of assets helps to substantially enhance their sense of self confidence.

The Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women (DEW) was established under the Companies Act, 1956 on 9 December 1983. The Corporation is a wholly owned Government of Tamil Nadu undertaking and has an authorised share capital of Rs. 10 million. Regular equity contributions have been made to the Corporation by GOTN and these have generally been matched by an equivalent contribution from the Central Government. The paid up share capital currently stands at Rs. 4.5 million (of which Rs. 1.5 million has yet to be converted to shares) although figures in the latest balance sheet available for 31/3/87 show a paid up share capital of only Rs. 1 million.

*Objectives:* The underlying objectives of the Corporation is to strive to obtain for the women of Tamil Nadu their due share in the process of development. Under the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Corporation, emphasis is placed on the provision of employment opportunities



for women as the main thrust of the Corporation in achievement of this objective. The main objectives of the Corporation are listed as:

- to promote entrepreneurship among women;

- to plan, promote, undertake and assist programmes of agricultural development, animal husbandry, marketing, processing, supply and storage of agricultural products, small scale industry, village and cottage industry and for all business and other related activity which will enable women to earn a better living and help them to improve their standards of living;

- to identify trades and industries which can be taken up by women;

- to provide margin money (equity) and/or subsidy to individuals, members of Cooperative Societies and others for their trade, business or other economic activities;

- to undertake production activities with a view to providing employment to women, setting up workshops and other production units;

- to help secure financial assistance from financial institutions;

- to conduct training programmes;

- to promote literacy among women;

- to undertake marketing activities and bulk purchase of raw materials, machineries, tools and implements and to ensure their fair distribution among women entrepreneurs.

In pursuit of these objectives, DEW is concerned to optimise the income of women in the major economic sectors, particularly agriculture, in which they are already major contributors of labour.

**Activities:** The Corporation follows three approaches to improving the economic status of women, namely:

- setting up production units itself so that women are employed as wage earners in these units;

- helping voluntary organisations to set up production units for providing employment for women;

- helping individuals as well as groups of women with self-employment schemes at the village level providing them with additional income.

Apart from the production units which it manages itself, DEW essentially acts as a catalyst and coordinator in promoting employment opportunities for women and as a conduit for funds available under various Central and State Government programmes, thereby ensuring that women obtain a greater share in the development process than would otherwise have occurred.

(a) Productions units set up by the Corporation. The Corporation has to date established four production units in Madras - an offset printing press (employing 75 women), a carpentry unit producing educational aids used for teaching pre-school children in the centres established by the Social Welfare Department under the Noon Meals Programme (employing 47 women), a screen printing unit (employing 21 women) and an electronic assembly unit (currently employing 5 women with a further 14 undergoing training). Another offset printing press has been established in Kamarajar District employing 75 handicapped women and 75 mothers of child labour in a pilot experiment to analyse whether by providing suitable employment for the mother she will be dissuaded from sending the child to work, in factories. Apart from the electronics assembly unit and the screen printing unit where a higher level of education is required, employment has mainly been provided to destitutes, widows and deserted wives.

(b) Promotion of employment opportunities through voluntary organisations. It was recognised from the outset that to have a significant impact on increasing employment opportunities for women, it

would not be possible for DEW to establish employment oriented units under its own aegis at a sufficient pace and hence it would be essential to work through other organisations as well. To date, DEW has principally established links with the Sarvodaya Organisations in Tamil Nadu which are registered with the Khadi and Village Industries Commission for the promotion of Khadi spinning and weaving and other village industries. By mobilising grant funding covering the cost of buildings and machinery for spinning and weaving units which would only employ women together with the cost of training stipends, DEW was able to ensure that the Sarvodaya paid greater attention to women in their activities. This appears to have had a spin-off effect as some Sarvodayas have now on their own initiative established spinning and weaving units solely for women in village centres. DEW was also to insist that women were provided with spindle charkas in place of the hand operated 6 spindle charkas traditionally used by women which provide little income and semi-automatic Nepali looms in place of the traditional pit loom.

The typical pattern of operation is to set up a spinning unit with 30 charkas or a weaving unit with 16 looms in a central place within the village where the women can come to work on a daily basis. Raw materials supplies and marketing of the output is handled by the Sarvodaya institution and the women are paid on a piece rate basis. Employment is mainly provided to single girls aged around 18-25 years who are able to earn Rs10-15/day for spinning and Rs 20-30/day for weaving on a regular basis compared with agricultural wage labour rates of around Rs 6 per day with work only available for around 120 days in a good year. In a few instances, girls have been provided with spinning charkas to use in their own homes but the Sarvodayas prefer centralised units for ease of supervision,

maintenance and quality control. In these instances, the machinery remains the property of the Sarvodaya on the grounds that on marriage the girl is likely to move away from the village and raw material supply and marketing facilities may not exist in the new area to enable her to continue with the activity.

Under this scheme, DEW has promoted the establishment of 64 units dealing in cotton spinning and weaving and the manufacture of agarbathies, matches, pappad, etc. in 9 districts providing employment for 1400 women, of whom 1100 belongs to the scheduled caste communities. The total non-recurring financial outlay of Rs 9 million was largely provided from the Special Central Assistance funds. In addition to implementation and monitoring the performances, the Corporation also provided margin money of Rs.7.2 million. The Corporation has assisted in the establishment of a further 50 cotton spinning and weaving units through mobilising funds amounting to Rs. 14.5 million under the STEP programme. These units will provide employment for a further 1200 women.

DEW has also interacted with the Indian Institute of Palm Leaf Technology for the establishment of a manufacturing unit in Madras providing employment for 40 women to manufacture palm brushes.<sup>18</sup>

#### *(c) Promotion of individual and group self-employment schemes.*

The Corporation believes that real economic upliftment for women can only be achieved through the ownership of assets giving a woman that right to determine the manner in which she will spend the income earned from that asset. In addition, the owning of the asset creates certain social and economic awareness which acts as an education process by itself.

In pursuance of the above objective, DEW has been active in the promotion of schemes which facilitate the creation of



assets in the hands of women. These have largely centred on animal husbandry, particularly sheep and milch animals. In 1984, 400 women in Madurai and Pudukottai Districts were provided with sheep units (20 ewes and 1 ram). This was linked with the World Bank funded Tamil Nadu Integrated Nutrition Project (TNIP) in order to provide additional income for the families of children under the Nutrition project. Financing of the sheep units was on the basis of 50% subsidy provided by the Corporation drawing on TNIP funding and 50% bank loan repayable over 5 years. The programme was implemented with assistance from the Department of Animal Husbandry. DEW is now continuing to promote sheep rearing involving a further 1500 women in Anna, Pudukottai, Pasumpon Muthuramalingam, Kamarajar and Chidambaram districts under the auspices of the STEP programme operated by the Ministry of Human Resource Development. Under this programme, women will be organised into Women's Sheep Cooperatives of 30 members with each society having a lady selected from the village trained as a paravet to work as the Secretary of the Cooperative and render veterinary assistance to the animals in the area (not only sheep). Financing is on a similar basis with the grant element provided from the STEP programme funds.

DEW has also promoted the distribution of milch animals to 700 women under the TNIP and STEP programmes through the formation of Women's Dairy Cooperatives linked into the network of Dairy Cooperative established under the Operation Flood programme. Financing is again provided on a 50% subsidy and 50% bank loan basis.

In order to implement the animal husbandry programme, two senior officers from the Department of Animal Husbandry have been seconded to DEW in Madras to coordinate the programmes whilst one

technical officer from the Departments of Animal Husbandry has been seconded in each district where the programmes are operating to work solely with the women's groups for the initial establishment year.

In addition, DEW has been responsible for coordinating/monitoring the operation of the Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) programme in Tamil Nadu under which 910 women's groups have been formed involving 16700 women to undertake a common economic activity. These have included weaving, pottery, coir making, floriculture, etc. The subsidy, ranging from 30 to 50% depending on the status of the beneficiaries is distributed through the District Rural Development Agencies and not through DEW in this instance with the remaining finance provided by bank loans.

DEW has recently established an Industries Promotion Cell to encourage and assist women entrepreneurs to set up small scale industrial units involving an outlay of over Rs. 50000. It is hoped to promote 21 such women entrepreneurs during 1987-88.

#### *Training:*

DEW is currently involved in the planning of a large scale broad based training programme for women designed as an awareness raising exercise for Government functionaries involved with women's development programmes and some 200 women's group organisers. The Government functionaries involved will include the Block Development Officers, the District Social Welfare Officers as well as the Social Welfare Extension Officers and women Rural Welfare Officers at the block level.

The training programme will cover a broad range of issues effecting women including sensitisation to gender issues; family welfare, childcare, nutrition, health and sanitation; business management; collective action and self awareness.



### *Staffing:*

The Corporation is headed by the Chairman supported by the Managing Director and ten managerial staff (accounts, marketing, animal husbandry, DWCR, industries, educational aids and administration) and 28 administrative personnel. The two managers for animal husbandry are on secondment for a limited period from the Department of Animal Husbandry for the specific purpose of supervising the sheep and milch animal units under the STEP programme and liaising with the Department of Animal Husbandry staff assigned to the project at the district level. At present DEW has no field level staff.

### *Financing:*

The two principal sources of financing to cover the administrative and operational costs of the Corporation are the profits earned by the industrial units operated by DEW and interest earnings on programme funds channelled through the Corporation. Interest earnings are the single largest source of income for DEW representing 44% of its total receipts.

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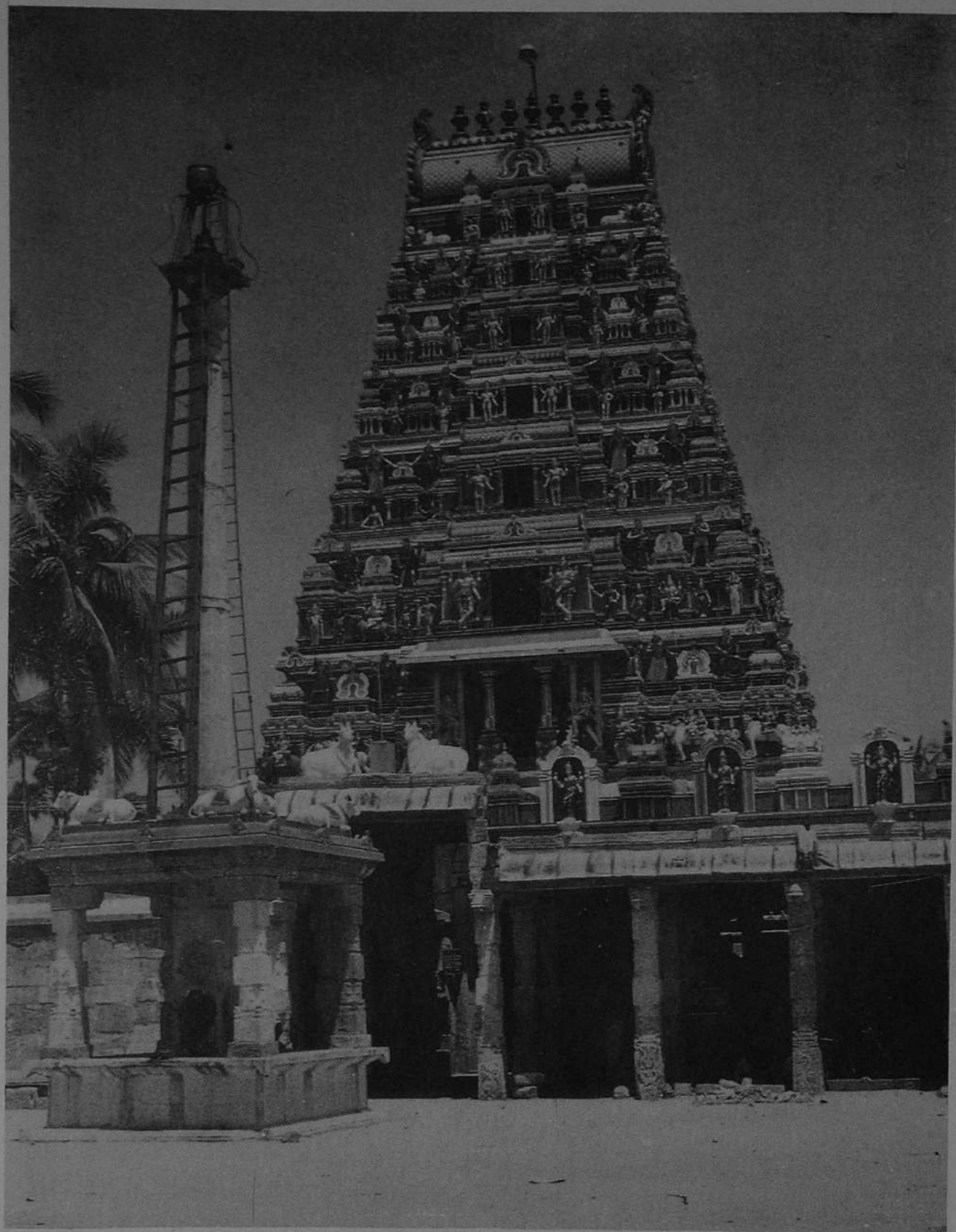


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**SECTION III**

**ART AND CULTURAL  
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## 26. Address of the Sectional President

**Dr. K.V. Raman**

Professor

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**L**et me at the outset thank the organizers of the Tamilnadu History Congress for giving me the honour to preside over the Art and Cultural History section of the first conference. I deem it a great privilege which I accept with all humility.

The Contributions of Tamilnadu to Indian Culture and Civilization are so varied and profound that they need to be studied in great depth, understood and taught to our younger generations. Tamilnadu has left an indelible imprint on every branch of human activity like language and literature, art and architecture, music and dance, religion and ethics, science and spiritualism. To Tamilnadu also belongs the credit of preserving this rich cultural heritage with great diligence for centuries. Yet, this long and chequered history has not fully come to light and there are many gaps, and obscure areas which need further research and study. It is precisely to investigate the unexplored areas and discover and discuss the new evidence or to interpret the known facts in the light of the recent discoveries in a broader historical perspective that Tamilnadu History Congress can serve as an important forum and fulfil a long felt need.

In my brief address to day, I wish to focus attention on some of the recent discoveries in the field of archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics which have thrown new and welcome light on the protohistory and history of Tamilnadu. Great scholars of the previous generations who had made pioneering studies in our history suffered from many handicaps. Sangam Literature itself was not fully

available to many of them as they were re-discovered only in the beginning of this century thanks to Tamil savants like U.Ve. Swaminatha Iyer. But this discovery gave a tremendous fillip not only to the study of the hidden treasures of Tamil language and literature but also opened our eyes to the social, cultural and political history of Tamilagam nearly 2000 years ago.

This naturally led many scholars like M. Sundaram Pillai, V. Kanakasabai (*Tamils 1800 years Ago*) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (*Manimekhalai in its Historical Settings 1928*), P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar (*History of the Tamils 1929*), K.N. Sivaraja Pillai (*Chronology of the Early Tamils, 1932*) etc. to write the political, social and cultural history of the Sangam Age. This interest has not abated as is evidenced by appearance of several works in more recent years like the *Sangam Polity* by N. Subramanian and *Social History of the Tamils* by K.K. Pillai (1975). The discovery of the Sangam literature thus led to a great spurt of historical writing which was based largely on this literary data. A fairly good account of the history of the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandyas and their kingdoms emerged. Yet, the Chronology or the geneology of the dynasties of the period were not free from uncertainty and several surmises were made. Scholars like K.N. Sivarajapillai, Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and Prof. S. Vyapuripillai made commendable efforts in this field. But the earlier scholars had to work under distinct disadvantages particularly because of the lack of epigraphical and archaeological sources. Now, fortunately, the scenario has changed for the better. As far as the Sangam Age is con-

cerned, we have now a new set of interesting evidence provided by archaeological excavations and epigraphical and numismatic findings. I wish to draw the attention of this distinguished audience to some of the more important findings and their significance. I am glad to state that several young scholars from the organisations like the Department of Archaeology, both centre and the State, Universities, Colleges and a host of scholars in their individual capacities have been involved in these exciting discoveries.

### **EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES:**

The first thing that I would like to mention is the discovery of Tamil inscriptions belonging to the Sangam period. More than 75 inscriptions have been found distributed in almost all the districts of Tamilnadu. They are as important as the discovery of the Sangam literature itself as they throw welcome light on the evolution of Tamil script, chronology and even genealogy of the leading Kings of the Sangam period. Inscriptions belonging to the Pandyan King Nedunjelian have been discovered at Mangulam near Madurai; those belonging to the Chera kings like Ilankadunko, son of Perunkatunko and grandson of Atan Chelirumporai have been found at Pugalur near Karur (I. Mahadevan); Inscription of Satiyaputra Adigaman Neduman Anji at a place called Jambai near Tiruvannamalai.

As you may know, the Satyaputras are mentioned in the Asoken Rock Edit along with the Keralaputras, Chola and Pandyas. There was a lot of speculation among scholars regarding the identity of the Satyaputras. This discovery helps us to identify them with the Adigamans of Tagadur who were famous for their fidelity to truth. Many of the chieftain families of the Sangam period also figure in the inscriptions like Ori, Sendan, Paranan etc. The names of places, merchants, professions, trade-guilds (*Nigamattor*) and per-

sonal names are extremely interesting and especially when they are compared to those found in the Sangam literature. They provide excellent corroborative evidence to the Sangam literature and help us to get some reasonable chronological approximation, besides knowing more about the Socio-economic life of that period.

### **NUMISMATIC DISCOVERIES:**

The recent Numismatic discoveries in Tamilnadu are equally illuminating and exciting. Coins belonging to the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas of the Sangam Age have been discovered with inscriptions in their respective capitals Karur, Kaveripumpattinam and Madurai. Chera coins found at Karur have their traditional insignia of the bow and arrow on one side and the elephant surrounded by auspicious symbols. One of them has the name of the Chera king *Makothai* and another *Kuttuvan* inscribed in Tamil Brahmi script. They also carry their respective portraits on them. (R.Krishnamuthi, 1994)

The early Chola coins found in the excavations of Pampuhar and elsewhere have their emblem of the standing tiger on one side and elephant and the auspicious symbols on the other. The Pandyan coins found at Madurai have their double fish emblem. One of the Pandyan coins has the legend *Peruvaludi* (may be that of Palyagasali Mudukudumi Peruveludi). Besides the coins of the three major kingdoms (Muvender), we have also found the coins of minor chieftains like the Malayamans of Tirukovalur and Sendans.

Numismatic evidence throws new light on the Tamil Nadu's maritime trade contacts. The discovery of numerous hoards of Roman gold and silver coins from all over Tamilnadu is well known and confirm literary evidence for the Indo-Roman trade relations. Now, thanks to Mr. R. Krishnamurthy (1993), we have coins of Seleucid kings of 3rd century B.C. at Karur and some Phoenician coins of 2nd century BC



affording some possible evidence of pre-Roman trade contacts of the Cheras with the Mediterranean world.

I have discussed elsewhere about the historical significance of these inscriptions for the history of Tamilnadu and indeed south India and I would not like to repeat them here. Suffice it here to state that of all the South Indian languages it is Tamil language which has the earliest recorded script. In other parts of South India particularly in Andhra & Karnataka, the same script was used for Prakrit as in the rest of the country. This script, popularly known as Brahmi or Tamil Brahmi or Damili, was widespread in Tamilnadu during the Sangam Age as hundreds of potsherds with such inscriptions have been found in the excavations at Uraiyur, Kanchipuram, Arikamedu, Alagankulam (near Ramesvaram), Karur, Kodumanal (near Erode) etc. Nowhere in India, inscriptions have been found in such large numbers on earthen pots as in Tamilnadu. This would indicate that it was the script widely used by an average literate man in Tamilnadu. Very recently, even rings or signets with this early Tamil inscriptions have been found (in Karur) apparently used as official seals or mudras.

### **ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES:**

By far the most important discoveries have been furnished by archaeology - not only for the early history of Tamilnadu but also thousands of years earlier pertaining to Pre and Protohistoric times. One of the largest and richest sites of Palaeolithic culture has been discovered in Tamilnadu in the terraces of the Kortalyar (old Palar) river near Madras. Another important stage in prehistoric period has been found in the Teri deposits of Tirunelveli coast. There, small camp sites of microclithic period are found and they are ascribed to about 5,000 B.C. A very important discovery of the recent decades in South Indian Archaeology is that of settlements of agricultural

food-producing communities all over South India including Tamilnadu during what is known as Neolithic period. Based on Carbon - 14 and other dating techniques, this period is ascribed to a period between 2000 to 1000 B.C. - almost coeval with the great Indus valley civilization of North West India. The Neolithic Period is widely recognised as marking the beginning of settled life in human history and hence archaeologists even use the term Neolithic revolution. Different stages in the evolution of this culture have been identified in Southern and Eastern India. Sites belonging to this period have been discovered in Tamilnadu in the districts of North Arcot, Dharmapuri and Salem and a few in the westerly portions of Madurai District. An important site excavated was Paiyampalli near Vaniambadi (by ASI) and it has yielded the Carbon dating of about 1200 B.C. Further work is called for in this field and I am glad to state that the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the University of Madras has done extensive exploration and identified many more sites which wait excavations.

Another signal contribution of the archaeology to the unravelling of the proto-history of Tamilnadu is the discovery of a widespread iron using human settlements, belonging to what is generally termed as the Megalithic period. Research in this field has been going on for over a century but a clearer picture is emerging now thanks to many scientific excavations done in recent years in the sites like Kunnathur, Sanur, Amritamangalam in Chengalpattu, District Mallapadi; Paiyampalli, Appukkallu in N. Arcot District, Kodumanal near Erode in Periar District. It was during this period village and semi-urban settlements increased and proliferated even into the river plains. Tank and river irrigation, rice cultivation, iron-technology and other metallurgy, sophisticated ceramic industry and other allied and diversified arts and crafts and greater mobility - all contributed to the

on set of what is technically termed as "urbanisation". This important phase in the cultural evolution in South India is amply evidenced by several excavations done in our neighboring states also like Kerala, Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra. The megalithic culture of South India has certain uniform and distinctive traits. Here also, both stratiographical and carbon-14 datings have given us a fairly consistent date in range centering around 500 B.C. It can indeed be called the prelude to the historical times with which it overlaps. Excavations done in all our major historical ancient cities of Tamilnadu (and indeed South India as a whole) like Kanchipuram, Uraiyur, Kaveripumpattinam, Korkai, Karur, Arikamedu have revealed their urban foundations traceable to this period.

Archaeological excavations done in these places have added a new chapter to the history of Tamilnadu and brought to focus fresh material evidence on the Sangam Age. The discovery of a massive brick jetty with wooden posts for anchoring boats in Pumpuhar and Roman antiquities confirm the city's maritime trade with the Roman world. The recent discovery of the early Chola Coins similar to the ones found at Pumpuhar on the coast of Southern Thailand afford further evidence of Pumpuhar's sea-trade with Kalagam (Malaya coast) mentioned in the Tamil work *Pattinappalai*. The discovery of an impressive Buddha - Vihara complex at Pumpuhar is yet another important discovery which confirms literary references to the existence of Buddhist establishments in Pumpuhar. Recent excavations in Arikamedu near Pondicherry and Karaikadu near Cuddalore (by Madras University) Alagankulam near Ramesvaram (by Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu) have brought to light new set of evidence to Tamilnadu overseas trade contacts with the Mediterranean world. At Arikamedu amphorae wine jars re-imported from several islands of Roman world like Rhodes

have been identified as also other imported artifacts like gems and intaglios.

### OVERSEAS TRADE:

I would like to conclude this section by referring to two interesting recent discoveries concerning Tamil Nadu's overseas trade contacts. Firstly, the discovery of pottery with Tamil Brahmi inscriptions of 1st or 2nd century A.D. in a site named Leukas Liman on the Red Sea Coast. It mentions a person by name Cattan, probably a member of a merchant guild who had ventured thus far for trade. This is the first discovery of Tamil inscription in West Asia. We may look for more.

Secondly, the discovery of a small stone plaque with a short Tamil inscription in a site in Southern Thailand. It is actually a goldsmith's touch - stone and the inscription appropriately reads 'Perumpathankal' written in Tamil (Brahmi) script of 3rd or 4th century A.D. Though we have many more Tamil inscriptions in the islands of ancient Kadaram of later period this is by far the earliest. The Tamil inscriptions of the Pallava and Chola times in Southeast Asia are well known and need no mention here.

The survey of the recent discoveries outlined above is not exhaustive but only selective; yet it would go to demonstrate the importance of the archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic work to be pursued relentlessly to bring out the many new evidences buried in the bowels of the earth or even in the sea. Evidences coming from different sources have to be correlated and synthesised to arrive at a balanced history. Scientific aids as well scientific approach should be fully utilised. These recent discoveries mark a new and happy trend in our researches. There is greater amount of historical information now from diverse sources to enable us to address ourselves to broader issues like the social and State formation in South India. But, unfortunately, funding for

archeological and epigraphical explorations and publications are not adequate and they have to be augmented. Govt. of Tamilnadu's recent generous grant for undertaking the under water exploitation near Pumpuhar deserves our gratitude and appreciation. I would suggest the Govt. may consider extending financial aids to the Departments of Archaeology in the Universities in Tamilnadu which are doing notable work in the fields of excavations,

epigraphy, temple studies, inspite of financial constrains. I am sure the formation of the Tamilnadu History congress would help focus attention on this aspect to create a greater awareness in these fields amongst the students, scholars and administrators.

I once again thank the Tamilnadu History Congress for giving me this opportunity and honour. I wish the Congress all success.



## 27. The Interrelationships between History and Literature : A point of view

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**T**he intertwining inevitable-relationship between history and literature of a Society is the theme of this analysis before us today.

Semantically speaking, what turns out to be a Story, a sequence of events, a set of realities TODAY becomes a part of History of TOMORROW. Without today there can't be a tomorrow, day after, month after and so logically speaking stories of a specific time become historic in value after that time. In other words, it is a matter of perception and perspective. If you look at it as part of the happenings in which you are a party then you are part of history. But if you wish to detach yourself and view it objectively then you are viewing it in the historical perspective - an event that has many angles and sides to it. Such a distinction between perspective and perception can equally apply to literature.

If you view closely what constitutes literature of a society it is the feelings, hopes, ambitions and fears of the people of the society. In Kashmir Valley what is happening every day is part and parcel of life. The dailies may report it today as a series of real happenings and tomorrow when you read the newspaper in the morning it has already become the subject matter of past history. This is something which has been happening every day and so we have taken it for granted. Let us go deeper into that interrelationship today before making history.

"History's true object of study", says Fustel de Conlanges "is the human minds".<sup>1</sup> Some objections may be brought up against this definition, it certainly has the merit of emphasizing the psychological bond that connects history with literature. If we look at any account of a nation's march in bygone times it is bound to reveal to a large extent the deep mental characteristics. The record of its literature will reveal to a large extent the mental and moral characteristics of the people whose pulse will be measured through their literary output. It's no exaggeration to say that a history of any literature is a history of a record of dreams, ideals and tribulations of the creative minds of the people of that country. Nationality and citizenship are trivial factors when it comes to creativity of literature or writing up a faithful and historical account of a people and their civilization. One may tend to be accused of overgeneralization in this regard. But to cite a few specific examples, some of the best histories of India are written by non-Indians, such as for example, "The Oxford History of India" by Vincent Smith, A.L. Basham's 'The Wonder that was India' Fortunately the same parallel may also be drawn with reference to the creative genius of writers as well. Great creative geniuses such as Rabindranath Tagore, Dom Moraes and A.K. Ramanujan as well as a host of others born and brought up in Indian social milieu have consistently been creating literary pieces of excellence which in their own way have reflected the sensibilities of

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Compton - Rickett : "A History of English Literature"

Indian society. To understand Tagore's following verse one has to naturally be quite familiar with the aspirations of Indians at the time of freedom struggle:

WHERE the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free; Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action-

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.<sup>2</sup>

An awareness of Indian history and the place of an Indian subject in the Empire where the sun did never set' will inevitably explain the force of the sincere prayer of a Nationalist to his Father in heaven pleading for the awakening of his country.

To look at the history of English literature in general and development of English Poetry in particular is to recognise the direct impact and involvement of European forces on the Anglo-Saxon literature. Oliver Wendel Holmes has rightly reminded us that the human soul was an "omnibus in which sit the shades of our ancestors, so the first thing to recognise in dealing with our imaginative life is its complex inspiration. Looking at the splendid fabric of English Literature, we realise in it 'a coat of many colours' for it is shot with the varying tints of racial characteristics'.<sup>3</sup> Arthur Compton-Rickett's evaluation in his "A History of English Literature" is both realistic and pictorial. He observes "To its

making have gone the prismatic fancy of the Celt, the sombre passion of the Tenson, the golden gaiety of France, Scandinavian grey and Italian purples. Yet for all its composite character it is not a thing of patchwork quality, but an harmonious blend, in which one element predominates. That element is the Anglo-Saxon".<sup>4</sup>

It is common knowledge to students of history of Britain and literature that the first dwellers of the Islands were a rude, primitive race, that we term Palaeolithic. Following the first Celtic invasion "A second inroad of Aryan people came in about 300 B.C., and has been distinguished from the first by the term Brythons. These invaders did not spread so far as the Gaels, settling largely in the south-west and west and becoming later the Cymri, or, as the Englishman called them, the Welsh. Their spirit of independence and originality glowed in the magical verse of Mr. W.B. Yeats and the imaginative prose of synge (Pr. Sing). Therefore there is little wonder that Mr. W.B. Yeats became an ardent and intimate admirer of Rabindranath Tagore and his verse which were written in Bengali to begin with at a time when the Indians were intensely engaged in the freedom struggle against the British. A knowledge of history of Welsh is an essential prerequisite to understand and appreciate the Irish Dramatic Movement.

Yet again, the Roman occupation of Britain affects considerably the formation of British Literature and the forces of indirect religious experiences which were brought to bear upon the inhabitants of Wales and Britain to begin with through Christianised Cymri and secondly through the missionary priests of the seventh century. A good illustration of this can be found in the Arthurian Cycle, which was

<sup>2</sup> Rabindranath Tagore : *Gitanjali* (Macmillan)

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Compton-Rickett (1993)

<sup>4</sup> (*Ibid* : 1993)

originally Celtic in its inspiration, but owing to French redaction and elaborations became one of the most popular of European Romances. Any study of English literature will be incomplete and even misleading without a proper study of historical developments that conditioned the society of those times.

The History of Britain was mostly in the hands of the monks and clergy in the monasteries. The most famous among them was William of Malmesbury (1095-1142) of whom Milton said,

"Both for style and judgement William is by far the best writer of all".<sup>5</sup> His inspiration came from Bede and his work was to follow him and tell the history of England artistically and critically and especially to fill in the period occurring between the ancient and modern history. His works "A History of the kings of England" (449-1127) and "Historia Novella" are indicative of his artistic instinct for salient and significant features.

The Life of Thomas 'A Beckett written by William Fitz-Stephen, himself a Londoner, and a witness of Beckett's death, contains some interesting anecdotes to the social life of the times. To be ignorant of the history of Henry II (1172) and his vagaries of administrative cliques will naturally reduce the appreciation of "Murder in the Cathedral" which stands today as one of T.S. Eliot's famous master pieces.

In a very similar way to understand the pathos of A.K. Ramanujan's 'A River' one should have been quite familiar with the vagaries of the floods along the Vaigai River.<sup>6</sup>

## "A RIVER"

*In Madurai, City of temples and poets  
Who sang of cities and temples;  
Every summer a river dries a trile  
In the sand,  
Bearing the sand ribs,  
Straw and woman's hair  
Clogging the Watergates  
At the rusty bars  
Under the bridges with patches  
Of repair all over them,  
The wet stones glistening like sleepy  
Crocodiles, the dry ones  
Shaven water-buffalos lounging in the sun.*

*The poets sang only of the floods.*

*He was there for a day  
When they had the floods.*

*People everywhere talked  
Of the inches rising,  
Of the precise number of cobbled steps  
Run over by the water, rising  
On the bathing places  
And the way it carried off three village houses,  
One pregnant woman  
And a couple of cows named Gopi and Brinda,  
As usual.*

*The new poets still quoted  
The old poets but no one spoke  
In verse  
Of the pregnant woman  
Drowned, with perhaps twins in her,  
Kicking at blank walls  
Even before birth.*

*He said:  
The River has water enough  
To be poetic  
About only once a year  
And then  
It carries away  
In the first half-hour*

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Compton-Rickett: "A History of English Literature", 1993

<sup>6</sup> A.K. Ramanujan: 'A River' (Oxford: Collected Poems)



Three village houses  
 A couple of cows  
 Named Gopi and Brinda  
 And one pregnant woman  
 Expecting identical twins  
 With no moles on their bodies,  
 With different-coloured diapers  
 To tell them apart.

Similarly in Geoffrey Chaucer we find an interesting example. Many of his early poems were written to immortalise his patron, John of Gaunt. The death of Gaunt's wife, Blanche, during the plagues (1362) inspired his first poem "The Boke of the Duchess". He earnestly began his career (in writing in English which had never before been attempted) after the Peasant's Revolt of 1381. He was the first modern poet, innovative in his style. Yet over the traditionalist he struck to the poetic conventions that existed in those times. Many of his poems eg. Hall of Fame and Parliament of Fowls were written in the style of 'dream poetry' which was popular among the aristocratic circles.

In Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales', he moves into a larger imaginative sphere, depicting his comic genius for the first time. In this work, he portrays the lives of his own countrymen in the form of pilgrims, migrating from place to place to avoid the dreaded plague, who narrate tales to amuse themselves during their long cumbersome journey.

In sharp contrast to Shakespeare's dependence on chronicles, one finds a treatment of the French Revolution in the writings of Charles Dickens and Thomas Carlyle. While Dickens utilises the popular emotion of the prisoners of Bastille as a fitting backdrop for his story of noble love and supreme sacrifice, Carlyle's account of the French Revolution is radically different from others. Carlyle's presentation shows that the French Revolution is not a history; indeed Carlyle had not the makings of an historian, for his vision is not panoramic. He never seeks to retell the story of the past but is preoccupied in explaining the significance of the past and externalises

spiritual forces rather than present physical appearances. In short, if Carlyle does this, it is due to no intellectual indifference on his part to the historical detail, but due to the fact that he gives us the French Revolution in terms of poetry and not of prose. The French Revolution is a wonderful prose poem which no student of history can afford to pass by. He will not learn the story of the Revolution from this book, but, having mastered the story, and the great sequence of events from any other reliable text book, he will understand the Revolution all the more after having read Carlyle's poem (published in 1837).

In sharp contrast to Thomas Carlyle's attitude to history, Sir Walter Scott exhibited his genius for vitalising the past in every one of his historical novels and poems. He was a born story-teller, and had that delightful knack of improvisation which is the secret of all good story-telling. Never did he see an old tower or a stream without instantly conjuring up its old world associations. For him every common bush had its own tale of romance. Endowed with such creative energy full of imagination, he filled his novels with glamour of places and grandeur of historic past. Every one of his numerous novels presented its own tale of mighty achievements of Kings & Generals, the crafty cliques of courtiers and lovely enchantment of princesses and their Knight Warriors.

There is no doubt that the writings of historians are closely intertwined with the creative writings of the age. An understanding of the one will definitely illuminate the other.

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## 28. Contribution of Kerala to the performing Arts of Tamil Nadu

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**A**round the 18th century Iraiyanar Thampi began his contribution to Carnatic music in three major forms- Kirtana, Varna and Pada which numbered to about 100. The Kirtanas and Varnas are in Sanskrit and Malayalam. Padas in Malayalam were meant for Mohiniattam. All his compositions which had great aesthetic and literary beauty gained prominence and recognition during the time of Swati Tirunal. It is not known whether rules of southern states visited each other; yet the musicians patronized by them moved freely in their Courts. For instance, S. Govinda Marar from the court of Swati Tirunal called on Sri Thyagaraja at Tiruvaiyaru, and his music was greatly appreciated by the latter.

Classical music in its modern form as Carnatic music was introduced to Kerala during the time of Swati Tirunal. (1813-47) The famous musician Shatkala Govinda Marar brought with him a collection of songs of Margadarsi Sesha Ayyanagar, the Dewan of Tanjore. Tanjore Subba Rao, a lover of music, introduced the Maharaja to Carnatic music of Tanjore. Veena Subbukotti Ayya from Pudukottai, and Kannayya Bhagavathar, a disciple of Saint Thyagaraja were the others who introduced Carnatic music into Kerala.

Swati Tirunal's contribution to Carnatic music comprises of all its important forms Kirtana, Varna, Pada Varna, Ragamalika Svarajati and Tillana. Being a multi-lingual composer he chose his media for his compositions Sanskrit, Manipravala (Malayalam in its Sanskritized form), Telugu, Kannada and Dekhani Hindustani. His Kirtana follow the model of Margadarsi of

Sesha Iyengar; and some of them of Dikshithar. He was the only South Indian composer to contribute to Hindustani music (Dhrupad, Khayal, Bhajan, Tappa). A rough estimate of his composed songs could be 400. In the realm of dance, Tanjore Subba Rao, (first, Maharaja's tutor, then his Dewan) was instrumental in bringing to Travancore, the famous devadasis from Tanjavur, Srirangam, Tiruchendur and other places. In addition, Vadivelu, one of the Tanjore Quartette was in his Court. His interest in dance and music led him to create about 800 compositions in dance including padavarnas, javalis and thillana. In Tamil there is just one varnani that he has composed. Most of the others are in Sanskrit, some in Malayalam and Manipravalam. The late dance, Balasaraswati would dance to Swati Tirunal's padavarna- Dani-Samajendra.

Though he was a contemporary to the Musical Trinity of Tanjavur his musical empire was his own creation, a product of his own individual genius. With the combined efforts of Sri Semmangudi. S. Iyer (and earlier Sri Muttaya Bhagavathar) "Maharaja Shri Swati Tirunal Kritimala" with notation and in Tamil script was published. Further addition to his songs, later on, helped the dissemination of his songs in Tamil Nadu.

Some of the major Keralite composers are K.C. Kesava Pillai (1868-1913), a well-known poet who composed 'Isvarastotrangal' a praise of Universal God in all religions. Nilakanta Pillai and T. Lakshmana Pillai were sensitive poets. Vidwan Rajaraja Varma Koil Thampuram, Kerala



Varma Valiya Koil Thampuran and Manavikrama Ettan Thampuran are a few of the luminaries who contributed to Carnatic music. Manavikrama Battan Thampuran is the author of Krishnastapadi and Kiratashtapadi on the model of Jayadeva's work. G. Sankara Kurup, V. Dakshinamoothy were among those who promoted modern musical compositions in Kerala in Karnatic form in the work-'Sangitamapi Sahityam'

The emergence of Sri Vallathol Narayana Menon and Kerala Kalamandalam on 9 Nov. 1930, revealed the determination of Vallathol to liberate dance from the taboos and misconceptions. Conservative minds considered Mohiniattam to be an art practised only by courtesans, to lure the rich. Around the same time the dasis tradition in Tamilnadu faced social contempt. Likewise it was due to E. Krishna Iyer's efforts that the inherent beauty of Bharata Natyam was acknowledged. Later Rukmini Devi Arundale, Balasaraswati and Kamala created a respect for this dance form which it was lacking earlier.

The establishment of the Music Academy in Madras in the late 1920's and the creation of a platform where dancers could display their art, helped the growth and the acceptance of dance. In the first decade from 1931-40- Gopinath and Thangamani, both Keralites, and married to each other, gave performances of what was called "Oriental dance" on three occasions. These dances were highly Kathakali- oriented, but had the features of Bharata Natyam too. To-day he is known as Guru Gopinath and a highly respected figure in the world of Kathakali.

Later on the Travancore Sisters - Lalitha, Padmini and Ragini utilized their training of Bharata Natyam to present dance dramas, in Madras and elsewhere in India. They claim to be the first group to stage dance dramas.

In recent times, the most enduring contribution of Kerala to the Performing

Arts of Tamilnadu is from the Dhanajayans. V.P. Dhananjayan and Santha Dhananjayan, a dance couple are the products of Kalakshetra. Originally from Kerala. V.P. Dhananjayan's family lived in Keloth ( a village in N. Kerala) and he was among one of eight children of his parents. At the age of 13, he was handpicked by Chandu Panikker as he stood in line with his brothers and sisters, and taken to Kalakshetra, Madras. This crucial moment decided Dhananjayan's destiny. He was awarded a scholarship for his entire term and with RukminiDevi's guidance he emerged as India's foremost male dancer. From Chandu Panikker he learned Kathakali too. Shantha on the other hand was admitted to Kalakshetra at the age of seven. Her parents were settled in Kuala Lumpur. They were keen to see their daughter emerge as a talented dancer.

In Kalakshetra, Dhananjayan and Shantha always played the roles of Rama and Sita. The year 1969 saw their marriage and their own School of Dance, "Bharata Kalanjali" in Madras. It has been at Madras 25 years since then. To-day this school and both the artistes have achieved tremendous world recognition. He has trained dancers in India and abroad. Their dance-dramas and individual dance items reveal their dedication and superior skill. Their dance-dramas are based on various themes - historical (Ashoka & Sanghamitra), mythological and even everyday life. Though Keralites, they are known as dancers from Madras, in the world outside.

Tripunithura Vishwanatha Iyer Gopalakrishnan, popularly known as TVG in the music circles, is another Keralite who contributed his mite to Carnatic Music. His family originally belonged to Tiruvaiyaru in Tanjore district, but later on moved to Kerala several generations earlier. His Father, Tripunithura Vishwanatha Iyer served as a Cochin palace musician. He was also the Professor of Music in Sri Kerala Varma College Trissur. According



to him, it was his grandmother, Thailambal who advised him to move to Madras. He received his first mridangam from the Cochin Dewan's residence.

To-day TVG is a multi-dimensional personality, who exhibits his talents in various fields of music. As an innovator, researcher, teacher, mridangam vidvan, Hindustani music violinist, and composer, to name some of them, he shines as a brilliant star in the sky of music.

Initially his mridangam abilities were revealed in the concerts of radio stations in Thiruvananthapuram and Mysore in the early 1940's. Later Madras offered him more opportunities. He began playing for Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer, Chittoor Subramaniam Pillai and Madurai Mani Iyer. TVG was most inspired by another mridangam vidvan, Palghat Mani Iyer. His own standing in Kerala helped him to arrange concert tours for vocalists for whom he played the mridangam.

He claims to be one of the earliest Carnatic music teachers to have foreigners as students. He introduced integration of music-Carnatic and jazz (the basic raga tala remain intact). The highlight is - raga Kalyana played on a synthesizer. The effect was great and provided scope for versatility.

His student, Prema Ramamurthy is one of the major vocalists for the well-known dancers, Alarmel Valli and Malavika Sarukkai. He has composed a varnam on Vinayaka and Navagraha malika varnam; dance drama of Silapadhikaram and Kumara Sambhavam. His Concert in Thiruvananthapuram, a few years ago, consisted exclusively of Swati Thirunal compositions in Hindustani idiom.

Mention may be made of other musicians also from Kerala such as Palakkad Rama Bhagavathar, Ennapadam Venkatarama Iyer, Palakkad Mani Iyer, Coimbatore Raghava Iyer, Palakkad Anantaraman Bhagavathar, to an extent Sem-

mangudi Srinivasa Iyer, Trichur Ramachandran, Dakshinamoorthy, Chembai Vaidyanatha Bhagavathar and K.V. Narayanaswamy.

Palakkad K.V. Narayanaswamy spent most of his life in Kerala as a teacher and performer. He moved to Madras to take up a post-retirement job at Kalakshetra. This move marked a high tide in his career as he became very much in demand for his songs, especially, Gopalakrishna Bharati's 'Nandanar'. He died in 1985.

Neyyankankara Vasudevan from Kerala was invited to sing at Music Academy. He was a seasoned vocalist. Of late, Sukumari Narendra Menon was receiving calls from Madras to sing during the annual music season.

In perspective one can conclude that the contribution of Kerala to the performing arts of Tamil Nadu is substantial. The contribution is really high as far as Carnatic Music is concerned. The place of Bharata Natyam, comes second.

The musical compositions comprised of all forms- kirtana, Pada, Varna tillana and Pagamalika. Some new ragas were created while the old ones were preserved. The innovations were attempted.

The regional languages - Malayalam, Sanskrit and Tamil were used with reason. Neither were they ignored nor one made the main language of expression.

It demonstrated that classical music is not confined to one community. The people of other religions (the Christians of Kerala) have found them appealing and used them for their religious purpose. K. Varghese Mappillai has composed many songs.

There has been continuous flow of Karnatic music from Kerala to Tamil Nadu from the time of Swati Tirunal to the present times. This interaction is continuing in the present generation too.

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## 29. Telugu Literary Source Pertaining to the Nayaks of Madurai

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**T**he era of Sri. Krishnadeva Raya is considered as the golden age in the history of Telugu literature. But after the great war of Talaikottai in the year 1565 A.D. the Vijayanagar kingdom faced a sudden decline. The feudal lords under them declared their independence at Madurai, Thanjavur, Pudukottai and in other places. The local chiefs took advantage of this perilous situation. During this period the people in the Andhra region were directly under the Mohammeden invasions. But the Madurai, Thanjavur and other places were less affected.

As the political condition in Andhra region became worse day by day it resulted in the migration of the people to the other parts of the country. The Andhra emigrants from Vijayanagar empire included the learned Brahmins, poets, artists and artisans. The Nayak kings at Madurai and Thanjavur welcomed them, granted agharams to the Vedic scholars, patronised the Telugu poets and artists and employed a few in their courts also. The Nayak kings began to patronise poetry, dance, drama, music and other arts in order to emulate the practice of Sri Krishnadeva Raya in patronising the fine arts. Due to this patronage of the Nayak kings, there came a considerable number of Telugu literary works with some novel genres. This literature is designated as 'Southern school of Telugu Literature'.

Since the poets and the scholars were employed in the court, they dedicated the works to their patron kings.

The literature which had developed during the Nayak period can be classified into two divisions, historical and literary.

### HISTORICAL

The court poet was expected mainly to describe the expeditions of the king, the expansion of the empire, his effective administration and so on. Some texts might be conformed to the above said theme only. These may be considered as historically very important works. The historical information furnished in these works is of considerable value inspite of the hyperbolic expressions of the authors. The following are some of the historical works.

*Rayavacakamu of Sthanapathy* under Viswanatha Nayaka

*Pedda Alagiri Vijayamu of Ganapa-vaapu Venkata Kavi* under Muddalagiri Vidyavathi Dandakamu by the same author

*Madura Manga Pumscali Lila Vilasamu* of Gopala Kavi lived during the time of Mangammal.

*Narasabhoja Nuthi* whose authorship is not known belongs to the same period.

### LITERARY

There are other works related to mythic and epic stories which may not have historical factors as the main theme. Since the works were dedicated to the kings, the poets had to narrate the historical, political and contemporary social achievements of their kings in the prologue of the first canto which may exceed even 100 to 150 poems. Mainly the geneology of the kings will be the material available to us in such poems.

The following are some of the literary fictions of the period.



*Satyabhama Santhwanamu, Denuma-hatmyamu* - Linganamakhi Sri Kamesh-wara Kavi

*Jaiminiharatham, Ahalyasankarandan-  
amu, Sarangadhara Charitramu, Radhika  
Santhwanamu* - Samukam Venkata Krish-  
nappa Nayaka

*Sasanka Vijayamu* - Sesham Venkata-  
pathi

*Mithravinda Parinayamu, Karthikama-  
hatmyamu* - Kundurthi Venkatachala Kavi

*Yuvajana Hridayanandamu* -  
Beddhapudi Errabhoopathi

*Bhanumad Vijayamu, Krishna Kar-  
namruthamu* - Velagapudi Krishnayamatya

*Ramayana in Prose only Bala, Ayodya,  
Aranya Kandas available* - Sayamarya  
Kavi.

*Sudantha Parinayamu* - Velidandla  
Azhagiri Kavi

*Chitra Kuta Mahatmyamu* - Tiruma-  
lakavi

*Halasya Mahatmyamu* - Sripathi  
Ramabhadra Kavi

Among the Nayaks of Madurai Vijayar-  
anga Chokkanatha not only patronised the  
poets, but he himself was a great scholar.  
He wrote two books namely *Sri Ranga-  
natha Mahatmyamu* and *Magha Ma-  
hatmyamu*. The historical fact could not  
be traced in these works as the prologues  
are concerned only with these of the work.

A brief summary of the above said texts  
are given below as guidelines for further  
research.

## HISTORICAL WORKS

*Rayavacakamu* :- Sthanapathy of  
Viswanatha Nayaka

This work describes the following inter-  
esting historical events of Sri Krishnadeva  
Raya.

1. The daily routine of the carnatac  
rulers

2. Admiration of Vidyaranya the founder  
of Vijayanagara and the detailed de-  
scription of the auspicious day in  
which the foundation for the construc-  
tion of Vidyanagar was laid.
3. Coronation of Sri Krishnadevaraya,  
his expedition and victories, the theory  
of polity which is said to have been  
taught by Appaji to Sri Krishnadevar-  
aya.
4. The defence particulars of Krishnade-  
varaya's army in respect of infantry,  
cavalry and elephantry was given in  
detail. The spy system and the inter-  
est with which the king himself roamed  
in the nights in disguise for obtaining  
secretely, informations relating to his  
kingdom enemies at home and out-  
side.
5. The kings expeditions against Aha-  
madnagar, Golkonda, Gajapathies,  
Udayagiri and other muslim rulers in  
the Deccan are the main theme nar-  
rated in this text. A few descriptions  
found in this work may be given as  
example.

## Coronation

The coronation of Sri Krishnadevaraya  
is well described in the text. In the  
presence of Appaji, other higher officials,  
astrologers and other members of the  
court the performance was held. Here the  
author had enumerated all the names of  
the personalities who were present in the  
court.

The traditional process is described as  
follows:-

After having a sacred bath Sri Krish-  
nadevaraya was brought to the auspicious  
dias and was seated on a golden plank.  
The wellknown 16 grants were made by  
the king including Godana. With the  
sacred water brought from the holy rivers  
and seas in golden pots, the consecration  
was performed on the king amidst the  
reverberating sounds of rhythmic music,

and recitation of Manthras. After the traditional ceremony of the consecration golden coins and other precious stones were offered as present to the king. The relatives, friends and other high officials were properly rewarded.

### Treasury

The accounts of the palace were checked and tallied daily by the authorities. At the time of coronation, the money collected was estimated as, ninety nine crores and fifty six lakhs in cash, four crores as ornaments and six crores as jades. The amount transferred to the treasury was nineteen crores and fifty six lakhs as cash. The amount allotted for *Devadayams*, *Sarvamanyamas* and for *Agraharams* was sixty lakhs. The residue of twenty crores was spent for defence. A separate list was given for the expenditure recurring on maintaining a horse, an elephant and a foot soldier and multiplication was given for every 1000 numbers. The allotment of the soldiers to various beatons of his empire has also been illustrated.

### Army

Each *Amaranayaka* maintained 24 thousands of cavalry, 120 thousands of elephantry 2 lakhs of infantry regularly. The status of the commander-in-chief of each and every division was well discussed and the chief of the infantry is given high rank.

The fort walls were arranged in such a way that prevented the easy entry of the enemies. The weapons such as Birangi, Javurujangulu, Guntukovulu, Dantanarallu, Ethurallu, Dasi-kalu etc., were inserted in the walls of forts. These weapons are not easily identified.<sup>1</sup> Tiger's head (*Pulitalalu*) and big boulders which prevent horses to enter (*Gurrapunilupurallu*) were placed in front of the fort gate. All the above said arrangements were made 8 days before the commencement of the war.<sup>1</sup>

### *Peddalagiri Vijayamu* - Ganapavarpu Venkata Kavi

The text contains a lengthy description of the success Muddalagiri had achieved over Ekoja, a General of Adil shah of Bijapur, who attacked the fort of Thanjavur. Here the information corresponds well with the historical incident that happened in 1675 A.D. When the Nayak rule came to an end in Thanjavur, Chokkanatha Nayaka then the ruler of Madurai appointed his foster brother Muddalagiri as the viceroy of Thanjore. But he declared himself as an independent ruler from 1675 A.D. Then the fort was attacked by Ekoji alias Venkaji a General of Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1675 A.D.

The war between Ekoji and Muddalagiri and the success of the later is well described in the text. The entire text is written in a particular meter called "*Uthapalamalika*". They are inscribed on the four walls of the Thanjavur fort and named as East, West, South and North *Uthapala Malikas*, which in total run into five hundred and thirty lines.<sup>2</sup> It was written in praise of Muddalagiri who defeated Ekoji, hence the name '*Peddalagiri Vijayamu*' (The great victory of Alagiri) was given.

Here information concerned the defeat of Ekoji at the hands of Alagiri has not yet established. It is doubtful whether the descriptions made in the text is true to facts or was the merely the wishful thinking of the author, expressed only in order to praise and please the king. It may be the first invasion in which Paddalagiri really won the war. Whatever may be the truth underlying the text one cannot but appreciate the description about the arrangements made for the war, the course of the war, weapons used in the war so on.

A good enumeration of the presentations, gifts and other rewards

<sup>1</sup> *Rayavachakamu*, Sthanapathi of Viswanatharaya, P. 15-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Vol. V. No.2, P.49-63.

offered by the king to his generals who helped him in the war is given in detail in the text.

The same author praised Muddalagiri in another work '*prabandha raja venkateswara vijayavilasamu*' wherein he says that the author was profusely presented with elephants, horses, palanquin, gem, valuable ornaments, garments etc. by Muddalagiri.

*Vidyavathy Dandakamu-*  
Ganapavarapu Venkata Kavi

This work is also dedicated to Muddalagiri. Vidyavathi was the court dancer of Muddalagiri and her performance was appreciated and was honoured with rich presentations. It is said that Vidyavathi was in love with Muddalagiri. Vidyavathy Dandaka deals with this love affairs and is composed in the dandaka meter.<sup>3</sup>

*Madura Manga Pumsali lila*  
Vilasamu - Gopala kavi

This work is really an extraordinary literary piece. The authorship of the text is however doubtful. The atrocities, misdeeds, immoral acts of Rani Mangammal are satirically presented in this work and the author has exposed critically the darkside of Rani Mangammal. The theme of the text is more invective one.

The reason for this type of vehement protest against the queen is rather obscure. The critics had given their own views about this.

The king of Anegondi Samsthanam could have bribed the author and made him to write this work and another Dandakam namely *Mangamma Dandakam* with full of invective thoughts.<sup>4</sup>

The queen herself was not a patron of any scholar and she did not encourage any poets in her court. She was not herself a poet. Perhaps it was due to this reason the scholars showed their dissatisfaction through this type of work.<sup>5</sup>

Gopala Kavi who might have been affected personally by Rani Mangammal, and therefore painted the character of Rani Mangammal in dark colours.<sup>6</sup>

Another reason could be that the queen had become unpopular during the last two or three years of her life because of her scandalous relationship with her minister Achchaiyya.<sup>7</sup>

The title of the text itself purports to describe the love sports of the debauchery of Madura Mangamma.

*Narasa Bhoja Nuthi* - author not Known

The work described the heroic deeds of Narasayamathya a right hand man to Rani Mangammal. He was a Dalaway of Mangammal 'army'. His unceasing efforts were successful and he was well distinguished in several wars that took place during that time. Especially in 1698 A.D. Kilavan Sethupathy of Ramnad laid siege to Madurai, and wanted to capture it but the Dalaway Narasappa's bravery did not allow that to happen and the Sethupathy was driven away. But in the second invasion the Dalaway Narasappa fought courageously in the war and became martyr in 1702 A.D.<sup>8</sup>

The contemporary poets had narrated the bravery, valour and the patriotic attitude shown by Narasappa in the war, and this work is considered as *Narasabhojanuthi*. Only an incomplete work is available. In this text the valour

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Vol. I, P.88-102*

<sup>4</sup> *Samagra Andhra Sahithyam Vol. VII - Arudra*

<sup>5</sup> *Dhakshinathandhra Sahithyam Nelatoori Venkataramanayya, P.10,*

<sup>6</sup> *Telugu Poets of Madura and Tanjore Thimmavajjala Kodandaramayya, P.30*

<sup>7</sup> *History of Nayaks of Madura - Sathyanatha Aiyar R, P.166*

<sup>8</sup> *Samagra Andhra Sahithyam, Vol. VII, Arudra, P.86.*



as well as the love affairs of the Dalaway are described.

### LITERARY WORKS

*Satyabhama Santhvanamu* - Lingana makhi sir kameswarakavi

The work contains four canots in which the first canto made a discussion about the geneology of Madurai Nayak kings and their family in 121 poems and prose versions. The poet was the native of Kalahasthi who later settled down at Madurai. His father was Nagama Kaviraju and mother was Kamakshammal.

Linganamakhi Sri Kameswara Kavi who ornamented the courts of three successive Nayak kings, Tirumala Nayaka, Chokkanathanayaka and Muddalagiri was not only a great scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu but also proficient in playing veena. He was greatly honoured by Tirumala Nayaka with several gifts like white umbrella studded with pearls, golden palanquin, fan (*ven chamara*) and vessel for spitting pan. He was adorned with a title "*Vallaki Vadanadhurina*" (expert in playing veena). He dedicated the above said work to Muddalagiri.

The poet never hesitated to narrate the jubilant activities of his patron king in the prologue of the text.

Nunupuga Nokavele Kanakangi Yokkathe  
Subhaleela Padamulu Nabhinayimpa  
Panupuga Nokavela Nanabodi Yokkathe  
Veenaninadambu Vinikiseya  
Thangupuga Nokavella Tharalekshana  
Yokarathu  
Panthumargapu Pata Vinthachoopu  
Ninupuga Nokavels Neelaveni Yokarthu  
Hithavaina Srngar Kruthulu Chaduva  
Panupuga Noka Pankaja Pathranethra  
Madavathularayabarampu Matalada  
Janulu Kaliyoga Gopalu Danaga Velase  
Sarasaguna Hari Muddalagiri Murari 9

Thus the king was entertained by beautiful maids through various perform-

ances like dance, vocal music, instrumental songs and reciting romantic verses.

*Jaiminibharatham* - Samukam Venkata Krishnappa

Meenakshayya alias Meenakshinayaka was the father of Samukam Venkata Krishnappa. He was a good artist. His artistic skill in painting can be seen on the walls of Sundareswara swamy temple at Madurai. Alamelu a great musician was the mother of Samukam Venkatakrishnappa. Both were patronised by Rani Mangammal.

The present work consisting of 5 cantos, is dedicated to Vijayaranga Chokkanatha. The geneology of the Nayaks of Madurai right from Nagama Nayaka to Vijayaranga Chokkanatha was enumerated in the prologue with a description of the wars against muslims. The help rendered by the palayagar especially during the period of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha is well broughtout in the prose versions.

His other works are 1. Ahalya Sankranandanamu, 2. Sarangadhara Charitra, 3. Radhika Santhwanamu. In almost in all these works in the prologue the author has praise profusely the king Vijayananga Chokkanatha.<sup>10</sup>

He was not only a great learned scholar but also an efficient warrior who worked as a general in the army of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha. He led the army of Mangammal against Sahaji of Marattah in 1700 A.D. and returned victoriously. For this decisive triumph he was honoured with huge presentations in the form of elephants, horses, palanquins and other garments. This was considered to be his last war and he spent the rest of his life in composing literary works. It is said that his descendents stayed at Vadagarai as palayagars.

<sup>9</sup> *Samagra Andhra Sahithyam Vol. VII-Arudra. P.312*

*Sasanka Vijayamu* - sesham venkatapathi

He was one of the famous court poets of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka. He dedicated this work *Sasanka Vijayamu* also familiarly known as *Tara Sasank Vijayamu* to a minister called Vangala Seenaiha. Vangala Seenaiah was closely associated with the king Vijayaranga Chokkanatha to whom he gave advice on the political and social affairs of the empire. Vangala Seenaiah was the author of 'The History of Sri Ramanujacharya' and dedicated it to Lord Sri Venkateswara.

During his last days he lived in Mannaru Poluru in the North Arcot District and dedicated a musical *pada* called '*Mannaru Rangani Padamulu*' to the local Diety Mannaru Ranga. The popular *Pada in Kura-vanji raga* which beings with '*Sivadik-shaparu Ralanura*' sung at time of Bhara-thenatya recitation is stated to be his composition.

Sesham Venkatapathi who dedicated his book *Sasankavijayamu* To this great musician Vangala Seeneiah, in the prologue equates him with Bhoja the great patron of letters and he describes him as '*Sarasa Gadya Padya Rachana Bhoja*'.<sup>11</sup>

Venkatapathi's father was Krishnayya a great scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu.

The present work is having 5 cantos. In the prologue while praising his patron Vengala Seenaiah the author has given a good picture of the court of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha.

As far as the history of Madurai Nayaks is concerned the great historian Prof. Sathianatha Aiyer has stated that he had not utilized the historical informations found in the Telugu literature. Here, only an outline of the Telugu literature during the period of the Nayaks of Madurai is given. Each literary work mentioned above is to be studied deeply and thoroughly by the students of history for getting more Historical information of that particular period.

<sup>10</sup> Dhakshinadsiyandhra Vajmayamu – Dr. Nidudavolu Venkatarao, P.337

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. P.359

## 30. Impact of Tamil Renaissance during the period- 1900-1969

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**T**wentieth century has been aptly termed as the golden age of Tamil literature and also the Renaissance period of Tamil language.<sup>1</sup>

Awakening of social and political consciousness led to the National movement as well as pride in one's culture. Tamil language was imbued with a new vitality and enlivening force. Tamil which was enshrined in temple institutions and mutts in the form of Sthala Puranas and philosophical works which was accessible only to a few learned scholars was now freed and made available to the masses. The dark age of Tamil of three hundred years had ended. The morning star of this was Bharati. He inaugurated the Tamil Renaissance. He gave a new style and life to Tamil. Literature began overflowing into the realm of secular and social spheres, depicting the struggles and aspirations of the people. Thus Twentieth century literature differed much from that of nineteenth century. The trail blaze's of this change were. Professor Sundaram Pillai (drama), Vedanayagam Pillai (novels), U.Ve. Swaminatha Iyer (discoverer of Manuscripts), Bavanandam Pillai and Damodaram pillai (publications), Kalki (short stories), Thiru.V. Kalayanasundaranar (prose), Maraimalai Adigal, (pure Tamil) and Vaiyapuri pillai (research).

This century of literature can also be described as the age of the literature of the masses, the age of prose, of journals, of novels of short stories and so on. The literature was shaped by the changing times which in turn changed the social philosophy of the time. Literature was inspired by the national movements, and

social, cultural movements for Thani Th-amizh, Tamizh Isai, self-respect, Ghandian philosophy and socialism. New trends visible were Dravidian consciousness, boycott of Sanskrit languages, addition to the English language and culture, immeasurable and poignant love for Tamil language, awareness of women's inferior status, fight against untouchability, welfare of depressed classes and high regard for Thirukural and so on, which were clearly enunciated through the vehicle of Tamil language. These concepts were immortalised in the works of Bharatidasan, Sankaradasar, Sambanda Mudaliar, Annamalai arasar, Thiru. V.Ka. Gnani, Arignar Anna, and Kalaignar Karunanidhi.

This century saw the resurgence and of florescence of Muthammizh. Literature reflects social life. It not only sheds light on society but elucidates traditional beliefs, hopes and desires, fears, likes and dislikes of the people:- Thus, " the richness or vigours of a society, its realistic fervour or stark realism its longings and limitations and aspirations are all reflected in its literature: they are chroniclers and mirrors"<sup>2</sup> Further it is the best vehicle of expression in spreading ideas and images about things which are unfamiliar to the people thereby contributing to the shaping of public opinion. N. Subramaniam<sup>3</sup> writes "Tamil was spread not only through the printed word but also through the time honoured practice of public discourses. Bhaskara Setupati, Pandithurai Tevar, Gnaniar Adigal were reputed speakers. Natakams (ie. dramas) enriched with songs also popularised contemporary thoughts.



Some of the political concepts evinced in the period through literature are:

(i) The concept of Nationalism emerged when the whole of India united against an alien rule forgetting local differences. To quote a few Bharathi's call of "Thamizh, Thamizhar Indiar" in history "Vazhia Senthamizh VazhgaNarramizhar". Vazhia Bharatha Manithiru Nadu". (Let Tamil live and the good Tamilians live and long live Bharatham. (India) Bharathi, Namakkal Kav- ingar Ve Ramalingam Pillai and Kavimani Desika Vinayagam Pillai, Thiru.Vi. Ka and numerous others, composed emotional verses which filled the hearts of the people with a longing for freedom. Even during the Indo-chinese war of early nineteen sixties an attempt was sincerely made to emphasise concepts of nationalism as seen in the works of K. Diraviyam "Desiyam Valartha Tamizh." (Tamil nurtured by Nationalism) Researches were also undertaken to suitably strengthen the concept "Thamizh Illakiyathil Desiyam" (National- ism in Tamil literature). Justice N.Krishnaswamy Reddiyar founded the "Desiya Chinthanai Kazhagam" (Society for National thinking) (7-1-1979) along with Evama Gopalan, R.Annamalai and others. They, through seminars, publications and folk art keep alive the concept of nation- alism.

(ii) The love of Tamizh also triggered the desire for a Tamil land. The decade A.D. 1960 to 1970 saw the emphasising of the identity of the Tamilian and the establishment of the political rule by the regional party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam which instituted the name Tamil Nadu to the state of Madras.

(iii) In the 1950s the Indian government declared Hindi as the national and official language and provided a period of 15 years for the states to decide their official language. Gajapathi Nayakkar brought in a legislation declaring Tamizh as the official language in 1956 which did not obtain the Governor's consent. "In 1958 on Tamizhar

Thiru Nal (Tamilian festival day) Tamil was recognised as the official language of the state. but even today it has not completely replaced English though G.Os are issued in Tamizh. The writings of Barathidasan and others had done a lot to create awareness.

(iv) Opposition to Hindi imposition are dramatically revealed in the following works:-

Thanjaai Vanan- "Thamizh Thayin Anai" (The command of Mother Tamil) Maraima- lai Adigal- "Hindi Podumozhi Aguma" (Can Hindi become the language of the people) Kavignar Illandevan- "Hindi Pavanai

A. Ramaswami- "Irathathathil Iyampadu Natkal" (Fifty days in blood)

(v) The (Ceylonese Tamils) Tamil Ezhar's problems also provided a rich source of literary materials, reflecting Tamilians concern. For eg. in the works of Ramanathan "Ezhappachnaiyam Iratha Pasamum" (the problems of the Ceylonese Tamils and utrine love).

In the social milieu, the love of. Thamizh became merged with the Tamilian acceptance of the Dravidian family contrib- uting to Thamizh Civilisation, Dr.P. Rajar- aman in his reputed work "The justice party" outlines how the concept and pride in Tamil culture was engendered by the rediscovery of Tamil culture through the recovery of Sangam Classics (U.Ve. Swaminatha Iyer), the greatness of Tamil language through the work of Rev.Robert Caldwell. (A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or soth Indian Family of lan- guages) and golden age of Tamils high- lighted by the works of Arumuga Navalar, Damodaran Pillai, Kanagasabhai pillai and Bharathi. Perhaps this merging of the Tamilian identity was a part of the very cosmopolitan nature of the Madras Presi- dency of the British times.

In the cultural sphere Tamil Renais- sance manifested itself more constructively and strengthened the roots of Tamizhar (Tamilians) in their rich cultural heritage.

Some well-defined trends are:

1. Establishment of Sangams or associations to promote Tamizh study and culture.
  - (a) Madurai Tamizh Sangam founded in 14-9-1901 by Pandi Thurai Devar patronised by Bhaskara Sethupathi. Some prominent members are R. Raghava Iyengar, Subramanya Kavirayar etc.
  - (b) Karandai Thamizh Sangam 14-5-1911 by E.R. Krishnapillai
  - (c) Chennai Makana Tamizh Sangam 11-6-1934 by E.M. Subramanya Pillai P.C. Punnaivananada Mudaliar.
  - (d) Calcutta Bharathi Tamizh Sangam 1941. by K.S. Krishnan.
  - (e) Bombay Tamizh Sangam-1942 by S.Vengussami and S.K.Kandaswami
  - (f) Delhi Tamizh Sangam - 1-1-1946
  - (g) Bangalore Tamil Sangam-1950
  - (h) Thirupathur Tamil Sangam-1967 by Tharathiru Kundrakudi Adigalar.
  - (i) Karaikudi Tamizh Sangam-1969 by Va.Su.Pa. Manikkam etc. Tindukkal, Trichy, Salem, Thanjavur also possessed Sangams.
  - (j) Sangams at London, Berlin, U.S.A. (new York) were also established.
  - (k) Regional Sangams at Kerala and Karnataka.
  - (l) World Tamil Sangam-Madurai 1986.
2. Publishing Houses were founded to promote Tamizh study
  - (a) South Indian Saiva Siddhanta publishing society-1921.
  - (b) Little Flower Co. (Lifco)-1929
  - (c) Tamizh Puthaka Pannai-1-945
  - (d) Pari Nilayam-1946.
  - (e) Bharathi putthakam- 1952 and many others.
3. a) Special prizes won by Tamil scholars  
Gnana Peet Award was won by Akilan in 1975 for his novel Chittra Pavai.  
(b) Sakitya Akademy awards for recognition of Tamil at National level. 1955-Tamizh Inbam essays- R.P.Sethupillai 1956-Alai Oosai-Kalki (Novel) 1958-Chakravarthi Thirumagam-Rajaji
4. Colleges for Tamil were established.  
Senthamizh Kalluri - Madurai- 1901  
Palakalai Kalluri - Dharumapuram-1946  
Sundarar Tamil Kalluri - Madras  
International Institute for Tamil Studies- Taramani- Madras.
5. Recognition of Tamil at International level through World Tamizh Conferences-
 

1st at Kualalampur	-1966
2nd at Madras	-1968
3rd at Paris	-1970
4th at Jaffna	-1974
5th at Madurai	-1981
6th at Kaulalampur	-1987
6. Thani Thamizh Iyakkam (Movement to establish the use of pure-Tamil) to render Tamizh totally pure-pristine removing traces of any other language in its usage. Pioneers and originators of this movement were End of nineteenth century-V.K. Surya Narayana Sastri calling himself as Parithimai Kalaizhar laid the seeds. 1916-Swami Vedachalam (Maraimalai Adigal) and his daughter Neelambikhai decided to use only pure tamil. They were supported by Panditha Mani, Thiru Vi.Ka.Tamil Vel Umamaheswaranar, Ei.Aa.Pe. Viswanathan etc. and it was brought into prominence by Saiva Siddhanta publication.

7. Restructuring or reforming of Tamizh letters were initiated by E.V.R. (27 letters) and were brought into force in 1978 and many books were written using reformed Tamil eg. Tamizh Ezhuthu Ceerthiruthampulavar Kuzhandai - 1968 (Reform of Tamil language).

8. As a corollary requests for using Tamizh in temple worship was brought in and the choice was given to the devotees to select either Tamizh or Sanskrit prayers in temple worship.

9. The Oduvars (The Tamil using temple singers) came into prominence again. Tamil Isai (Tamil music) was brought into towns in the 19th century by Gopala Krishna Bharathi, Kavikunjara Bharathi, Kanam Krishna Iyer and Ramalinga Adigal. In the 20th century it received a tremendous impetus under Vipulanandar and Raja Annamalai Chettiar. The latter started a movement called the Tamil Isaia Sangam in Madras aided by R.K. Shanmugam Chettiyar and Kovai C.S. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliyar with a music college attached to it awarding degrees of Isai Selvar (4) and Isaimani (5 years). From 1942 it holds a music festival for 10 days every year. T.K.C. Rajaji, and Kalki supported the movement. In 24-10-41 there was a conference on Tamil music at Devakottai organised by Chinna Annamalai. This movement fetched the rightful place for Tamizh Isai in the world of music. As a corollary there was also a revival of Tamizh folk arts, like Oyillatam and Karakattam; Tamizh festivals like pongal gained special importance with celebrations including Jallikattu.

10) In 1955 the Thamizh Iyal Isai Nataka Manram was established to promote Muthammizh (Prose, poetry and drama). Some wellknown presidents of this society were Rukmini Devi-1955-58, S. Venkatraman - 63-64, K. Subramanyam, Gokula Krishnan etc. The title of Kalai Mamani has been awarded for Isai and Natakam

from 1961-62 and Iyal from 75-76. For example. the first awards were:

(Prose) Iyal 1976 - Ma.Po. Sivagnanam

(Music) Isai 1962 - Papanasam Sivan

(Drama) Natakam 1962 - P.S. Ramayya

Thus the renaissance of Tamil truly established a reign of Tamizh due to the patronage of enlightened men, sponsorship and support of the government and the appreciation and commitment of the Tamil public.

Thus Tamizh Renaissance <sup>5</sup> bore rich fruits in the Tamizh politics but love of Tamil Nadu should not lead to chauvanistic regionalism and ignore the rich cultural heritage which we possess as Indians built through historical interaction for 2000 years. In the social sphere, Tamizh identity is yet to be fully imbibed though a few leaders like Ma.Po.Si are emphasising the same. In the field of culture the ripples which have appeared only reflect the resurgence of our Tamizh culture-Tamizh is our Thai Mozhi (mother tongue), which with its emotional and enriching ties, inspire us. Let us choose the constructive path to progress which would ensure our ancient idea,

"Yadum Ure Yavarum Kelir  
Anbe Engal Ulaga Tattuvam".

(Every place is our home; we are all related to one another for Love is our world philosophy)

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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5. Tamil writers Themes introduced.

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## 31. The Tamil - Srivaishnava Brahmins in a Hoysala Brahmadeya Settlement

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**T**he Hoysala Brahmadeya settlement under discussion is Yadavanarayana - Chaturvedi - mangala which was also variously known as Yadavapura, Tondanur and Tonnur. At present Tonnur is located in Pandavapura Taluk of Mandya district. It is South-West of Melkote hills and 10 miles north-west of Srirangapattana. It is now a deserted area. But it was once a thriving settlement under the Hoysalas. It was known as Yadavapura because the Hoysala's claimed their origin from Yaduvamsa from which probably that name was derived and given to the settlement. All the names mentioned above occur in the inscriptions, including Tondanur. About 30 and odd epigraphs of the Hoysala period throw considerable light on the activities within the settlement and its implied relations with Hoysala Polity. It is necessary to identify the historical circumstances which contributed to the origin of this settlement during the illustrious reign of Vishnuvardhana (1110-52) and its subsequent development under Narasimha I (1152-73) and Ballala II (1173-1220).

The reign of Vishnuvardhana was a period of the realization of the long standing goals of the Hoysala Polity, namely, territorial expansion (fulfilled by driving the Cholas from Gangavadi region and conquering and annexing Talakad), attaining independence and imperial status. The Hoysalas carried their arms to the deep South upto Rameswaram on the one hand and across Tungabhadra river in the North on the other. On the model of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and Cholas, Vishnuvardhana tried to shape the destiny of the Hoysalas, when he acquired wealth

and territory in Gangavadi, northern Karnataka and Tamilnadu. Till then the Hoysalas appear to have suffered from inferiority complex in terms of political power, culture and wealth compared with their powerful neighbours namely the Chalukyas and the Cholas. When the Hoysalas acquired wealth under Vishnuvardhana, they decided to show to the world that they also could with their newly acquired wealth contribute their mite to the field of culture. One possible way perhaps the well-established tradition of the ruling powers of South India was to display it through the construction of temples mostly in their home territory. Their political, military and cultural contacts with such renowned centers of sophistication and grandeur such as Balligame, Lakkundi, Bankapura, Banavase, Madura and Kanchi inspired them to imitate the same. Vishnuvardhana's predecessors did not have the opportunity to exhibit their power and glory on this scale because they had confined their political authority mostly to the thinly populated, hilly-forest area in Chikmagalur and Hassan districts. Hence the financial constraint had forced them only to modest achievements when compared with the cultural heights of Badami, Pattadakal, Aihole, Tanjore and Madura. It was this idea of displaying their wealth and power under Vishnuvardhana on comparatively large scale that contributed to the emergence of feudalized settlements like the one we are going to describe, namely, Yadavanarayana-Chaturvedi-Mangalam.

At this time of expansion of wealth, territory, influence and power, the second

historical factor had also emerged, namely, the contact that Vishnuvardhana made with Ramanuja's school of Srivaishnavism with its comparatively liberal, reformistic emphasis on bhaktimarga and also its emphasis on temple worship, and temple rituals.

K.A. Nilakantasastry, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Duncan Derett, and S. Settar believe that Kulottunga I, the Chola ruler persecuted Ramanuja and hence he came to Hoysala Kingdom and converted Vishnuvardhana from Jainism to Sri-Vaishnavism<sup>2</sup>. S. Settar further makes the following observations:

"According to a tradition, Ramanuja converted Vishnuvardhana to Srivaishnavism in about 1117 A.D. Whether the King's personal religion underwent transformation or not, it is undeniable that he played an extremely important role in the promotion of Srivaishnavism. He boosted its prestige and popularity by building splendid temples at Tonnur and other places."<sup>3</sup>

To the students of Hoysala Polity the political purpose of Vishnuvardhana in serving the Srivaishnava cause appears interesting. Cholas were enemies of the Hoysalas and their religious persecution was an asset to the Hoysalas. They placated Srivaishnava elements not only in Karnataka but also in many parts of Tamilnadu. They encouraged large scale migration of Tamil Srivaishnava brahmins from that region to their home territory. They built temples to Vishnu, organized temple ritual and supported the brahmanas in their agraharas or chaturvedimangalas. All these activities of the Hoysalas helped others to look at them in a different light. Above all this helped them to enhance their own image in the minds of their subjects. Against this background we have to see the emergence to Tonnur as a Tamil-Srivaishnava brahmin settlement during the reign of Vishnuvardhana and its subsequent development.

According to tradition Ramanuja stayed for some time in Tonnur. Though the question of Ramanuja's sojourn in Hoysala home territory is being debated among scholars, it may be asked why such a tradition or myth was created by Srivaishnava Brahmins in the first instance. Such myths also play a role in history. Just like Ramayana's heroes names and their alleged visits are believed and recorded as myths in connection with innumerable settlements in India, likewise a great Acharya's name was deliberately associated with the Srivaishnava brahmin settlement at Tonnur and written into their religious writings and even epigraphs.<sup>4</sup> Such myths or facts certainly enhanced the prestige of the place, gave celebrity to it as a pilgrimage center.

Construction of temples to Vishnu in particular and the establishment of a Chaturvedi-mangala by the Hoysala ruler or his officials led to a large scale migration of Tamil-Sri-Vaishnava brahmins to the place. Majority of the inscriptions found at Tonnur are in Tamil language. At present 4 major temples exist at Tonnur: 1. Lakshmi Narayana temple constructed during the reign of Vishnuvardhana, 2. Narayana temple built during the reign of Narasimha I. 3. A saiva temple named after Kailaseshwara, (4) Krishna temple also belonged to the period of Narasimha I. The existence of saiva temple in a predominantly Sri-vaishnava settlement may reflect the secular tone of the Hoysala administration as described elsewhere.

Thus the political expansion, acquisition of wealth, increase of population through the annexation of territories, royal patronage extended to Ramanuja's brands of Srivaishnavism and temple construction all these led to the migration and settlement of Sri-Vaishnava brahmins of Tamil origin in Tonnur located in what we may call Hoysala home territory.

In terms of polity the place had three distinct features as revealed in the epi-



graphs : (1) As a royal residential center, (2) a military outpost, (3) development of feudal relations within the settlement.

Vishnuvardhana's residence at Tonnur is proved by several inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> It was described as located in Hoysala-desa.<sup>6</sup> An epigraph dated 1189 A.D. refers to mahapradhana, Sarvadhikari, Senapathi, mahapasayitha dandanayaka Achyuthamayya and dandanayaka Virayya as officials in charge of protection of the Yadavagiri fort (Koteyaholagahu A Vittiyanaum Alurdu).<sup>7</sup> This indicates the importance of Tonnur as an outpost during the reign of Ballala II. It is also believed that after the destruction of Dorasamudra, Ballala III is said to have made Tonnur his capital for some time.

The Hoysala bureaucratic elites were closely associated with the settlement at various periods in different ways like construction of temples, or adding portion to them and assigning revenues and lands. For instance it is said that Kuttandi-dandanayaka of Karidudi constructed the temple and consecrated therein the images of Krishna (vittinuda-perumal), Lakshmi and Bhumi.<sup>8</sup>

The names of the Hoysala officers who were in one way or the other associated with activities of the settlement may be listed as follows:

1. Mahapradhana Heggade Damanana<sup>9</sup>
2. Mahapradhana, Sarvadhikari, danda-

dadhisthaayaka, Mahrpsayitha, Hiriya Heggade Machaiah.<sup>10</sup>

3. Heggade Srikanade Kaliyanna<sup>11</sup>

4. Heggade Komanna<sup>12</sup>

5. Nayaka-Heggde Marauna who was under the control of Mahapradhana Heggade Suragiya Nagayya<sup>13</sup>

6. Heggade Ereyanna<sup>14</sup>

7. Heggade Marauna<sup>15</sup>

8. Mahapradhana, Tantradhishtayakaheggade Surigiya constructed a mantapa described as olaga-sale in front of Lakshminarayana temple, as per the order of Vishnuvardhana.<sup>16</sup>

Many of the names in the above list suggest the fact that Hoysala bureaucracy had accommodated in it many non-brahmins who had, probably become followers of Srivaishnava faith. The officials from highest to lowest ranks were associated with the affairs of the settlement and its temples. In one instance, a dandanayaka's name is written along with his place of origin, namely Karaikudi, in Tamilnadu (Kuttandi dandanayaka of Karaikudi) and this indicates that Hoysalas had even drawn Tamilians into the state services of the home territory.

Now only royal endowment enriched the temples and Tamil brahmins of Tondanur, but also the donations of various kinds which flowed from Kannadigas from the surrounding areas and also from the

<sup>5</sup> EC (OS) III, Mys. 16, 1128 A.D; Mar, 1932, P.189, 1125 A.D.

<sup>6</sup> EC (OS) III, Sr.64

<sup>7</sup> EC VI (NS) Pandavapura 74, 1189 A.D.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., No.88, 1175 A.D.,

<sup>9</sup> EX.XIV (OS) Sr.234

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Sr.223, 1175 A.D.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Sr. 61 1175 A.D.,

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Sr.224.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. Sr.223

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 232, 1120 A.D.,

Tamilians of the settlement within and without. The following lists may be provided as follows to substantiate the idea.

### KANNADIGA DONORS

#### (NON-OFFICIAL PERSONS)

1. Malle Savanta<sup>17</sup>
2. A person from Kunigal (Tumkur District)<sup>18</sup>
3. Prabhugaudas of 30 villages<sup>19</sup>
4. Keshavadikshitha<sup>20</sup>

### TAMILIAN DONORS

#### (NON-OFFICIAL PERSONS)

1. Tiruvarangadasar.<sup>21</sup> He has been described as a disciple of Eleyalvan which was the name of Ramanuja before he became a sanyasi. He was also a singer of Tiruvaymoli.<sup>22</sup>
2. Uttaumanambi<sup>23</sup>
3. Gomattu Iramapiran<sup>24</sup>
4. Kulashekharadasar<sup>25</sup>
5. Illaipirar Tittam<sup>26</sup>
6. Andar-bhattam<sup>27</sup> of Turumundi
7. Tondachari<sup>28</sup>

8. Udaiya-pillai<sup>29</sup>

9. Vittannar<sup>30</sup>

10. Annuvannam<sup>31</sup>

11. Kunraradevaperumal - bhattan<sup>32</sup>

The following grants given by the Srivaishnavamahajans of the place to the temples in their collective capacity are as follows:

1. Mahajanas-land given to the Ramanujamatha<sup>33</sup>
2. Srivaishnava-mahajanas to one Annan<sup>34</sup>
3. Mahajanas-a flower garden to Krishna temple<sup>35</sup>

In addition to this Srivaishnava Tamil Women also donated to the temples and brahmins<sup>36</sup>

The Tamil-Srivaishnava brahmins and their temples received tax-free or Sarvamanya from the various categories of donors in the form of lands, villages, revenues, articles, and interest accrued from the deposits of money kept in the temple-treasury. Villages and revenues

<sup>17</sup> EC. VI (NS) Pandavapura 77-12-13th Century

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. No.76

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. No.88, 1175 A.D. Nārasimha I.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>21</sup> EC XIV (OS) Sr. 235

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Sr.228

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. Sr.229

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. Sr.228

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. Sr.230

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 246

<sup>27</sup> EC. VI (NS) Pandavapura 109-12-13th Century.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 110

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 75-11th Century.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 68-1286 A.D.,

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 71, 1196 A.D.,

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 54, 12th Century

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 55, 14th Century

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 67

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 121, 1276 A.D.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 82, 1177 A.D. Ballala II

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.81

from different sources were assigned to the temples and brahmanas and private individuals donated lands after purchase. The details are given below:

1-A. Hoysala officials under Narasimha assigned the following villages with taxes to God Krishna.<sup>37</sup>

## VILLAGES

- a) Bettahalli
- b) Sirimakkanahalli
- c) Marurumahalli

## TAXES

- a) Olavaru
- b) horavaru
- c) holesunka
- d) Magga

1-B. Mahapradhana, Sandhivigrahi, tantradhishtayaka, mahapasayitha, Machamayya, along with Heggade Kesiyanna, Heggade Komanna, haggade Mahadevanna granted the village Bhoganahalli with its hamlet (Kalu-halli-sahitha) and the income from taxes on loom (magga) and houses, Chinna, Banni and Samastha-Vastu-Sunka,<sup>38</sup> to Krishna temple.

2. At the instance of Mahapradhana, tantradhishtayaka, heggade Suregeya Nagaya, nayaka-heggade Mirana granted Pannaya or tax on betel-leaves.<sup>39</sup>

3. Chokka Perumal Manichchap Tillai-kuttap the Srikaryam and the temple priests

(nambi) of Singaperumal temple of Tonnur assigned 7 ma of the extent of 30 kuli of taxable land to the said God. The said was irrigated by a channel and tilled by the nambiyar.<sup>40</sup>

4. Tax on oil-mill was assigned.<sup>41</sup>

5. Land to Ramanuja-matha by the mahajanas of Tonnur.<sup>42</sup>

6. Grant of 64 gadyanas from out of the Holey Sunka of Kuruvanka-nad, to the mahajanas of Tondanur agrahara,<sup>43</sup> by Hoysala ruler Vira Narasimha.

7. Gift of money of 2 Chinnam (gold or gold coins?)<sup>44</sup>

8. Ballala II's grant of income from Pannaya or tax on betel leaves to God Lakshminarayana. The officer of the rank of Mahapasayita executed the order.<sup>45</sup>

9. Assignment of income from tax on oil mill driven by one ox (ondettu-gana) and also oil monthly to God Lakshminarayana by government officials.<sup>46</sup>

10. 100 Kuli of land as Sarvamanya by the mahajanas of Tondanur alias Yadavanyana chaturvedimangalam to God Lakshminarayana.<sup>47</sup>

11. Mahajanas of the temple of Lakshminarayana granted some Tiruvilaiatta lands (land of the temple or devadaya) below the chareguttai which was Tiruvilaiattam of Lakshminarayana to Kulasekara-dasar Lakshmikantham.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 80, 1177. A.D. Ballala II

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 79, 1175 A.D.,

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 118, 12th Century

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 107

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 55, 14th Century

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 56, Vira Narasimha

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 59, 13th - 14th Century

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 60, 1174, Ballala II

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 63

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 69, 1214 A.D.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 72, 1173 A.D.



Examples of deposit of money in temple-treasury and conducting specific services in the temples are given below.

1. Kunraradeva perumal-bhattan of Yadava-Chaturvedimangalam deposited 5 gadyanas in the treasury and from out of the interest a specific service (named) had to be rendered to God(named) <sup>49</sup>

2. Deposit of 6 pon and interest amount to be spent on specific service to God.<sup>50</sup>

3. Deposit of 10 pon for the supply of 2 nli of rice from out of its interest, for offerings to God (named) by Illiyabiran bhattan and his wife.<sup>51</sup>

4. Deposit of 20 pons by the mahajanas for a vritti from out of the interest.<sup>52</sup>

5. From out of interest on money deposited gifts of various kinds of vessels were donated to God.<sup>53</sup>

6. Interest amount of 4 gadyanas by Andarbhattan.<sup>54</sup>

7. Interest amount of 4 pon to God(named) by various Tamil brahmins,<sup>55</sup> who were sthanapathis or temple-managers.

Examples of purchase of land and donating the same to temples and brahmanas.

1. Vitanar purchased 10 salagni of Kalani lands from the Srivaishnavas of the temple at the current rates for offerings to the God(named).<sup>56</sup>

2. Uttamnambi sold half of a site for 5 pons to Annuvamnan. Uttamanambi was a Srivaishnava priest at the temple of Lakshminarayana. Annuvannam donated the site to God's service(named)<sup>57</sup>

3. Srivaishnava mahajanas of the Lakshminarayana temple sold land for 2 gadyanas to Annam.<sup>58</sup>

The income generated from the above sources were spent on the following services as recorded in the above epigraphs:-

1. To maintain perpetual lamps before the images of Gods.

2. To maintain Ramanuja matha or monastery.

3. For the annual repairs of the irrigation channel within the settlement.

4. For food-offerings to the deities.

5. On occasions like Tiruvoymoli-chchirappu during festival days.

6. For expiation ceremony, prayaschittam and purification or of the image (Adivasam). Food offerings to desantris (pilgrims from different places).

Sthanapathis or temple managers who often figure in the epigraphs managed lands, money and other items of property of the temples on behalf of the Vaishnava mahajanas.<sup>59</sup> Mercantile elements were also associated with the settlement. Donation given by a Tamil merchant by

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 54, 12th Century

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 119, 1152 A.D.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 120

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 83, 13th Century

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 75, 11th Century

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 109, 12-13th Century

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 110

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 68, 1281 A.D.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 71, 1196 A.D.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 67,

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 110, 111, 112 and 113

name Devandai Pudolandi chetti of Santiggiramam (Santigrama in Hassan district) is recorded in an inscription.<sup>60</sup> The merchant guild known as Nakharangalu had their own deity called Nakharesvara in Tonnur. The Settis donated money and land to the deity and the Hoysala officials confirmed such grants as Nakharngalu Bitta Settiyaru Nakharesvara Devarige.<sup>61</sup>

Thus Yadava Narayana Chaturvedimangalam (or Tonnur) emerged in the Hoysala empire as a Brahmadeya settlement predominantly occupied by the migrant Tamil Sri Vaishnava brahmins due to Vishnuvardhana's liberal royal patronage to Ramanuja School of Srivaishnavism and construction of temples to Narayana as a symbol of his interest in the faith. The material base of the settlement was provided by the Hoysala rulers, Hoysala officials of different ranks, private individuals, Srivaishnava women, mahajanas, Tamil merchants and their guild organizations. The importance of the place was further enhanced by selecting it as a provincial royal-residence and the hillfort with its establishment nearby. Further the myth or fact of Ramanuja's association with the

place where Vishnuvardhana is believed to have been converted to Srivaishnavism from Jainism gave the settlement a touch of spiritual awe and was perhaps a fitting place of pilgrimage or orthodox Srivaishnavas.

From the perspectives of Hoysala polity, this settlement not only symbolizes religious toleration in the form of temples to Vishnu and Shiva in the same place, or peaceful co-existence, but also it revealed the realistic and pragmatic policy of the Hoysala ruling elites. The transfer of administrative rights to Sri Vaishnava mahajanas in the form of land, village and revenue assignments converted it into a feudalized unit in Hoysala Polity. Even the wealth of the temples ultimately was enjoyed by the Vaishnava mahajanas. The Hoysala government assigned even non-brahmadeya villages to the mahajanas or their temples. All these indicate the trends in feudalism in Hoysala Polity. Finally, offering shelter and sustenance to brahmins from Tamil country also had some political significance.

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<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, No.108, 12th Century

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* No.74, 1189 A.D.

## 32. HISTORY OF IDEAS: SOME MODELS USED BY INTELLECTUAL HISTORIANS

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### HISTORY AND THEORY

The Sociological Perspective sees ideas as responses to challenges from the environment or as originating in such challenges - in the struggle for survival, called forth by human needs at any given time. On this view, each epoch or age or generation uses what tools it can find to master the challenges with which it is faced. Inherited faiths and long-accepted truths are modified in the light of new conditions. Sometimes they lag behind in their adaptation, but sooner or later those ideas, at least, that are not merely decorative must change or the species (society) will perish. Once established, of course, ideas may outlive the exigencies of which they were born, but cognitive ones must then presumably become vestigial and eventually die. Ideas must prove themselves as instruments in the evolution of mankind.

Historians will argue, persuasively, that religious intolerance yielded to tolerance, or laissez faire to social welfare, not because these ideas emerged from the history of thought at this time - in the seventeenth or the later nineteenth century - but because the evolution of society demanded change and new conditions of life forced the alteration of old ideas.

Thoughts expounded by

1. Saint Ramalinga <sup>1</sup>
- 2 Periyar E.V.R's Teaching & Writings
3. Mahatma Gandhi's Philosophy
4. Development of the thoughts on Human Rights - since 1776. American War of Independence & 1789 French Revolution are examples of such new ideas.

For quite a few thousands of years most of the so called new or unfamiliar ideas must have been wrong : if they were not, the task of being a well educated scholar would be quite overwhelming. Many "new" ideas are not new at all, only unfamiliar, and most new or unfamiliar ideas are mistaken or infertile.

This raises the question of how a science adopts a new idea, which returns to us the social element in scientific work. Even the new ideas that are eventually judged by many to be good ideas are not often easily absorbed by a discipline.

This is true with the ideas in historical thinking also.

New ideas look at new things or look at familiar things in a new perspective, and their fertility and usefulness are not self-evident. They carry no label or halo that certifies their value, and the claims of their inventors are no different from the claims of the inventors of poor ideas.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sivagnanam M.P., Vallalar Kanda Orumaippadu, *The Universal Vision of Saint Ramalinga*, Publications Division, Annamalai University,

<sup>2</sup> George J. Stigler, in *Lives of the Laureates Ten Nobel Economists* edited by William Breit and Roger W. Spencer, the MIT Press, Massachusetts, pp. 104-105.



A successful innovator/intellectual therefore finds his work only half done when he has developed a new idea. Indeed the fraction is probably less than half, since the criticisms and misunderstandings his idea encounters will force him to work further on it. He will have to show how it can be developed further, how it is applicable in interesting ways, and how its weaknesses can be patched up. He will be much assisted in all this work if he can enlist a few fervent disciples. Not only may they help in developing the theory, but they can engage in a variety of controversies, which are the best of ways in which to publicise the idea.<sup>2</sup>

In any case, whatever their genealogy, ideas once created take on a life of their own and give birth to other ideas, which impinge upon the environmental world and change it. It is above all necessary as Raymond Aron has written, "to distinguish the meaning of each sentiment... and to respect the specific character of each cultural universe. Religion, science, metaphysics, and art are first of all understood in their authentic existence before the external conditions and social factors of their development are determined."<sup>3</sup>

**Dialectical Development and Social Determination** the two frameworks of intellectual history discussed above, both assume that human concepts develop and change in the former scheme because of immanent logical factors, in the latter because of social dynamics. Any sane and sound historical work must allow for both, operating at the boundary where they interact. Against both may be placed a perspective that sees thought staying much

the same or endlessly repeating previous patterns. **Plus ca Change** is more likely to be invoked in the history of ideas than in the history of things. "The more deeply we penetrate into the history of opinions," John Morley observed, "the more strongly we are tempted to believe that in the great matters of speculation no question is altogether new, and hardly any answer is altogether new."<sup>4</sup>

So the historian, even if he rejects a cyclical view of history such as offered by the Greeks, Nietzsche, Spengler, Yeats or others - can choose to show that in the history of ideas a fairly small fund of essential attitudes, if not concepts, is repeated to the end of time - variations on the same notes. He may relate this to be asserted. Constants in human nature that affect ideas: the eternal romantic temperament, for example, the perennial dualism of "drunks and sobers," scholastics and mystics, introverts and extroverts, tender and tough-minded, or other such classifications. This strategy will not be congenial to most historians, for they know **that ideas do change socially and culturally, if not logically or psychologically, and that such social and cultural change is the stuff of life.**

**Self Respect as Human Rights** Periyar E.V.R.'s Thoughts on Self-Respect have been enormously developed by modern Political Scientists - example by Prof. Christian Bay.<sup>5</sup>

Through practicing vigilance for human rights as self-respecting, self-governing, community-rooted individuals, we can gradually develop the fine art of defying and resisting,

<sup>3</sup> Raymond Aron, *German Sociology* (Glencoe, 1964) 109

<sup>4</sup> John Morley, *Oracles on Man and Government* (London 1923)

<sup>5</sup> Christian Bay, "Self-respect as a human right: Thoughts on the Dialectics of Wants and Needs in the struggle for Human Community." *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1.1., 1982, PP.53-75

piecemeal, the designs, of the state, or initially the most lethal of them. We will then be ready to discover, I think, that our only loyalty to very large human aggregates, those that are too large to constitute authentic communities, must go to the human race itself. At last we will be ready to build toward a peaceful world of human communities, which must gradually come to replace our familiar world of oppressive, incendiary nation states.<sup>6</sup>

To say that thought is variations on the same notes is to admit that the music does inexhaustibly modulate. They know that each age is, in some sense, unique and it is the historian's job to point out this uniqueness. Though, broadly defined, war and tyranny have always existed and the clash of liberty with authority is perennial, and no political history contents itself with such empty generalizations. The historian nevertheless cannot allow himself to forget the repetitive element in human thought. Logically, this is the problem of change and continuity, as the first two sections of this paper/note suggest questions of the origin and role of ideas. Historiographically, it is one of the persistent paradigms of structure.

**Another Pattern**, logically distinct from though not necessarily in conflict with, those mentioned - dialectical development, social determination, eternal recurrence - is that which claims for each age or generation a distinct *Zeitgeist*. Intellectual historians lean heavily on this, sometimes claiming it as their special province. Long before Ortega Y Gasset Observed that, "at any given moment man lives in a world of convictions, the greater part of which are

the convictions common to all men who dwell together in their era," Shelley remarked that, "there must be a resemblance, which does not depend on their own will, between all the writers of any particular age."

**In the History of Culture**, another theme that must be taken into account is decay or exhaustion. The intellectual historian may find it puzzling to give an account of its logical connection to the other themes, but he can hardly overlook its presence in his materials. Intellectual formulations are unraveled, one after another, until there are none left, in a kind of intellectual striptease in which veils are one by one cast off until nothing remains except an awareness that all is illusion. The increase in subjectivism and skepticism over the last few centuries testifies to the validity of this process, the final result being that all is created from within, all is "myth" in the most familiar recent sense of that term. Along with the progression of ideas dialectically, or the recurrence of the same ideas, we can detect an ever growing sophistication that finally becomes a sense of decadence. From Renaissance classicism to baroque to neoclassicism to romanticism to neo-neoclassicism may seem like the mere ebb and flow of the tide, taking us back and forth over the same ground; it may seem like a real development, leading onward and upward even as it spirals; or it may appear as a remorseless exhaustion of options, man wearying successively of each toy until there is nothing left to play with and he dies of boredom, or begins all over again.<sup>8</sup> One might trace a similar **pattern in the history of philosophy** through the various trials of empiricism, realism, and positivism and, on the other

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*,



hand, immaterialism and idealism, leading to the present state of near abdication. The sense of decadence felt by so many in the nineteenth and especially in the twentieth century, of all gods dead and all battles fought, the receding wave, overripeness and oversophistication leading to sterility, cannot be ignored by the intellectual historian. In treating the most recent period he must find himself frequently talking about the desperate and fruitless search for values to replace old ones destroyed by modern knowledge.

**The History of Ideas**, then seems to involve a progression, a decline, eternal sameness, adaptation, a series, of unique cultural moments, and a dialogue between interior mind and external reality. No doubt the past, or the accounts given of it by historians, contains other patterns of this sort. It is not claimed that these constitute a complete list, but only that they seem the most persistent and significant for the intellectual historian. That they should be numerous is hardly surprising. Philosophers frequently hold that reality yields to no one formula but must be attacked with varying hypotheses.<sup>9</sup> Historians who insist that the past fits just into one frame work falsify it, usually in the interest of a fanaticism.

History can not be written from theory alone, but it can hardly be written without theory; there is an important sense in which theory precedes history.

Among those who have found the patterns of history baffling in our time, one can cite not only H.A.L. Fisher, who aroused Toynbee by finding only "one emergence following upon another as wave follows upon wave... the play of the contingent and the unforeseen," but also that wayward novelist John Barth, author of **The Sot-Weed Factor**. "The Poet Wonders whether the source of Human History is a Progress, a Drama, a Retrogression, a cycle, an undulation, a Vortex, a Right - or Left - Handed Spiral, a Mere Continuum, or What have you. Certain Evidence is Brought Forward but of an Ambiguous and Inconclusive Nature." <sup>10</sup>

**Events in History & History of Thought.** The events studied in history, then, are of the special kind called actions. There is no history where there is no action. Moreover, there is no action where there are no intelligent, free agents. Human action, in other words, is the exclusive subject-matter of history. Action in turn is 'the unity between the inside and the outside of an event.' In studying a natural process our enquiry leads us on from one event to the next. We are interested solely in the sequence. In studying a historical process, our task is to think ourselves into the action to discern the thought of its agent. The sequence, upon which our attention initially fastens, is merely an 'externality' to be turned inside out. To both the scientist and the historian, the exten-

<sup>7</sup> Jose Ortega Y. Gasset's *Man and Crisis* translated Mildred Adams (New York, 1958) from the essay titled "The Method of the Generations in history" 50 and Johan Herizinga's remarks in "The Task of cultural History" in his *Men and Ideas* (Cleaveland, 1959), 73-74

<sup>8</sup> George Boas's *Rationalism in Greek Philosophy* (Baltimore, 1961)

<sup>9</sup> George Boas, *The Challenge of Science* (Seattle, 1965) XV

<sup>10</sup> H.A.L. Fisher, *A history of Europe* (London, 1939) 5:414, John Barth, *The Sot Weed Factor* (New York, 1967), 679, A.J. Toynbee *Greek Historical Thought*, Amenton Book 1952

<sup>11</sup> R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* 1945 - p.215

<sup>12</sup> R.G. Collingwood, *Autobiography* - p.78



sion of the sequence is a necessary condition of progress; but the historian is obliged constantly to interrupt the sequence in order to investigate its inner dynamism. This inner dynamism is the purpose in the mind of the agents concerned. Thus 'all history is the history of thought.' But how can we recapture the thought of someone in the past? In the first place, we can do so only if there is evidence to suggest that he did think something. Secondly, given such evidence, we can do so only by thinking that thought for ourselves. 'Understanding' Plato's words, for example, means thinking his thought; 'What they mean' means 'what he meant'.

'The History of thought, and therefore all history, is the re-enactment of past thought in the historian's own mind.'<sup>11</sup>

If all history is the history of thought, then all knowledge is historical knowledge. And since historical knowledge is that which the historian absorbs into his own experience, the activity of historical thinking is simultaneously a means to self-knowledge. Indeed, it is a form of self-knowledge. For 'in knowing what somebody else thought (the historian) knows that he himself is able to think it. And finding out what he is able to do is finding out what kind of a man he is.' History is therefore 'the self-knowledge of mind'.<sup>12</sup>

### 33. SNEHA - A Study In People's History

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**R**apid changes in the society due to industrialisation and consequent modernisation have transformed the lives of people, the world over. As India undergoes this process, the impact is felt by all sections of the society. The growing economic disparities, steep rise in crime graph, rapid urbanisation are a few manifestations of the changes occurring in India. The Government has been making valiant efforts to deal with these problems. A large number of non-governmental organisations have been supplementing the efforts of the Government. While organisations such as UDAVUM KARANGAL and SIVANANDA GURUKULAM are looking after the needs of orphans, institutions such as CHILD RELIEF and YOU (CRY) are taking care of the needs of children.

In the recent years, the incidence of suicide has been steadily increasing all over the world. India is no exception. Despite the fact that suicide contributes for fewer deaths than illnesses like cancer or AIDS, it is nevertheless, cause for concern. Suicide is a public health problem of great magnitude. Still the awareness of the problem and the need for succour to those who have suicidal tendencies is very low in India. There are a few organisations responding to this small segment of population who are unhappy, despairing and suicidal. One such organisation is SNEHA located in Madras.

This paper focuses on this organisation. After defining suicide, the magnitude and demography of suicide in India is pre-

sented. The suicidogenic factors and means of prevention are analysed. Then the focus is turned on SNEHA, its organisation, people and philosophy behind its organisation. The method of its work, reach of its programme and the clientele it serves is analysed. In conclusion an assessment of its work is made and certain suggestions are given to make its work more effective.

#### DEFINITION :

Suicide denotes any behaviour that seeks and finds the solution to an existential problem by making an attempt on the life of the subject. <sup>(1)</sup> In other words, suicide is the only destructive action in which actor and victim are one and the same person.

#### THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM :

Statistics play an important role in the study of suicide and attempted suicide. Published statistics do not express the actual numbers and therefore do not reflect the reality. Still the data provides us with useful information for an interesting approach to the question.

In most countries suicide is among the ten most frequent causes of death. <sup>(2)</sup> The world death rate by suicide averaged out at 13 persons in every 1,00,000 each year. Non-fatal acts while impossible to tabulate accurately must be manifested upwards of 120 person per 1,00,000 annually. <sup>(3)</sup>

1. Jean Baecnler quoted in, Mallika Ruth sundarraj case Studies in clinical setting, M.A. Thesis Department of psychology, University of Madras, April, 1990. p.11

2. Encyclopaedia of Psychology, Volume 3 (London : Search press 1972) P.279.

3. J. Wallace McLulloch, Alistair E. philip suicidal Behaviour (orferd : pergamon press, 1972) P.1.

In India, 40,807 suicides were reported in the year 1973 <sup>(4)</sup> Twenty years later, in 1993 the number rose to 70,000 <sup>(5)</sup> The latest statistics reveal seventeen suicides per one lakh population. Three times that number go unreported. Ten times that number attempt suicide. <sup>(6)</sup> In the city of Madras there were as many as 856 suicides in 1990. In the current year 382 suicides have been registered till the end of July. <sup>(7)</sup> The subject of suicide has emerged into public consciousness prompting television news magazine Eyewitness to featured programme on it.

### DEMOGRAPHY OF SUICIDES :

**Age :** It has an obvious impact on the number of suicides and attempted suicides. Available national statistics show that persons below 18 are less prone to commit suicide. The number of suicides sharply increased with increasing age. The declining trend was seen among those persons over fifty. The following table illustrates, this

### DISTRIBUTION OF SUICIDES, BY AGE, 1973 :

Below 18 years -	16.4%
18-30 years -	45.1%
30-50 years -	29.8%
Over 50 years -	8.6%

The Director of SNEHA indicated that people between 25 and 45 are prone to commit suicide <sup>(9)</sup> Sex: More men commit suicide than woman. In 1973, nearly 62 percent suicides were males. The statewide break - up of the statistics show the same trend. In Kerala, for instance, 72 percent of the suicides were males. <sup>(10)</sup> Recent statistics available for the city of Madras confirm the trend. Except in 1990, all the three subsequent years for which complete data is available, male suicides exceeded the female suicides. <sup>(11)</sup> One pertinent point which cannot and should not be ignored is that more females attempt suicide than males.

### SUICIDOGENIC FACTORS :

We are lacking in our knowledge of the why and the how as we are of the how many. The traditional psychiatric theory, as propounded by Esquirol considered that man makes attempt on his life only, when he is mad and, that suicides are madmen <sup>(13)</sup>.

The traditional sociological thesis which developed later was propounded by Emile Durkhiem. He concluded that, "suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration with the social groups of which the individual forms a part." <sup>14</sup>

The contemporary tendencies have varied from the traditional views. Thus,

4. *Accidental Deaths and Suicides in India* (New Delhi : Government of India, 1976) p. 15.
5. SNEHA Pamphlet.
6. Interview with Director, SNEHA on 30.9.94.
7. *Crime Records Bureau, City of Madras.*
8. *Accidental Deaths and suicides in India.* upit PP 23.
9. Interview Director, SNEHA on 30.8.94.
10. *Accidental Deaths and suicides in India.* upit PP 24, 25.
11. *Crime records Bureau, Madras City.*
12. Interview with Director, SNEHA on 30.8.94.
13. Quoted in Andre 'Haim, *Adolescent suicide.* (Norfolk : Tavistock Publications, 1974) P.9.
14. Quoted in Samuel E. Wallance, *After suicide* (New York : John wiley and sons, 1973) p -



### SUICIDES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CAUSES, 1973

Sl.No.	Causes of suicides	No.of suicidal	Percentage to total deaths
1.	Failure in examination	722	1.8
2.	Quarrelwith Parents - in-law	4172	10.2
3.	Quarrel with spouse	2682	6.6
4.	Poverty	2058	5.0
5.	Love Affairs	2080	5.1
6.	Insanity	1097	2.7
7.	Dispute over property	1057	2.6
8.	Dreadful diseases	6853	16.8
9.	Unemployment	685	1.7
10.	Bankruputcy or sudden change in Economic position	509	1.2
11.	Deaths of dear persons	148	0.4
12.	Fall in social reputation	575	1.4
13.	Other causes	18169	44.8
	Total	40807	100.0

sociologists are making their contribution through an analysis of psycho-social factors. At the same time they do not deny the importance of individual factors. Psychiatrists, for their part, have begun to see their discipline as a dynamic pathological psychology. They are now concerned with those factors leading to suicide that they previously excluded. <sup>(15)</sup>

Various factors such as Marital disharmony, Love problems, bereavement, financial problems such as extreme poverty, unemployment and emotional problems such as jealousy, anger, spite and hate have caused extreme depression among the people which led to suicides and attempted suicides. The above table illustrates the causes which culminated in suicides.

The single most important cause was the dreadful diseases which alone accounted for nearly 17 percent of suicides. However inter-personal problems such as quarrels with partents-in-law, spouse and love affairs put together caused more than one fifth of the suicides. It indicates a strong association between the disrupted inter-personal relations and suicide. This factor has been emphasized by the Director of SNEHA also.

#### METHODS OF SUICIDES :

Methods of suicides also vary to a great extent. They are intimately related to cultural, occupational, generational and other factors not necessarily connected to the suicidal behaviour in any meaningful way.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Andre Haim Op it PP 12,13

(17) In India, poisoning is the main mode followed by drowning and hanging. (18)

## PREVENTION :

The prevention of suicides and suicidal behaviour has been considered under three headings - Primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary prevention is concerned with efforts at preventing the existence of suicidal behaviours in any form; secondary prevention has as its main the elimination of recurrent attempts of suicide; while tertiary prevention, in respect to suicidal behaviour, aim to prevent acts from having fatal outcomes. (19) SNEHA, the subject of the paper, is actively involved in primary prevention of suicides.

## FOUNDING OF THE ORGANISATION :

SNEHA was started on April 14, 1986 (20) in Madras, the first suicide prevention center in India. It was the brain child of Dr. Lakshmi Vijayakumar, psychiatrist who worked in this field. She drew her inspiration from the Samaritan movement in UK which culminated in the formation of Befrienders International. She has been ably assisted by her doctor husband and Philanthropists like Nalli kuppaswamy and Mrs. Meena Dadha of reputed Dahanu Pharmaceuticals. The idea became more popular and more centres came up in other cities. They are SUMAITRI in Delhi, SAHAYA in Hyderabad and MAITREYI in Pondicherry. These centres came together to form Befrienders India which has been affiliated to Befrienders International. U.K. (21)

## PHILOSOPHY OF SNEHA :

The brochures of SNEHA proudly declare that it a voluntary organisation that values Human Life, and calls itself 'A link with life.' The organisation considers suicide as a 'Cry for Help'. (22) There are reasons for such a consideration. Fareberow and Litman found that only about 3 percent to a 5 percent of people threatening suicide are unequivocally certain that they want to die. The remaining 95 percent to 97 percent either do not really wish to die or ambivalent about dying (23) Therefore, people facing an emotional crisis for various reasons need humane and informal help.

Potential suicide Victims turn for help in decreasing order of frequency, to family, friends, physicians, the clergy, psychiatrists and then to social workers. However, the break up of the joint family system and the innumerable pressure of life fractured such traditional support systems. This void is filled by SNEHA..

## AIMS :

The organisation aims to generate awareness of suicide and how to respond effectively and appropriately to this problem; help open new centres in different cities; publicize the activities of the centre; and raise funds for its various activities.

## FEATURES OF SNEHA :

It provides easy access by telephone or visit to callers. It receives telephonic calls and visitors from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M.

16. *Accidental deaths and suicides in India*, op it P.18.

17. *J. Wallace McLulloch, Alistair E. Philip*, op cit. p.42.

18. *Accidental deaths and suicides in India*. op it p.19

19. *J. Wallace McLulloch, Alistair E. Philip* op cit, p.99

20. *SNEHA pamphlet*.

21. *Interview with Mrs. Mallika Gulbadrs, Director SNEHA*.

22. *Gbid*.

23. *Cited in copper B. Holmes and Michael Howard. "Recognition of suicide Lethality factors by Physicians, Mental Health professions, Ministers and College students"*.

without break on all days including public holidays. It gives free and confidential help through its fifty volunteers who are trained and with a 'high Commitment'. The volunteers provide unconditional emotional support during the crisis and help the person to develop the strength to respond adequately to the situation causing crisis. This they do by a special kind of listening that is at once sympathetic understanding and above all confidential. They do not moralise or pass judgements.

The volunteers empathize with the callers, have a two way discussion in which options are explored and time for rethinking is given. The volunteers allow the callers to make decisions for themselves, while realizing the discussion of problems, fears and anxieties is often the first step in arriving at a decision.

The centre also receives letters from the distressed to which adequate responses are made. It also refers to other agencies or professionals for appropriate help <sup>(25)</sup>.

#### **PUBLICITY :**

The presence of the organisation has been well publicised. SNEHA boards and stickers written in Tamil, Telugu and English are displayed in Pallavan Transport Corporation buses and in suburban trains linking Madras - Such publicity had a tremendous response by way of callers visiting, phoning and writing letters to SNEHA. In 1988-89 there were about 1,750 phone calls, 1,800 personal visits and nearly 2,500 letters. In 1992-93, 6,340 people contacted SNEHA. Of them, 2,866 people contacted by phone, 1,540 through

letters and 833 by personal visits <sup>(26)</sup> when the researchers were in the premises of SNEHA to contact the Director and to observe its working, two persons, middle-aged males came to talk about their problems. The Director herself listened to one of the persons. When they came, the persons were looking tense and gloomy and at the time of departure they looked composed if not cheerful. During the same duration about ten calls are received from men and women of all ages and socio-economic status. <sup>(27)</sup>.

#### **OUT REACH PROGRAMME :**

Apart from responding to the needs of the depressed through telephone, letters, and personal contacts, SNEHA has initiated the work of creating awareness of suicide and effective means of combating it. For instance, a poster competition for college students was organised in 1988 to create awareness among them. The theme of the posters was suicidal feelings and how befriending can help. In 1989, there was a drama competition for Pallavan Transport Corporation employees. The theme for the drama was again suicidal feelings. During the year 1992-93 volunteers from SNEHA visited the central jail in Madras as part of the out reach programme. Efforts are being made to make the visits regular. Volunteers also attended National Social Service (NSS) camp near ponneri and spoke to the participants <sup>(28)</sup> on 'nervous problems and suicidal instinct. **Funding :** All these services are provided free. SNEHA is a non-profit organisation which generates its funds through four principal means. They are

24. Interview with Director, SNEHA

25. Interview with a Volunter of SNEHA, 30.8.94.

26. SNEHA, Annual Report, 1992-93-

27. Interview with a volunter, 30.8.94.

28. SNEHA? Annual Report, 1992-93.

29. Ibid.



public donations, by individuals and corporate bodies. These donations are exempt from Income tax under section 80-G of the Income Tax Act. Dance Music and drama programmes by prominent personalities are organized for the benefit of the Centre. Recently SNEHA has brought out greeting cards as part of awareness raising funds and public programme. <sup>(29)</sup>

### **CONCLUSION :**

SNEHA by its efforts in the prevention of suicides, has been the saviour of souls, in the real sense of the term. It has opened easily accessible communication lines to the socially isolated. It offers a special kind of listening and human contact which are at once sympathetic, understanding and above all confidential. In doing so, it enables the individuals to cope with the immediate life crisis. It helps the individual to help himself by making him realise the futility of suicide and by exploring the options for and with him. Its out reach programmes are reaching wider

audience.

Though the organisation is rendering yeoman service, much more needs to be done. First, the existence of the organisation and its services should be publicised extensively for which a multi-media approach can be adopted. Second, the services should be provided round the clock. The present working time of 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. is long. However the distressed should be able to obtain help when he/she needs it. Thirdly Government can make its telephone number 8273456, a toll free number. Fourthly more out-reach programmes can be planned to create awareness of suicidal behaviour. More important the value of life can be inculcated among the people in general and younger generation in particular.

Limitations apart, SNEHA has been providing an unique and much needed human service.

## 34. Religion and Art in Padaivedu

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**P**adaivedu is situated in the Polur Taluk of Tiruvannamalai - Sambuvarayar District. It was the capital of the Sambuvarayas, feudatories of the Cholas. Rajagambira Sambuvaraya the first Sambuvaraya ruler established his capital at Padaivedu which is encompassed on all sides by hilly ranges namely Vellimalai, Kanamalai, Pushpagirimalai and Attimalai alias Rajagambiramalai. Successive rulers of this feudatory line ruled from here an extensive area under their control for about 150 years in the 13-14th Century AD till they were finally defeated by Vijayanagar.<sup>1</sup>

During their reign Sambuvarayas completely fortified their capital Padaivedu and built many temples in it. At present many such edifices are dilapidated and ruined, while some are fully destroyed and untraceable. An intensive exploration was undertaken in this historic place, results of which are narrated in this paper.

### FORTIFICATION & FORT:

As already stated, Sambuvarayas completely fortified Padaivedu with rampart walls on all sides. This fortified city had more than one entrance. As it had been in practice, a statue of Hanuman was installed in all the entrances. Such like Hanuman figures sculptured in relief on huge stone slabs numbering five were found at different points of the Village. This corroborates the fact that capital city had many gateways. At present these rampart walls are fully destroyed and the area is converted into cultivating lands. Only at a few places traces for the pres-

ence of rampart are noticed. In fact, a major part of the erstwhile fortified Padaivedu, comprising an area from the foot of the Rajagambira hill and extending towards East, is at present converted into a cultivatable land. The present famous Sri Ranukambal temple in the present settlement does not form part of fortified erstwhile padaivedu.

Sambuvarayas had a fort on the Rajagambira hill situated to the West of the fortified capital settlement. At this hill top at a height of 2000 feet one can notice remains of a fort. The whole structure is fully ruined and destroyed, hence its plan could not be ascertained. However, the remains of bastions at different points, and peripheral wall indicate that it was a fort with two outer peripheral walls. At the entrance a standing Hanuman in anjalai and a dancing Krishna are sculptured. Nearer to the entrance a huge square tank is found excavated into the hill rock. Natural spring water feeds this tank and even today it is full with water. This tank is also provided with a flight of steps. On one of the tank-walls, a seated bull, the royal emblem of Sambuvaraya is carved out in relief beautifully. Presence of Chola type roof-tiles in the debris, indicates its construction in the Sambuvaraya period. This is very well attested by the discovery of an inscription <sup>2</sup> on the hill itself.

### THE NEW INSCRIPTION :

The above cited inscription <sup>3</sup> is uncopied and found engraved on the hill, at the fourth entrance to the fort. It is in Tamil and has ten lines as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Kamparajya Charitam of Gangadevi in S. K. Aiyangar's Sources of Vijayanagar History p.23*

<sup>2</sup> *Padaivettill Pudiya Kalvettu, Dinamalar (Madras Edition) dated 23.11.93*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

1. Sambu Kulap p
2. Erumalana erasa Kembi
3. ra sambu varayanen patta
4. vatukku etiram yandu mutal muru
5. gamangalap parru Kachchanum  
Karumannum
6. Eraja Kembira ma laiyle eri tevai
7. Seikaiyale kadamaiyele tachchanu
8. kku veli erandu Kasum Karuman-  
nukku
9. Veli erandu Kasum emalai ulla-  
tanaielu
10. m elandu kudutten

The inscription is in the name of Rajagambira Sambuvaraya in his 11th regnal year (1247 A.D.). It registers the remission of Kadamai at the of 2 Kasu per veli on the land held by the Carpenter and blacksmith for their rendering required services in the construction of the fort in the Rajagambiramalai hill top.

From this, it is clear, that the fort at the hill top was presumably built around 1247 AD by Rajagambira Sambuvaraya. That was why the carpenters and blacksmith who rendered service in the construction were suitably rewarded with tax remission. Besides, this record is the earliest inscription discovered so far at Padaivedu and the only surviving inscription of Rajagambira Sambuvaraya at Padaivedu at present. And also it is the only lithic record that identifies this hill in the Javadhu ranges as Rajagambiramalai - named after Rajagambira Sambuvaraya.

At present right on the ruins of the fort a temple dedicated to Venugopala is found. Though no epigraph is found on this edifice, on the architectural basis, it can be dated to Vijayanagar period. Probably

the temple could have been erected on the ruins, by the Vijayanagara rulers to mark their successful accomplishment over the Sambuvarayas.

### TEMPLES :

Padaivedu was first ruled by Sambuvarayas and then by the Vijayanagara Kings. Though Saivites, the Sambuvarayas patronised both Saivism and Vaishnavism and built many temples dedicated to both the sects. Except the Venugopalasamy temple on the hill top, rest of the temples at Padaivedu were constructed by the Sambuvarayas. However at present there are only three living temples viz. Ramachandra swamy temple, Renugambal temple and Venugopalaswamy temple.

Besides these temples, in the year 1887 when the renowned epigraphist E. Hultzsch<sup>4</sup> toured Padaivedu, he also noticed Ammaiappeeswara temple, Somanatheswara temple, Kottaivarada Perumal temple, Jalakandeswara temple and Neelakandeswara temple. Many of the inscriptions found on these temples were copied in 1940-41<sup>5</sup>. At that point of time itself, many of the edifices were found in ruins and some were pulled down and dismantled. This prompted the chief epigraphist of India to observe "..... the rapacity of this class of art enemies has been observed in its worst form at Padaivedu in North Arcot ..." <sup>6</sup> in his report. Consequently, none of the above temples viz. Ammaiappeeswara temple, Somanatheswara temple, Kottaivarada Perumal temple, Jalakandeswara temple and Neelakandeswara temple are traceable at Padaivedu.

However, basements of these temples are unearthed within the fortified area recently and efforts are being taken by a private agency for constructing new super-

<sup>4</sup> Report dated 20.9.1887, Annual Report on Epigraphy 1887.

<sup>5</sup> Annual Report on Epigraphy (ARE), 44 to 84 of 1940-41

<sup>6</sup> Report by the epigraphist, ARE 1940-41



structures over the existing basements without changing the plan.<sup>7</sup>

As far as Ammaiappeedswara temple is concerned, local people say that its whole superstructure was dismantled way back in 1950s, for constructing a new one at Arani. While exposing its basement a subterranean chamber was noticed. Inside the chamber, three bronze icons of Somaskantha and two devis, all datable to 12-13th century AD, and some gold jewels and silver articles were found.

#### **LAKSHMI NARASIMHA TEMPLE:**

A temple dedicated to Lakshmi Narasimhar also once existed in this village. It was situated on a hill called Natchitakunru. Though at present no structural remains are found, a beautiful image of Lakshmi Narasimhar assignable to 12-13th century AD is found on the hill top. Just below this image on the hill a Tamil inscription dated in the 17th regnal year of Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya, registering a grant of land as tirunamattukani in favour of the presiding deity namely Singaperumal (i.e.) Lakshmi Narasimhar, is chiselled out in fourteen lines.

#### **TIRUVIRAMISURA MUDAIYA**

##### **NAYINAR TEMPLE :**

Presently this temple is called as Subramanya temple and situated on a hill called Subramanya hill. It is in dilapidated condition and devoid of worship. A natural cavern on the hilltop is converted into a temple by retaining the cavern as sanctum and erecting a structural mandapa in front of it. A small stucco ekatala vimana is found on the sanctum. Even though the temple is now being called after Subramanya, a deep probe, divulges that it is dedicated to Siva. On the floor of the sanctum a square shape Yoni with

komugam, is shallowly chiselled out. In the centre, a big circular hole meant for inserting the phallus is found. It is an attempt made probably in the 14-15th century A.D. to represent the Sivalinga as found in the Pallava cave temples, of course with subtle difference. Instead of Circular shaped Yoni here it is found in square shape. An inscription<sup>9</sup> dated to 1463 A.D. names the presiding deity as Tiruviramisuramudaiya Nayinar.

#### **KAILAIGIRINATHAR TEMPLES:**

It is situated on the top of a hillock locally known as Kailasaparai at Anandapuram on the fringe of Padaivedu. It is pertinent to mention here that, in the ancient days Anandapuram formed part of Padaivedu. Hence the temple therein is described hereunder. The temple is dilapidated and buried in the felled debris. Consequently, the elevation and plan of the temple were not visible.

On clearing the debris, it is found the temple is apsidal in plan. On the elevation around the temple a number of Tamil inscriptions are carved out. Some of these records are in the name of Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya (1322-1339 A.D). The presiding deity of the temple is referred as Kailaigirinathar in the epigraphs.<sup>10</sup>

There are five vacant niches, flanked either side by pilasters in the style of 11-12th century A.D. The superstructure above the *Uttiram*, including the Vimana tower has completely been destroyed, probably due to weathering and human vandalism.

A rare feature in this temple is the presence of sculptural image of Siva with Uma as Sukhasanamurthy at the rear portion of the sanctum just behind the linga. The height of Siva is 1.86 mt and that of Parvati

<sup>7</sup> *Dinamani (Daily) (Madras Edition) P6, dated 18-12-94*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *ARE 85 of 1940-41*

<sup>10</sup> *Dinamalar, Madras Edition, dated 27.8.94.*

is 1.30 mt. Siva has four hands and Parvati has two. All the hands are broken at present. On the basis of the iconographical and architectural feature, corroborated by the epigraphical evidences, the temple could not be dated earlier to 11-12th Century A.D.

As far as the origin of apsidal temple is concerned, in Tamilnadu Pallavas introduced this plan in temple architecture. Many such type of temples are found in Chingleput district. It is rarely found in North Arcot district. Hence the discovery of an apsidal temple in a remote village of Padaivedu in Tiruvannamalai-Sambuvarayar district (erst while N.Arcot), is indeed a significant finding.

Secondly, worshipping sculptural image of Siva and Parvati in the sanctum of a temple was not generally in vogue in the post Pallava Period. It is well known that it was only in the Pallavan temples, the practice of carving relief sculptures of Somaskanda at the rear wall of the sanctum came into vogue. According to many scholars the practise of putting up linga in the sanctum, began during or after the Pallava Rajasimha Period (690-729 A.D.). However from the Post-Pallava period, practically all the Siva temples in Tamilnadu had only the linga and not the sculpture of Siva and Uma. But here, an attempt is made to revive the old tradition by installing the sculptural images of Siva and Paravati in round, just behind the lingam, after a lapse of quite a few centuries.

Yet another example of this kind could be cited at Tiruverkadu near Madras where the Vedapuriswarar temple of Pallava period

reconstructed later by Rajendra II, has sculptural images of Siva and Parvati in round, in the sanctum.

### **OTHER SCULPTURES :**

Many loose sculputres are found all over Padaivedu, reminding destruction of many temples. They include Hanuman figure on stone slabs numbering five, Mahaganapathi, 4' high Venugopala with consorts, 4' long Musika, 4' high Kottai Talaiyari (guardian of fort), Vishnu (now in Vellore Govt. Museum), standing devis, 5' high Ganesa etc. All these sculptures are made out of stone and could be dated to Sambuvaraya period i.e. 13-14th Century A.D.

### **BUDDHISM :**

Padaivedu seems to have served as a Buddhist centre prior to the Sambuvarayas. This is attested by the presence of four Buddha images found here. Of these, only one image datable to 11-12th Century A.d. is without any damage. Since, the Village was inaccessible and surrounded on all sides by hilly ranges, Buddhistmonks should have selected this place to lead their ascetic life. In fact it is interesting to note that when Janinism was flourishing in the neighbouring places like Tirumalai, Kunnattur, Kapalur and Vilapakkam, a remote and inaccessible village Padaivedu served as a dwelling centre for the Buddhists. On this ground, this place assumes importance as a Buddhist centre encompassed by Jain Centres. However after the Village having been converted into a headquarters of the Sambuvarayas, Buddhists should have moved out leaving behind their foot-prints.

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- 96) Mr. R. Venugopal  
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76, V.M. Street  
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- 98) Michael Bruce Mc Farland -  
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- 102) Dr. D. Janaki  
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- 103) Mr. Mohammed Iqbal K.K.  
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- 107) G.A. L. Satyarani  
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- 108) Dr. M. Arulpitcai Narayanan  
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- 110) Mr. J. Amba Shankari  
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- 111) K. Vinod  
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- 113) Dr. Mrs. Sulochana Krishnamoorthy  
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- 115) Prof. C. SomaSundar Rao  
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- 116) Mr. Sreelatha Vasudevan  
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