

Revisiting the Indian Freedom Struggle Exploring the Contributions of Forgotten Heroes

Proceedings of Seminar

Edited by

Dr Abul Foyes Md Malik

Ms Kiran Teronpi



Sarvbhasha Prakashan, New Delhi

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Edited by: Dr Abul Foyes Md Malik, Ms Kiran Teronpi

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Sarvhasha Prakashan

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Uttam Nagar, New Delhi-110059

E-mail: sbtpublication@gmail.com

Website: www.sarvhasha.in

Contact: 011-3501-3521, +91-8178695606

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CONTENTS

		P.No.
Chapter 1	Indian Freedom Struggle: Historiographical Perspectives from Past to Present - <i>Mridul Bordoloi</i>	15
Chapter 2	Recalling the Forgotten Rebellions after Seventy Five Years of Independence - <i>Dr. Chandrabali Das</i>	27
Chapter 3	Examining the Indian Freedom Struggle in the Novels - <i>Dr. Amit. Y. Kapoor</i>	34
Chapter 4	Awakening of Women and Their Importance in India's Freedom Struggle: An Analysis of Raja Rao's <i>Kanthapura</i> and Nirupama Borgohain's <i>Abhiyatri</i> - <i>Aditi Ghosh</i>	42
Chapter 5	A Study on the Revolutionary Spirit of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala's " <i>Jyoti Sangeet</i> ": A Clarion Call to the Unsung Heroes of Assam in Particular and of Bharat in General During the Indian Independence Movement - <i>Darshana Bordoloi</i>	48
Chapter 6	Resistance through Innocence: The Indian Independence Movement in R.K. Narayan's <i>Swami and Friends</i> - <i>Akash Borchetia</i>	56
Chapter 7	The Partition of Trauma and Violence: A Study of Khushwant Singh's <i>Train to Pakistan</i> - <i>Anansha Borthakur</i>	61
Chapter 8	Freedom through Philosophy: Examining the Philosophical Ideas that Shaped India's Fight for Independence - <i>Ananya Goswami</i>	68

Chapter 9	Repositioning Chandraprabha Saikiani within the Feminist Discourse of Colonial Assam - <i>Anchala Duarah</i>	73
Chapter 10	Scrutinize The Portrayal of Female Trauma in Mahasweta Devi's <i>Draupadi</i> - <i>Ankita Bhuyan</i>	79
Chapter 11	Contribution of Gandhi and Tagore's views on Educational Philosophy and Practices - <i>Ms. Antareepa Bora</i>	84
Chapter 12	Digboi Oil Strike: Locating It within the Nationalist Imagination - <i>Anushuya Goswami</i>	92
Chapter 13	Industrial Sector in India: Before and After Independence - <i>Ashomi Kalita</i>	99
Chapter 14	Patriotism in Sarojini Naidu's Poetry: A Study - <i>Atlanta Goswami</i>	107
Chapter 15	Non-Cooperation Movement and Barnagar From Historical Perspective (1920-22) - <i>Barasha Barman</i>	111
Chapter 16	From Colonialism to Decolonization: An Analysis of Change and Continuity of British Colonial Rule in India - <i>Barnali Thakuria</i>	117
Chapter 17	Contribution of Peasant Movement in the History of Freedom Struggle of India - <i>Debarati Das</i>	123
Chapter 18	Representation of India's Freedom Struggle in Films and General Media: An Analytical Perspective - <i>Deeksha Bordoloi</i>	130

Chapter 19	The Real Heroes who saved Assam from the Conspiracy of Merging it into the Map of East-Pakistan: Understanding the Contributions of Gopinath Bordoloi making Assam as an Integral Part of Independent Bharat - <i>Dr. Dhrubajyoti Das</i>	138
Chapter 20	Role of Literature in the Freedom Struggle of India - <i>Dr. Gagan Kumar Pathak</i>	144
Chapter 21	Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury: The Unsung Hero of Azad Hind Fauz - <i>Harshajit Kalita</i>	151
Chapter 22	Contributions of the Forgotten Brave Nationalists of India in the Indian Freedom Struggle - <i>Himashree Dutta</i>	156
Chapter 23	Women and Indian Freedom Movement: A Literary Perspective - <i>Hiranya Bora</i>	163
Chapter 24	Quest for National Consciousness and a Vision of Free India: A Study of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's <i>Anandamath</i> - <i>Iyphita Gogoi</i>	169
Chapter 25	Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement: An Analysis - <i>Jhuma Das, - Swapna Chhetri</i>	175
Chapter 26	Dislocation and Relocation Trauma in Salman Rushdie's <i>Midnight's Children</i> - <i>Jintu Doimari</i>	180
Chapter 27	Role of Birsa Munda in Freedom Struggle of India and Demanding Rights for Indigenous People - <i>Juli Kumari Sah</i>	184
Chapter 28	Satra, Satradhikar and the Freedom Struggle in Assam - <i>Krishna Hazarika</i>	191

Chapter 29	Role of Assamese Women in Freedom Movement - <i>Lakshima Gogoi</i>	198
Chapter 30	Silenced Voices and Blatant Biases: Foregrounding the Forgotten Women in Indian Freedom Struggle - <i>Dr. Mallika A Nair</i>	204
Chapter 31	The Struggle for the Dalit Emancipation in India Before and After Independence - <i>Mantrack Saha</i>	208
Chapter 32	Rise of Political Awakening and Early Phase of the National Movement in Kerala - <i>Dr. Martiz Kurian</i>	215
Chapter 33	Role of Assamese Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement - <i>Mitalee Gogoi</i>	223
Chapter 34	India's Struggle for Independence: Women Against the British and Patriarchy - <i>Monsoon Rupam</i>	230
Chapter 35	Role of Tribal Communities in Indian Independence - <i>Munmi Haloi</i>	238
Chapter 36	Role of Karma Yogis in Freedom Struggle from Northeast India - <i>N. Aphaba Singh, Dr. Raksha Rawat</i>	244
Chapter 37	Contributions of Mahatma Gandhi: A Philosophical Study - <i>Naina Rani Basumatary</i>	252
Chapter 38	Matmur Jamoh: Unsung Hero of Adis - <i>Nangku Das</i>	259
Chapter 39	Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement - <i>Niharika Das</i>	268
Chapter 40	Role of Women in Indian Freedom Struggle - <i>Nivedita Dutta</i>	280

Chapter 41	Forgotten Freedom Fighters of North-East India - <i>Nupur Dutta</i>	289
Chapter 42	Indian Freedom Movement and role of Women: A Revolution to Gender Equality in Indian Society - <i>Nur Samima Begum</i>	293
Chapter 43	Unsung Heroes: The Brave Nationalists from Northeast India in India's Freedom Struggle - <i>Parismita Das</i>	301
Chapter 44	An Analytical Study on Role of Tribal Movement in British Era - <i>Pranjit Kalita</i>	309
Chapter 45	Impact of Drug Trafficking Among Children and Youths as a Barrier in Indian Freedom Struggle: A Socio-Legal Study - <i>Puja Gupta</i>	319
Chapter 46	Freedom Movement and Assamese Society in Assamese Literature with Special Reference to Jyoti Prasad Agarwala's Dramas - <i>Queen Sonowal</i>	328
Chapter 47	Contributions of Birsa Munda in the Freedom struggle of India: Perspectives and Political legacy - <i>Raja Lohar</i>	334
Chapter 48	Understanding the Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement: An Analysis - <i>Rashmi Rekha Singphow</i>	340
Chapter 49	Arabic Scholar Hussain Ahmad Madani's freedom Struggle: A Study - <i>Dr. Raysul Hoque, Kabir Ahmed Khan</i>	347
Chapter 50	Role of British in Indian Education System - <i>Ritu Devi</i>	354

Chapter 51	Liberation of the Dalits in the Pre-Independence Era - <i>Dr. Shibani Borah</i>	362
Chapter 52	Women in Bengal During the British Colonial Rule - <i>Suhail Ahmed Hadi</i>	367
Chapter 53	Participation of the People of Bajali in the Freedom Struggle of India - <i>Suman Bhuyan</i>	373
Chapter 54	Role of Tribal Communities in Indian Independence - <i>Susmita Gogoi</i>	379
Chapter 55	Historical Analysis of the First Indigenous Revolt in India Against the British Exploitation: The Santhal Rebellion - <i>Swarup Singha</i>	387
Chapter 56	Presence of Historical events in Amitav Ghosh's <i>The Shadow Lines</i> - <i>Tasneem Farhat Choudhury</i>	394
Chapter 57	The Politics of Representation: Realism, Subalternity and Resistance in <i>Sardar Udham</i> and <i>Massey Sahib</i> - <i>Tonmoyee Kashyap</i> , - <i>Shristi Mishra</i>	397
Chapter 58	The Unsung Heroes of India's Independence Fight - <i>Trishna Boruah</i>	405
Chapter 59	Role of Women in the Freedom Struggle of India: An Analysis - <i>Ananya Kashyap</i>	408
Chapter 60	Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement: In the Context of Assam - <i>Bidisha Pator</i>	414
Chapter 61	A Study of Gender Inequality in India - <i>Debashree Saikia</i>	420

Chapter 62	Contribution of Women of Assam in the Freedom Struggle of India - <i>Deepshikha Keot</i>	425
Chapter 63	Bama's Sangati: The Changing Trend from Subjugation to Celebration - <i>Manasri Hazarika</i>	431
Chapter 64	Women as a Fighting Force in India's Freedom Struggle - <i>Prerana Boruah</i>	437
Chapter 65	Interrogating Territoriality in the Colonial Northeast Frontier of Assam - <i>Udeпта Phukan</i>	442
Chapter 66	Role of Rani Gaidinliu in India's Freedom Struggle Movement - <i>Amrita Bora</i>	449
Chapter 67	The Freedom Struggle and Assamese Women: A Study of Chandraprava Saikiani as an Advocate of Women's Rights - <i>Dr. Babori Mahanta</i>	454
Chapter 68	Trauma, Memory and Identity: A Postcolonial Study of Amitav Ghosh's <i>The Shadow Lines</i> - <i>Jyotiraj Mahanta</i>	461
Chapter 69	Tribal Uprising: The Story of Phulaguri Dhawa - <i>Kasturi Kalita</i>	468
Chapter 70	The Role of Women in India's Freedom Struggle Movement a Special Reference to Assam - <i>Eli Kumari Das, Sadhana Kalita</i>	474
Chapter 71	Role of Women in Indian Freedom Struggle Movement - <i>Ms Hemlata Taid, Dr. Akash Ranjan</i>	480
Chapter 72	Status and Role of Assamese Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle - <i>Papori Sarmah</i>	488

Chapter 73	Nature of Indian Political Party Culture in Indian Freedom Struggle - <i>Priyanka Datta</i>	495
Chapter 74	A Forgotten Revolutionary Nationalist: The Case of M. N. Roy - <i>Prosenjit Shil</i>	503
Chapter 75	Role of Women's Property Rights in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement: A Legal Study on Personal Laws in India - <i>Roshan Kumar Gupta</i>	510
Chapter 76	जनजातियों का राष्ट्र निर्माण में योगदान - डॉ. लखिमा देओरी	519
Chapter 77	स्वाधीनता संग्राम में हिन्दी पत्र-पत्रिकाओं की भूमिका - <i>भारती आपुम</i>	525
Chapter 78	भारत के राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन में उर्दू सहाफत का योगदान - <i>हर्षवर्धन पाण्डे</i>	530
Chapter 79	যুদ্ধ বিদ্রোহ স্বাধীন নগাভূমিৰ আন্দোলনৰ পটভূমিত ৰচিত ইয়াকইঞ্জম উপন্যাসত প্ৰতিফলিত টাংখুল নগা সকলৰ সামাজিক জীৱন - <i>আদিতি দত্ত</i>	540
Chapter 80	বীৰেন্দ্ৰকুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যৰ মৃত্যুঞ্জয় উপন্যাসত ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনৰ চিত্ৰণ - <i>ডঃ বিদিশা বুঢ়াগোহাঁই</i>	548
Chapter 81	कृष्णगुरु सेराश्रमः एटि समीक्षात्मक आलोचना - <i>चन्दना दास</i>	551
Chapter 82	উনবিংশ শতকেৰ শেষ ও বিংশ শতকেৰ দ্বিতীয় দশকে বঙ্কিম ও ৰবীন্দ্ৰনাথৰ উপন্যাসে স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলন - <i>গীতা ৰায়</i>	556
Chapter 83	साँगतल विद्रोहের सूचनाय 'दामिन-ई-कोह'-एर प्रभाव - <i>बासन्ती मुन्नु</i>	562

Editorial

In today's fast-moving world and tough competitive day-to-day life, the youth hardly find time to recollect our rich heritage and the glorious past. This acquires more prominence whilst the nation celebrates Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav (commemoration of 75 years of Indian Independence). The fight against the oppressive colonial rule in India constitutes a unique narrative, one which is not tarnished by violence. Rather a narrative that is full of enthusiastic stories of valor, bravery, Satyagraha, dedication, and sacrifice across the length and breadth of the subcontinent. These stories constitute the rich Indian cultural heritage and traditions. Thus, the unsung heroes of the Indian Freedom Struggle need not necessarily define the lesser-known freedom fighters. They may, at times, emerge as the leaders whose ideals define the Indian value system.

This book on Unsung Heroes is an attempt to recall and remember forgotten heroes of our freedom struggle, many of whom might be renowned yet unknown to the new generation. The aim of highlighting and bringing forth stories, which lay as blurred memories of the past, shall serve as a medium of inspiration and encouragement for the coming generations if properly brought to the forefront. India 2.0 is not just about fuelling the spirit of India in any one particular paradigm of growth. It encompasses every sphere of life, most of all by enriching our hearts and souls. The spirit of independent India is incomplete without a mention and tribute to our unsung heroes along this journey of growth and development. Their ethos and principles ought to be recalled and respected.

Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose, Chandrashekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh are some of those heroes who are part of the collective memory and find ample space in the history text books but there are several whom the country has virtually forgotten. Our long and perilous battle for freedom was fought by a lot of other brave souls, many of whom we have never heard of. Despite their immense contributions towards resisting colonial rule, these unsung heroes often remain lost in time, forgotten by those very Indians who enjoy the fruits of independence today.

Manipur's Rani Gaidinliu joined the movement against the British rule at the young age of 13. She waged a war against the British practice of converting local Naga religious practitioners to Christianity, and organised a movement to push the British rule out of the Manipur and Naga belts, only to be arrested at the age of 16. She was finally released in 1947 and later won the Padma Bhushan award.

The exploitation of India under the British rule dates back centuries. Sixty years before the 1857 rebellion, Veerapandiya Kattabomman, a chieftain in Tamil Nadu, protested against the British policy of oppression of the Indian masses. He refused to pay taxes and led a war against the East India Company, demonstrating genuine defiance in the face of their authority.

Another inadequately celebrated revolutionary is Alluri Sitarama Raju. Alongside his tribe, he led a rebellion in the Rampa region that turned out to be quite violent by incorporating acts like raiding police stations, stealing guns and killing British army officials. After two years, he was finally captured and shot in the forests of Chintapalli, enabling him to earn the title of Hero of The Jungle.

In 1930, Surya Sen led a group of 64 revolutionaries to loot the Police Armory, destroy Chittagong's telephone and telegraph lines, and dislocate the railway lines allowing the entry to and exit from the town. Surya Sen raised the tricolor and declared Chittagong as Gandhi's Raj. Though his team of revolutionaries was eventually outnumbered, the sacrifice of Surya Sen remained a constant source of inspiration to many other freedom fighters of the country.

Like these figures there are many more leaders and stalwarts who had immensely contributed to the achievement of the independence of the country but their contributions are hardly recognised and passed on to the next generations through meaningful learning and knowing process. This book is an attempt to throw light upon the unforgettable contributions of these freedom fighters to the glorious and ever encouraging episode of the Indian Freedom Struggle.

Just as these figures were instrumental in securing India's independence, people we know in our daily lives play an extremely important part in keeping our future secure. Whether it be our near and dear ones like our mothers, fathers or spouses, who wilfully dedicate themselves to our well being or the defence forces of the country inclusive of the army, navy and the airforce who remain ever awake to defend our country and its countless citizens. They keep on meticulously planning to secure our future. Taking into account the risks and uncertainties, they have always done their due to ensure our overall independence. Thus on Independence Day as we celebrate the unsung heroes of the nation, it might be the right time to honor the unsung heroes in our life. The people who have helped us secure our plans and insure ourselves against unforeseen difficulty.

Editors

Dr Abul Foyes Md Malik

Ms Kiran Teronpi

Indian Freedom Struggle: Historiographical Perspectives from Past to Present

Mridul Bordoloi

To begin, the dominant perception regarding the freedom struggle has been basically informed by lessons from school textbooks, in which one learnt about different movements and historical personages who participated in it, right from the sepoy Mangal Pandey in 1857 to Annie Besant, Umesh Ch. Banerjee forming the Home League and the Indian National Congress, to the sacrifices of Bhagat Singh, the influence of “Lal-Bal-Pal”, the sacrifice of Subhas Bose, the entry of Mohandas Gandhi into the political scenario, and the achievement of Independence by adoption of a non-violent strategy by Gandhi and other Congress leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, among others. This narrative has become a part of our collective memory and nationalist imaginary, and it is periodically or cyclically enacted to the point wherein one is ideologically conditioned to accept it as the gospel truth. There was only one method of historical narrativization in school textbooks. That is, documentation of the lives of a few great men, or depiction of epoch-making events. One would perforce read these historical accounts uncritically, innocently; and attempted to mug up the dates and the events.

But Edward Said’s *Orientalism* offered an idea of history that challenged the uncritical, innocent position that once-colonized subjects had adopted on historical documentation – considering it to be factual and supported by evidence. Said argued that historical documentation was a representation – a discourse of power, in

which the West exerted their authority in words. The unequal relationship between the colonizer and the colonized was not only evident politically, but also textually. Therefore, historical documentation was not informed so much by truth or authenticity of the event concerned, but by representation of those had the power to manipulate it to serve their vested interests. The innocent assumption that history was solely governed by facts was proved to be a representational fallacy.

Hayden White's important study, *Metahistory: Historical Imagination in the Nineteenth-Century*, argued that narratives could be plotted or manipulated in certain ways to serve particular ideological or purposive ends. For instance, one could frame a historical narrative that focused solely on particular individuals. In that sense, history would become a biography of a few, great men. For instance, the Mughal history that one read in school textbooks. It is a history comprising of the life and times of seven or eight rulers. In fact, the chapter on the third Mughal emperor is mostly titled "Akbar the Great." This is one mode of emplotting a historical narrative, which Hayden White termed as "formist" in mode.

Then, there is possibility of emplotting narratives that are universal or cosmic in dimension, emphasizing on particular epochs, or particular historical milieux. Here, individual agents did not matter. What mattered was certain dominant fundamental or subservient groups striving against each other to assert their authority. The Marxist historiography which is universalist, sweeping, comprising of social formations like Primitive communism, Feudalism, Capitalist Social formation, and people categorised into wholes like the bourgeoisie and proletariat, is an example of this type of historiography, while is regarded disparagingly as a "grand narrative" or "metanarrative" by many philosophers of history. Hayden White terms this mode of emplotment as "mechanistic", since it is instrumental from the teleological, that is, purposive or prescriptive angle.

Again, there is possibility of having another kind of historiography that has selective agents from a broad historical field, working to realise an ideal – real or utopian. For instance, a historian thinking of emplotting the history of "freedom struggle" will have to use her sources and historical agents selectively. For instance, a historical narrative on India's Freedom movement

cannot have a person unrelated to the movement as a historical agent. This is because it would not fit into the said schema. It will need historical agents like Bhagat Singh, Gandhi, Ambedkar, Subhas Chandra Bose to realise the idea of nation or independence. White termed this type of emplotting as “Organicist” in mode, since the framing of such a continuous narrative appears to be organic, with an *arche* (beginning) and a *telos* (end). So, from the above, one can conclude that there are various ways in which historical narratives can be plotted.

Coming to the context of the seminar theme on “Revisiting the Indian Freedom Struggle”, it is interesting to know what kind of historical narratives were there during the colonial and the postcolonial period, and whether these narratives served the vested interests of some persons or groups. This paper will attempt to schematically outline the different historical perspectives on the Indian Freedom Struggle, and will conclude with how best one can honour the memory of many of history’s unsung heroes/heroines who contributed towards the attainment of India’s freedom. It is a fitting way to commemorate 75 years of the nation’s independence. The various historiographical paradigms can be categorised under the following:

Imperialist perspective on the struggle for freedom

According to this view, India's irreconcilable diversity and disunity were constantly cited by colonialist historians as justification for colonial rule. This implied that the colonial regime helped unify the disunited subcontinent. India was a conglomerate of diverse and often antagonistic religious, ethnic, linguistic, and regional groups that could never be welded into one nation. From this imperialist perspective, the lack of cohesion among the Hindu states was the crucial reason why they were “easy prey for savage hordes of Arabs, Turks, and Afghans bound together by strict fanaticism.” This situation of disunity could only be corrected by a central authority imposed from outside. This role was assumed by British colonialism, which established a regime of “benevolent despotism.”

When the Indian independence movement became an all-India reality after World War I as a popular movement, colonialist historians raised doubts about its efficacy and sought to highlight religious, caste, and linguistic differences to deny it a national

character. This narrative sought to reinforce the irreconcilable differences between people based on caste, class, and religion to argue that India could never be or become a nation. The imperialist perspective thus appears to be agenda-driven and to have a prescriptive function, i.e., the consolidation of the British Empire on the grounds that its principles of benevolent despotism could only unify India. Imperialist expansion was justified on this salutary pretext.

Nationalist Perspective

The nationalist perspective was a counter-narrative to the imperialist perspective and opposed the colonialist denigration of India and its people. In contrast to the instrumentalist approach of colonialist historians, nationalist historians took an idea-centered approach. Two views in particular emerged:

First, that nationalist ideas were adopted under the influence of the West. This view, that nationalism was a smuggled-in ideology, instrumentalist, and an applied science, was a passionate, sharp critique that Rabindranath Tagore made in a series of essays on nationalism. We should read these essays to understand the concept of nation, which is very specific to Western nations with a homogeneous religious and cultural identity. However, the moderate nationalists generally believed that this spirit of freedom was primarily due to Western influences. It was felt that Western education and ideas of freedom were essentially responsible for the formation of national consciousness. The spread of Western ideas prepared the English-educated middle class for the emergence of a nationalist consciousness. The Indian National Congress was the result of the search for a way of self-expression and self-assertion.

Second, nationalist ideas had indigenous roots. As the freedom movement intensified, writers began to search for the indigenous roots of these ideas. A sense of India's geographical unity existed from the earliest times, and the idea of nationalism was also present in early India. Har Bilas Sarma, in his *Hindu Superiority*, declared that "the ancient Hindus were the greatest nation that ever flourished on earth." Lala Lajpat Rai, in his *Young India* (1916), asserted that "India has basically been one nation for 2000 years" Subhas Chandra Bose, in his *Indian Struggle*, held, that India possessed "a fundamental unity' despite infinite diversity" Jawaharlal Nehru also spoke of a "cultural unity amidst diversity, a

bundle of contradictions held together by strong but invisible threads." The national movement was a movement of all classes of Indian society, representing the sentiments of the Indian people against British imperialism.

However, it was assumed that the masses were not capable of independent action and should be mobilised by middle class leaders. Surendranath Banerjee wrote in 1911, "Where there is a middle class, there is enlightenment, freedom, progress and prosperity." Lajpat Rai noted, "The masses are easily misled by governments or by classes in league with governments. In any country, it is the educated middle class that leads the movement for political independence or for political progress." Nationalist historians believe that nationalist leaders were dedicated idealists animated by patriotism and the good of the country. They acted as selfless spokesmen for the silent majority who could not speak for themselves.

However, the fact that the middle class participated in large numbers in the struggle for freedom led Marxist thinkers to assume that the movement was purely a bourgeois movement designed to serve their very own interests. For these sceptics, the independence gained was merely a "transfer of power" from one bourgeois order to another.

The liberal view

The liberal discourse found its proponents in 19th century social reformers like Rammohan Roy and moderates like Surendernath Bannerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, etc. Liberals viewed the national movement as an expression of the country's collective masses united for nationalistic, patriotic reasons. The ruling leadership-particularly the INC -is seen as representing all classes and groups in Indian society, ignoring the underlying fault lines of caste, class, gender, and religion. The liberal perspective accepts the tragic cases of communalism and ultimate partition, but considers them a product of colonial divisive policies. The liberal perspective sees India's cultural ethos as generally tolerant and secular, despite some cases to the contrary, such as communal riots.

Underdevelopment, misery, and poverty are seen as consequences of an imperialist regime. They celebrate the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity, justice, etc., and see the modern Indian

state as an extension of the values of their struggle for freedom. While social and economic reforms were part of their agenda, revolution in these areas was actively avoided. Even Nehru, despite his socialist convictions, advocated a gradual transformation of the country to give socioeconomic rights to the broad masses. The Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, embodied many of these liberal ideals, with most of its Western-educated members being adherents of Enlightenment thought and ideals.

Socialist and Marxist viewpoint

In the 1940s, R.P. Dutt and A.R. Desai viewed the Indian national movement and especially its leadership as bourgeois. While they were not the representatives of the class itself, they sought to lead the masses to fulfil the interests of the bourgeoisie. The structures always served the cause of the bourgeoisie and not the masses: The Indian national movement served the interests of the national and petty bourgeoisie. The idea of passive revolution or positional warfare, which Bipan Chandra advocates in his analysis, is crucial here. It was a strategy “that involved waging a hegemonic struggle on the basis of a mass movement” to effectively confront the legal-authoritarian colonial state. Marxist political economist Prabhat Patnaik distrusts the success of colonial rule in dismantling pre-capitalist feudal hierarchies. He merely transforms these pre-capitalist modes and relations of production to make them part of the colonial structure. Perry Anderson points out the major gap in Indian nationalist ideology as far as the Indian left is concerned. He highlights their political weakness that prevented them from playing a monumental role in the national struggle. He invokes not only spiritualist leaders such as Gandhi, but even a decidedly secular Nehru. In particular, he points to Nehru's writings such as *Unity of India*, in which he espoused culturalist views, and to the dispute with China, in which he invoked the Mahabharata to legitimise India's control over the North East Frontier Agency. Gandhi's adoption of the secular website INC not only made it immensely popular, but also brought a large dose of mythology, symbolism, and theology to the nationalist struggle. Socialism influenced the young blood in the movement, albeit to varying degrees, from Bhagat Singh to Subhash Chandra Bose to Jawaharlal Nehru. The 1920s and 30s also saw the rapid growth of trade unions and peasant movements. The Karachi Session of 1931 and the resulting Rights Document, the 1936 Congress Election Manifesto,

and the formation of the 1938 Planning Committee reflect the influence of Marxist thought on the Indian national movement. Bipan Chandra analyses the role of Jawaharlal Nehru in the socialist/Marxist context to show that Nehru himself re-evaluated the Gandhian strategy for the Congress as a war of position and also saw that the organisation was moving in a socialist direction to fulfil its true democratic ideals. He points out that Nehru was one of the first to break away from the shackles of Stalinist Marxism, recognising that while there can be no true democracy without socialism, there can be no socialism without democracy.

Subaltern/Dalit Perspective

The Subaltern or Dalit perspective which especially started emerging around the 1980's tries to the inverse the conventional methodology while interpreting the Indian National Movement. The alternative imagination of India as proposed by Phule and Ambedkar follows a particular methodological route. The conception of an alternative or affirmative imagination of India seems to be preceded by what could be termed as oppositional imagination. For example, Ambedkar imagines India as both “*prabuddhabharat*” (enlightened Indian) and “*bahishkrut Bharat*” (ostracized India). Ranajit Guha, a subaltern historiographer, in the very first volume of the Subaltern Studies, declared that 'The historiography of Indian nationalism has for a long time been dominated by elitism - colonialist elitism and bourgeois nationalist elitism.' According to Guha, all types of elitist histories have one thing in common and that is the absence of the politics of the people from their accounts. According to him, there are no attempts in these works to understand and write about the way in which the subaltern groups view the world and practice their politics.

In his essay “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency”, Guha launched a stinging attack on the existing peasant and tribal histories in India for considering the peasant rebellions as “purely spontaneous and unpremeditated affairs” and for ignoring the consciousness of the rebels themselves. He accused all the accounts of rebellions, starting with the immediate official reports to the histories written by the left radicals, of writing the texts of counter-insurgency which refused to recognise the agency of the people and “to acknowledge the insurgent as the subject of his own history.” According to Guha, they all failed to acknowledge that there existed

a parallel subaltern domain of politics which was not influenced by the elite politics and which possessed an independent, self-generating dynamics. People's politics differed from the elite politics in several crucial aspects - Its roots lay in the traditional organisations of the people such as caste and kinship networks, tribal solidarity, territoriality, etc. While elite mobilisations were vertical in nature, people's mobilisations were horizontal. Whereas the elite mobilisation was legalistic and pacific, the subaltern mobilisation was relatively violent. - The elite mobilisation was more cautious and controlled while the subaltern mobilisation was more spontaneous. Disenchanted with the Congress nationalism and its embodiment in the Indian states, rejected the thesis that popular mobilisation was the result of either economic conditions or initiatives from the top.

The Subaltern perspective differs from the Gandhian notion of social change and reform which lay on moral aspects like the idea of *seva* (service), *sahanubhuti* (compassion) and care; not struggle or contradiction. In Gandhian thoughts, the moralising language like "seva", care, harijan, and trusteeship seek to dissolve the contradiction and eliminate the possibility of polarisation and oppositional imagination. As against the language of *seva*, the dalit thought contains the language of struggle and self-help. Gandhi's social and caste status gave him the luxury of "seamless spatiality." It is seamless because for Gandhi, every space becomes quite hospitable and receptive. That is to say Gandhi can move in and out of any space, even the "Bhangi colony". Ambedkar (and even other Dalit leaders or participants of Dalit movements), on the contrary, does not have a choice and hence has to open up spaces that are not only hostile but are also fragmented around social stigma. Thus, physical spaces which are otherwise empty get constructed through negative or positive meaning depending upon who is assigning this meaning.

Both Marxist and Subaltern school seem to stand for the oppressed against elitist domination. However, there was no seamless coordination or agreement between the two. Firstly, The Dalit movement put the question on its head and asked that with the castes intact how would the revolution itself take place. Secondly, there was the issue of religion. For Marx, religion existed not to console, but to control; it was "the opium of the people"-a drug that dulled the will to throw off the chains of oppression. When Dalits

rejected Hinduism, it might have been necessary to fill the void. However, this void was not filled by class ideology. In fact, there has never been a clear break between Dalit movement and religion, though forms of religion may have change - be it reformed Hinduism, Buddhism or Christianity.

Right-wing perspective

Now a radical change has taken place in the way the history of the struggle for freedom must be recalibrated or reconstructed. This change has taken place with the political rise of right-wing ideology across India. The ideology of the Indian right is defined by its insistence on promoting the idea of a Hindu nation. While liberals advocated cultural pluralism, right-wing Indian historians espoused cultural majoritarianism and historical revisionism. This tendency to create a saffron version of Indian history and disseminate it in textbooks has become a major ideological mission of contemporary nationalist right-wing historians.

The revision or reconstruction of the past has been legitimised on the grounds that history textbooks in schools contained much content glorifying the Mughal rulers who invaded India, while the role of Indian rulers, such as the Cholas, the Pandyas, or the Ahoms, was mentioned only in passing, resulting in a distortion of ancient and mediaeval Indian history. These historians believe that Indian history needs to be looked at afresh and read holistically, and that to do this we need to go back to the Vedic period, as our history and culture originates from that time. Instead of reading history from the 200 years of British rule onwards, we should look at the invasions that date back 1,200 years. These right-wing historians believe that we must glorify our national heroes and pay proper tribute to all eras of Indian history. They claim that the historical distortions were the work of the communists and leftists of the 1960s and 1970s, who influenced the content of textbooks with their anti-majoritarian ideologies to impress students. For example, Sanjeev Sanyal, a well-known economist, remarks: “the common historiography of India is not the history of Indians at all, but that of the foreign invaders. It has been imposed on us to deliberately make us feel inferior.”

Contemporary historian Vikram Sampath points out several shortcomings from which traditional Indian historiography suffers. He says that history is ultimately the servant of the victor. Our

conception of our own history was handed down to us by our former colonial masters, which we later perfected with our own prejudices, political expediency, and ideological inclinations. Sampath quotes a remarkable phrase by Chinua Achebe to make his point: “The history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter until the lions have their historians” (*The Truth of Fiction* 1994). This African proverb metaphorically illustrates how powerful groups entrench their dominance in the pages of history. The legacy that fostered European and Western ethnocentrism, in which the stories of the oppressed, whether in India, Asia, Africa, or Latin America, rarely find a place, is the fundamental basis on which historiography rests. Sampath notes that in the case of India, we have regrettably gone far beyond colonisers in mocking and constantly apologising for our history and identity. While it is not the job of a historian to inspire a sense of false pride, the opposite is also true: it is not her job to inspire guilt and grief over alleged excesses and failures of the past.

The other obvious flaw in popular Indian historiography is that it largely favours Delhi, especially the version taught to our children and future generations in schools and colleges. Popular historical accounts of “regional history,” which label accounts from different regions of India as “regional,” imply that there is a central, unifying theme and that anything that does not fit into that theme is merely “regional.” This implicitly engages in a politics of selection and exclusion, valorizing one form of spatiality over another, one narrative over another. Several questions arise from this discussion: for example, Sampath states, “How does one determine what is ‘central’ and what is ‘regional’”? Are the Vijayanagara Empire in the south or the mighty Karkotas in Kashmir or the Ahoms in Assam ‘regional’ stories and the Delhi Sultanate the main story of India rather than that of a limited region?” Even if a child learns about the mostly extinct and short-lived dynasties that ruled in and around Delhi - the Tughlaqs, Lodhis or Khiljis - whose contribution to this country, apart from a few architectural works, can probably be considered largely minimal, vast swathes of this country seem to have been completely ignored. It is a sad truth that a student of history would be able to enumerate the succession of these dynasties, but might find it difficult to do so for, say, the Rashtrakutas or the Maratha Empire, which dominated much of the subcontinent in the late 18th century.

We find only passing references to the dynasties of the southern part of India, such as the Chalukyas, the Satavahanas, the powerful Cholas, the Pandyas, the flourishing Vijayanagara Empire, the Adil Shahis of Deccan, the Wodeyars of Mysore, or the rulers of Travancore, and others. The eastern belts of Odisha and Bengal—the Gajapati Empire of the Bhoi dynasty, the Palas, the Senas, or the Nawabs of Bengal and Murshidabad—or their history are rarely mentioned. Similarly, the history of northeast India is unfortunately a forgotten and therefore mostly ignored black hole. Apart from the mention of the eight states, mainland India's understanding of the people, rulers, and past of the Northeast, from the Ahoms in Assam to the Tipras, the Mangang and Meitei rulers in Manipur, or those of Nagaland, is shockingly low in mainstream history books. The Rajputs or even the Marathas, from whom the British eventually conquered India, are not treated to the extent commensurate with their strategic importance in the history of our past.

According to Vikram Sampath, the argument of “people's history” automatically falls flat when we selectively detail the deeds and exploits of certain dynasties confined to limited geographical areas of the country, which does not correspond to their importance in history, to the detriment of several others from other regions. The stories of rulers and ruled from all parts of this vast nation must find a proper place in a chronicle that bears the name 'History of India'

History is, as E.H. Carr pointed out, “a process of selection for historical significance ... Just as the historian selects from an infinite ocean of facts those which are significant for his purpose, so he selects from the multitude of sequences of cause and effect those, and those only, which are historically significant; and the measure of historical significance is his ability to fit them into his pattern of rational explanation and interpretation.” History, however, is subject to various forms of politics of representation or perspectives. I have already highlighted some of these perspectives on the freedom struggle. Such perspectives make history an unreliable narrative in which certain subject positions are given prominence at the expense of others.

In addition to this neglect and amnesia, women's stories are conspicuously absent from narratives of the freedom struggle. Their stories of bravery and sacrifice continue to be subsumed under the

stories of their many male counterparts. In all aspects of Indian life, from kingship to knowledge production to bravery, Indian women have always played a prominent role, but the his-story has foregrounded her voice. Hence, we know little about Rani Abakka, VeluNachiyar, Jhalkari Bai, Matangini Hazra, Gulab Kaur, ChakaliIamma, Padmaja Naidu, Bishni Devi Shah, Durgawati Devi and Sucheta Kripalani, Kanaklata Baruah, PritilataWaddedar, Basanti Devi (1880-1974), Aruna Asaf Ali (1909-1996), Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay (1903-1988), Bina Das (1911-1986), Suniti Chaudhary (1917-1988), and many others.

So, while we celebrate “Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav,” it is time that we reflect on how to honour the contributions of those who sacrificed their lives for the nation and for the future generation. I think that it is seminars of this kind that will make it possible to bring to the forefront all aspects related to the reappraisal of the struggle for freedom. Because the discussions on this topic from the point of view of different disciplines will be able to reveal aspects that have not found a space to be disseminated so far. I hope that new insights will be gained from the reflections and conversations, which will enrich the discourse on the freedom struggle in many interesting ways.

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Recalling the Forgotten Rebellions after Seventy Five Years of Independence

Dr. Chandrabali Das

Content

When it comes to history and paying respect to the freedom fighters and heroes who sacrificed their lives for the sake of independence of the country, it is important for us to establish deep connections with our heroic past. It is absolutely essential for us to remember those freedom fighters whose names are not included in the pages of mainstream history books of our freedom struggle but who had put enormous efforts in their own ways to make innumerable people free from the shackles of colonial exploitation and humiliation. Several years before the Indian National Congress was born and the freedom struggle took a well organized and systematic form, the tribal peasant population of India residing in the remote forest and hilly areas, had started to wage a silent but desperate battle against the colonial oppression unleashed by the British East India company. The battle waged by these people was not only aimed against the exploitation and humiliation of the Foreign oppressors but also against the oppression of the local zamindars.

The 1857 Sepoy Mutiny is regarded to be the First War of India's Independence. But even before the organization of this heroic war of independence many rebellions were organized by the poor, marginalized and the tribal communities residing in the hilly and forest covered regions of North, Central and southern Bengal against the oppressive regime of the British East India Company and their humiliating manner of revenue collection. There are records to reveal that the Indian agents of the British East India

Company behaved in a manner as if they were the landlords or the proprietors. With the downfall of the Nawabi regime of Bengal a phase of anarchy dawned upon and tormented the lives of the people of Bengal. As a mark of resistance to the oppressive policies of the Company the ordinary people of Bengal organized a series of protest movements.

The people who organized and actively participated in these revolts mostly belonged to the class of peasants, tribals and remnants of the indigenous troops who drew their leaders from the old zamindars or nawabs whose gradual downfall was initiated by the onset of the East India Company's rule.¹ The conspiracy hatched by Mir Kasim, to dislodge the rule of Nawab Siraj-Ud- Daula is known to all of us but what remains unexplored is that even Mir Kasim being dissatisfied with the highhanded and oppressive regime of the East India Company wrote to the latter about the unlawful deprivation of the peasants and the merchants from the goods and services which justifiably happened to be their own. Since the officials of the East India Company did not pay heed whatsoever to the dissatisfaction expressed by the Nawab, Mir Kasim rightfully promulgated a firman to abolish all the internal trade duties in Bengal Subah so as to enable the Bengali merchants to compete on equal terms with the British merchants.²

The protest raised by the Nawab finally culminated in the battle of Buxar where the troops of Mir Kasim, Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Awadh and those of the fugitive emperor Shah Alam II confronted the troops of British East India Company.

The decade of the 1770s proved to be a turbulent period for Bengal when a devastating famine devoured the lives of the peasants and the marginalized people of Bengal. At this time the oppression of the company rule particularly speaking the process of their revenue collection became unbearable for the ordinary and poor people of Bengal compelling them to organize revolts in various pockets of Bengal. In this regard special mention requires to be made of the Sannyasi and Fakir Rebellion of Bengal.

It is to be noted that the sannyasis and fakirs were religious mendicants who also acted as mercenaries and remained involved in trade and moneylending profession. In addition to that they had been enjoying patent to charity free lands. The embryonic Company state deprived them of this right. As a result the religious

mendicants resorted to a violent, overt form of resistance. They adopted banditry as a legitimate way of resisting the Company rule. These uprisings adversely affected the Company state's yearly revenue collections from the districts. In consequence the government and the zamindars allied against the sannyasis and fakirs out of a shared common interest. The zamindars of Bengal possessed the habit of borrowing large sums of money to pay revenue to the East India Company. They borrowed this lump sum from the merchants and sometimes from the religious mendicants. When they failed to repay their debt, they often went to the East India Company for redress. Many merchants had a flourishing money lending and usury business and lent money to these zamindars. The Company state opposed the money lending business and usury business of the religious mendicants and wanted to stop it. The merchants were not always eager to lend either, but the East India Company harboured larger stakes in preventing the business. The merchants feared that if the taxes were raised, the zamindars would be unable to pay back their debts unless pressurised by the East India Company. However, the East India Company felt reluctant to assist the money lenders. They preferred balances in arrears as they were sure they could recover it by selling off the lands. For example, when the zamindar of Nadia found himself entrapped in arrears in 1780, he like the Zamindar of Rajshahi took a loan from the merchants amounting to Rs.45000. This debt often turned them destitute, making them unable to pay any increased revenue. All profits had to be siphoned off to pay back their debts. They had also borrowed a large sum of money from the sannyasis and fakirs and eventually became unable to repay their debts. That was the principal motive behind the zamindars' repeated petition to the government to intervene and deal with the mendicants. So, it was in the company's ultimate interest to ally with the zamindars against the marauding sannyasis and fakirs. It was in the end a revenue centric conflict. They produced the moral justification for expelling and slaughtering the sannyasis and fakirs on the grounds of protecting the peasants. They believed this would prove advantageous for them if they could manage to ensure a lasting victory against the religious mendicants. In addition, the sannyasis and fakirs posed a serious challenge to the stability of the Company state. By repeatedly looting the kothis and kacharis owned by the Company, they had challenged the very existence of the Company state. They repeatedly raided the

countryside. It negatively affected the annual revenue collections. By disrupting the revenue collections, the sannyasis and fakirs questioned the Company state's existence and its legitimacy to rule. The Company state became adamant to contain the rebels. They considered it imperative to take serious measures to contain the depredations of these marauder mendicants who from year to year travelled through this and the adjacent districts in large armed bodies and plundered the inhabitants and with frequent acts of violence and cruelty to resist the oppressive government. Majnu Shah, the unputdownable fakir leader, had instructed his followers not to oppress anyone and accept voluntary contributions. However, the very term 'voluntary' was questionable. Government records reveal that these armed 'banditry' had taken Rs.500 from Nurnagar village belonging to one Dayaram Ray, Rs.1690 from the kachari which was later deserted by the officials.³ One would find some legitimacy in their persistent attacks on the kacharis and the subsequent 'loot' and 'plunder' that followed. However, the fact remains that these contributions were capable enough to cast an ominous shadow upon the overall revenue collections of the countryside. As a great act of defiance, this proved to be the most effective measure to cripple the rural economy for some time in some parts of Bengal. There were balances in revenue during the 1780s and 1790s. For instance, in 1780, there were considerable arrears in various districts of Bengal. It can be said that they became successful in questioning and challenging the very existence of the East India Company. However, the Company state retaliated with military might. But at the same time, it also became clear that the success of the Company state was largely dependent on a number of factors. For instance, the number of arms and ammunition owned by the troops played a comparatively secondary role. On several occasions, simple matchlocks owned by the rebels overpowered them. However, what pushed the scale in their favour was the information, and intelligence provided by the spies. While the spy system aided them, the hills, jungles, the stormy weather, rivers and forts aided the sannyasis and the fakirs to sustain their struggle for so long against a better-equipped army. It may be concluded that the sannyasi-fakir rebellion was an overt resistance movement against the Company state.

Around the same time in 1783 and 1784 there erupted a wide spread peasant uprising in the Rangpur district of North

Bengal. The peasants and farmers who lived in the district of Rangpur Dhing were cornered to the point where they had no other option but to resist. This option was going to show the might of every farmer who had nothing left to lose. The reason behind this rebellion was to defend themselves from the oppressive and biased policies formulated by the British invaders for the collection of land revenue.

These invaders appeared very calculative and compliant with their schemes being motivated to obtain a right that was going to turn them very rich in a short span of time. The vast reserve of the natural and financial resources that were offered by the agrarian community of Bengal lured them into formulating these policies.

The rules and regulations stated that a large amount of revenue has to be paid to these plunderer agents of the British East India Company by the farmers of the Rangpur district. The revenue was paid to the property owners who had to pay even more to the officers when they came to collect the revenues of the peasants from the treasury of the landlords. All these oppressive policies boosted the popular rebellion of Rangpur Dhing. The leader of the rebellion that turned violent was Kena Sarkar. The leader was successful in enabling the prisoners get out of prison during the rebellion.

Kena Sarkar was also responsible for setting up a parallel Government that was defying the laws made by the company. He was also able to end the oppression caused by the Ijardar Debi Singh.⁴The effects of this rebellion were the followings:

- Initiatives for Permanent reforms in the land revenue policies were taken in the farming system.
- People of all castes and creeds flocked together to fight the invaders of the country.
- The religious divide between Hindus and Muslims faded away and peasants came up on the same platform irrespective of their communal or religious identity.
- This rebellion paved the way for more peasant revolts across the length and breadth of the country.

In the districts of Bankura and Midnapore the Chuars started a rebellion that continued for nearly 30 years till 1799. They initiated their rebellion from Dhalbhum in 1767⁵. The leadership to this Chuar Rebellion was provided by Jagannath Dhal. The East

India Company employed a massive army under the captainship of Morgan to suppress the chuar Uprising. However, the company's troops suffered a serious defeat in suppressing the uprising. Practically speaking the whole of Dhalbhum and the Jungle Mahals rose in revolt against the British rule. The Chuar rebellion was a series of insurrections between 1771 and 1809 steered by the inhabitants of the hilly and forest lands of old Manbhum, Bankura and Midnapore (an area now mostly in West Bengal, India). Such people generally lived in the forest areas and practised a primitive pattern of agriculture. It was one of the earliest peasant rebellions against the remarkably exploitative land revenue policies designed by the British rulers. Prior to the arrival of the British East India company, these jungle areas were not directly ruled by the Mughal rulers. Local zamindars, who paid some tribute to the Mughals, used to control the area. In turn, these zamindars provided the tribal people of the forests tax-free lands in return for the protection they extended to the local feudal lords. These tribal people were employed as Paiks meaning guard or police in Bengali as security guards to protect the local zamindars at times of disputes. The East India Company compelled these local zamindars to collect taxes from these tribal people. Being unable to bear the oppressive tax regime introduced by the East India Company when the Paiks broke out in violent rebellion, they were derogatorily termed Chuars meaning uncivilised in Bengali. According to L.S.S. O'Malley, a British administrator who produced the Bengal District Gazetteers, —In March 1766 Government resolved to send an expedition into the country west and north-west of Midnapore in order to coerce the Chuars to pay revenue, and to capture and demolish most of their strongholds. Among the many dispossessed zamindars, who extended support to the Chuarrebels were men like Durjan Singh of Raipur, Managat Singh of Panchet, Dubraj Singh Birbhum, the Rani of Karnagar and Raja Madhu Singh of Manbhum⁶. The Chuar tribal movements tended to be resistance movement aimed at opposing the secretive efforts on the part of the non-tribals especially the British East India Company rulers to unnecessarily intervene in the preserved ethnic domains of the life of the tribals.

It proved increasingly difficult for the British rulers to suppress the Chuar uprising but ultimately the revolt was suppressed by destroying the forest inhabited by the Chuars when the company troops fired intense artillery.⁷

Equally significant is the Paik Rebellion in Orissa. The 'Paikas' were originally a group of farmer-soldiers who constituted the army of Khurda king and battled against the occupying British forces in 1817 under the leadership of Bakshi Jagabandhu. Projecting Lord Jagannath as the symbol of unity among the people of Orissa, the rebellion quickly spread across most of Odisha before being suppressed by the Company's forces.⁸

Conclusion

The history of the rebellions triggered by the tribal and peasant population of Bengal indeed presents a glorious chapter in the history of anticolonial movement of India in the period between 1757, the Battle of Plassey and 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny. It is always relevant to adopt broader and liberal approach to the struggle of the marginalised especially the tribal and the economically backward people against the colonial oppression and exploitation. The contributions left behind by the deprived people towards the achievement of the much desired goal of liberation from foreign rule require larger attention and research initiative. It should never be forgotten that the history of India's Freedom Struggle remains incomplete without the struggle of these marginalised people.

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Examining the Indian Freedom Struggle in the Novels

Dr. Amit. Y. Kapoor

Introduction

In order to end British control in India, several significant historical occurrences made up the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement. One of the largest mass movements that modern cultures have ever experienced. It is possibly one of the best instances of how a massive movement with a unifying goal can be formed, allowing for a variety of political and ideological currents to coexist, cooperate, and continue to compete for overall ideological political hegemony within it. The movement remained cohesive and had striking impact even though heated debate on all fundamental issues was permitted; rather, this diversity and climate of freedom and debate turned out to be one of the movement's greatest strengths.

A powerful colonial empire was brought to its knees by the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement, which inspired millions of people of all classes and beliefs to take political action. Consequently, it is extremely relevant to people looking to change the current political and social framework, along with the British, French, Russian, Chinese, Cuban, and Vietnamese revolutions.

From the beginning, the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement was utterly dedicated to secularism. Its leadership actively fought against the rise of communalism and worked to instill secular principles in the populace. And despite India's division and the ensuing sectarian genocide, it was successful in enshrining secularism in the Constitution of independent India.

The various stages of the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement

The development of India's national identity was a protracted process with ancient origins. Emperors like Ashoka and Samudragupta dominated India in the past, and from Akbar to Aurangzeb in the Middle Ages. However, the idea of a national identity and national consciousness did not develop until the 19th century. This expansion was closely related to the anti-colonial movement that resulted in the end of British rule. The people had been motivated to establish and realize their national identity by social, economic, and political circumstances. While fighting colonialism, people started to realize their togetherness.

The many phases of the Indian Freedom battle Movement are proof of the protracted battle for freedom that the Indian people through in order to achieve total independence. The Movement began in 1857 with the Revolt of 1857 and concluded in 1947 with India gaining its independence. It happened in stages as a result of the British's rigidity and frequently violent responses to nonviolent protests. The researcher would like to provide some insight on some of the significant movements that had the strength to upend the foundations of British rule in India.

- **The Revolt of 1857 (1857 – 1859):** The Revolt of 1857 was the first war of Independence against the British. The uprising started on May 10th, 1857, at Meerut. Delhi, Agra, Kanpur, and Lucknow all experienced a sluggish expansion of the movement. Despite being the initial step in the struggle against the British and the first movement towards Indian independence, it was a failure. However, it made a big impression on the general public and motivated Indian citizens to band together for the independence cause. The uprising completely upended British rule in India and exposed their inability to manage the country's government. The British East India Company's rule was ended by the Government of India Act of 1858. The Revolt failed because there was no single, obvious leader and no planning.
- **Swadeshi Movement (1905 – 1911):** An important phase of India's struggle for independence from British control was the Swadeshi Movement. The British decision to divide Bengal, which was viewed as an effort to undermine the Indian

nationalist movement, prompted the movement's inception in 1905. India's yearning for economic independence and a cultural renaissance was expressed through the Swadeshi Movement, which was crucial in forming the nation's political and social consciousness. The Swadeshi Movement demanded a ban on British imports and the promotion of goods created in India.

- **Ghadar Movement (1913 – 1917):** The Ghadar Movement was founded in 1913 by Punjabi immigrants living abroad in the United States, with Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims serving as co-leaders. The movement's objective was to support the overthrow of Indian colonial rule by the British. Har Dayal, a Punjabi Hindu student at Stanford University, organized and oversaw it. Early members of its leadership team also included two Sikhs and a Muslim, and the masthead of its journal had the names *Ram*, *Allah*, and *Nanak*. The group's media attention in the country was utilized as additional grounds for prejudice and distrust against Asian people. But the Ghadar Party was reorganized in the 1920s, and it remained a focal point for Punjabi and Sikh identity until 1947, when India gained its independence.
- **Home Rule Movement (1916 – 1918):** The nation's response to the First World War was the Home Rule Movement. The Irish Home Rule movement and other home rule movements served as inspiration for the Home Rule movement in British India. It is thought that the movement, which lasted for almost two years between 1916 and 1918, prepared the ground for the independence movement. Bal Gangadhar Tilak founded it in Belgium in April 1916. Later, Annie Besant in Madras in September 1916 and Jinnah in Bombay joined the movement. Without the involvement of the British Government, self-rule was the goal of the movement. It raised political consciousness, demonstrating the strength of India and its people. The push for home rule persisted in bolstering nationalist feelings in the future, and this series of events ultimately led to India's independence in 1947.
- **Champaran Satyagraha (1917 – 1918):** As Gandhi's first Satyagraha movement in India, the Champaran Satyagraha of

1917 is regarded as a pivotal uprising in the history of the Indian Independence Movement. During the British colonial era, there was a farmer's uprising in the Champaran area of Bihar, India. Conditions for indigo producers in Bihar's Champaran area were appalling during the Tinkathiya System. The farmers or cultivators are compelled by the Tinkathiya System to grow indigo on the best 3/20th of their land and are also compelled to sell it for less money. The first successful satyagraha movement was called Champaran Satyagraha. It provided direction for the youth and freedom movement in India, which was teetering between moderates who favored Indian inclusion in the British colonial system and Bengali extremists who called for the use of force to remove the British colonial occupiers from India.

- **Rowlatt Satyagraha (1919 – 1922):** Mahatma Gandhi launched a nonviolent Satyagraha on April 6, 1919, to protest the British government's enactment of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Rowlatt Act. According to the Act, the government had the right to hold someone accused of participating in terrorism for up to two years without a trial. The Rowlatt Satyagraha was another name for this campaign. A nationwide strike was called during this campaign, and people were urged to attend rallies against the oppressive policies and abstain from going to work. In Punjab, there was violence, and the strike was successful in Delhi. Later, Gandhi ji called off the strike. This action led to the tragic Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, in which several unarmed demonstrators were slain.
- **Civil Disobedience Movement (1930 – 1934):** The Civil Disobedience struggle, which played a significant role in the Indian Nationalist struggle and contributed in many ways to India's liberation, was a turning point. It was notable in several ways because it was a movement that spread to the cities and included women and members of lower castes. The Civil Disobedience Movement was launched as a result of Mahatma Gandhi's Dandi March. Gandhi and 78 other ashram members left the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmadabad on foot in March 1930 for Dandi, a settlement on Gujarat's western coast. Since the British government had a monopoly on salt manufacture in

India, it was thought to be unlawful. The Salt Satyagraha helped the Civil Disobedience Movement garner a lot of support, and the Salt March symbolized citizens' opposition to British government policies.

- **Quit India Movement (1942- 1945):** The August Kranti Movement, also known as the Quit India Movement, began on August 8, 1942, during a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay, calling for the end of British rule in India. Mahatma Gandhi started the Quit India Movement and called for the end of British rule during the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Mumbai. Mahatma Gandhi exhorted his audience in his speech at the Gowalia Tank Maidan, now known as the August Kranti Maidan, to act or perish.

Representation of the Indian Freedom Movement in novels

As one of the key mass communication tools used to raise awareness and foster a sense of national identity among the populace, literature has played a significant part in India's struggle for independence. Numerous well-known authors offered their writings in a variety of genres to convey their sorrow and worry for the situation the country's citizens were facing while living under the brutal colonial authority of British people. Newspapers like *Bande Matram*, established in 1905 by Bipin Chandra Pal, *Jungantar Patrika*, established in 1906 by Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Abhinash Bhattacharya, and Bhupendranath Dutt, and *Harijan*, established in 1932 by Gandhi, all aimed to increase social and political awareness among Indian citizens as well as bring them together for a common goal. Newspapers and pamphlets published and disseminated throughout India included important information and promoted anti-British sentiment. However, a lot of intellectuals at the period also thought it was crucial to use literature and poetry to promote patriotism and nationalist discourse.

In pre-Independence literature, the main characters were regular men and women who joined the independence struggle and rose to fame. They lacked intelligence and even education. They spoke various languages, belonged to various castes and groups, and were from various regions of India. Despite these contrasts, they shared a common worldview that motivated them to sacrifice everything in order to achieve greater freedom and quality of life,

with independence from Britain serving as the first step. Therefore, pre-Independence literature had a crucial role in bringing people together around a shared goal.

The researcher has examined six significant novels that portray the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement in-depth for this chapter. These include Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Anandamath*, Rabindranath Tagore's *Gora*, Munshi Premchand's *Godan*, Raja Rao's *Kanthapura*, Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan*, and Bhisham Sahni's *Tamas*.

- **Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Anandamath*:** *Anandamath* (1882), written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and set in the Bengal famine of 1770, was a pivotal work in the Indian freedom struggle. The plot centers on Mahendra and Kalyani, a married couple who divorce after leaving their famine-stricken hometown. The sannyasis, a rebel group whose members are ready to give their lives in the struggle against oppression and injustice, discovers them. Mahendra is persuaded that he should give up his wife and child in order to fully devote himself to the service of Mother India as he is enticed to support their cause. One of the poems from the book, *Bande Matram*, proved highly famous among the independence fighters even after the book was outlawed by the British Raj.
- **Rabindranath Tagore's *Gora*:** In Rabindranath Tagore's *Gora*, a 1909 book, the subject of anti-colonial nationalism is clear. Tagore discusses the value of a national identity that transcends caste, creed, and religion in *Gora*, his longest work. The narrative centers on Gora, a fair-skinned, devout Hindu who daydreams of his ideal *Bharat Varsha*, an affluent and content India. He thinks that by bringing everyone together under the banner of Hinduism, this may be accomplished. Everything changes, though, when he comes across the Brahma Samaj and starts to doubt his own religious identity in relation to his national identity.
- **Munshi Premchand's *Godan*:** *Godan* (1936), regarded as one of Munshi Premchand's best works, shows how the Indian liberation fight affected a poor peasant and how some people exploited the cause for their own ends. Exploitation is the

story's main theme. The plot is on Hori, a destitute peasant who longs to buy a cow so he may provide milk for his grandson, but after succeeding in obtaining one, he is plunged into a perpetual cycle of mounting debt. Premchand explores the tension between class and nation in his book and makes the case that merely changing one repressive system with another does not equate to liberation.

- **Raja Rao's *Kanthapura*:** *Kanthapura* (1938) by Raja Rao depicts how a caste-divided village, Kanthapura, comes together in the fight for independence from the British. The story is told in the *Sthalapurana* style by an elderly woman named Achakka. A young Brahmin named Moorthy travels to the city to further his education, where he is impressed by Gandhi's ideas. The village priest excommunicates him once he returns and speaks out against the caste system. He moves home with an educated widow named Rangamma who is actively involved in the Indian liberation struggle after his mother passes away from grief. As the plot develops, Moorthy and Rangamma's impact grows on the characters. *Kanthapura* is a fantastic example of how a national identity was formed in a small, isolated village.
- **Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan*:** One of Khushwant Singh's most well-known works, *Train to Pakistan* (1956), is a story that takes place during the period of India's Partition. It takes place in a quiet, isolated community that became involved in one of the worst riots in the country's history. The Sikh and Muslim communities have coexisted peacefully in Mano Majra for many years. When a "ghost train" carrying the remains of Hindus arrives from Pakistan one day, everything changes and the town descends into religious intolerance. A closer look at the lives of those impacted by Partition is provided in *Train to Pakistan*, which recounts the terror of that event.
- **Bhisham Sahni's *Tamas*:** Based on the communal riots that occurred prior to independence, Bhishma Sahni developed a subtle examination of this issue in his 1973 novel *Tamas* and uprooted those attitudes that force the general populace to endure the consequences of their distortions. India has always

struggled with communalism, which has held the nation captive in its evil grasp. Prior to independence, this issue was used by foreign rulers to cement their hold on the region, and after gaining independence, some political groups inside our own nation have abhorrently used it. And those defenseless, poor Indian individuals who are not Hindus nor Muslims but simply human beings are the victims of the destruction that has resulted from the entire process.

Conclusion

Thus, it can be inferred that Gandhian thinking had a profound influence on the imagination of Indian literary writers in several ways and continues to do so even today. Gandhi's philosophy gave English novelists a feeling of their own national identity, and beginning in the 1930s, they were motivated to write books with more serious intentions. Gandhi's ideas did in fact serve as a catalyst for the expansion of fiction writing in India. It gave a broader and more in-depth perspective on the state of society in India.

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Awakening of Women and Their Importance in India's Freedom Struggle: An Analysis of Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* and Nirupama Borgohain's *Abhiyatri*

Aditi Ghosh

Post colonialism, as a discourse is a theoretical wing of post coloniality, it seeks to understand how oppression, resistance and adaptation that has occurred during colonial rule. Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938), as a postcolonial novel deconstructs the pre-constructed myth of the power of foreign rule. He uses resistance as an enabling strategy and examines in detail the meaning and practice of 'ahimsa' and 'satyagraha'. The author sympathetically explores the Gandhian values as a symbol of divine power as well as perceptible reality. For a better realization of Rao's model of cultural identity, it is imperative to locate the women of the village, Kanthapura in the National Freedom Movement. Within the context of the novel, the contradiction between women's desires and their limited sphere of participation in national struggle as accepted by the society will be brought out by demonstrating that the ideological movement of the novel, in some respect, is opposed to its action. The issue of women's participation in the national movement is seen here in terms of peasant unrest.

Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938) displays a reworking of Gandhi's esteem of women in combination with their role in national movement. The author goes beyond to permit Indian women to assemble themselves into true Satyagrahis by forming 'Sevika Sangha'. Rao to a certain extent tries to resist against the colonial rule and in a way tries to deconstruct the prevalent myth

through the women's participation in freedom struggle which is the beginning of decolonization. By encouraging equal rights for women in different spheres, Rao asserts the importance of women to a non-violent struggle aimed at a fair social order. The programme of national integration is initiated by Gandhi for the improvement of 'harijans' and women, to change the course of the society.

The novel is told through a feminine point of view using the voice of Achakka, an old woman. Achakka traces the story of immense changes that occurs in the life of these marginalized women of pre-independent India by Gandhian movement that is brought to their village by Moorthy, the protagonist of the novel. The characters of Rangamma and Ratna are presented as emerging new women who defy conventions and lead the war of independence. Ratna and Rangamma are the female protagonists and the women leaders of the village. By having Brahmin widow narrator, the author is able to invite sympathy on the involvement of widows, have not always been entirely in control of their sexuality. Hence, marriage as an institution of social control over female sexuality is not absolutely dispensed with. Within the text, both Ratna and Rangamma are mother figures. Ratna displays a concern for the fasting hero and Rangamma is a surrogate mother for Moorthy, after the death of his mother. By following Gandhi, Rao tries to liberate these women from their given image by allotting them more space. But so far, as their primary duties collide with the national activity as members of SevikaSangha, they are advised to perform their key role first:

If we are to help others, we must begin with our husbands and Rangamma tells Satamma 'your husband is not against Sevika Sangha. He only wants to eat in time. Rangamma tells her to be more regular in cooking. We should do our duty. If not, it is no use belonging to Gandhi group'. Rangamma says 'That is right sister' and we say, 'We shall not forget our children and husbands'. (Rao 125)

Rao thus brings out Gandhi's belief in protection of women within the household. In a certain extent, both Rao and Gandhi are also forgetful of the women workers in the fields. In *Kanthapura*, at the formation of Congress, Rangamma is elected as Congress representative since they consider it to be for weak and lowly. In other words, Gandhi and Rao consciously show an ideological

preference for the urban middle class women who balances between both work and family.

Furthermore, the Grandmother's narration on various occasions gives an insight into women's voices outside the limits within which they are supposed to be viewed. After a rehearsal of their roles, Achakka cannot be party to Rangamma's advice about having space in home. She states:

But how can we be like we used to be? Now we hear this story and that story, and we say we too shall organize a foreign cloth boycott like at Sholapur, we too, shall go picketing cigarette shops and toddy shops, and we can say our Kanthapura too shall fight for the mother, and we always see the picture of Rani Lakshmi Bai that Rangamma has on a verandah wall, a queen, sweet and young and bejeweled, riding a white horse and looking out across the narrow river and the hills to where the English armies stand. (Rao 152)

Significantly, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi can be represented as a part of tradition (virtuous), yet imbue with contemporaneousness (liberated). This ensures women not to outreach the specific social imperatives they are used for. In the present context, Achakka's aspirations and sentiments are a challenge to the building of a feminine identity within her home, advocated by Gandhi, consumed by Rao. Here, the difference between the dramatic and nationalistic levels of narration is apparent; the Grandmother separates herself from being an oral storyteller, becoming a character who is no longer prepared to do what Rangamma advocates. On the other hand, she wishes to dedicate herself to nation, like Rani Lakshmi Bai. Achakka too is possibly not prepared to contribute only in terms of spinning. This shrewd intervention of Gandhi is an effective strategy for enlisting women in the national struggle without shifting the terrain of their involvement from their household. Achakka engages with more than simply that domestic; she feels magnified into Rani Lakshmi Bai, and is possessed by Shakti, or the primal, original power which renders the male principle in the godhead, 'purusha', passive, weak and inferior. The women power grows as it assumes identification of Kenchamma (Goddess). Therefore, Kenchamma's role as a woman, who is incarnated in the village create a new dimension in the novel, thus releasing their latent strength. Also, the narration to a female audience from a female perspective adds to the impression of their growing power. Within Gandhi's philosophy, women have

assumed a new proportion or a world that they were never given before.

Nirupama Borgohain's *Abhiyatri* (2000) is the life oriented novel of Chandraprabha Saikiani who used to be the leader of Assam Feminist Movement. Along with showing the social position of women before independence, their participation in the freedom movement and organizing the Women Association of Assam, the novel shows the huge personality of Chandraprabha Saikiani, her work and effort to establish women in equal position like men. It is a feministic novel that encourages women empowerment and women liberation. One of the prominent freedom fighters of pre-independent Assam, Chandraprabha Saikiani has been often considered as a forgotten figure at the time of her death. It is during the last part of 20th century, when women's movement has been picking up at its momentum, this revolutionary woman of pre-independence era is given her due credit.

Nirupama Borgohain, who has fictionalized Chandraprabha Saikiani's life in *Abhiyatri* herself admits that the main inspiration behind writing this novel is her guilt that not much have been written about Chandraprabha Saikiani, the flag bearer of women's liberation in Assam in the early part of 20th century. Borgohain in the preface, thankfully acknowledges Pushpalata Das's rendering 'Bidrohini Chandrapabha', which brings out the legendary life of Chandraprabha and her efforts to change the lives of women of her time. It is the efforts of women like Pushpalata Das, one of the leading voices of modern Assamese identity and Nirupama Borgohain, who is also a great advocate of women's liberation, the forgotten figure of Chandraprabha Saikiani is restored into public memory. Her contribution as a freedom fighter and social worker, as a force behind the 'Mahila Samiti movement', as a feminist and as a rebel in her private life is now being documented and the struggle of a woman in the 1920's to establish her identity against all odds, have become a part of cultural memory. This life led by Chandraprabha Saikiani shows her sincerity, her rebellious nature, her courage to stand out alone against all odds and the supreme belief in the power of women. Till then, women have been denied education, the girls are married off early in their teens and they have lived lives of subjugation under the rule of male figure respectively without raising a voice. In that context, a woman trying to come out of remote village in Assam

and educate herself to secure a prominent position not only for herself but for women in general, has inspired Nirupama Borgohain to write *Abhiyatri*.

Abhiyatri traces the eventful life of Chandraprabha from early childhood at Daisingari village of Kamrup district to her emergence as a freedom fighter and leading light of the women's movement in Assam. Her courage and conviction in the nationalist cause and in women's issues made Chandraprabha, the first Assamese woman to speak from a public platform and capture the attention of the audience with her oratorical prowess. From a very young age, Chandraprabha has devoted herself actively to organizational work for women and during the crucial years of Quit India Movement, she is arrested and jailed for her activities amongst the villagers in the Bajali region Kamrup. Her writings reveal her efforts to universalize her own sufferings by taking up the cause of all the suffering of women of the world. But Chandraprabha, has no romantic illusions about the nationalist agenda of the leaders of freedom struggle. She knows that the resolution of women's question is impossible without conscious activism on the part of the women themselves and she has realized early in life that the burden of giving leadership to such a movement lay on her own shoulders. *Abhiyatri* successfully draws the reader's attention to such significant issues which are relevant for the study of nationalist discourse and women's question to Assam. A hundred years ago, when Chandraprabha has tried to inspire the villagers of Bajali with the message of colonial rule and women's emancipation through modern education, her image is that of a fallen woman who 'wears sandals and rides a bicycle'. Hundred years since then the image has changed completely. The personal reflections with which the book ends do not seem out of place in an otherwise objective presentation of historical facts. This book is a tribute to an extraordinarily gifted woman whose life and work continue to inspire every Assamese woman who is sensitive towards women's issues. It is justifiable that a sensitive writer would sometimes react emotionally when is overwhelmed by shared memories of an oppressive past. However, the male dominated Assamese literary establishment has not taken notice of Chandraprabha Saikiani as a writer, even though many lesser male writers find a place in literary canon. Nirupama Borgohain has voiced the turmoil of the writer Chandraprabha in the novel through the words of her subject herself how the injustice of the time in rejecting a woman as a writer and

her association with Dandinath Kalita does not change anything in her literary career. Her personal and public life as well as the contrast produce by it give the fictionalized biography the credit of being a true rendering of a woman's quest for identity and her place in the process of nation building.

The study illustrates that the story of women's participation in Indian freedom struggle is the story of making bold choices, sacrifices, finding themselves on streets, inside jail and in legislature. The non-violent movement that has gained India freedom not only brought women along but is dependent for its success on the active participation of women. Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* follows Nietzschean idealism which defines history as 'larger than life'. Raja Rao has viewed women as a primordial force that has shaped the destiny of India. Moreover, Nirupama Borgohain's *Abhiyatri* will always remain as a symbol of morality and feminine power for womenfolk. The seeds of participation of women during the freedom movement are the result of the fact that, today there is hardly any area of public life left in independent India where women have not made their dignified presence.

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A Study on the Revolutionary Spirit of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala's "*Jyoti Sangeet*": A Clarion Call to the Unsung Heroes of Assam in Particular and of Bharat in General During the Indian Independence Movement

Darshana Bordoloi

Introduction

An eminent playwright, songwriter, poet, film-maker and a revolutionary patriot, Rupkonwar Jyoti Prasad Agarwala (17 June 1903-17 January 1951) is the cultural icon of the Assamese society. He was born at Tamulbari Tea Estate, Tezpur in a Marwari family to Paramanda Agarwala and Kironmoyee Agarwala. He was born at a time when India was reeling under the colonial power. As he was from a family whose members were politically conscious and active about how to bring freedom to India, made him to participate in the freedom movement with his weapon, 'pen' and its lyrical compositions. Being an ardent follower of M.K. Gandhi, he plunged into the freedom movement with his patriotic poems and songs that were composed in the Assamese language. He composed a good number of patriotic songs during these turbulent days of the freedom movement to inspire the people of Assam to chase away the colonizers from the soil of it. He emerged as a great product of the restless spirit of his time who was bent on motivating and leading the mass with the concept of music. He composed about 300 songs under the compilation of "*Jyoti Sangeet*". These songs can be taken from two sources-(1) his plays like *Sonit Kuwari*,

Nimati Koina, Rupalim, Karengar Ligiri, Lobhita, Kanaklata, etc. and (2) his movies namely *Joymoti, Indramalati, etc.* Each of his songs was a combination of a nationalist ideology, revolutionary thinking, consciousness of humanity and modern consciousness. They reflect the heart and mind of the common mass. The language, thoughts and expressions of each song is very simple. The general public derived strength from the lyrics to fight against the oppressors during those dark days. The songs were the original lesson of struggle for the common man. He used his pen as a force to awaken the Assamese nation in particular and Bharat in general. His songs are not only meant for the youths but also for all section of people of the society including children, women and so on.

Aim of the Study

The aim of this research paper is to study the revolutionary spirit of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala's "*Jyoti Sangeet*" on the common youths and women folk of Assam in particular and of Bharat in general so to arouse nationalism among them and to make them ready to join the freedom movement of India.

Methodology

The researcher has used various relevant secondary but authentic sources like biographies, journals, articles, History of Assamese Literature, web-based information, etc. to carry out this research paper.

Analysis

Revolutionary Spirit among the Youths

To give a concrete identity and to bring unity among the youths of Assam, Jyoti Prasad Agarwala frequently used the term '*Luit*', the mighty Brahmaputra, in most of his "*Jyoti Sangeet*":

*"Luitor Parore Ami Deka Lora
Moriboloi Bhoi Nai"
(Manor Dinor Agnixhur)*

The above mentioned two lines are penned down in such a way that it can ignite the essence of patriotism among the youths of Assam. It shows valour and courage of the youths and their dedication for sacrificing life for their motherland.

Again, the following lines also show the importance of “*Luit*” and “*tez*”, the blood, which is a common symbol of war, battle, courage and enthusiastic youthful days:

Luitor Aakhakhot Torar Torawoli
Parot Dipawali Tezere mur-
Aai Nakandibbi,
Thaponat Tezere Bonti Dilehi
Lora- suwalie Tur.
(Lobhita; Act I)

The above lines are so intensified with the passion of sacrificing life for the cause of motherland; the lines show how the youths have consoled and fortified their motherland by saying ‘*Aai Nakandibbi*’ (don’t cry mother) as they had already lighted the earthen lamps with their own courageous blood of youth. It would be enough to dislodge the foreign power from her soil.

As Assam has been an agrarian region and was basically a village at the time of freedom struggle, Jyoti Prasad Agarwala addressed the youths of the village through the following song to club them together to spread the light of independence in every nook and corner of Assam:

Gaunor Lora Gaone Gaone
Bonti Jolai Jam Ami

Here, the word ‘*Ami*’ is also very significant as it signifies ‘we feeling’ among the people of Assam that encouraged them to unite and fight against the British. The same ‘we feeling’ can be seen in the following song with the words ‘*Ture Mure*’:

Ture Mure Alukore Jatra
Aag Bardhe Aag Bardhe
Jugagrami, Toruno Henani

In the following song Jyoti Prasad Agarwala asked the youths of a new world with the word ‘*Navajuwan*’ to get ready for the harsh path that they had to follow during the combat with the colonizers by giving their blood and life:

Hazu Ho Hazu Ho Navajuwan
Hazu Ho Hazu Ho Navajuwan
Toi Koribo Lagibo Agnisnan
(Lobhita)

Again, the word ‘*Agnisnan*’ is very symbolic. It seems that to fight with the colonizers is like the youths had to pass through the flames of fire which is not any easy task. It needs determination and zeal to bring freedom to their motherland at any cost. Here, they had to follow Gandhiji’s philosophy, ‘Do or Die’ for the cause of motherland. As an ardent follower of Gandhiji, he composed the following line:

*Gaonot Asilu Hui
Gandhie Logale Jui
Bonduk- Barud Nuhuakoie
Sahabok Khedibo Pari Henu.*

The above four lines show the tremendous influence of Gandhiji and his philosophy of non-violence on Jyoti Prasad Agarwal. It says that most of the common people of Assam were in the realm of darkness regarding the freedom struggle. They thought that the British could be only oppressed by powerful weapons of ‘*Bonduk-Barud*’, i.e., arms and ammunitions; but Gandhiji made them to believe in his philosophy of non-violence and *satyagraha* which could be more powerful than any weapons to combat with the colonizers. Moreover, Jyoti always remembered the advice of Gandhiji not to leave his cultural, artistic and literary life in the name of freedom fighting. His valuable words made Jyoti to understand that any writer could be a freedom fighter but all freedom fighters might not be a writer. It touched the heart of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala such a way that he decided to be in the freedom struggle with the power of his literary creations:

*Shilpi Moi
Moiei Shilpi
Aandharor Hote Juji Puhoroloi Jau*

As a responsible ‘*Navajuwan*’ of India and a passionate artist of art and literature, his duty is to be the guide of the unsung heroes of his nation by illuminating their heart and soul with his powerful literary creations.

Again in the following song, he addressed the revolutionary youths of the whole of the powerful nation, *Bharat*, by the words ‘*Hoktihali Bharator*’ to come out and join the battle of freedom:

*Biswa Bijoyi Navajuwan
Biswa Bijoyi Navajuwan*

*Hoktihali Bharator
Ulai Aaha Ulai Aaha
Hontan Tumi Biplobor
(Lobhita as well as Indramalati)*

These above lines show how much he loved the whole of the nation, Bharat and how intensely he tried with his artistic creations to make her free from the foreign power.

Revolutionary Spirit Among the Female Folk

Assam has been a bounteous land since time immemorial. So, many invaders came to loot its precious natural resources time to time. In the pages of history of Assam the names of *biranganas* are also there along with the great warriors like *Lachit Bor Phukan*, *Silarai*, etc who fought fiercely with the invaders to save their motherland. Among the female warriors the names of *Sati Joymati*, *Mulagabharu*, *Kanaklata*, etc. will always be there in the golden pages of history of Assam. Their sacrifice and valour are well glorified in the songs of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala. With their examples through his poems, he appealed the unsung female warriors of that time to fight against the colonial power. In the following song dedicated to the sacrifice of *Sati Joymati*, he uses the word '*Luit*' to unite the female folk of Assam to fight against the British:

*Luitore Pani Jabi O Boi
Luitore Pani Jabi O Boi
Hondhiya Luitor
Pani Xunuwali
Sohore Nogore Jabi O Boi
Joyare Kiriti Dekhe Bidekhe
Hagore Nogore Furibi Koi
(Joymoti)*

In the above lines, he appealed the water of the mighty *Luit* to spread the saga of bravery of *Sati Joymoti* across the whole world.

Again in the following stanza the poet composes the song in such a manner that could enough to ignite the patriotic feeling among the female folk of Assam. The words like '*Dexor Hoke*' symbolize the dedication of sacrificing life for the sake of motherland:

*Etupi Dutupi Teze Tinitupi
Dexor Hoke Joyaye Gole Bilai
Axomor Jiori Axomor Buari
Etupi Sokulu Jua Pelai
(Joymoti)*

The play *Lobhita* is not an imaginary drama. It portrays the emotional journey of Indian national and social life with the help of the protagonist, *Lobhita*. It also specifically captures the tyrannical rule of the colonizers during the period of freedom struggle of India. So, most of the songs are related to nationalistic essence which can arouse patriotic feeling among the people of Assam. The volunteers (male and female youths) are singing like this in one of its Act:

*O Amar Gaon
O Amar Gaon
Amar Gaonor Man Rakhi
Moriboloi Jau...
(Act I, Scene ii)*

His character *Lobhita* is an embodiment of boldness and rebelliousness. Even when she is down with bullet shots in her chest, she motivates her fellow Assamese soldiers to fight with the powerful colonizers:

*Gat Etupi Tez Thake Mane
Ukha Thake Mane
Juz Kora
Aji Gutei Axomiar, Gotei Hindustanor Sanman Tumulukor Hatot
Agbarha
(Act V)*

Joymoti and *Lobhita* are not only inspirational figures of the Assamese society, but through the literary creations of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala they also become the iconic unsung heroes of freedom struggle of India.

Revolutionary Spirit among All People of Bharat

To unite the common mass of India, Jyoti Prasad Agarwala composed his songs by incorporating the word “*Bharat*”:

Mure Bharatore
Mure Xopunore
Siro Xundoro Xongoskriti

With the help of the above lines, he praises the diversified and the civilized culture of India and appeals the people of it to come together and to fight against the British so to save the unique culture and traditions of it. In an other song, he shows his patriotic and revolutionary feeling by addressing his motherland, *Bharat* in the following manner:

Kune Kole Tuk Hokotibihin Buli
Aai Tur Putro Hokotibonto
Aai Tur Putro Hokotibonto
Bharoti Aai mur, Bharoti Aai O.

The above lines portray the dedication of each brave patriot of Bharat to save her from the foreign power by sacrificing their life. So, he appeals the youths to awake from darkness and come together to save their motherland:

Jaga Nava Bharator
Jaga Nava Axomor
Uddhudhita Jana Matri

Conclusion

As Jyoti Prasad Agarwala was a versatile artist, he brought about a renaissance in Assamese literature and culture. Along with the “*Jyoti Sangeet*”, most of his creative compositions and literary works are testimonials of his positive nationalist approach. In 1935, he pioneered the Assamese film industry by making the first Assamese film, ‘*Joymoti*’ which shows a glaring example of valour and courage of not only the historical figure of Sati Joymoti, but of the common female folk of Assam bearing their dare devil attitude to combat their opponents, the powerful British force. In his celebrated play ‘*Labhita*’, he talks about the August Revolution of 1942 through the female protagonist, Labhita who had fought with the British soldiers bravely. His patriotic songs were the inspiration behind the struggle for Indian independence in the region. Most of his creative writings were inspired from the times of Non-Cooperation movement and Quit India. In the preface of *Sonit Konwari* (1925) he states that the national inspiration encouraged in him by the Non-Cooperation movement which motivated to

explore traditional music in plays. During the ‘Quit India’ movement of 1942, under his fearless leadership unsung heroes like Kanaklata, Mukunda Kakoty, etc. embraced martyrdom while trying to hoist the tricolor in places like Gohpur, Sootea, Tezpur and Dhekiajuli. He knew the fact that without mass participation and support, the struggle for Indian independence could not sustain and hence he created his patriotic songs urging the citizens to come forward and strive for freedom. Thus, the critic Dhiren Bhagawati has accurately said, “Like Orpheus, Jyoti Prasad Agarwala with his musical and poetic skills ignited the fire of patriotism among the masses and enchanted them to throng the freedom movement.” (Bhagawati 40-41). His determination and his commitment to art and music and to the cause of India’s freedom and its people, earned him the epithet “Rupkonwar” by which he is popularly known today. He died on 17 January 1951. Being a major figure of Assamese culture and society, it is in recognition of his effort and in celebration of his life that January 17 is observed as the “Shilpi Divas” (a day for the celebration of art and artists) throughout the state of Assam.

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Resistance through Innocence: The Indian Independence Movement in R.K. Narayan's *Swami and Friends*

Akash Borchetia

The Indian freedom movement was a revolutionary movement that encompassed various activities and ideas aiming to end the colonial rule or the British imperialism in the Indian subcontinent. The movement spanned a total of around ninety years. By the 1920s and 1930s, literature had come to occupy a central role in the Indian nationalist movement. The Indian writers of that period began to imagine cultural unity through their fictional and poetic works. Their literary works not only reflected the politics of Indian leaders but also highlighted the issues raised and faced by the people of India during the freedom struggle. Writers such as R.K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand and Raja Rao tried to reflect the idea of nation and nationalism through their novels. Indian English literatures, despite of being under an initial scepticism for its hybrid characteristic, immensely contributed in its own way to the emergence and spread of nationalistic ideas during the era of independence movement of India. R.K. Narayan's *Swami and Friends* is set in a small, fictional South Indian Town in India in the 1930s. Being set in a politically significant time, the novel captures the intensities and urgencies of the contemporary India in the wake of the Indian freedom movement. In Narayan's novel *Swami and Friends* the novelist tries to delineate how the British Raj transformed the century-old Indian culture into a hybrid one making people accept certain aspects of the coloniser's culture even as they were struggling against the colonial rule politically for Indian independence. When *Swami and Friends* was published the

anti British sentiment had spread out like a fury all over India, engaging the whole nation in its struggle for independence.

Swami and Friends is basically a child centric novel and hence it does not merely deal with the harsh realistic issues and the socio political aspects. But Narayan by no means is totally ignorant to these affairs rather he criticizes the colonial empire from the viewpoint of a schoolboy named *Swami*. The novel highlights the anti British upsurge that affects the small town *Malgudi*. *Swami and Friends* is one of the most remarkable works of the pre-colonial literature in English. The novel documents the effects of contemporary socio-political situations on the minds of children like Swami and reflects through the children characters, the intensity and the pervasiveness of the impact of independence movement that stirred all the sections of the society.

R.K. Narayan started his career as a novelist with *Swami and Friends* which was published in 1935. The book provides an insight into the Indian society between the period 1920s and 1930s when the anti-British sentiment and its resultant movement was at the peak. The plot of the novel revolves around the activities of Swaminathan, the little protagonist and his friends. The novel vividly portrays Indian culture and life and conditions of the rural people of India. Although being a schoolboy, Swaminathan is very much aware of the political unrest of the 1930s that affects the small town Malgudi. Very early in the novel *Swami and Friends*, Narayan introduced the conflict between the British rulers and the ruled in colonial India. In his characteristic mode of comedy, he viewed this conflict in terms of cultural collision between Christianity and traditional Hinduism. In the chapter “Broken Panes” there is a description of the strike in the school. Swami and his friends attend the public meeting organised to protest the arrest of Gauri Shankar, a prominent public leader of Bombay. The chapter portrays a distinctive picture of the revolt which brought a drastic change to the life of Swami. Swami was highly influenced by the leader’s speech about the question of Indian identity. Narayan expresses his fierce disobedience towards the British rule through the eloquence of the speaker. Here is one example:

“We are slaves today....worse slaves than we have ever been before. Let us remember our heritage...just think for a while, we are three hundred and thirty three millions, and our land is as big as Europe minus Russia. England is no bigger than our Madras

Presidency and is inhabited by a hand full of white rogues and is thousands of miles away,...Let every Indian spit on England, and the quantity of saliva will be enough to drown England.” (Narayan 95).

Stirred by the speaker’s eloquence, Swaminathan shouts “*Gandhi ki jai*”. Swami also shows interest in the boycott of English goods and pleads to wear homespun cloth. He flings his cap into the fire with a feeling of saving the country. The anti-colonial activity of *Swami* in joining the agitation and thus burning his British cap enrages his father very much. He rebukes Swami for his act of rebelliousness against the British rule. This attitude of Swami’s father displays his indirect support towards the British Raj. The same person also writes a complaint to the headmaster of Albert Mission School against its fanatic scripture teacher who abuses Hindu deities and punishes *Swami* for doubting Christ’s identity. The father of Swami, displays the nature of Indian bourgeoisie during the colonial period who supported the British rule advocating the propagation of colonial modernity. The Britishers, through the propagation of concepts such as the “downward filtration theory”, tried educating the Indian middle class “who were expected to assume the task of educating the masses and spreading modern ideas among them” Ahir. *Swami*’s father is the representative of the urban middle class which was supportive of the imperial system.

The 20th century in Indian politics was dominated by the presence of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi’s immense influence and his miraculous identity empowered millions of Indians to participate in the revolution against independence. Gandhi’s influence touched the minds of the people of all age groups and all the social classes of the society. Narayan also narrates the impact of Gandhian thoughts and ideas in the mind of *Swaminathan*, or *Swami* and his friends in the novel. Narayan tries to tell how *Swami*, the hero of the novel, got initiated into the Gandhian way of national protest. The Gandhian ideologies are prevalent in the way *Swami* boycotts the British goods and turns his attention towards Khaddar. The novel also shows how much Gandhi was loved by Indians who unfortunately failed to realise the true spirit of his non-violent movement. Narayan narrates:

“A great cry burst from the crowd ‘Bharat mata ki jai!’ And then there were cries of ‘Gandhi ki jai!’....A couple of boys

wearing Gandhi caps went round begging people to burn their foreign cloth” (Narayan 96)

But strangely enough, Narayan also describes Swami being departed from the Gandhian views and getting involved in some affairs which are not nonviolent at all. *Swami* was admonished by the headmaster of Albert Mission School when he joined an angry mob in throwing stones at the Albert Mission School for taking part in the political demonstration. Swami broke the window panes of his own school. It proves that *Swami* joined the anti-British rally not merely out of fun what the immature children normally do, but inspired by a sense of patriotism. *Swami* was so charged by the nationalist speech that he could not prevent himself from breaking the windowpanes. The novel shows the different facets of resistance to colonialism, one chosen by extremists and the other, by the moderates. The allegiance of the common people often fluctuated between the two, and many people, adhered to the thoughts of extremism. The novel underscores, though in a subtle way, the complexities involving people’s affiliations to different political ideologies of resistance and struggle through the character of Swami.

Swami’s participation in the political demonstration is a significant aspect of the novel. *Swami* was humiliated by the policeman and badly injured when the policeman’s *lathi* descended on his body. Even though he begged for mercy, the policemen did not let him go. This molestation created a serious affect on *Swami’s* mind and made him a more aggressive and stronger dissuader of the British Raj. It is notable that in the novel Narayan has voiced the independent metaphor not merely through *Swaminathan* but also through his father and friends and some other character as well whose names are not mentioned in the novel. It was *Swami’s* friend *Mani* who told Swamito use khaddar in place of the Lancashire cloth. Here is a statement of *Mani* that reflects his views regarding this matter:

“Of course, khaddar. Do you think I will pay a paisa to those Lancashire devils? No, they won’t get it out of me.” (Narayan 96).

It is notable that Swami and his father’s attitude to the British rule are quite shifty. In the novel, Swami raises his voice against imperial authority but his rebellions are aborted and in the end he submits to the colonial status. It should be remembered that

Narayan was not a political writer and he was not writing the novel as a political propaganda to accelerate the pace of independence movement. What he has done as a politically conscious writer is objectively record the anti-British sentiment and the nationalist movement activities of the time.

It is evident from the present study that R.K. Narayan depicts a distinctive picture of the Indian national movement in his novel *Swami and friends*. The Gandhian thoughts and idea of nationalism also occupies an important place in the novel. Narayan's attempt to create a political awareness with the idea of nationalism is evident in the novel. In *Swami and friends* Narayan has just shown how earnestly Indians were struggling for freedom as was evident from the fact that children like Swami were greatly affected by the nationalist movement. Swami's response and reaction to the nationalist sentiment may not be well through and perceived but it was spontaneous and patriotic.

Narayan's anti-British feelings and utterly scornful remarks on the colonial empire in India have been scattered in different parts of the novel *Swami and Friends*. Whenever he has got an opportunity to include an anti-colonial element in the novel, he has appropriately used it by exposing the lawlessness and exploitations practiced by the colonial authority. Narayan portrays the turbulent times of the freedom struggle throughout the novel.

An analysis of the novel reveals that the novel fictionalizes the adventures of a group of boys growing up in the colonial era in the midst of the disturbances of the nationalist struggles and recorded the way how unconsciously the colonized accepted some facets of the culture of the colonizer despite struggling against the same freedom. However, the novel also brought the concerns of national feeling among the English-reading individuals and groups including those up in administrative hierarchy serving the British Empire at that time.

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The Partition of Trauma and Violence: A Study of Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan*

Anansha Borthakur

Introduction

Khushwant Singh's most celebrated work is undoubtedly "Train to Pakistan," which draws on his personal encounters during and after the 1947 partition of India. The book was released in 1956, several years after the traumatic event. The euphoria of independence was dampened by widespread religious intolerance, violence, and unspeakable atrocities. The aftermath of India's independence resulted in one of the most significant population movements in history, with an estimated 14 million refugees, and over two million people perishing in the carnage.

No one was exempt from the horrors that unfolded. Trains carried corpses, while arson, abductions on a massive scale, and sexual assault were commonplace throughout the country. In his book *Midnight Furies*, Nisid Hajari writes, "Gangs of killers set whole villages aflame, hacking to death men and children and the aged while carrying off young women to be raped. Some British soldiers and journalists who had witnessed the Nazi death camps claimed partition's brutalities were worse: pregnant women had their breasts cut off and babies hacked out of their bellies; infants were found literally roasted on spits." (Hajari, 156) The estimated number of women raped, mutilated, and killed was around 75,000. The scale of the genocide and the savage, calculated acts of brutality that engulfed the region during the partition period justify comparisons with the Nazi death camps. It is widely regarded as

one of the darkest chapters in the history of both India and Pakistan, as well as world history.

Violence and Suffering

Train to Pakistan opens with a disturbing description of the communal violence that the land was rife with.

"... The summer before, communal riots, precipitated by reports of the proposed division of the country into a Hindu India and a Muslim Pakistan had broken out in Calcutta, and within a few months, the death toll mounted to several thousand. Muslims said the Hindus had planned and started the killing. According to the Hindus, the Muslims were to blame. The fact is, both sides were killed. Both shot and stabbed and speared and clubbed. Both tortured. Both raped." (Singh, 1)

In stark contrast, the following scene presents a serene image of Mano Majra, a charming village located on the India-Pakistan border. The inhabitants of the village were predominantly Sikhs and Muslims, but there were also a few Christians and a lone Hindu family. The story's protagonist, a bandit named Juggut Singh, comes under suspicion for the murder of the head of this Hindu family, introducing us to the novel's central character. Upon the arrival of the first 'ghost train' from Pakistan at Mano Majra, the villagers are unaware that it contains the bodies of 1,500 Sikhs and Hindus. It isn't until soldiers arrive to collect firewood and kerosene oil to cremate the corpses that the villagers become aware of the grim reality. The stench of burning flesh leads them to the spine-chilling realization of the tragic events that had taken place. On another occasion, they witness the digging of a mass grave and the dumping of stretchers into it. The only character who directly witnesses the inhumane brutality is a jaded and traumatized individual named Hukum Chand, who tends to dissociate whenever confronted with such situations. "The sight of so many dead had at first produced a cold numbness. Within a couple of hours, all his emotions were dead, and he watched corpses of men and women and children being dragged out, with as little interest as if they had been trunks and bedding." (Singh, 89)

Thus, Hukum Chand, a character who has witnessed numerous deaths in his lifetime, is left stunned by the civil war,

highlighting how traumatic it must have been for ordinary people. Unspeakable atrocities were perpetrated against people by savages on each side. There was no limit to the cruelty committed in the name of honour and pride, and they were only spurned on by the fanatical religious leaders on both sides.

Although the residents of Mano Majra were not entirely oblivious to the chaos and destruction brought about by independence, they remained apathetic towards it, perhaps unable to comprehend the significance and scale of the historical event. At the novel's outset, communal harmony prevailed in the village, with everyone living peacefully alongside one another. However, mob mentality soon causes the Sikh villagers to turn against their Muslim friends and neighbours. Seeds of hatred sown in their minds lead them to regard those they once called friends with suspicion and wariness, ultimately destroying the bond between them.

"... Muslims sat and moped in their houses. Rumours of atrocities committed by Sikhs on Muslims in Patiala, Ambala and Kapurthala, which they had heard and dismissed, came back to their minds. They had heard of gentlewomen having their veils taken off, being stripped and marched down crowded streets to be raped in the marketplace.....Quite suddenly every Sikh in Mano Majra became a stranger with evil intent. his long hair and beard he appeared barbarous; his Kirpan menacingly anti-Muslim. for the first time, the name Pakistan came to mean something to them, a haven of refuge where there were no Sikhs. (Singh, 120).

The novel depicts three significant episodes of violence and agony, and one of them is introduced at this juncture. After the Muslim villagers are instructed to leave for a camp and then to be sent to Pakistan, the Sutlej River, which runs alongside Mano Majra, begins to swell. In anticipation of possible flooding, the Lambardar decides to organise a night watch to keep a close eye on the river. As the men watch, another ghost train arrives at Mano Majra's station, but the horrors don't stop there. When the sun rises, the people witnessed, "There were also men and women with their clothes clinging to their bodies, little children sleeping on their bellies with their arms touching the water and their tiny buttocks dipping in and out. The sky was soon full of kites and vultures. They flew down and landed on the floating carcasses. They packed till

the corpses themselves rolled over and shoved them off with their hands." (Singh, 143)

Exploiting the tense and sombre atmosphere, a group of Sikh youths arrive at Mano Majra with the intention of provoking the Sikhs there to seek revenge. Through taunts and jeers, they successfully incite the locals and fuel their anger. Driven by a thirst for retribution and justice for their fallen Sikh brethren, they hatch a plan to string a rope across a bridge which the train carrying Muslim passengers would soon pass under. The plan was to sweep off the hundreds of people sitting on the roof of the train, and also to open fire inside the windows to kill everyone on board. However, Juggut Singh, who was concerned about the safety of his lover Nooran, a passenger on the train, foils their plan. He sacrifices his own life to cut the rope that would have led to the death of many innocent people.

It is noteworthy that, despite the backdrop of violence and bloodshed, there are only a few instances of direct violence in the novel. Instead, the author chooses to explore the psychological impact of the partition's trauma and suffering, which is a departure from the typical approach taken in historical fiction. Rather than depicting violence, the novel focuses on the aftermath of violent incidents, offering a unique perspective.

According to Rituparna Roy, "...in Train to Pakistan, the violence that erupted at the time of the partition is represented in a very unusual way. There is no detailed description in the novel of the train journey undertaken by the refugees in terms of either the practical difficulties faced or the dangers involved. More importantly, we are also not shown the violence happening; for there is not even a reported description of the incidents in the novel. We are just informed about the end result of the violence: the trainloads of corpses that arrive at Mano Majra. What is detailed by Khushwant Singh is the aftermath of the violence, that is, how the trainloads of the dead are successfully disposed of, how it changes everything in the village; and how another similar event is prevented from happening." (Roy, 36)

Women and Their Sufferings

It is evident that gender inequality was rampant in India and Pakistan during the partition. The patriarchal system subjugated women, leaving them at the mercy of men. The civil war that ensued after the partition took a heavy toll on women, who were the primary victims. It is unfair to hold the women in the novel responsible for their complacency and acquiescence in their own oppression, as they were never taught to assert themselves.

In the novel, women are presented as mere objects whose sole purpose is to serve and please the head of their families. The men provide for the family, while the women stay at home and focus on household chores. "Women rub clarified butter into each other's hair, pick lice from their children's heads, and discuss births, marriages and deaths." (Singh, 5). They are treated without a single ounce of humanity and compassion. Threats of bodily harm and sexual assault are common throughout the novel. "Yes, another added warmly, we first, then you. If anyone raises his eyebrows at you, we will rape his mother. Mother, sister and daughter, added the others." (Singh, 113)

To humiliate a man, the women in his family are targeted, irrespective of their age. They are depicted as the property of men and are portrayed as objects that can be used as either a source of pleasure or revenge. Khan Touseef Osman aptly commented, "Violence is embedded in the relationship to such an extent that women are hegemonised into believing pain to be integrally associated with pleasure." (Osman, 18)

This can be justified by observing what Sundari (Hukum Chand's servant's daughter) is told by her friends when she marries Mansa Ram. They insist she should not take off her red bangles to have good luck. "Let him break them when he makes love to you and mauls you." (Singh, 186) This ritual of violence supposedly wards off bad luck and results in a long and happy relationship. However, what happens to her and her husband next is truly ghastly and harrowing.

"They held him by his arms and legs and one man cut off his penis and gave it to her. The mob made love to her. She did not have to take off any of her bangles. They were all smashed, she lay

in the road, being taken by one man and another and another." (Singh, 187)

After examining various instances of sexual assault, the use of derogatory language towards women, and their mistreatment by men, it can be concluded that the state of women in post-colonial India was appalling. Women were deemed inferior to men and were viewed as mere objects whose sole purpose was to fulfil the desires of men without regard for their own thoughts and opinions. The lack of strong female characters in *Train to Pakistan* also speaks volumes about the status and position of women during the time of partition.

Conclusion

Train to Pakistan effectively portrays the harsh reality of the trauma and distress that followed the Partition of India in 1947. Despite the challenges of describing one of the most violent and devastating periods in the history of India and Pakistan without overshadowing the storyline, Khushwant Singh has managed to capture the suffering in a way that does not detract from the plot of the novel. However, the instances of violence and suffering described are vividly and brutally depicted, especially those inflicted on women, including sexual assault, disfigurement, and mutilation, even on pregnant women. Overall, the novel is rightly acknowledged as one of the greatest works on the partition, as it presents a grim and authentic portrayal of the situation in India during the days following independence. Although the characters are flawed, with little development, the novel provides an accurate depiction of the reality of the country at that time. It is a sombre reminder that August 1947 was not a time of celebration and joy, but rather a period of communal violence and suffering due to inhumane acts that left a lasting impact on the people. *Train to Pakistan* is praised for its honest portrayal of the violence and suffering that occurred, giving an accurate reflection of how freedom impacted ordinary people.

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Freedom through Philosophy: Examining the Philosophical Ideas that Shaped India's Fight for Independence

Ananya Goswami

The Indian freedom movement was one of the most significant events in the history of India. It was a time when people from all walks of life came together to demand their right to self-determination and freedom from British rule. At the heart of this movement were a number of philosophical ideas that played a crucial role in shaping India as a nation. These ideas were drawn from Indian philosophy that dates back to ancient times. The ideas of human rights, social justice, and the role of the state in promoting the welfare of its citizens were all central to this tradition.

The Indian philosophical tradition is one of the oldest in the world, with a history spanning over 3000 years. It encompasses a wide range of philosophical schools, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Islam. These schools have all contributed to the development of a distinct Indian philosophical tradition that has had a profound impact on Indian culture and society. The philosophical ideas that influenced the Indian freedom movement were drawn from them. They provided a framework for understanding the nature of human rights and social justice, and for articulating a vision of India as a nation that was rooted in the values of democracy and freedom.

In this essay, we will explore the philosophical ideas that influenced the Indian freedom movement, and examine the ways in which they continue to shape India's political and cultural landscape. We will begin by examining the key ideas of Indian

philosophy, before going on to explore their role in the Indian freedom movement.

Indian philosophy is a complex and diverse tradition that encompasses a wide range of philosophical ideas and schools of thought. It has been shaped by a number of historical, cultural, and religious influences, and has evolved over time in response to changing social, political, and economic conditions. The philosophical ideas that emerged from this tradition were not just abstract concepts, but were deeply embedded in the cultural and social fabric of Indian society. The Indian freedom movement drew upon this philosophical tradition to articulate a vision of a nation that was rooted in the values of democracy and freedom. This vision was not just about political independence, but also about social and economic liberation. The leaders of the Indian freedom movement understood that freedom could not be achieved without addressing the deep-seated inequalities and injustices that existed in Indian society. They saw the struggle for freedom as part of a broader struggle for social and economic justice.

The philosophical ideas that influenced the Indian freedom movement were diverse and multifaceted. They included ideas about the nature of the self and the universe, the relationship between the individual and society, the role of the state in promoting the welfare of its citizens, and the importance of human dignity and respect for human rights.

The Indian freedom movement was a historic moment in world history that challenged the oppressive and exploitative colonial rule of the British Empire. At the heart of this movement were a set of philosophical ideas that sought to create a more just and equitable society based on the principles of non-violence, self-rule, and social justice. The movement was led by a diverse group of individuals, from Mahatma Gandhi to Ambedkar, who drew on the rich intellectual and cultural traditions of India to challenge the injustices of colonialism.

The principle of non-violence, or ahimsa, was central to the Indian freedom movement and remains one of its most enduring legacies. Mahatma Gandhi, the pre-eminent leader of the movement, believed that non-violence was not just a tactic but a way of life that could transform individuals and societies. As he famously said, "Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction

devised by the ingenuity of man." Gandhi's commitment to non-violence was based on the principle of respect for all life and the belief that violence only begets more violence. He saw non-violence not as a passive or weak approach, but as a powerful force that could bring about social and political change through peaceful means. As he wrote, "Non-violence is not a garment to be put on and off at will. Its seat is in the heart, and it must be an inseparable part of our very being." Another important principle that influenced the Indian freedom movement was the idea of self-rule, or swaraj. This idea was drawn from the ancient Hindu philosophical tradition, which held that individuals have the right to govern themselves and to live according to their own values and beliefs. Gandhi saw swaraj as a fundamental principle of Indian society, and he believed that it was essential for achieving political and social liberation. The concept of swaraj was not just about political independence, but also about economic and social empowerment. Gandhi believed that India could only achieve true freedom if it became economically self-sufficient and if its people were able to live in dignity and security. He saw swaraj as a means of achieving this goal, by empowering local communities and promoting self-sufficiency and self-reliance. Moreover, Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence was not just a political strategy, but a deeply held ethical and moral principle. He believed that non-violence was essential for achieving not just political freedom, but also spiritual liberation. By refusing to use violence, Gandhi sought to demonstrate the moral superiority of his cause and to inspire others to join the struggle for freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru on the other hand, was deeply influenced by socialist and Marxist ideas and believed that a more just and equitable society could only be achieved through democratic socialism. He advocated for policies that sought to uplift the poor and marginalized and worked tirelessly to ensure that the benefits of independence were shared by all Indians.

The Indian freedom movement also drew upon the idea of secularism or social justice, which holds that the state should be neutral with respect to religion and should not favor one religion over another. This idea was rooted in the Islamic and Enlightenment philosophical traditions, which emphasized the importance of individual freedom and the separation of religion and state. The leaders of the Indian freedom movement saw secularism as essential for creating a diverse and inclusive society, in which all individuals could live freely and without fear of persecution or discrimination.

They believed that the state should protect the rights of all individuals, regardless of their religion, caste, or creed. As Ambedkar noted, "The idea of political freedom without social freedom is meaningless. Freedom must include both the freedom of the individual and the freedom of society." The movement sought to create a more egalitarian and inclusive society that would promote the dignity and well-being of all its citizens, regardless of their caste, religion.

However, the Indian freedom movement also faced many challenges along the way. The British Empire responded to the freedom movement with violence and repression, including the infamous Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919. The movement also faced internal divisions and conflicts, as different groups struggled to agree on a common vision for India's future. Despite these challenges, the Indian freedom movement succeeded in achieving its goal of independence in 1947. This was a historic moment in world history, and it inspired other movements for independence and social justice around the world. These philosophical ideas also played a significant role in shaping the Indian Constitution, which was adopted in 1950; three years after India gained its independence from British rule. The Constitution enshrined the principles of democracy, secularism, and social justice, drawing heavily on the philosophical ideas that had influenced the Indian freedom movement. The Constitution also provided for the protection of fundamental rights, including the right to equality, freedom of religion, and the right to life and personal liberty. These rights were based on the principles of ahimsa and swaraj, and reflected a commitment to creating a more just and equitable society.

The philosophical ideas that influenced the Indian freedom movement were not just abstract concepts, but were deeply embedded in the cultural and social fabric of Indian society. Today, these ideas continue to shape the political, social, and cultural landscape of India. The concept of ahimsa, for example, has influenced a range of social and political movements, including the environmental and animal rights movements. The idea of swaraj has also inspired a renewed focus on local self-governance and community empowerment, particularly in rural areas of the country.

However, the relevance of these philosophical ideas is not limited to India alone. They have broader implications for understanding the nature of human rights, social justice, and the role

of the state in promoting the welfare of its citizens. They offer a powerful critique of authoritarian regimes and a framework for promoting democratic values and institutions. In a world that is increasingly marked by social and political polarization, the philosophical ideas that influenced the Indian freedom movement offer a powerful reminder of the importance of diversity, tolerance, and respect for human rights.

In conclusion, the Indian freedom movement was a remarkable period in the country's history, driven by powerful philosophical ideas and principles. From Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent resistance to Ambedkar's fight for social justice, the freedom fighters of India were motivated by a shared vision of a free and equal society. Their legacy continues to inspire us today, reminding us of the power of collective action and the importance of fighting for justice and equality. While India has made tremendous progress since gaining independence, there is still much work to be done. The country continues to grapple with issues of poverty, inequality, and discrimination, and it is up to us to carry on the legacy of the freedom fighters and work towards a better future for all. As we reflect on the philosophical ideas that drove the Indian freedom movement, we are reminded of the profound impact that one person or a group of people can have on the world. We are also reminded of the importance of staying true to our principles and fighting for what is right, even in the face of adversity.

Furthermore, the Indian freedom movement is a testament to the power of ideas and philosophy in shaping the course of history. It demonstrates that ideas, when translated into action, can transform societies and change the course of human events. As we move forward into the future, it is important to remember the philosophical underpinnings of the Indian freedom movement and apply them to the challenges we face today.

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Repositioning Chandraprabha Saikiani within the Feminist Discourse of Colonial Assam

Anchala Duarah

Introduction

Women's freedom in India from the very past was always restricted and controlled. With the emergence of the institution of private property and men's growing conquest over it, women came to be seen as a child bearing machine that would produce sons to ensure a perpetual hold over the resources. This notion objectified women and their sexuality came to be 'channelized into legitimate motherhood within a tightly controlled structure of reproduction.' (Chakravarti 581) The whole idea of women's subordination have been centred on the passive role they have been assigned to from past. In Assam, the introduction of Brahmanism by the Early Kamarupa kingdoms has created for the incessant domination of women. The modern period was no better for women. Even when the British overtook Assam in the nineteenth century, women were confined to four walls of the house to protect them from the outsiders, and were totally secluded from the public sphere. According to Partha Chatterjee, the struggle against British dominance was built around a separation of the domain of culture into two spheres-the material and the spiritual (Chatterjee 623). The inner sphere (spiritual) in general was representative of the women where their sexuality needs to be defended and the outer sphere (material) is represented by the colonial or post colonial state, largely considered a dominion of men. Consequently, the struggle against the colonial rule was seen as a stronghold of men and women were just participants from behind.

There is a dearth of available sources bearing a detailed analysis of Chandraprabha Saikiani's view of a caste ridden society and how she challenged gender norms. Prior to indulging in a critical analysis of Chandraprabha's contribution and ideas in the national movement of Assam, a bulk of other theoretical works have been examined in order to formulate a proper understanding of the concepts of gender identity, women's agency and patriarchy throughout history. One such book by Gerda Lerner is *The Creation of Patriarchy*, a revolutionary piece of intellect dealing elaborately with the coherent theories of masculinity and femininity, giving insights into the history of subordination of women and their sexuality and how this was channelized into women's 'inherent' reproductive capacity (Lerner 22). A more recent take on Indian women's history has been forwarded by Geraldine Forbes through her work, *Women in Modern India*, a contributory history of women in colonial India focussing on women's agency and their confrontation with the institution of patriarchy. Meeta Dekka in her book, *Women's Agency and Social Change: Assam and Beyond* takes a valuable standpoint in understanding the history of Northeast India by exploring the various feminist narratives and pointing out the disciplinary gaps that exist in the writing of gender history in Assam and creates further scope for research on the topic. Lastly, the most important book, *Emergence of Feminism and Feminist Nationalism in Assam: Role of Chandra Prabha Saikia and the Asom Pradeshi Mahila Samiti* by Shiela Bora draws out a vivid trajectory of the formation of the Asom Pradeshi Mahila Samiti and the role played by Chandraprabha Saikiani as its forerunner. The work is an attempt to gaze deeper into the changing socio-cultural milieu of the time stirred by the excellent leadership and mobilisation skills of Saikiani in initiating a feminist-nationalist movement in Assam, officially unfolded by the establishment of the Asom Mahila Samiti in 1926. The chapter mainly aims at understanding Chandraprabha Saikiani's undaunted efforts in working at the grassroot level of the society and her questioning of the prevalent gender norms and patriarchal mindset in Assam

The Feminist Discourse: Chandraprabha's Experience and Contribution

The genesis of feminist movement in Assam was spearheaded by Chandraprabha Saikiani, as an attempt to secure for the women in Assam a life of dignity and freedom. As a part of her

feminist agenda, she gave considerable stress to the idea of dissemination of female education. The establishment of Asom Mahila Samiti came as a breakthrough in the social and political context of the time bringing about a sense of awakening and self realisation amongst women. Chandraprabha's view on gender equality was largely shaped by her personal experiences and observations.

To understand better the origin of feminist discourse in Assam, it is important to look into the experiences and contribution of Chandraprbha Saikiani, the pioneer of women's movement in Assam. She was born to Ratiram Majumdar and Gangapriya in Daisinagari, Bajali as Chandapriya. Her father was a village headman, a reputed person revered by everyone. Due to poverty, he had to struggle a lot to give his children a good life. However, owing to his political position, he came in contact with many eminent personalities with whom he would discuss worldly matters, politics and modern ideas. This might have been the reason why he chose to educate his daughters despite poor accessibility to primary and secondary schools for girls. His daughters, Chandapriya and Rameswari received primary education in a nearby village, Bhaluki, staying with their maternal aunt. Chandraprabha was always determined to work towards the education of women in her village having faced the difficulties herself to get educated. She opened a girl's school named, *Abhinav* in the village of Akaya in 1913 to promote the importance of education for girls. The school lacked quality infrastructure yet it was a pioneering attempt at ensuring female education. Seeing her zeal towards education, Nilakanta Baruah, the then Inspector of Schools, BARPETA invited her to complete her studies in the Nagaon Mission School along with her sister in 1915. The American Baptist Missionaries played a significant role in promoting education and setting up schools for girls. Although the motive was quite in favour of the British, it did help a lot of privileged sections to benefit from it. She then completed her Teacher's training programme in 1917 and worked in a primary school in Nagaon for some time and then moved to Tezpur as a Principal of a Government Middle Vernacular School. (Bora 10) The journey to Tezpur was life changing for her. She met prominent leaders of the time like Omeo Kumar Das, Chandranath Sarma and Jyoti Prasad Agarwala and was straightaway inspired by them to join the National Movement. In 1918, in one of the sessions

of *Asom Chatra Sanmilian*, Chandraprabha fiercely supported the resolution passed by Omeo Kumar Das to boycott Opium and startled everyone with her fearless speech. It was for the first time that a woman stood up to share her opinion in public. Later, she along with her sister Rajniprabha became the first women delegates to attend the session of Asom Sahitya Sabha in 1919. From here starts her journey as a social and political leader.

Prior to 1920s, women organizations were not much popular in Assam and even in the whole of Northeast. The other regional organizations like Assam Association, *Asom Chatra Sanmilian*, *Asom Sahitya Sabha* were male dominant and were negligent of women's rights and freedom. Local women's organization like, Dibrugarh Mahila Samiti and Sibsagar Mahila Samiti though existed but contributed little towards uplifting the lower sections of women and remained restricted to the elites. In 1914, the educated intelligentsia of Sibsagar got together and decided to organize *Joymoti Utsav* to commemorate Joymoti on her death anniversary. The responsibility of organizing this was voluntarily shouldered by a group of women who then for the very purpose formed the Sibsagar Mahila Samiti in 1916. Few other notable women's organizations in Assam- the Nagaon Mahila Samiti and Tezpur Mahila Samiti- also intended to establish a congenial environment for women to stride towards the path of progress. Chandraprabha Saikiani played an active role in the activities of Tezpur Mahila Samiti (as the Secretary) along with Kironmoyee Agarwalla (the President). But a concerted effort was necessary to create a common platform for all the women of Assam irrespective of their caste, class and community in order to make their voices heard. Thus it marked the beginning of a women's movement in Assam. The AMS came into existence in 1926 which later came to be known as Assam Pradeshik Mahila Samiti. The need to establish a regional women's organization was not an immediate decision. The increasing political consciousness among the people in Assam and the formation of regional associations like Asamiya Bhasha Unnati Sadhini Sabha, Assam Association, Asom Sahitya Sabha, Asom Chatra Sanmilian etc. inspired the educated women mainly the wives, daughters and sisters of the enlightened men. The advent of Mahatma Gandhi into Indian politics changed the face of the struggle against the British. He constantly urged the women of the country to come out of the houses for the cause of the

nation. Many responded to his call and took active part in the national movement. However, their role was restricted to constructive activities like spinning, weaving, boycott of foreign goods, etc.

Chandraprabha's experiences had an undeniable impact upon the foundation of the AMS. Despite all odds, she was determined to get educated and have consistently challenged the lower status ascribed to women in society. She considered that both man and woman should receive equal rights. She was greatly influenced by women's role in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution as known from her article in *Ghor Jeuti*, titled *Unnatir Pathat Rusnari*. She strictly opposed child marriage, forceful widowhood, *purdah pratha* .etc through her activities and writings and even she herself was a victim of discrimination in society. While staying in the Mission School in Nagaon, she had to face a lot of racial discrimination. Later while in Tezpur, her courtship with a renowned author Dandinath Kalita ended up in her getting pregnant and he refused to marry her against his family's permission as she was of a lower caste. She then fiercely raised her son as a single mother despite being loathed by everyone. For a woman this was unthinkable of at that point of time. She strongly denied all negativities that came her way and devoted her life to empower women in all aspects of life. Many of Chandraprabha Saikiani's unpublished works have been lost over the course of time due to severe lack of preservation while some others are in personal possession of her family. But with the available sources it is quite evident that Saikiani was a woman far ahead of her times. Her ideas on female education, widow remarriage, abolition of *purdah pratha* blatantly challenged the conventional patriarchal norms of the society as has been clearly documented in her novel, *Pitri Bhitha*.

Conclusion

The task of analysing patriarchal standards and gender relations in the context of colonial Assam has, since long been weighed down by the conventional notion of absence of gender inequality in Northeast India. Thus, more recent researches have contributed in unfurling the subtle layers of the exploitative nature of the state and society that functioned in the nineteenth and twentieth century Assam. It is also pertinent to understand that the political participation of women heavily influences their social and

cultural position. The role Chandraprabha Saikiani played in the conscious awakening of the womenfolk and her constant negotiation with the state structure in ensuring women empowerment and agency is immensely appreciable. Before her, the taste of freedom was a distant dream for many women in Assam. Taking the case of the mainstream National Movement, the role of women initially comprised of constructive programmes. It was only in the twentieth century that women broke open the shackles and asserted for their rights in the form of the Indian feminist movement which existed simultaneously with the national movement. The beginning of an era of feminist discourse in Assam undoubtedly brought a new dawn of freedom for the Assamese women. However, the movement nearing India's independence lost its significance as greater emphasis was given on the struggle against British colonialism. Nonetheless, Chandraprabha's pioneering efforts and contributions have brought to the front the life and struggle of the 'other'¹ women, hitherto ignored by the chauvinist political organizations.

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1 The term 'other' women has been used to refer to the women belonging to various class, caste and tribal affiliations other than the upper caste, middle class Hindu women. Throughout history, the 'other' women have been 'othered' for their lower caste, class and tribal identities depriving them political and social freedom.

Scrutinize The Portrayal of Female Trauma in Mahasweta Devi's *Draupadi*

Ankita Bhuyan

Introduction

Mahasweta Devi's commitment to politics implies that the bounds of the aesthetic must be transgressed to allow for addressing political concerns. According to Dhillon, "The tragedy of the exploitation of the landless peasants in India, and particularly West Bengal is an ageless one. So is the history of revolt, from the sanyasis and the indigo cultivators to the Naxalbari explosion." Devi's "Draupadi" features the rank that empowered the central administration to accrue broad help from the working classes and the capitalists. The plot spins around Dopdi/ Draupadi's assaults, uncovering how political occasions sway "female" experience and shape the arrangement of female subjectivity. Spivak's interpretation of Mahasweta Devi's "Draupadi" was picked since she cautions the peruser about interpretation challenges. Spivak signals the text's snapshots of emergency, just as the suppositions that support characterization and phonetic eccentricities. Thus, it is necessary to check whether women's commitment to progressive habitude is gainful, as portrayed in the short story. It prompts the story's accentuation on patriotism as epitomized by the state, exemplified by the hero Senanayak. In May 1967, a successful peasant uprising in Naxalbari (north Bengal) was led by armed revolutionaries who belonged to the Communist Party of India. From 1967–1972 they fought against the feudal elite. Mahasweta Devi's game plan stresses the Indian postcolonial subject- high and middle society, urbanized Aryan – acting in the neocolonial milieu, which quiets Adivasi or native people.

Objective

1. To explore the instances of trauma in *Draupadi*.
2. To analyse the effects of trauma and resistance on the lives of the natives in general and subaltern women in particular.
3. To investigate regarding female uprising and protection from man-centric and military abuse.

Research Methodology

The present research study employs descriptive, analytical and exploratory method. Moreover, close reading of the primary text is also supported by secondary text to fulfill qualitative research approach.

Discussion

Mahasweta Devi's "Draupadi" is perhaps the most notable Indian epic champion. The story's title alludes to a scene in the epic "The Mahabharatha" wherein Arjuna, the third sibling of Pandavas, triumphs Draupadi as his gift by playing out extraordinary accomplishment marksmanship. Still, Draupadi is constrained into a polyandrous marriage. This plan does not agree with Draupadi or the siblings. "A women wedded to one individual is a companion; wedded to more than one, she is a public female." Yudhistira, the oldest of sibling, proposes. She is a miscreant. When Yudhistira loses his holdings (including Draupadi) in a dice game to his cousine and Duryodhana, the epic arrives at a defining moment. Duryodhana ruthlessly tries to strip Draupadi before a horde of men, inciting her to go to the god Krishna. Duryodhana pulls her sari longer and longer each time, holding her back from being stripped down. It is regularly seen as a sign of help from above. Draupadi's humble disposition is compensated by Krishna, who plays out wonder and consequently ensures her honour. In her assessment of these episodes, "Draupadi's" distinctiveness – an expectant mother or whore is utilized displaying masculine traits, "Spivak says of these occurrences. She makes the conditions for a fierce trade between guys, which is the successful purpose of the unequivocal fight."

In contrast to the epic, which keeps up with male-centric authority, Devi's "Draupadi" finishes by undermining winning sexual orientation relations and offering a type of opposition. Her idea of "ensuring their blood" suggests that she was accountable for

their sexuality, one of the country's key concerns. "Draupadi moves forward. She splatters water on the ground. With her teeth, she tears a piece of material. At the point when the gatekeeper sees her odd conduct, he proclaims her crazy and requests headings. Draupadi (Senanayak) stands naked in front of him. Hair on the thighs and the pubic region tangled with dried blood. Two injuries, two breasts. (...)Dopdi Mejhen, the subject of your journey. Don't you need to perceive how they made me up? You mentioned them to make me up. Isn't that right?"

The passage above prompts the story's decision, which raises issues regarding female uprising and protection from man-centric and military abuse. Thus, by invoking Draupadi's story Devi invokes notions of masculine power and female honour, which are then promptly destabilized in the figure of the raped Dopdi who has (and needs) no male god to rescue her and refuses to clothe herself. For the first time the abuser cowers before the object of his violence. Although Dopdi is not armed, her proud and vengeful spirit make Senanayak terribly afraid. Dopdi scorns his manhood because he has failed miserably in his masculine duty of preserving the sexual honour of women. In India's tribal cultures, a women's body is not simply a female body but is also representative of her honour as well as the honour of her family and her community. Salman Rushdie writes "In honor-and-shame cultures like those of India and Pakistan, male honor resides in the sexual probity of women, and the 'shaming' of women dishonors all men."

In a specific situation, the expression "counter me" has a parodic impact. From one perspective, it seems ludicrous because the progressive female has been obliterated so much and deprived of any similarity to human pride that whatever else she needs to confront, including passing, loses importance for her. Then again, "counter" is a logical inconsistency in that it neglects to accomplish its objective. It engages the inferior female to go against Senanayak, yet additionally to toss the manliness of average patriotism into the crisis with her doubting, "Are you really a man?". Similarly, the expression "look how they made me" has numerous implications. The order "make her" is practically equivalent to the phrase "counter," in that it derives her to talk, which is unexpected given Spivak's well-known inquiry, "Are the Subalterns able to speak?" Dopdi, on the other hand, does "speak," but not in the traditional sense; all things considered, she tears her fabric. The gatekeepers

do not hear this method of correspondence since her activities are unimaginable to them. Senanayak, who values having the option to “foresee their each move,” can’t figure out Dopdi’s lead. Subsequently his guidance to “make her” has missed the mark.

Dopdi is “made” as in, regardless of her consistent assault and torment, it derives her, making her incredible, brave, and surprisingly unbelievable. Dopdi’s “making incites Senanayak’s undoing.” Because the female holds on to the organization, at the time of the attack, drains, castrates the language of patriotism, the contention among Dopdi and her ruffian upsets the overall picture of patriotism helped out through its prominent encapsulation – the state. The inferior subject’s necessary quietness fizzles. Dopdi, not at all like the kid who bit off his tongue when faced, disregards even her chief’s orders and “ululates with the force of her general existence” from the time she is secured.

In Devi’s appropriation of Draupadi’s story, the protagonist is raped but is not rendered unworthy by the rape. She must seek her salvation in the resources of her own spirit, rather than in a male god who finds her “worthy of being saved”. Spivak has interpreted the concluding moment of the story as “the place where male leadership stops.” Draupadi asserts herself by challenging the man responsible for her rape and rendering him speechless. The “voice of male authority also fades[...]. The army officer is shown as unable to ask the authoritative ontological question, What is this?”. Crucially, Senanayak is rendered speechless while Draupadi claims what Pickering and Kehde have called “a space of enunciation” as she boldly asserts the right to speak of her degradation and challenges his masculinity. Devi’s use of rape as a concept metaphor and national allegory does not prevent her from representing rape in all its horror and reality. In this her writing differs from phallogocentric discourses of nationalism, wherein rape is used as a metaphor of exploitation, and the violence and reality of the rape of real women are elided. Devi’s stories contain very graphic descriptions of the women’s body after the rape and a complete absence of any “shame and humiliation” on the part of the women portrayed. Through such portrayals, Devi forbids the subsuming of women’s exploitation and violence under issues of decolonization, such as the marginalization of tribal populations even while the resonance of rape calls attention to the trauma of state oppression.

Conclusion

Draupadi is transformed into a symbol of defiance. She symbolizes millions of tribal women resisting oppression and daring to stand up to imperialism and patriarchy. The tribal women are marginalized in more ways than one, as she is constantly afraid of being victimized. Mahasweta Devi's poems do not romanticize the tribal lady; instead, they are so realistic that they awaken the reader and urge for a deeper understanding of tribal identity and rights. Mahasweta Devi has successfully addressed ethnic community issues in her writings as a activist. Even if the obstruction depicted in "Draupadi" is unlikely to be unfeasible, regardless of whether they fall outside the realm of "cumulative appliance". Mahasweta Devi keeps on making new and creative dreams of life and decries dogmatism, intolerance and abhorrence's of different types in idyllic, there is hope that recent investigations and twists may emerge, thanks to the hilarious and ever- restored language."

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Contribution of Gandhi and Tagore's views on Educational Philosophy and Practices

Ms. Antareepa Bora

Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi's Philosophy of life

Every nation of the globe is a product of evolution and has thus a unique history of that process. In the history of the process of evolution of each nation a period of crisis is not uncommon. At such a critical juncture, it is quite but natural that the thinkers and reformers shoulder the yoke of responsibility and strain their nerve to elevate their country from the ills and evils, troubles and tribulations, malice and molestations, vices and vicissitudes and odds with superstitions. Most of such personalities adopt 'education' and 'speeches' as their powerful and fundamental instruments for mobilizing the psychology of the mob. The land was being exploited almost on all sides. Indian culture did not continue to receive its due share of appreciation from foreigners. The virus of foreign culture was injected into the very blood of Indians, though the process of westernization. Indians started forgetting their indigenous cultural heritage, philosophy, religion and spirituality in pursuit of the utilitarian philosophy of the West. At such a time Gandhi appeared as a resplendent star on the Indian sky illuminating the entire mass through his spectacularly magnetic speeches. Gandhiji was a great thinker, experimenter, philosopher and also a social reformer of that time. He had his own beliefs and values regarding life and what must be pursued by an individual in his life and also on the role of the society. Though he is more popular as a

freedom fighter and social reformer but at the same time he was also a great philosopher and educationist. Some of the important features of his philosophy of life are :

1. **Belief in god:** Gandhiji had a deep faith in the supreme power of god that is absolute and omnipotent. In his words, “God is indefinable, mysterious power that pervades everything. God is life, truth and light. He is love. He is supreme”.
2. **Truth, love and non-violence:** Gandhi was a sole believer of god and this could be achieved only by following the principles of truth, love and non-violence or ahimsa.
3. **Universal brotherhood:** According to Gandhiji, only when one practice the principles of truth, love and non-violence, then one can attain the universal brotherhood and establish a society with the existence of peace and harmony among its members.
4. **Service to mankind:** Gandhi was a firm believer that “Service to people is the service to god”, as every individual possess some divine powers.
5. **Balance between material world and spiritual world:** Though Gandhiji was a highly spiritual man but he also believed that material goods are necessary to lead a happy, healthy and cultural life. But it is the person who should be able to maintain a balance between materialism and spiritualism.

Rabindranath Tagore’s Philosophy of life

Rabindranath was a philosopher, poet, dramatist, teacher, essayist and painter of outstanding repute. His philosophy of life was based on the ideals of dedication, patriotism and naturalism. Although he was an ideal philosopher, but the thoughts of naturalism, pragmatism and individualism are also reflected in his philosophy. As an idealist, he believed that God is the creator of both nature and man. According to him, there is a supreme spiritual power in both man and nature. He called this power “Biswa-Setona”, meaning Universal Consciousness. The ultimate goal of human life is to realize this consciousness and that can be achieved through the holistic development of the self. Another way of realizing the existence of the power is by loving and caring for every being in our surrounding. Tagore was a great nature lover and

believed that the laws of nature are true and permanent as the divine power is being reflected through nature. Moreover, Tagore was a great humanist and believed that man is the best creation of god who is gifted by many mental and creative abilities. Lastly, he is also considered to be an internationalist who has laid emphasis on developing international understanding and brotherhood among the human race for maintaining world peace and harmony.

Objective of the Study

The objective of the study is

To analyse the views of Gandhi and Tagore in respect to–

- a) Concepts of education.
- b) Aims of education.
- c) Curriculum.
- d) Educational methods.
- e) Role of teacher.
- f) Medium of education
- g) Discipline.

Delimitation

The study was delimited to analyze the contributions of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi towards educational philosophy and practices.

Methodology

The study was based on historical work. Only qualitative method was used to analyze the data using secondary sources.

Analysis and Findings of the Study

a) Concept of Education

1. **Mahatma Gandhi:** According to Gandhiji, true education is the one that can bring out the best in three areas of human personality i.e. body (physical development), mind (mental development) and soul (spiritual development). He has emphasized mainly on the principles of morality and ethical conduct on which a person's thoughts, actions and speeches should be based.

2. **Rabindranath Tagore:** Tagore's idea of education is based on the principles of naturalism, idealism, humanism and internationalism. According to him, the true meaning of education lies in peaceful existence and not only in gathering of information. He believed in harmony, learning in natural setting, developing social connections and international unity and understanding.

b) Aims of education

1. **Mahatma Gandhi:** Gandhiji has categorized aims of education into two sections- Immediate aims and ultimate aims.

Immediate aims are-

- Bread and butter aim or earning livelihood: Gandhi was of the view that education should help a person to be self-reliant that will help to earn his or her living and support oneself. This way it will enable a child to be responsible and work towards the achievement of the goals.
- Character formation: Gandhiji was more in favour of building character than earning degrees. A child should develop virtues including spiritual and moral aspects.
- Cultural aim: This aim focuses on preservation and enhancement of culture through education. It is through education; a child can have knowledge about one's culture and get reflected in behavior.
- Development of 3Hs: It is important to develop the 3Hs in a person i.e. hand, heart and head than the 3Rs i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic.
- Development of values: Education should be designed in such a way that it inculcates higher values in a child. Different types of values like- moral, spiritual, social, aesthetic values should be emphasized that will develop qualities like-honesty, self-respect, tolerance,, service to society etc.

Ultimate aim: Self-realization is the ultimate aim of education according to Gandhi as it enables a child to acquire the knowledge of truth and god as this is the supreme goal of human life.

2. Rabindranath Tagore: The aims of education forwarded by Tagore are:

- Physical development: Educational aim should be to develop the physical body of the child and therefore he suggested physical activities like- swimming, running, playing etc.
- Intellectual development: Tagore stressed on learning in free environment than classroom learning. He believed that learning in natural space can help child to develop mental faculties' like- imagination, curiosity, creativity, alertness etc that bookish or classroom teaching cannot match.
- Moral and spiritual development: Tagore advocated that education must aim at developing values like- respect, self-discipline, freedom, tolerance, sympathy etc in the child and insisted on the moral and spiritual development of a child.
- International understanding: Tagore stressed on the development of international understanding and brotherhood in the child and promotes inter-cultural and inter-social ties among people for a peaceful world.
- Vocational aim: Education should be such that it prepares a child for earning his own bread and butter after completion of study.

c) Curriculum

1. Mahatma Gandhi: Curriculum must include the following subjects-

- Basic education designed for children of the age group 6-14 years with the subjects- spinning, weaving, carpentry, agriculture, pottery, handicraft, home science for girls.
- Mother tongue
- Mathematics
- Geography, history, civics
- Painting, music
- Sports
- General science

2. Rabindranath Tagore: He suggested the inclusion of variety of subjects in the curriculum such as-

- Language, literature, philosophy, physical sciences etc for intellectual development of the child.
- Subjects like fine arts, drama, dance, music etc for aesthetic development.
- Social activities like- field visits, participation in social functions etc.
- Handworks like- clay modeling, gardening, spinning, weaving etc for vocational development.

d) Educational methods/ methods of teaching

1. Mahatma Gandhi

- Principle of learning by doing or learning by experience
- Principle of correlation. Correlating the core subjects with other subjects.
- Craft centered method

2. Rabindranath Tagore

- Heuristic method where the child can learn by self-discovering.
- Rote learning should be discarded.
- Principle of union man with nature. This method helps the child to learn in natural environment.
- Principle of freedom: children when taught freely are taught best. Learning in a free environment helps to develop a child's latent potentialities.
- Debates and question answer method.
- Principle of creativity and self-expression.

e) Role of teacher

1. Mahatma Gandhi: Gandhi was of the view that teacher should be dedicated towards their duties and serve the masses with zeal and enthusiasm. A teacher must be well trained and proficient in his work. He also stressed on the point that a good teacher must possess a good moral character and feelings of nationalism.

2. **Rabindranath Tagore:** He believed that teacher is a guide to the students and behave with great affection, love and care with the child. He must engage the students with constructive and creative activities where they can explore their capacities.

f) Medium of Instruction

Both Rabindranath and Gandhiji thought that medium of education should be mother tongue at the primary level and at higher level as well as far as possible. Whereas, English and other languages must also be given importance for competing with the outer world.

g) Discipline

1. **Mahatma Gandhi:** Gandhiji believed in the concept of self-discipline than the external discipline. He believed that one should possess the quality of self-control and advocate the discipline of mind, thoughts, feelings and actions.
2. **Rabindranath Tagore:** Tagore supported free discipline. He followed the principle of freedom where a child can fully express oneself and did not want the authority to suppress the child.

Conclusion

From the analysis and interpretation of the findings, it can thus be concluded that both Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore has contributed greatly to the Indian Education System.

Gandhiji had established a relationship between school education and needs of the society and therefore introduced the system of “Learning while Earning”, through craft centered education. Subjects like work experience and other socially useful productive work are based on his basic education system. Moreover, he also emphasized on vocational education which is very much relevant to the Indian society as there are huge population facing the problem of unemployment.

On the other hand, Tagore, being a philosopher, poet, actor, composer, novelist, dramatist, educator and above all a prophet of humanity has greatly inspired the young generation of India.

Internationalism. His thoughts have clearly identified the bond and harmony between man and his social environment.

Although both Rabindranath and Gandhiji differ in many aspects but both the educationists were idealist, Naturalist and Pragmatist at the same time. As an idealist they wanted the child morally and spiritually sound. As Naturalist they wanted to give full freedom to child to explore and express themselves through the principle of learning by doing and experiencing. As pragmatist they wanted practical and activity based purposeful education. The educational ideas and philosophy of Rabindranath & Gandhiji is highly practical and suitable in the current times. If we want to look forward to the future, we have to make a synthesis of ancient and modern education. For this we have to fall back of Rabindranath & Gandhiji and their ideals of education.

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Digboi Oil Strike: Locating It within the Nationalist Imagination

Anushuya Goswami

Oil Exploration and the Assam Oil Company

Despite the discovery of mineral oil in Assam, the provisions to procure and market it were made much later. The existence of mineral oil in Assam was first pointed out in 1825 by lieutenant Wilcox, an officer in East India Company's army. However, due to the geographical inaccessibility of the region no serious attempts were made to tap these resources. In 1882 three companies namely Balmer Lawrie and Co., the ARTC and the Assam Oil Syndicate were given leases to Naharpung and Makum, Buridihing and Digboi respectively by the state. The Assam Oil Company came into existence in the year 1900 and soon over took over the oil fields in Digboi and Makum.

Recruitment of Labour

The recruitment of labour in Assam had always been a source of concern for the employers. As a result, labour had to be brought in from different parts of the country. The AOC recruited labour from eastern Bengal, Nepal and from Uttar Pradesh and Punjab while only a small percentage of the local labours around 22 percent hailed from Goalpara and Sibsagar. This resulted in the formation of a heterogeneous workforce which was differentiated not only regionally but also in terms of religion. Strong rural ties of kinship were common among these workers.

The nature of the work in the AOC was to a large extent migratory. Every month close to 400-500 employees out of the

around 6000 would leave work and then resume after a month usually during harvesting time, or marriages and festivals. Migration to far off corners of the countries was nothing less of an exile to these workers. Sustaining ties to their villages and ancestral homes was not only dictated by economic reasons but was also a conscious attempt to retain their identities at an otherwise heterogeneous workplace. This was also to offset the psychological toll it took on them.

Grievances of the AOC Workers

The general conditions of the working class in industries were more or less uniform across India. A common experience of imperialist exploitation went into the making of the working-class consciousness. The history of trade unionism in Assam can be traced following the First World War which exacerbated the already bleak condition of the wage-earning population of Assam causing great uncertainty among workers. In the AOC, instances of arbitrary dismissal of workers were on the rise since the late 1920's. At the work place, the worker had no legal framework of protection. As a result, the management, and the Labour Superintendent and the General Manager could control and discipline the workforce by their power to fine its employees for 'inadequate 'service and dismiss or discharge any worker on the grounds of 'disobedience'. Moreover, in the occasion of damage to any company property, the workers were either dismissed or punished which were recorded on their registration cards. The workers worked for around 14 hours daily, 7 days a week with no extra pay for overtime. In the later days, the strike came to encompass the cause of the Bungalow servants working in the quarters of the European workers whose conditions were even more deplorable. With absolutely no rights or recognition from the AOC, these workers were subjected to arbitrary dismissal, abysmal fines and verbal as well as physical abuse. The continuous abuse of power by the AOC management culminated in the strike which began in the year 1929 but peaked in the year 1939.

The Political Climate

In order to comprehend the emergence of the Digboi oil strike, we need to assess the then existing political climate of the country during this period. The period between the two World Wars

proved to be a period characterized by growing labour and nationalist consciousness simultaneously.

In 1937, A.K Chanda, a barrister in the Assam Legislative Assembly claims that, “the spectre of class war is worrying the world and I can see this spectre is looming larger and larger on the horizons of this country everyday” (Guha,1977). Nationalist leaders as well as labour leaders were rushing in to mobilize the AOC workers to formally organise themselves. In 1929, labour leader Chowka Singh of Jamshepur along with Sambhu Charan Ray reached Dibrugarh to meet the oil workers wherein they distributed printed pamphlets and called on the workers to organize themselves into a union. With the coming of the All India Trade Union Organization in 1920, the process was hastened.

By 1937, the conditions had become more volatile. The entire nation was vehemently fighting off the imperialist rule. With the emergence of the provincial government following the election of 1937, the workers were confident of unequivocal support from the local leaders. Nehru’s visit to the Jubilee fields in 1937 saw around 350 oil workers dressed in khadi, where he told the workers to organize themselves in the form of a union and fight for their rights as well as for India’s freedom (Ditee Moni Baruah, 2019-2020). Here we see the how attempts were made to intertwine nationalist sentiments with the worker’s interests. Besides Nehru, a number of socialist and labour leaders such as Subhash Chandra Bose, Sudhindra Pramanik, Dinkar Mehta, Jalaluddin Hashmi and M.N Roy visited Assam during 1936-1938. Political intervention by such prominent national leaders motivated the oil workers to organize themselves formally.

The AOC Union

On 22nd February, 1938 a meeting was held where 4000 oil workers met and came to establish the Labour Union with 36 executive members and J.N Upadhaya as the president. On 20 June 1938, the Union applied to the Government of Assam for registration under the Trade Union Act, 1926 which marked the beginning of an organized workforce within the AOC. A mass meeting of 6000 workers of the Assam Oil Company was held at Digboi on Sunday 24 July, 1938 in which the workers drafted a list of their genuine demands. The primary demand being the

unconditional recognition of the “Assam Oil Company Labour Union”, followed by demands for increment, better living quarters, protection against arbitrary dismissal etc. The AOC management completely disregarded the demands presented by the Union which prompted the workers to go on a strike. As a result of this, the company appointed the Court of Enquiry to arbitrate the matter. The Court’s report dated 7th January 1939, recommended the AOC to recognize the union as well as considering pay hike for the workers following which the Union was recognized by the company on 20th March, 1939.

However, this recognition was nothing but an attempt to placate the workers as it divulged no power to the Union. Despite the union’s vehement protests, no changes were made. This was naturally followed by a strike on 3rd April, 1939. The onslaught of AOC’s assaults only strengthened the resolve of the workers. Bungalow workers, servants and workers who had previously kept their distance from the strike started joining the strikers. The AOC appointed the Assam Rifles, and police to intimidate the workers which was done through violent attempts at disrupting the peaceful strike.

The strikers on the 9th of April adopted the resolution to continue the strike indefinitely. At the same time the AOC kept recruiting new hands at the company, completely disregarding the demands of the workers. By 18th April, the situation had come to a head. The police, escorted by some company officials open fired on a group of strikers who had blocked the road in order to obstruct the movement of the company vehicle. This incident resulted in the death of 4 workers namely, Praneswar Chowdhuri, Satyendra Chakravarty and Chandra Ahir which sent shockwaves across the state as well as the country.

Unifying the Workers

The task of organizing the workers into one solid unit was not easy. There is no organic bond uniting the workers. The anti-employer mentality, their shared identity as impoverished workers were constantly in conflict with their narrower identities. The AOC workers were divided amongst themselves on the basis of region, language and religion.

The Muslim workers of the company were hesitant to join the strike and the union. It was believed that the union was an extension of the Congress and a number of Muslim League leaders discouraged the workers from joining it through the *Digboi Anjuman*. The Union leaders reached out to the Muslim Trade Union leaders of all India stature like Abdul Bari, Jalaluddin Hashmi, and Maulvi Abaans Sobhan Arifi, Vice President of *Jamiet ul Ulema*, was also brought to Digboi to mobilise Muslim workers. Moreover, the Congress leaders reduced their presence in the meetings of the Union to create the impression that the union was largely free from the influence of Congress. Despite the initial resistance, the Muslim workers came to the realization that the Union was the one true representative of the labour demands.

Following the, harrowing incident of 18th April, 1939, the unity of the workers was exemplary. A peaceful procession saw the participation of every community and religion. The Digboi issue was no longer confined to the state of Assam.

The Imperialist Nexus

The managerial authority in the AOC was essentially colonial in the sense that the strongest instrument of coercion wielded by these managers was the fact that they belonged to the ruling class (Dipesh Chakravarty, 1989). As a result, the workers often viewed these industries and companies as an ‘extension of the alien imperialist rule’. The overt collusion between the state and managements across the country was made apparent by conveniently using the police and the armed forces as tools of coercion against strikers and trade unions.

The arbitrary imposition of section 144 in the industrial area was questioned by Omeo Kumar Das, member of the Assam Legislative Assembly and asked them to enquire into these allegations. However, his requests were disregarded. With the continuous support of the Governor of Assam, the AOC had all the tools of the state at their disposal. A judicial enquiry conducted by the Government of Assam also made no attempt at an impartial trial. In its report on the 17th May 1939, those charged of murder of the 3 strikers were acquitted by the magistrate. The imperialist nexus was further confirmed by the unabashed defence of the AOC by the British mouthpiece, *The Statesman*.

The AOC despite the widespread criticism continued to recruit workers. The Bordoloi government prohibited new recruitments within the company. However, intense pressure from the Planters, Imperialist press and the other Capitalists enterprises forced the Bordoloi Government to lift the ban on recruitment of outside labour. The non-resolution of the issue prompted the government to appoint a Committee of Enquiry. The Committee was appointed with Manmathanath Mukherjee ex-Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, as President and G. D. Walker as a member, on 10 July, 1939 (Report on Royal Commission of Labour, 1939). Like many other actions to resolve the issue, the conciliation board also proved to be a failed attempt. The report stated that there was 'no sufficient cause for the strike'.

Matters came to a head when on 3rd September, 1939 the war ordinance was promulgated and Digboi was declared a protected area following which troops were dispatched to take charge of it. By October 1939, all appeals for redressal by the labourers to the Governor of Assam and the Viceroy had been rejected and the AOC evicted 3000 workers involved in the strike². The formal expression of Congress sympathy did little alleviate the conditions of the workers as the Defence of India act succeeded in squashing the strike.

Conclusion

While the Digboi struggle came to a tragic end, it gave rise to numerous strikes and lockouts in its wake. Short lived strikes in the tea gardens across Assam and the ARTC had become common place³. The ARTC Workers Union was registered in March 1939 soon after which they called a general strike. Spontaneous strikes in the tea plantations had become so common that the Indian Tea Association for the first time had to come up with a mechanism to deal with these strikes. The workers at every point of the agitation were aware of their relationship with the company, the colonial rule and the nationalist movement. Yet, what freedom meant for them was entirely different from the general idea of emancipation for the Indian populace. Their exploitation was multi layered i.e by the

2 Trivedi, V.R, *Important Events of Assam*, Omson Publication, 1997, New Delhi, p.59
3 Guha Amalendu, *Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826-1947*, 1977, Indian Council of Historical Research, p.241

colonial state as well as their employers. Yet, the workers navigated these conflicting identities to present a united front against the employers. While on paper, the Digboi Oil Strike failed at achieving its goals, it gave birth to a spirit dissent against colonial authority in plantations and industries alike.

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Industrial Sector in India: Before and After Independence

Ashomi Kalita

Introduction

Industrialization plays a vital role in the development of developing countries. Rapid industrialization can solve their problems of general poverty, unemployment, backwardness, low production, and low productivity and low standard of living etc. Industrialization is equally important for developed countries as it helps them not only to maintain their existing growth but also to enjoy still higher standards of living and to avoid cyclic fluctuations. From the starting period of planning, therefore, rapid industrial growth has been a major objective of planning in India.

Prior to British rule, India was an Independent (self-sustained) economy, and its major source of income was agriculture. Besides, India was also recognized for its manufacturing industries especially handicrafts, metals and precious stonework, cotton textiles, silk textiles etc. India was not an only trading centre for south Asian countries, but it was also one of the crucial golden markets in that contemporary decades, accounting for a major portion of the total global trade. According to British economist, Angus Maddison, India's share of the world income was 27% in 1700 while Europe's share was 23% only comparatively. Indian handicrafts and artifacts also had valued reputation in the global market owing to its quality and traditional bases. But under colonial rule, India was unable to develop a preferable industrial base even though India was widely known for its handicraft industries. The main aim of the Britishers was to limit

India to an exporter of important raw materials for the British industries and to transform India into a market for finished products so that their continuous growth could be assured for the benefit of their home country Britain. Since the era of colonial rule, Indian industrial sector went into the stagnant stage. During this colonial era, the average income of India had decreased by 8% in approximately two centuries (1757-1947). Clearly, this period was a remarkable stagnation period in the economic growth of the country.

At the time of independence, the Indian industrial sector was severely underdeveloped. However, after independence, the government of India emphasized the role of industrialization in the country's economic development in the long run. Accordingly, the blue print for industrial development was made through the Industrial Policy Resolution (IPR) in 1956. In this background, the present study, by using the secondary data tries to examine the industrial development of India before and after independence. In 1951 India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced that India had to become industrialized, and that as fast as possible. While the politicians have done everything they could since then, including Soviet like planning, to industrialize the country, India has yet to become a manufacturing powerhouse like China. India's post-independence development plans emphasized industrialization as a very important instrument for sustained growth. Industrial development is considered necessary to achieve high rate of economic growth, to provide for the basic needs of population, to lead to an increasingly diversified economy and to give rise to social psychology and institutional changes.

Before 1980, based on the perception of Soviet Union success, it was thought that the key strategy for development was to focus on large and heavy industries under state control and central planning. The strategy also involved import substitution, rigid price controls and severe restrictions on private initiatives. The Indian Government had undertaken policy reforms since 1980, but the most radical reforms have occurred since 1991, after the severe economic crisis in fiscal year 1990-91. Accordingly, the industrial sector performance has also tremendously changed with time.

In this background, the present study, by using the secondary data tries to examine the industrial development of India before and after independence.

Objective of the Study

- To analyze the industrial sector of India during British rule.
- To examine the industrial development of India after independence.

Methodology

This study is based on secondary data collected from books, journals, government websites and project works etc. The research methods used here are mainly descriptive and analytical in nature.

Findings and Analysis

Before India became independent in 1947, the British ruled for two centuries. The prime objective of British economic policy was to turn India into a feeder economy for the expansion of the England's modern industrial base. India had a strong economy focused on agriculture and handicraft industry in cotton and textiles, metal and precious stone production etc. But even though it had a tradition of producing the best handicrafts in the world, India was unable to create a sound industrial base, and no equivalent modern industrial base was allowed to take place. British economic policies are more focused on safeguarding and promoting Britain's economic interest than on the development of India's economy. India became a net supplier of raw materials and a net consumer of completed industrial products from UK.

In the seventeenth and early part of eighteenth-century India was the more economically advanced country than most of the European nations. Industries of India were well known over the world for craftsmanship, low cost and quality product. From various part of the world large number of traders came to India and exchanged their gold and silver with the product of Indian industries, balance of trade was always remain favourable in India during that time period. These great features of our industries and economy attracted widespread attention of the world. Thus, at the time of industrial revolution in Europe, India was one of the richest nations of the world. India's trade prosperity hurts the Europeans.

As a result, they thought that it is must to restrict Indian goods to protect their own manufacturers. The condition was drastically changed for Indian industries after implementation of acts. India was became the supplier of raw materials to European industries instead of manufacturing country. The most important causes of decline of Indian handicrafts and consequent progressive ruralization of the Indian economy under British rule were: a) Disappearance of Princely Courts, b) Hostile policy of the East India Company and the British Parliament, c) Competition of Machine-made goods with Indian handicrafts as a result of European Industrial Revolution, d) The development of New Forms and Patterns of Demand as a result of foreign influence etc.

The destruction of Indian handicrafts had far reaching economic consequences. It led to unemployment on a vast scale. Since textile industry was the worst sufferer in the process, the weavers were hit the most. Another consequence of the decline of handicrafts was the compulsory back to the land movement. The British destroyed the institution of Indian handicrafts but did not care to provide an alternative source of employment. The unemployed craftsmen and artisans shifted to agriculture and increased the proportion of population dependent on land. This trend of growing proportion of the working force on agriculture is described as 'progressive ruralization' or 'deindustrialization of India'.

In the post independence period, India embarked upon economic development under the Five Year Plans. It was accepted, that rapid development of the nation would only be possible through the establishment of a strong and diversified industrial base. The major changes in the industrial growth & structure during the planning period (before liberalization) can be analyzed by dividing the planning period into three phases.

- i. Phase I (1951-65): Building up of Strong Industrial Structure: The First Plan did not envisage any large-scale programmes of industrialization. Only Rs.55 crore out of the total expenditure of Rs. 1, 9602 Crore (2.8 per cent) was spent on Industry & Minerals' in the First Plan. The Second Plan (1956-1961) accorded top priority to programmes of industrialization as would be clear from the fact that the

expenditure on industry and minerals was liked to Rs 938 crore under this plan which was 20.1 per cent of the total expenditure of Rs.4,627 crore. Based on Mahalnobis Model, the Second Plan set out the task of establishing basic and capital goods industries on a large scale so that a strong base for industrial development in the future could be built. Three steel Plants of one million tonnes capacity each were set up in the public sector at Bhillai, Rourkela & Durgapur besides the expansions and modernization programmes undertaken in the private sector. The Third Plan (1961-1966) also pressed forward with the establishment of basic capital and producer goods industries – with 86 special emphasis on machine buildings programmes – so that the growth of the economy in the subsequent plans could become self sustaining Expenditure on industry in the Third Plan was Rs.1, 726 crore which was 20.1 per cent of the total expenditure of Rs.8577 crore under the plan. On an average growth rate of Industrial output during this phase was about 7% per annum.

- ii. Phase II (1965-1980): Industrial Deceleration: This phase was marked by industrial deceleration and structural retrogression. The industrial growth rate declined to less than an annual average of 5%. The slow growth was attributed to inadequate investment in infrastructure sectors such as power transportation, etc. Slow growth in agricultural sector caused a decline in demand from this sector to industrial products. Restrictive policy through licensing policy, MRTP & FERA Acts had an adverse effect on private investment. Besides, the 1965 & 1971 wars, oil shock (oil price rise) in 1973, drought in 1965-66 had their effect on the growth rate.
- iii. Phase III (1980-1991):Industrial Recovery: The period of 1980s can be broadly termed as a period of industrial recovery. The rate of industrial growth was 6.4% per annum during 1981-85, 8.5% per annum during the Seventh plan (1985-90) and 8.3% per annum in 1990-91. This growth was impressive. As noted by Vijay Kelkar and Rajiv Kumar, —this is a marked upturn from growth rates of around 4% achieved during the latter half of sixties and the seventies. This performance is also an improvement upon the growth

rates achieved during the First and Second Plan periods. Increase in investment, especially in the public sector, that too in infrastructure, helped the industrial sector to get into a recovery phase. Measures like increase in license capacity scheme, fiscal incentives extension of broad banding, liberalization of import of foreign technology and many more liberal measures resulted into more investment and increased demand.

Growth in Post Reform Period (1991 onwards): The year 1991 ushered in a new era of economic liberalization. The Government of India announced the New Industrial Policy in 1991. A number of liberalization measures such as scrapping of the licensing system, dilution of the role of public sector, encouraging private investment in various fields, allowing foreign direct investment (FDI) liberally in various sectors etc. led to marked acceleration registered by the capital goods sector. The average annual growth rate of industrial production was 5.7% annum during 1990-2000. The industrial growth rate was only 2.3% in 1992-93. It rose to 6.0% in 1993-94. The rate of growth shot up to as much as 13.0% in 1995-96 but fell to 6% in the next year 1996-97. Some of the causes of unsatisfactory industrial performance are: (a) exposure to external competition (b) the infrastructural constraint (c) sluggish growth in export (d) slow down in investment especially to agriculture etc. After 2002-03, the industrial sector was on the path of the revival. The growth rate of industrial production was 5.7% in 2002-03, and picked up considerably to 7.0% in 2003-04, 8.04% in 2004-05, 8.2% in 2005-06 & to as high as 1.5% in 2006-07. For the 8th plan as a whole it comes out to 8.2% per annum. This revival in the industrial growth rate can be attributed to; (a) growth of infrastructure industries (b) building up of heavy & capital goods industries (c) rapid growth of consumer durables (d) heavy foreign direct investment & portfolio investment etc. However, with the onset of global financial crisis (2008-09 onwards) the industrial growth in India has also fallen and this trend may continue for sometimes.

In 2008-09, as per the CSO, the industrial sector attained a growth rate of only 2.5 percent as compared to that of 11.6 percent and 8.5 percent growth rate recorded in the corresponding period of 2006-07 and 2007-08 respectively. This simply shows that Indian

industrial sector has started to face the brunt of global economic recession. Global recession has resulted fall in the income level arising out of slower economic growth rate followed by slump in the aggregate demand for good, deriving both from internal and international market. The global crisis has seriously affected some of our export-oriented industries like automobiles, leather, electronics, diamond Jewelleries, ready-made garments, handicrafts, textiles, machinery industry etc. As a result, some of these industries have already declared cut in production, temporary suspension of work, laying off workers etc. Thus, as a result of global recession, the overall growth rate of Indian economy has come down from 9.0 percent to 4.5 percent in 2012-13.

However, the Eleventh Plan (2007-2012) and Twelfth Plan (2012-13 to 2016-17) again put adequate priority on the development of industrial sector. The 11th plan envisaged to achieve annual growth rate of 10.5 percent for the industrial sector and accordingly targeted to attain 12.0 percent growth rate in manufacturing sector. During the initial period of the Eleventh Plan i.e., during 2007-08, 2008-09, 2009-10 and 2010-11, the annual growth rates attained by the industrial sector were 8.5 percent, 2.5 percent, 5.3 percent and 8.2 percent respectively. During 2011-12 the same growth rate was only 2.9 percent. The 12th Plan envisaged achieving annual growth rate 10 percent for manufacturing sector, 5.7 percent for the mining sector, 8.5 percent for the electricity and 10.0 percent for construction sector. During the period of the Twelfth Plan, i.e., during 2012-13, 2013-14, 2014-15 and 2016-17, the annual growth rate attained by the industrial sector were 3.3 percent, 3.4 percent, 4.0 percent and 4.6 percent respectively.

Conclusion

The analysis makes it clear that in post independence era industrial sector plays a vital role in the development of Indian economy. Today's India has become an impactful country globally which has grown a lot since the time of independence. But, there is a unique aspect of Indian industrial development since independence. Kochhar et al. (2006) argue that India pursued an 'idiosyncratic' pattern of development which resulted in direct shift of labour from agriculture sector to service sector, bypassing the intermediate stage (industrial sector) to a considerable extent.

Besides, within manufacturing, India has emphasized skill-intensive rather than labour-intensive industries and industries with typically higher average skill. Manufacturing firms are not able to fully exploit their comparative advantages of low labour costs and thus limiting productivity gains as well as job creation. However, in recent years there has been some employment expansion due to some liberalization of labour laws and policies but many of the new jobs are of low quality. Government should take necessary steps for liberal economic reforms by focusing on employment generation in the industrial sector. Because, at the present juncture of India's economic development, an accelerated, fast growth of manufacturing sector and large scale creation of jobs in Indian manufacturing sector is quite essential for attaining and sustaining a rapid and inclusive growth in India, which would greatly help in alleviating poverty in the country.

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Patriotism in Sarojini Naidu's Poetry: A Study

Atlanta Goswami

Introduction

Sarojini Naidu was born in Hyderabad. Her father Aghorenath Chattopadhyay was a scientist and was the founder of Nizam College of Hyderabad. Her mother Barada Sundari Devi was a poetess and used to write poetry in Bengali. Sarojini Naidu was the eldest among the eight siblings. One of her brothers Birendranath was a revolutionary and the other Harindranath was a poet, dramatist and actor. Sarojini Naidu was a brilliant student, she was proficient in Urdu, Telegu, English, Bengali and Persian. She attained national fame when she topped the matriculation examination at Madras University. Her father wanted her to become a mathematician or scientist but she was so much into poetry and literature. Once she was working on an algebra problem and could not find the solution, she decided to take a break and in the same book she wrote a poem entitled "*The Lady of the Lake*" a poem with 1300 lines. At the age of 16 she travelled to England for her further studies at King's College London and later at Girton College, Cambridge. There she met famous laureates of her time such as Arthur Symons and Edmund Gosse. It was Gosse who convinced her to stick to Indian themes. Her poetry collections "*The Golden Threshold*" (1905) and "*The Bird of Time*" (1912) and "*The Broken Wing*" attracted huge Indian and English readership. Mahashree Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru were among the thousand of admirers of her work. It was after her meeting with Gopal Krishna Gokhale which inspired her to rejuvenate the spirit of independence in the hearts of Indian people

through her literary works. Then in 1916 she met Mahatma Gandhi and she totally directed her energy to the fight for freedom. Through poetry she tried her utmost to awaken the spirit and enthusiasm in the hearts of thousand of Indians. She brought the Indian womens out of the kitchen and travelled from state to state, city after city to preserve women rights. In 1925 she chaired the summit of Congress in Kanpur. In 1928 she came to the USA with the message of the non-violence movement from Gandhiji. When in 1930 Gandhiji was arrested for a protest, she took the helms of his movement. In 1931, she participated in the Round Table Summit, along with Gandhiji and Pandit Malviyaji. In 1942 she was arrested during the “Quit India” protest and stayed in jail for 21 months with Gandhiji.

Patriotism is the feeling of love, devotion and sense of attachment to one’s country. This attachment can be a combination of many different feelings, language relating to one’s own homeland, including ethnic, cultural, political or historical aspects. George Orwell in his influential essay “*Notes on Nationalism*” distinguished patriotism from the related concept of nationalism: By ‘patriotism’ “I mean devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force upon other people” (*Notes on Nationalism*) According to Sarojini Naidu three visions which were necessary for an individual’s harmonious development: the vision of love, the vision of religion and the vision of patriotism. Patriotism was the highest of these three visions for her, as it was the only one that made a “man or woman worthy to be the child of the great mother land”. Naidu then stated that her vision of patriotism was inclusive and harmonious and she saw it as a cup filled with “waters of salvation”. (*The Vision of Patriotism*)

Patriotism in Sarojini Naidu’s poetry

*O young through all thy immemorial years!
Rise, Mother, rise, regenerate from thy gloom,
And, like a bride high – mated with the spheres,
Beget new glories from an ageless womb. (To India)*

In this poem “To India” Sarojini Naidu is urging the mother land to wake up and revolt against the oppressions. Here she is asking the mother land to give birth to brave souls from her ageless and fertile womb.

*The nations that in fettered darkness weep
Crave thee to lead them where great mornings break ...
Mother, O Mother, wherefore dost thou sleep ?
Arise and answer for thy children's sake !(To India)*

By using the word “nations” the poet could mean the colonized countries, or she could mean the different states, as each of the states of India upholds different cultural identities. In this case all these colonized nations or the states of India are in the same state, all are craving for one precious thing that is “independence”. In the next lines the poet is again requesting her motherland to awake from her deep slumber and fight back for the sake of her own children.

*Thy future calls thee with a manifold sound
To crescent honours, splendours, victories vast;
Waken, O slumbering Mother and be crowned,
Who once wert empress of the sovereign past. (To India)*

In these lines of the poem the poet is saying that the future of the mother land is calling her with a strong voice. By using the word future the poet might be pointing towards the future generation, and for the sake of upcoming generations the motherland needs to wake up from her deep sleep and should make herself capable of wearing the crown (the crown of glory, freedom) as a queen. Poet's motherland who in her past was a supreme ruler with great powers should awake herself once again because it's the high time to bring back everything from the hands of those colonizers which are actually belongs to her.

Another poem by Sarojini Naidu “The Gift of India” where too we'll be able to feel the sense of patriotism –

*Is there aught you need that my hands withhold,
Rich gifts of raiment or grain or gold?
Lo ! I have flung to the East and the West
Priceless treasures torn from my breast,
And yielded the sons of my stricken womb-
To the drum beats of the duty, the sabers of doom...
(The Gift of India)*

“The Gift of India” by Sarojini Naidu is a tribute to the contribution of Indian soldiers who fought bravely for the Britishers

in the First World War. Over one million Indian troops served overseas, of whom 62,000 died and another 67,000 were wounded. In total at least 74,187 Indian soldiers died during the war.

Here in this poem the nation is being personified. Mother India asks the colonizers that is there anything left which she has not given to them. They already took away her valuable resources, such as raiment, grain or gold. All her priceless treasures had been forcefully snatched away from her by the colonizers. Even her sons too were forced to sacrifice their lives, in the name of duty.

Conclusion

Sarojini Naidu's poetry is unique and expressive. The dominant features of her poetry is the sense of patriotism and indianness. Through her poetic voice she tried to awake the hunger for freedom in every Indian's heart and soul. We can say that Naidu was a rebellious lady who didn't even stepped back and through poetry she dared to criticise the colonizers openly.

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Non-Cooperation Movement and Barnagar From Historical Perspective (1920-22)

Barasha Barman

Introduction

“The second half of the nineteenth century, particularly the period after the suppression of revolt of 1857, is considered to be the high noon of British imperialism in India. A self-confident paternalism tended to turn into a despotism, which was not prepared to accept any self-governing right for the Indian’s (Bandyopadhyay, 279). The first World War had taken a big toll on India’s economic condition as well as the war time promise of Colonial government was not fulfilled. Gradually people started to show concern not only on political issue but also already declined Indian economy. Since 1915 with the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi a new era has been started in the political history of India. Barnagar now a revenue circle in Barpeta district of Assam. During the colonial period Barnagar (headquarter Chakchaka) serves as the circle as well as police station of Barpeta sub-division of undivided Kamrup district (Sarma,23). It has a long history of Freedom struggle movement since 1905. As the circle of a sub-division, Barnagar witness many changes in respective of administration under the colonial government. The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as a leader of the Nationalist Movement also brought a radical changes in the political scenario of India as well as Assam. Under the influence of local leaders and the exploited nature of British government contributed to developed an anti-colonial mindset of people of Barnagar area. So slowly but surely the winds of Freedom movement started to hit Barnagar since 1920. Nanda Mohan Mazumadar of Barnagar area

is one of the prominent worker during the Non-cooperation movement (Dutta,59).

Review of Literature

Numerous books, research articles has been published in the context of Freedom struggle movement of India related to Assam. “Landmarks of The Freedom Struggle in Assam(1958)” by K.N Dutta is one of the perfect book to understand different stages of Freedom struggle movement in Assam. In this book the author addressed all the important issues related to freedom movement in one line almost 100 years of history of Assam’s roles in India’s struggle for independence, starting from rebellions of Gomdhar Konwar (1828) to 1947.S.L. Baruah’s “A Comprehensive History Of Assam (1985) covers the Assam history since ancient to post independence times, in this books the authors discussed role of Assam in India’s freedom movement in details. Priyam Goswami’s “The History of Assam: from Yandabo to Partition,1826-1947” (2012) is really useful to understand the chronology of Freedom movement in Assam. “Nationalist Upsurge in Assam” (2000) edited by Aurn Bhuyan covered a history of Colonial period to Independence of India 1857-1947. “Bhartar Swadhinata Andolant Barnagarar Avadan”(2010) by Gargeswar Das is really an informative book on contribution and participation of people of Barnagar in India’s Freedom movement. “Barpetar Buranji” by Digambar Das is another important book on contribution of Barpeta districts people on India’s freedom movement “Mukti Yujat Luitparia Nari”(1995) by Dipti Sarman is a useful book to understand the role of Assamese women in Freedom movement. But those are very limited sources to reconstruct the history of Freedom movement of great area like Barnagar.

Methodology

Historical and analytical research methodology is followed to serve the purpose of this paper. In this paper both primary and secondary sources have been used. Archival records and biography are mainly consulted as a primary source for this paper. Relevant books, Ph.D thesis and articles published on different journals as well as in magazines on Freedom Movement with special reference to Assam are used as a secondary sources for a better understanding

of the historical consequences occurred during that period (1920-35).

Discussion

The Report of Montague-Chemsford which resulted in the Government of India Act, 1919 introduced dyarchy in the provincial level of administration able to satisfy only a few people (Baruah, 532). In March 1919 the British Government passed the Rowlatt Act and same year in April 13 to protest against this act people gathered in Jallianwala Bagh of Punjab but without any warning General Dyer ordered firing on the mass. In this incident many people killed and several others people injured seriously. To inquire the role of General Dyer in the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh the government appointed Hunter Commission but the report of this commission was not satisfactory for Indian people (Bandyopadhyay, 299). At the same time the British government Treaty of Sevres with Turkey in May 1920 also created dissatisfaction among the Muslim community of whole world; this led emergence of Khilafat movement in India. So in the special session of Congress in Calcutta Gandhi's resolution on Non-cooperation movement was passed (Bandyopadhyay, 300).

Some delegation of the Assam Association (1905) like, Nabin Chandra Bordoloi, Chandranath Sarma etc attended the special session of Congress in Calcutta in 1920 and they supported Gandhi's draft resolution on Non-cooperation (Baruah, 534). It's created a split between the members of Assam Association and by that time some moderates members left this organization. After the Tezpur session in December 1920 members of Assam Association decided to follow the directives of Congress on all matters regarding the Non-cooperation. In August 1921 Gandhi for the first time visited Assam and it's helped to boost the active participation of people in Assam. Gandhi's all meetings during this time attended by large number of common people. Responding to Gandhi's appeal of use indigenous goods people started to boycott British goods in huge number. Boycotting of Governments educational institutions by students under the leadership of Omeo Kumar Das, Chandranath Sarma etc followed by lawyers left their legal practice and some government officials as well as teachers also left their jobs and actively joined in the movement. The fall of opium consumption and popularizing use of Khadi were the main major

impacts of Non-cooperation movement in Assam province. The vigorous anti-opium drive by Congress workers saw a fall in the consumption of abkari opium from 1615 maunds in 1902-21 to 999 maunds in 1922-12. In 1925, the Assam Opium Enquiry Committee reported that consumption of liquor had fallen by 49.8%, opium 35.8% and ganja by 24.4%. the decline in terms of revenue was 19 lakh rupees (Goswami,242).

In the greater Barpeta area three places namely, Barpeta, Bajali and Barnagar had played important role in the Non-cooperation movement of 1921-22(Sarma, 144). During the time of Non-cooperation movement (1920-22) in Barpeta 54 persons, in Bajali 45 persons and 19 person from Barnagar had politically suffered (Das,108). So this evidence is enough to proved it that people of Barnagar actively participated in the Non-cooperation movement. In January 1921 the first meeting of Congress was held at the Barnagar M.E school, where Chandranath Sarma (Tezpur) and Rohini Kumar Choudhari (Guwahati) were presented as a main speaker. The Non-cooperation movement was the main theme of this meeting. They gave a lecture on impacts of British colonial rules on Indian people and at the end requested the people of Barnagar to joined in the agitation against the colonial government. A resolution was taken for boycott and picketing of British good as a part of it under the leadership of Nanda Mohan Mazumadar; Haliram Mahanta Talukdar and Sarveshwar Das would be given the charge of it. Nanda Mohon Mazumadar and Haliram Mahanta Talukdar left their profession as a teacher and became a active leaders of Congress committee. At Kaniyar Bathan near Chakchaka a huge number of people organized themselves as a part of the boycotting movement and burnt the western clothes. As a result of this incident the Congress members and the local people were daily harassed by the British police because the police put everyone in the jail who were khadi. The burning of western cloth incidents also boosted the confidence of local leaders and they started to visited each and every village as possible by them to propagating the massage of Non- cooperation Movement. These efforts of local leaders helped in the increased of Congress volunteers in Barnagar. Even the cultivation of cotton was started in every household of this area. It is worth mentioning that Chandrnath Sarma's continued his organizational work by visiting a number of towns in Assam valley (Kowar,4) and this constant effort also helped to awaken the

consciousness of nationalism among the common people of Barnagar.

At the same time Tanuram Phukan and Nabin Chandra Bordoloi were also working on strengthening the Non-cooperation movement in Assam. Tanuram Phukan came to Barpeta to form a Nabin Chandra Bordoloi Congress committee but he wasn't successful on his mission in there so he visited Sorbhog (Barnagar) on the same purpose. At the residence of Nanda Mohan Mazumdar a meeting was organized with the purpose to form a Congress committee in Barnagar and in the same meeting a Congress committee of Barnagar was founded with Nanda Mohan Mazumdar as a president and Haliram Mahanta Talukdar as secretary.

Under Guneswari Mazumdar's initiative one women branch of Congress committee was established at Barnagar (Sarma, Dipti, 37)

In August 1921 M.K Gandhi for the first time visited Assam and his way to Gauhati he gave a small speech on Non-cooperation movement in Sorbhog railway station. This small speech of Gandhi left a great impact on the common people; after it a huge number of people decided to join in the movement and make sure to be successful in the movement (Das,3).

Haliram Mahanta Talukdar was one of the enthusiastic leaders of Barnagar. The Barnagar Anchoolik Congress in 1921 was led by him but due to this reason he was sent to jail by the British government.

During that time in Barnagar "Gandhi Topi" became so popular among the people. As a part of constructive programs prohibition of alcohol, banning of opium cultivation and the promotion of Khadi were successful in Assam. The tradition of weaving and spinning remarkably became an important part of every household in Barnagar. Many students left their government educational institutions and few names are Rewati Goswami, Nabin Chandra Sharma, Alakram Nath, Ratneswar Talukdar, Jagendra Nath Das, Premsaran Shaikiya, Dharanidhar Ujir, Bhabani Das, Maheswar Mahanta, Rames Chandra Mahanta, Ananda Mahanta, Fatik Mahanta and others.

For organizing a meeting in Chakchaka to discuss about the continuation of different programs related to Non-cooperation

movement police arrested Hiram Mahanta Talukadar, Nanda Mohan Mazumadar, Sarbeswar Das and other Congress members; this led the movement slowly in a subsided situation in Barnagar.

On 5th February,1922 at Uttar Pradesh's Chauri Chaura village a peaceful procession of people attacked by police and it leads towards a violent outbreak in there where twenty-two policemen were burnt alive by processionists. After hearing this tragic incidents Gandhi withdrew Non-cooperation movement with immediate effect.

Conclusion

In the mass movement of 1920 common people and local leaders of Barnagar actively participated. At that time, it was a circle and a police station of Barpeta subdivision, also the Sorbhog railway station situated in here for communication and administrative point of view this area is really important for the colonial government. So government tried their best to subjugated the activities of Non-cooperation movement in here. But due to the efforts of Congress volunteers in grassroots level a strong sentiments of anti-British propaganda had already developed among the people. Like the other parts of India in Barnagar also picketing of liquor, use of Khadi, meeting of Congress committee were the main feature of Non-cooperation movement.

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From Colonialism to Decolonization: An Analysis of Change and Continuity of British Colonial Rule in India

Barnali Thakuria

Introduction

Colonialism is the process of a particular country to control, interfere and dominate a definite population, territory, country or people. Colonialism occurs when a particular country settle in another country and purposefully exploit the natural resources and people. The main goals of the colonialism were to profit maximization. In short “Colonialism denotes establishment of rule by one foreign human race over another local human race and keep latter suppressed. It is an organized policy of oppression of local people by foreigners; where the local people have to accept servitude of the foreign rule in-order to foster the colonialism and capitalism of that particular foreign country”. It also control over the administrative mechanism and productive process and brutally exploits all human and natural resources for the benefit and betterment of the colonialist power. At the same time, colonialist power tries to breakdown the social setting of the colony into classes so that their rule may be stabilized and sustained. The best example of colonialism was the British did in India since middle 18th century till middle 20th century. Decolonization is a process by which the colonies became independent from the colonizing country. The process of decolonization from colonization was not an easy process. Its need a rigorous anti-colonial movement through which country became independent. India is an example of transition from colonialism to decolonization with the help of

nationalist struggle. The British colonialism has had a long impact may be for the betterment or for the worse. India became a part of the British colonial rule in the 1876 and gained its independence through a pro-longed independence struggle in 1947.

Method of the Study

The present study is mainly based on the descriptive and analytical in nature. The study analysis the British rule in India and its positive and negative impacts on Indian society. The study is qualitative in character as the chief aim of the work is to understand the changes and continuity of British rule in India. The data and information are collected from various secondary sources like-printed books, journals, newspapers, periodicals, websites, published articles and PhD thesis, government documents.

Objectives of the study

- To understand the process of transition from colonialism to decolonization with the example of British rule in India.
- To analyses the changes and continuity of British rule in India.
- To examine the role of Indian nationalist movement towards the independence of India.
- Last but not the least, to understand the negative and positive impact of British rule in India.

Nationalist struggle of India

The nationalist struggle of India was an organized mass movement effort concerned with the interest of Indian people. The Indian idea of nationalism take shaped during the late 19th century. The first rebellion started in 1857 known as Sepoy Mutiny, the India's first war of independence. The Mutiny spread throughout the country to overthrow the British domination. It sparked the fire of independence among the masses, which later time ultimately lead to series of Indian national movements with the vision to end the British rule in India. The series of movements were mentioned below-

- 1857 Revolt of 1857: Sepoy Mutiny began in Meerut, spread to Delhi, Agra, Kanpur and Lucknow
- 1905-1911 Swadeshi movement: Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon

- 1914-1917 Gadar Movement: Komagata Maru incident
- 1916-1918 Home Rule Movement: launched by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant
- 1917 Champaran Satyagraha: First non-violent protest in India by Mahatma Gandhi
- 1919 Rowlatt Satyagrah
- 1920 Khilafat and Non-cooperation Movement: First Mass Movement led by Gandhi
- 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement: launched to break the Salt law
- 1940 Individual Satyagraha: Launched against the August Offer, 1940.
- 1942 Quit India Movement: Gandhi launched his third major movement against British rule

Even though the above mentioned movements, the Indian people failed to achieve freedom from the British rule. But it created glorified nationalist sentiment among the Indian masses and soon it resulted as independence. The Indian National Congress made a resolution for complete Independence in the struggle of nationalism against British people on 14th July 1942. The Quit India Movement and the Civil Disobedience Movement, which was led by Mahatma Gandhi impacted a lot on the British Government. After all the struggle and movement, different success and failure, Indians finally paved their way to Independence on 1947.

Change and continuity

From social to cultural, economic to political life of Indian people was deeply moved by the interference of the British rule in India. The British government has done massive transformation and change in the social structure of India. The British government was successful in the changed of the irrational practices, superstition and norms of traditional Indian society. British rule has several positive and negative impacts on Indian government. Following were mentioned below-

Social change: the British government introduced new ideas like liberty, equality, human rights to the Indian society. It will gradually improved the situation of the people of India by awaring them to think rationally about all the traditional circumstances of the society. Most significantly the idea of women's right, women's

education, and women's development flourished the Indian society from the British rule. Under the leadership of prominent social reformer like Raja Rammohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar with the help of Lord William Bentinck revoked the brutal practices like 'Sati Dahan Pratha' and 'child marriage'. Again, with the help of Lord William Bentinck, the social reformer initiates new social ideas like 'widow remarriage' in the traditional Indian society. Some of the significant social changes during the British rule are mentioned below-

- Policies towards the culture, education and language
- Introduction of concepts like women rights
- Abolition of age old rigid caste system
- Revoke brutal practices like child marriage, polygamy, sati and female infanticide

Political change: the legacy of the British rule in India was obvious and natural thing. The Indian political system was also not free from the British colonialism. The Indian administrative system contains large amount of impact and influence from British period till today also. Free India inherited the governmental machinery, as developed by the British with the feel of significance accorded to having a federal government. All India Services, civil services recruitment, administrative training, the secretariat system, office procedures, district administration, revenue administration, police system, law and order, budgeting, accounting, auditing, and a number of other structural and functional areas of Indian administration have their roots in the British system. Though the British had their own objectives of sustaining and strengthening their empire, to which the administrative system was developed, some of their organizational initiatives have proved to be useful to India for the post independence period.

Educational change: the modern system of education was begun during the British period. Prior to the British rule, India has its own educational systems like the Gurukulas and the Madrassas. The British government introduced a new place of studying and learning i.e. Missionaries. The chief aim of the institution was to create a new class of Indian who would be "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste" and the new class of people act as the interpreters between the British government and the masses. This was also known as "downward filtration theory". The British government

introduced the English language in Indian education system. Educating the Indian peoples in the English language was a part of the British government strategy. The Indians would be ready to work as clerks on low wages while for the same work the British would demand much higher wages. This would reduce the expenditure on administration. It was also expected to create a class of Indians who were loyal to the British and were not able to relate to other Indians. This class of Indians would be taught to appreciate the culture and opinion of the British. No doubt the British government undertaken a half-hearted education policy for the Indian people, English language and western ideas also impacted on the Indian society from some positive spheres. Many social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and Swami Vivekananda absorbed western ideas of liberalism and democracy and used it for the reformation of some the non-humanitarian social brutal and religious practices of that time. Though education did not reach the general people but some core ideas of anti-imperialism, nationalism, social and economic equality took root through political parties, discussions and debates on public platform and the press. The spread of English language and western education helped Indians to adopt modern, rational, democratic, liberal and patriotic outlook. English became the lingua franca of the educated people in India. It united them and gradually made them politically aware of their rights. It also gave opportunity to the Indians to study in England and learn about the working of democratic institutions there. The writings of John Locke, Ruskin, Mill, Rousseau and many others instilled in them the ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, human rights and self-government. The French and the American Revolutions, and the unifications of Italy and Germany further strengthened their appreciation of these ideas. Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini became their favorite heroes. They began to aspire for these ideals for India

Economic change: the British government introduced several policies and programmes which benefits india over time. The railway system was introduced in the year 1844 by Lord Hardinge, the government general of British India and eventually it became a positive invention by the British. Under the British rule the economy of India witnessed a major ascending graph within the coloidal India. Many commercial crops like opium, jute, tes, cotton,

indigo, sugarcane, oil seed and coffee were discovered during the British rule. Again the telegraph and postal system was introduced in 1851 by Lord Dalhousie to connect with the British government not for the development of India but later it will benefited the people of India. On the other hand, British rule had several negative impacts towards the Indian economic system starting from the ideas like taxation, demolition and exploitation of Indian raw materials.

Conclusion

Despite having these positive sides, British rule demolished and exploited the raw materials, resources of India and forced the Indian people to witness the famine at many times. With the long back struggle India coming to the way of decolonization. Over all British rule had both positive and negative impacts and there were many change and continuity still witnessing in Indian society which was originated during the British rule.

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Contribution of Peasant Movement in the History of Freedom Struggle of India

Debarati Das

Introduction

Indian economy is primarily an agrarian economy. The main occupation of majority of the population is agriculture. Before Independence, India was a poor country and its agriculture was primitive in nature. Further, feudal lords had complete domination over the lands and there was an unequal distribution. After independence, the government's agriculture policy evolved a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand, there was a need to modernize agriculture and increase production, and on the other, bring about a uniform ownership system. In the early 1960s, new agricultural policies were introduced popularly under the banner of Green Revolution primarily to increase production. The policies were designed to provide financial support to the landowners and in turn increase their output by assuring access to all irrigational facilities. It was, however, only the rich and middle-class farmers, who could secure loans, invest in fertilizers and procure high-yield variety seeds. As the agriculture policies did not touch upon redistribution of the agriculture produce, the condition of small and marginal farmers deteriorated drastically. Further, constant oppression and exploitation by the rich farmers became rampant. The failure of governmental measures in resolving agrarian problem has been widely recognized and admitted today. The following were the notable agrarian movement of this phase.

Santhal's Revolution (1855)

This revolution was not only against the British Raj as such but also against the zamindars who were vested with unjustified and

unaccounted power of ownership of land that peasants had customarily considered and cultivated for millenniums as their own. The resolution was also directed against lenders who were given power to get peasants imprisoned for failure to repair their debts and against the autocracy of the officials. The santhals never thought that they could be evicted from their ancestral home states holdings due to their failure to pay taxes and debts and it had happened.

The self-respecting, proud, unorganized, Indian peasants could never reconcile themselves to the preposterous right conferred by the British Government on the zamindar to disain their properties, including their draught cattle, grain crops but that too came to be the order of the day. So they rose in revolt against that unjust order, imposed upon them by the British imperialism through the convenient media of its allies viz, the Indian zamindars and moneylenders.

The peasant, landed themselves (especially in Patna District) to resist short measures; illegal cases and forced deliveries of agreement to pay enhanced rates. Also there had been combination of riots in east Bengal, who refused to pay anything except what they considered just;

The santhals found their leaders in two brothers who claimed to have received some occult blessing from gods to put an end to the zhulum of officers and the deceit of merchants. As many as 35,000 Santhals formed their bodyguard. They armed themselves with their traditional weapons of lows, arrows, axes and swords.

They began to march to Calcutta to place their petition before the governor to free them from their oppressors. Against an unjust and peremptory order, the brave santhals knew only one answer to give that was defiance. There upon they were brutally tried upon and butchered in masses. The santhals displayed such exceptional courage and military discipline that they faced successive volleys of British bullets with reckless heroism and abandon.

Bombay Peasants' Revolts (1871-75)

These revolts were neither well planned, nor were they wide spread. They took place haphazardly in many districts like Kaira, Ahmednagar, Poona, all unconnected with each other. The

peasants aimed their blows not on government but on moneylenders and even when whole villages were in revolt, great care was taken not to harm anyone else but marwari moneylenders. General object of the rioters was to obtain and destroy the bonds, decrees, etc. in the possession of their creditors, when these were peaceably given up to the assembled mob, there was usually nothing further done. Hence the Deccan Agriculturists Relief act, was passed whereby an exception was made for the Maharashtra peasants from the operations of the civil procedure code in that they could not be imprisoned for failure to repay debts.

Deccan Riots

The ryots of Deccan region of western India suffered heavy taxation under the Ryotwari system. Here again the peasants found themselves trapped in a vicious network with the moneylender as the exploiter and the main beneficiary. These moneylenders were mostly outsiders- Marwaris or Gujaratis. The conditions had worsened due to a crash in cotton prices after the end of the American civil war in 1864, the Government's decision to raise the land revenue by 50% in 1867, and a succession of bad harvests.

In 1874, the growing tension between the moneylenders and the peasants resulted in a social boycott movement organised by the ryots against the "outsider" moneylenders. The ryots refused to buy from their shops. No peasant would cultivate their fields. The barbers, washermen, shoemakers would not serve them. This social boycott spread rapidly to the villages of Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholapur and Satara. Soon the social boycott was transformed into agrarian riots with systematic attacks on the moneylenders' houses and shops. The debt bonds and deeds were seized and publicly burnt. The Government succeeded in repressing the movement. As a conciliatory measure, the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act was passed in 1879. This time also, the modern nationalist intelligentsia of Maharashtra supported the peasants' cause.

The Kisan Sabha Movement

After the 1857 revolt, the Awadh Talukdars had got back their lands. This strengthened the hold of the Talukdars or big landlords over the agrarian society of the province. The majority of the cultivators were subjected to high rents, summary evictions (bedakhali), illegal levies, renewal fees or nazrana. The First World War had hiked the prices of food and other necessities. This

worsened the conditions of the UP peasants. Mainly due to the efforts of the Home Rule activists, kisan sabhas were organised in UP. The UP Kisan Sabha was set up in February 1918 by Gauri Shankar Mishra and Indra Narayan Dwivedi. Madan Mohan Malaviya supported their efforts.

By June 1919, the UP Kisan Sabha had 450 branches. Other prominent leaders included Jhinguri Singh, Durgapal Singh and Baba Ramchandra. In June 1920, Baba Ramchandra urged Nehru to visit these villages. During these visits, Nehru developed close contacts with the villagers. In October 1920, the Awadh Kisan Sabha came into existence because of differences in nationalist ranks. The Awadh Kisan Sabha asked the kisans to refuse to till bedakhali land, not to offer hari and begar (forms of unpaid labour), to boycott those who did not accept these conditions and to solve their disputes through Panchayats.

From the earlier forms of mass meetings and mobilisation, the patterns of activity changed rapidly in January 1921 to the looting of bazaars, houses, granaries and clashes with the police. The centres of activity were primarily the districts of Rai Bareilly, Faizabad and Sultanpur. The movement declined soon, partly due to government repression and partly because of the passing of the Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act.

Indigo Revolt

Indigo growers' revolt had flared up in Bengal in autumn of 1959. On the one hand, this revolt was directed against the indigo planters, on the other, it grew into a rent strike against the planter zamidars. We shall refer briefly to the system of indigo cultivation in order to comprehend the issues involved in this peasant uprising, which was a landmark in the history of peasant movements in Bengal. The British merchants embarked upon indigo cultivations in Bengal and built factories in Malda, Padna, Nadia, Jessore, Midnapore, Rangpore, Rajshahi and Purnea. There is a great deal of evidence to show that the planters had to pay rent to the Bengal zamidars to get land for indigo cultivation. Some of them, notably Dwarkanath Tagore, chose to be planters. The value of land increased in villages where indigo cultivation had extended. Apparently the Bengal zamidars had a stake in indigo cultivation.

There were two forms of indigo cultivation—one of the system represented the cultivation on the planters' land with the help

of hired labour. Under the other system, peasants grew indigo on their own land under contract and received advances from the planters: they had to hand over the entire produce to the planters at fixed prices. The system based on advance, virtually became forced cultivation, further more it was becoming un-remunerative, since peasants could get better prices when they grew jute or tobacco.

The indigo revolt started in Barasat, which had been the center of farazi disturbance in 1838. In March 1859 Eden, the magistrate of Barasat, declared that the ryots were free to grow whatever crops they liked. Hem Chandra Kar, a deputy magistrate, issued a parwana, based on Eden's instructions, on 20 August. As the knowledge of this parwana spread to villages, the peasants refused to sow indigo. By 1860 the revolt had spread to Nadia, Jessore, Palna, Rajshahi, Malda, Faridpur and Murshidabad. In February 1860, Herschel, the magistrate of Nadia reported that there appeared among the ryots a general sense of approaching freedom. The peasants resisted the planter's attacks with whatever weapons they could collect, indigo factories were raided and burnt: the factor servants were beaten.

The fact was that power still remained with zamindars, who wanted to teach the Sahib planters a lesson. In the decade following the indigo revolt, which surely radicalized the peasants, rent disturbances continued to occur in a few regions and snowballed into an uprising in 1873.

Contribution of the Indian National Congress

With the beginning of the 20th century, the Indian National Congress began to champion the cause of the oppressed peasants. It imported a political significance-common cause with the nationwide freedom movement and anti-imperialist bias into every one of the struggles that peasants had to wage in order to free themselves from new imperialist impositions and machinations. Thus countrywide campaigns were organized with nationalism as their dynamo and economic pressure as their propellers against the vicious indenture labour system, contract labour in plantation-exploitation by European planters in India and other parts of British Empire. Now that political consciousness and organization were added to economic grievances, success began to dawn on the horizon of Indian peasant movement. The indenture system was abolished and some relief was obtained for plantation labour. A

large number of risings took place in Malabar both in the last and present centuries. They were misnamed communal riots. Their basic causes which were the political and economic grievances of peasants against the local landlord were not sought to be removed, of course there was always the tendency for communal leaders to exploit these basic factors. But thanks to the sacrifices made by the Mopilla peasants, the Madras Government had to pass the Malabar Tenancy Act., which conferred permanency of tenancy upon a very large section of peasantry.

Gandhi and Peasants Satyagraha

An entirely new dynamic and political revolutionary tendency has come to be imported into peasant struggle by Mahatma Gandhi since his advent on the Indian Politico-economic theatre in 1916. He familiarized the peasants of Champaran in Bihar and Kaira in Gujarat. With his new weapons of Satyagraha, an open, non-violent, organized politically alive revolt-against injustice in their struggles against the indigo planters and land revenue collectors respectively. He introduced the technique of first enquiring into the essential facts of the peasants grievances, then formulating their demands, educating them as to the nature and magnitude of their needs articulate demands, training them in the art of internal self- sufficiency pointing out the need for economy in case of a prolonged struggle against the authorities and steeling their mind to the rigours of jails, and other harassment of imperialism. He convince the peasants that the satisfaction of theircarefully moderated minimum demands was most urgently called for by Dharma or Social justice and that it would be their sacred duty to force the authorities to perform their Dharma towards them. The injection of this inspiring and ennobling conception of serving Dharma by revolting against injustice and by seeking redress for their own grievances steeled the determination and fighting morale of the peasants. As the Champion of Dharma peasants went ahead to face all their enemies without fear and with perfect confidence in their own cause and in their duty to and capacity for, teaching their opponents how to conform dharma. As Calvin strengthened the laugeoisie by his casuistry proving that they were helping society by helping themselves: as Marx put new life into the proletariat by demonstrating that they were the heirs of capitalism, chosen by Dame History, so Mahatma Gandhi invested the peasants as well as the colonial peoples with the saintly staff of

Satyagraha to achieve the protection of Dharma for themselves and to office their opponents to conform to Dharma and thus save humanity from injustices.

Conclusion

The history of peasant movements can be traced to the economic policies of the Britishers, which have brought about many changes in the Indian agrarian system. The consequences of the British colonial expansion were felt the most by the Indian peasantry and it rose in revolt from time to time. These peasant uprisings certainly did take place but were not recorded as such under colonial history, and they were considered acts of bandits and dacoits in the official records. A vast amount of information can be found in the archival data, which has only recently been uncovered and written about. India is basically an agrarian economy with the bulk of rural population following the occupation of agriculture. Peasants have formed the backbone of the civil rebellions.

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Representation of India's Freedom Struggle in Films and General Media: An Analytical Perspective

Deeksha Bordoloi

Introduction

“Freedom is never dear at any price. It is the breath of life. What would a man not pay for living?”-Mahatma Gandhi

India achieved its freedom on 15th of August, 1947. From then till today it has been marching towards development and prosperity. The Indian Independence Movement began during World War I and on 15 August, 1947, after prolonged years of hardships and bloodshed, India marked freedom from 200 years old colonial rule. This freedom that we experience today, is the gift of our freedom fighters who sacrificed their life, dreaming of a free independent India. They united the nation against constant oppression and repression. India's history is flooded with ample number of freedom fighters who moulded our nation into what it is today. When we talk about the sacrifices of freedom fighters we often think of Mahatma Gandhi who employed non-violent means to achieve freedom, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the first Prime Minister of India, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who fought fearlessly against British army with the help of Indian National Army, Rani Laxmi Bai who boldly stood against the Britishers carrying her baby tied up in her back etc. The list goes on and each and every Indian during that time felt the rage against the tortures of the Britishers who knocked down the self-respect of every Indian and made them their servants in their own country. (Essay on Freedom Fighters) Movies like Bhagat Singh (2002), Bose the

forgotten hero (20024), Gandhi my father (2007), Gandhi (1982), Rang de Basanti (2006) etc have been centred around India's freedom struggle and have tried to educate the youngsters about their historical roots. Recent films such as RRR which have beautifully inculcated the nationalistic sentiments in the citizens of India and also have received global recognition are worth mentioning. While talking about the positive aspect of films, we should also state that majority of the movies, Tv series and serials have portrayed 'muslims' as playing the role of a an 'accused' who has terrifying scary personality with long beards. In this regard movies such as Jolly LLB2 (2017), Batla House (2019), My Name is Khan (2010), Padosi (1941) which have portrayed Muslims as 'others'. Such Bollywood movies have been showcasing a stereotyped vision of Muslims based on their historical portrayal, which sends a wrong message to the youth and further weakens the Hindu-Muslim divide increasing alarmingly in India. Bollywood and media houses thus needs to change and orient their films in such a way that the process of national integration and peace goes hand in hand.(Molaei)

Objectives

1. To analyze the role of media and films in bestowing respect to India's freedom struggle and freedom fighters
2. To determine how media has played a positive role in educating young minds about India's history
3. To portray the negative impact media plays in developing separatist feelings among Islamic groups
4. To examine media's role in contributing to national integration among the growing youth

Materials and methods

The research encircles around qualitative data mostly collected from secondary sources such as research articles, books, journals, documents from website. The understanding of role of media and films in India's freedom struggle would not be possible from an empirical scale because of the normative considerations of the subject matter. The paper reflects the qualitative method that has been utilized for research design and hypothesis formulation. Also, a small focus group interview has been utilized as a research

technique to gather first hand data regarding the views of children and people catering to Gen Z and Millennials on how Indian movies help them to build nationalistic sentiments.

An overview of the history of India's Freedom Struggle

The struggle for Independence gained momentum in the late 19th century, when Indians united to overthrow the foreign rule. Prior to the British rule, India was unified under various empires such as the Mauryan Empire, Mughal empire etc. With the end of Mughal rule, India was divided into numerous princely states which was under the direct control of British East India Company. As the time progressed, educated Indians started agitating against them and started gathering mass support to initiate nationwide protest. The urge to free India began with various small agitations in various parts of India. In this regard we can highlight the Swadeshi Movement which incorporated the use of indigenous products and boycotting foreign goods, the Ghadar Movement, the Home rule movement, Champaran movements for peasant rights etc. At the national stage, the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920) organized by Gandhiji was the first united step as a nation against the Britishers. Following Gandhiji's footsteps, people all over India stopped attending law courts, schools and colleges and they stopped paying taxes to the Britishers. Slowly the power of the British army was becoming foggy day by day. The second major nationwide movement was the Civil Disobedience Movement and the Dandi March (1930), which revolted against the unfair salt laws of Britishers. Gandhi along with a group of seventy-eight members of the Sabarmati Ashram marched from Ahmedabad to the coast at Dandi and collected salt directly from the beach. The final initiative which achieved its goal in fleeing the Britishers away from India was the Quit India Movement (1942), which gathered an all India revolt against the British rule. Gandhi went into a 21 day fast, numerous killing and strikes occurred at PAN India level and finally India rightfully attained its independence through the initiation of Indian Independence Act, 1947. It divided independent India into two major dominions – the Dominion of India and the Dominion of Pakistan. (India' Struggle for Independence: Indian Freedom Movement)

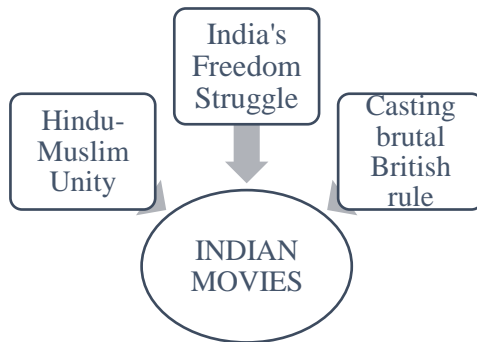
Role of Media and Films in showcasing India's freedom Struggle

Looking back to the days of struggle for independence, we cannot withstand the role played by press in accumulating support at PAN India level, by dispersal of revolutionary ideas. The theatre and cinemas have played a pre-eminent role in accelerating nationalistic emotions among the Indians in *Pre- Independence era*. Some major cinemas which played a commendable role in boosting the nationalistic sentiments are-

- J.B.H Wadia's Diler Daku (1931), Toofan Mail (1932), Kala Gulab (1942)- all centred around democracy and India's Freedom struggle
- R. Jyotiprasad Aggarwal- Jyotimati (1934), a film producer and freedom fighter from Assam
- Sohrab Modi- 'Sikandar' on Alexander's invasion of India evoked nationalistic sentiments etc.(Singh)

Patriots such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Jawaharlal Nehru etc considered cinemas to be a strong medium in strengthening political awakening among people. Pre- Independence cinemas were less manipulative and tried to enhance Hindu Muslim religious unity.

In the post-independence era, Indian cinema took a drastic turn. Much development and investment was seen in screening of movies related to India's freedom struggle, which enabled in keeping the fire in place against colonial rule in the hearts of people. *Immediate post-independence* movies were concentrated on the following ideas-



Indian film making industry have been struggling to produce such movies which have nationalistic content loaded in it, as they draw a large number of audiences. Some commendable movies which can always be referred to by the audience to learn more about their historical roots of role of freedom fighters are-

- Junoon (1978)- Shashi Kapoor, reflecting the Indian Rebellion of 1857.
- The Legend of Bhagat Singh (2002) by Rajkumar Santoshi, exhibited the life of socialist revolutionary Bhagat Singh, who fought selflessly to free India from the clutches of British Rule.
- Mangal Pandey:The Rising- starring Amir Khan, portrayed his historic fight as a soldier against the British Empire.
- Kranti (1981) by Manoj Kumar, showed the struggle of Indians in Pre-Independence era.
- Gandhi (1982), Hollywood movie, showing the entire life of Gandhi and his role in India's freedom etc.(Sonavane)

Moving forward with the pace of growing technological innovations and changes in lifestyles and attitudes of people, it was necessary for the film industry to mould its directions in similar ways to generate greater appraisal from the public. Thus it started producing patriotic movies which included more action, modern cars, songs, dances and love angles to suit the expectations of the 'affected public;' consisting of Gen Z and Millennials. Some *21st century movies* which have tried to keep the patriotic sentiments intact among the growing youth, while working on its various dimensions include-

- URI: The Surgical strike (2019), starring Vickey Kaushal, related to the surgical strike at URI, Kashmir 2016.
- Tanhaji, starring Ajay Devgan (2020), portraying the role played by Tanaji Malusare in India's Freedom struggle, during the 17th century
- Shershaah(2021), starring Sidharth Malhotra, depicting both elements of fight of Indian soldiers during the Kargil War and love angle
- Gandhi Godse-Ek Yudh (2023), Rajkumar Santoshi, based on the assassination of Gandhi.

The manipulation of events: a critical perspective

Indian film making industries have been adding extra instances or actions and they have been exaggerating actual events to gain larger public support. In order to spice up the content, they produce movies where the detailing of occurrences is manipulated in such a way that audience are naturally drawn towards it. In the process, such manipulations degrade the worth of role played by numerous fighters and sends wrong messages to the public. In the 21st century, under the BJP led era, nationalism is replaced by jingoism as evident in the film industry too. Developing nationalistic sentiments is necessary, but the film makers in the awe for gaining for box office collection forgets where to draw the line. Excessive nationalism can also be harmful for young minds to process. For example, if we take the movie '*Pardes(1997)*' over nationalism has been portrayed by the producer in constantly emphasizing on lines such as 'I love my India', 'Karam mera India, Dharam mera India, Vatan mera India, Sajan mera India', centralizing the life of any normal Indian to actually center his life on the progress of nation by all means, whether or not he/she progresses in individual level or not.(Kumar)

Another example is the *Lagaan* (2001) which created fictional stories to mimic the colonizer, this somehow degraded the ruthless picture that a colonizer possessed in certain way. This confuses the public by creating diverse versions of history leading to ambiguity.(Raj)

Media as a medium of enhancing national integration among youths

Media has been playing a formidable role in educating the youths who prefer to watch rather than read. No doubt NCERT has been producing good quality and interesting history books with added colors and animations to motivate the students to learn, yet films play a superior role in educating children with special focus on Gen Z and Millennials. Based on the data collected through interview from a few students belonging to Gen Z and Millennials, it was found out that, films helped them to know about India's freedom struggle in an interesting way and helped them to remember and retain events for a longer period of time. Unlike history classes, which they found out to be bore. Also, while

interviewing about the choice of movies most students stated that they preferred to watch patriotic movies as they are full of actions, music and drama. They believed that patriotic movies are the real gems which includes the 'real' and non-manipulative version of Bollywood. Movies has helped them to in build in them nationalistic feelings and love for the country.

Using media as a lens for fuelling divisions among sections

Indian Bollywood movies is often seen to widen the Hindu-Muslim clash, in the Post-Independence era. The coalition of films and politics is a major cause behind it. Now media houses to attain publicity produces heated content, portraying a brutal picture of the 'villian' mostly being a Muslim and the 'hero' favorably being a Hindu. For example- Allaudin Khilji and his terrifying depiction in Padmavaat, Aurangzeb as a villain in Chhstrasal etc.

Ashis Nandy, in his book Indian Muslim(s) After Liberalisation, argues that Indian movies have been producing the image of a 'Muslim other', which is entirely contradictory to the image of a law-abiding citizen. An example could be Mughal-e-Azam, exemplifying the pluralistic ethos of the film industry and shaking the communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims in India. (Dhawan)

The hysteria of an anti-Muslim sentiment has reached heights today in India, with the representation of Muslims as outsiders, gangsters and terrorist since 1980's. (Ramnath)

In Mahesh Bhatt's Zakhm (1998), from a general lens the movie have adopted a secular approach, but if we try to analyze it we can find that the movie actually depicts the anger, hatred and animosity that Hindus feel against Muslim.

Conclusion and findings

Media is a very strong medium to bring about change and to educate the people. However, if used without precautions it can pollute the minds of people to a great extent. Around 30-35 % of the Indian Population watch movies. Media has been playing commendable role in educating children on numerous roles played by various freedom fighters in escorting patriotic sentiments and educating the citizens. However, it is equally expanding the Hindu-Muslim divide by producing anti-Hindu or anti-Muslim content.

The politicization of media should be analyzed and the educated youth should voice out the negative impact some movies have in invoking separatist tendencies. Also, historic events related to freedom struggle should be represented as it is and manipulation should be avoided as far as possible. This shall avoid confusions between what is there in books and what people see on the big screen.

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**The Real Heroes who saved Assam
from the Conspiracy of Merging it into
the Map of East-Pakistan:
Understanding the Contributions of
Gopinath Bordoloi making Assam as an
Integral Part of Independent Bharat**

Dr. Dhrubajyoti Das

Introduction

As India is celebrating the 75th years of Independence as “Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav”, the whole nation bows down remembering the sacrifices of our freedom fighters for the Independence of an United Bharat. Thousands laid down their lives in the path of freedom and thereby realising the dream of an Independent India for the future generation. India now pays tribute to those unsung heroes of our freedom struggle, whose love for the nation translated to our Independence after a long movement against the British rulers. On this momentum occasion, many great personalities who fought and sacrificed their life for the country’s freedom have been remembered with reverence. However, in the struggle against the British, the contributions of the freedom fighters from Assam as well as the North-East region have apparently not received their due honour till date. There are many heroes, warriors and freedom fighters from various communities of Assam as well as North-East who fought courageously and laid their life for an independent Bharat, have remained unsung and unwritten and neglected in the history of India’s freedom struggle against the British. The contributions of the great warriors and

freedom fighters of the North-East towards the India's freedom struggle are always memorable and should get due honour in the existing socio-political and academic set-up. However, among them, there are some great personalities whose contributions are highly remarkable and memorable in this field, without which we cannot imagine the integration and inclusion of Assam into the map of Independent Bharat or as an integral part of Independent Bharat.

Bharatratna Gopinath Bordoloi: A Brief Profile

Gopinath Bordoloi (6 June 1890 – 5 August 1950) was a politician and Indian independence activist who served as the first Chief Minister of the State of Assam, India, just after independence. He also served as Chief Minister of undivided Assam prior to independence. The reasons of Gopinath Bordoloi becoming Chief Minister of undivided Assam were his political prowess, superb personality, truthfulness and behaviour which attracted not only his colleagues but also people of various communities. Congress got recognition as a powerful political party in Assam by virtue of his ability and intelligence. Due to his unselfish dedication towards Assam and its people, the then Governor of Assam Jayram Das Doulatram conferred him with the title "Lokapriya". A staunch supporter of Mahatma Gandhi, he followed the non-violence principle of Gandhiji in the struggle for freedom of India from the British rule. Bordoloi was a prominent freedom activist who played a major role during 1947 to prevent Assam from being included into East Pakistan. Majority of Muslim political leaders from Bengal, many of whom were affiliated to 'Muslim League', wanted Assam, a significantly Hindu dominated region, to be included in East Pakistan, apprehensions of communal riots and upsurge of mass protests did the rounds. Bordoloi along with other eminent leaders sorted out the issue tactfully using several measures including holding protest rallies and taking up the matter with high ranking officials of the British Government, which ultimately left the region within the Indian boundary. After India's independence he worked in association with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to safeguard the sovereignty of Assam against East Pakistan and China. Gopinath Bordoloi's political life started when he joined the Indian National Congress as a volunteer and actively participated in the fight for independence. He was arrested in 1922 due to active participation in the Non-co-operation movement and was put in jail for a year.

Cabinet Commission and Bordoloi's Role

The British Government formed a Cabinet Commission in 1946 to discuss the demands for Indian Independence. The members held meetings with the Congress and the Muslim League in Shimla and Delhi. Their plan included grouping of states into 3 categories for selecting the candidates to form the constitutional body with Assam and Bengal in third group. Gopinath Bordoloi sensed the ominous sign for Assam in the plan as the inclusion would mean the local representatives will become minority in comparison to Bengal. That would be devastating for rights of people of Assam.

The Assam Pradesh Congress committee decided to go against the grouping plan. Gopinath Bordoloi told the Indian National Congress working committee, Cabinet committee and the Viceroy that the representatives of Assam will form the Constitution of Assam themselves and will decide whether to join the group or not among themselves. Subsequently, the Cabinet commission announced that the grouping will be mandatory for every state and they may later withdraw from the group if they want. This further complicated the situation. Bordoloi met the Indian National Congress leaders to discuss it with no result. He then, with the Assam Congress Committee, decided to start mass agitation in Assam. Only after this, the Indian National Congress working committee advised them to pass a unanimous decision in Assembly. Later, the members of the Assembly suggested a working formula in which ten representatives from Assam would form their own constitution without joining any group and would merge with national committee to form the Indian constitution.

In 1947, Lord Mountbatten took over as new Viceroy. He held separate meetings with the Muslim League, Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. They decided to go for Partition as a permanent solution instead of grouping. India and Pakistan became separate independent countries. Thus, Gopinath Bordoloi played a major role in securing the future of Assam which would have been included in East Pakistan otherwise.

Conspiracy of Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah-Sadullah with the support of Nehruvian Congress to merge Assam in to the map of East-Pakistan

In the east of our country, Assam was also not behind other states of India in our freedom movement. Hundreds of freedom fighters of the state sacrificed their lives for the Independence of a united India under the leadership of the Congress party. But it was probably out of their imagination that the Congress leadership had some other plan in their mind about the fate of Assam. Congress leadership including Jawaharlal Nehru was in favour of Assam's merger with Pakistan to appease the Muslim League. Unlike others, freedom fighters and Congress leaders of Assam had to fight two battles during the freedom movement of India. One against the Britishers and another against their Congress Central leadership. Led by Bharat Ratna Gopinath Bordoloi, Congress leaders of Assam had to win a battle with their very own Central leaderships, who were in favour of immolating Assam by including it with Pakistan. It was Bordoloi and a few of his close aide's determination that compelled the Congress leadership to change their mind. If we dig into the political history of Assam, the facts show the step motherly attitude of Congress leadership towards Assam starting from the pre-Independence era. For a pre-Independence Congressman, it was unimaginable to go against party icons such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. But Lokpriya Gopinath Bordoloi, the undisputed leader of Assam, did an act of insubordination to save his own state from the Grouping system of the Cabinet Mission. Acceptance of the plan would have meant Assam's merger with East Pakistan after Partition. Bordoloi forcefully protested, though he got little support except from two Bengal leaders—Congressman Sarat Chandra Bose and Jana Sangh founder Syama Prasad Mookerjee. It was eventually at Mahatma Gandhi's intervention that Bordoloi succeeded in keeping undivided Assam out of the Grouping.

It was Muslim League's long-time dream to add Assam into the map of East Pakistan. The leaders of the Muslim League had a vision in their mind and they started working on it right from the early 1930's of the 19th century to rapidly increase the Muslim population in the plains of the state. Huge influx started from Bengal to Assam starting from the 1930s and the plan was to increase the numbers of Muslims to lay a claim on Assam. Freedom fighter and Congressman of Assam Ambikagiri Raichoudhury frequently reminded Jawaharlal Nehru of immigration and settlers' questions. Raichoudhury said out of fear that Assam could be the

next Palestine if huge immigration from Bengal doesn't stop. But this had little impact on Nehru, who wanted to gift Assam to Jinnah on a silver plate at the time of Partition.

Under the leadership of Syed Saadullah, the Muslim League was cooking the conspiracy to include Assam in East Pakistan and Congress Central leadership didn't have a hesitation in it. But Gopinath Bordoloi and the Congress leaders of Assam were opposing it from the very beginning. After the fall of the Syed Saadullah government, Gopinath Bordoloi took charge as the Prime Minister of Assam in 1938. Bordoloi's bold decisions were not well accepted by Congress Central leadership and he had to resign under tremendous pressure from the Central leadership.

Gandhiji's Crucial Support in Bordoloi's Assam Rescue Plan

Gopinath Bordoloi's fellow Congressman, Mahendra Mohan Choudhury wrote about the bold stand taken by Bordoloi against the wishes of the Congress leadership. Mahatma Gandhi was anxious about the huge influx from East Bengal to Assam under the patronage of British and Syed Saadullah government. Gopinath Bordoloi had sent Mahendra Mohan Choudhury to discuss the matter with Mahatma Gandhi. Choudhury wrote about the discussion with Gandhi, "We told Bapuji about the conspiracy to make Assam a Muslim majority state and include it in Pakistan under the patronage of Saadullah government. Gandhiji said, "Bordoloi also mentioned it in his report. The people of Assam shouldn't accept this. If continuous immigration happens to a small state from its large neighboring states and if the indigenous people of the small states are on the verge to become minority, then they have the right of peaceful agitation (Satyagrah) against it." Gandhiji further said, "Nobody can paint it in communal colour. The indigenous people have the right to take appropriate action against the migrated community." Mahendra Mohan Choudhury further wrote about the political foresight of Gopinath Bordoloi, "If Congress were not voted to power with absolute majority in 1946, no doubt Pakistan would have gulped Assam. This was possible only because of the political intelligence and popularity of Gopinath Bordoloi." Choudhury wrote about the anti-Assam stand of the central leadership of the Congress party on the matter.

In the Central leadership of Congress only Syama Prasad Mukherjee and Sarat Chandra Bose were against the inclusion of

Assam in “Grouping” and they supported the cause of Assam. Assam Assembly passed a resolution against the grouping. Bordoloi had to fight a lot with the Congress Working Committee (CWC) to pass the resolution.” Bordoloi’s greatest political success was to get Gandhiji’s support during the critical time of “Grouping”. Gandhiji’s support to Assam divided the CWC and it was compelled to support the cause of Assam. The resolution passed in the Assam Assembly was a shield for Bordoloi and he played a perfect political game based on it.

Conclusion

In the name of Independence, the Central leadership of Congress wanted to merge Assam in to the map of East-Pakistan and Gopinath Bordoloi had to fight against his own Congress leadership to save Assam from a possible merger with Pakistan. Gopinath Bordoloi was the real hero who saved Assam from the conspiracy of merging it into the map of East-Pakistan. Assam and the people of Assam became safe and secure for the bold leadership and active role played by Gopinath Bordoloi at that critical time. The Assamese people would become homeless and refugees under the pressure of religious persecution without the bold leadership and strong role of Gopinath Bordoloi. We cannot imagine Assam as an integral part of Independent Bharat without his great role and contribution. For his role and contribution, Gopinath Bordoloi has been conferred “Bharatratna”. The contribution of Gopinath Bordoloi will be memorable among the Assamese people forever. After India's Independence, he worked closely with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to secure the sovereignty of Assam against China on one hand and Pakistan on the other. His work formed the basis for ensuring communal harmony, democracy and stability which effectively kept Assam secure and progressive right up to the 1971 war over Bangladesh's independence.

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Role of Literature in the Freedom Struggle of India

Dr. Gagan Kumar Pathak

Freedom and freedom struggle are the favourite subjects of many novelists. Raja Rao is one of them. Unlike Mulk Raj Anand and R.K. Narayana, Raja Rao has not been a prolific novelist, having written just four novels beginning with *Kanthapura*, which is perhaps the finest evocation of the Gandhian age in Indian English fiction. It is the story of a small South Indian village caught in the maelstrom of the freedom struggle of the nineteen thirties and transformed so completely in the end that 'there's neither man nor mosquito' left in it.

In this little village situated high on the ghats up the Malabar coast, the most important event has traditionally been the ploughing of the fields at the first rains. In 1930, the harvest reaped is the Gandhian whirlwind. Raja Rao offers no dreamland vision of the freedom struggle. In fact, the initial reaction of *Kanthapura* to Gandhian thought is one of bored apathy. But young Moorthy, the Gandhian, who knows that the master key to the Indian mind is religion puts the new Gandhian wine into the age old bottle of traditional *Harikatha* and thus indoctrinates the *Kanthapurans*. There is also no runaway victory for Gandhism in the village, for the forces of orthodoxy and conservatism are strong. The struggle is even harder for the simple, illiterate village women who don't understand the why and the therefore of it all, and only know that the Mahatma is right in the tradition of the Hindu avatars. They have their moment of temptation, cowardice and backsliding but still hold out to the bitter end, until *Kanthapura* is a deserted village. *Kanthapura* is thus a brilliant attempt to probe the depths to which

the nationalistic urge penetrated, showing how, even in the remote villages, the new upsurge fused completely with traditional religious faith, thus rediscovering the Indian soul.

In the novel, Rao explains vividly the evils of the Red Man's administration in India. The exploitation of Indians by the colonialists led to the formation of Gandhi's freedom movement. In Kanthapura, Moorthy, a strong supporter of Gandhi, moves home to the remote village to mobilize people against the evils of the colonialists in their country and forms a Congress. When villagers demonstrate against the oppression of their masters in the coffee plantations, the government sends its police officers to terrorize the protesters. Many people are killed and wounded, and Moorthy is arrested alongside other freedom fighters. Throughout the novel, the reader witnesses the hardships Indians had to go through before gaining their independence. There are tortures, killings, unlawful arrests, economic oppression, political oppression, unfair working conditions, high taxes, and more—all of which inspire Gandhi and his movement, and, in the novel, the villagers of Kanthapura.

Women's roles in Kanthapura center on their significance in the nationalist struggle—they march, protest, passively resist, boycott, read newspapers, and more—and how that significance is undermined by the traditional domestic, inferior role they were supposed to occupy. While the widows attain a sense of power and meaning in the movement, their own issues are ignored and they are valued more if they play their gendered role. Ultimately, they adhere to traditional patriarchal gender norms even while they demonstrate their importance to the struggle.

Colonialists often took advantage of the ignorance of Indians to rule them, and at the beginning of the novel the people of Kanthapura are portrayed as ignorant. However, when Moorthy moves back into the village, things take a drastic turn. Moorthy is an educated youth from the city who understands how the evils of the Red Man's administration can be fought. He educates the villagers on the evils of the colonialists, encourages their economic self-sufficiency, and organizes a Congress in the village. He and his compatriots circulate free materials to further educate the people on the objectives of the freedom movement and the importance of self-rule. It is only through educating themselves that the villagers learn what is at stake and what to do about it.

The story of the coolies at the Skeffington Coffee Estate is a perfect microcosm of the story of India itself under colonialism. The coolies are exploited in numerous ways: they are lied to, denied fair wages, beaten, forced to work long hours, forced to spend their money on the master's toddy, forbidden from political activism, and more. Their labor is what brings the Estate profit, but they are treated like they are nothing. Through Moorthy's teachings, the Brahmins realize that though their lives are obviously much better than those of the coolies, they still suffer under the colonial economy.

Achakka's narration is the first clue that this novel isn't going to be about just one individual and her experience with Ghandism; rather, it seeks to explore multiple voices, multiple experiences. It wants to look at a whole village's grappling with the changes sweeping the nation, because the villages are the soul of the nation, a microcosm of the nation. The only way change will happen is if people band together and see themselves collectively; one person cannot change much, but dozens, thousands, millions can.

Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay was one such author who used literature to spread the message of patriotism. In *Anandamath* (1882), set during the famine in Bengal in 1770 B.C.E., Chattopadhyay highlighted various patriotic acts of and sacrifices made by his characters, ordinary people who left their homes and families to fight against subjection, and in service of “the Mother.” He envisaged an insurgency against the British by untrained soldiers who succeeding in beating the more experienced British soldiers through sheer grit and determination, while embodying a sense of patriotism. The novel was banned by the British and the ban was lifted by the Government of India only after independence. Our national song, *Bande Mataram* was first published as a poem in this novel as the rallying cry of the characters who used it to give themselves courage and to urge people to fight against the British.

In a case of fact imitating fiction, *Bande Mataram* served this purpose during the freedom struggle as well. Despite being banned, the general public would recite the poem, or sing the song in front of British officials and many were carted off to jail for doing so. Due to its tradition of sacrifice and its success in bringing a country together against the British, in 1937, the first two verses of

Bande Mataram were adopted as the national song by the Indian National Congress.

In 1884, Chattopadhyay published *Devi Chaudharani*, which became an inspiration to women to take up the cause of independence. In this novel, he reiterated his belief that an armed conflict is the only way to win independence but he made a woman the protagonist and leader of the struggle. *Anandamath* also featured a strong woman character, and in both books, while women do take up arms, they fight while embodying the values of love.

Chattopadhyay had the foresight to understand that without the cooperation of women, the freedom struggle could not be entirely successful. As Shanti says in *Anandamath* while making her case to join the cause, "Which hero ever became a hero without the cooperation of his wife?"

Sri Aurobindo has a glorious chronicle of progress from patriot to poet, yogi and seer. He has found his roots in Indian culture. His long poetic career spanning sixty years yielded an impressive volume of verse of several kinds- lyrical, narrative, philosophical and epic. The early Short Poems are mostly minor verse of 'romantic twilight' of the Eighteen Nineties, celebrating the characteristic themes of love, sorrow, death and liberty in a typically romantic style. His remarkable works based on the theme of liberty and independence are "The Life Divine" and "Foundation of Indian Culture".

No one has ever explored the nature of freedom more profoundly and passionately than Sri Aurobindo. 'The longing to be free' he wrote 'is lodged in such a deep layer of the human heart that a thousand arguments are powerless to uproot it'.

Sri Aurobindo looked at the concept of freedom first through the eyes of a revolutionary political leader who was also a poet, and later through the eyes of the mystic and spiritual Master that he became. What does 'freedom' mean? How can it be realised for the individual and in the collective life of a nation? How do we strike the right balance between individual freedom and the collective interests of a society or nation? Why does the struggle for freedom, fuelled by brave and inspiring words, so often end in bloodshed and a new kind of tyranny?

In the course of a lifetime devoted to finding answers to these questions, he gradually developed an integral vision of human freedom that has become his legacy to India, and through India, to the world. For him, freedom was more than just 'a convenient elbow room for our natural energies'. For him, freedom was an eternal aspect of the human spirit, as essential to life as breath itself. His whole concept of freedom is based on the premise that there is in mankind an evolving soul requiring freedom for its evolution, just as there is in nature a secret urge towards unity. These twin demands of our nature, acting overtly or behind the scenes, act as a spur to progress until man fulfils his destiny to exceed himself. They must be reconciled if our questions about freedom are to find an answer.

From a very young age Sri Aurobindo was a passionate reader. Shelley was a favourite; something of that poet's fervent admiration for the ideals of the French revolution entered deeply into his consciousness. Later he would recount that he read over and over again Shelley's *The Revolt of Islam*, with its passionate advocacy of freedom as an ideal because something in him responded to it. Even then he had an idea of devoting his life to a similar world movement in defence of freedom. At this time, and during his years at St Paul 's School, he saw the French Revolution through the eyes of the English Romantic poets, and from them first learned the magical formula – Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. That formula would become central to his concept of freedom.

In London, and later at King's College Cambridge, Sri Aurobindo found himself drawn to the nationalist ideals of men like Charles Stuart Parnell in Ireland. One of his early poems in praise of Parnell is significant in the light of what was to come:

*Patriots, behold your guerdon! This man found
Erin, his Mother, beaten, chastised, bound,
Naked to imputation poor, denied,
While alien masters held her house of pride...*

That image of the Mother in chains entered so deeply into his consciousness that it would become a rallying cry to galvanize the youth of India, and unite her citizens in their opposition to British rule.

When it strives for brotherhood, it is founding that equal freedom of self -development on a common aim, a common life, a

unity of mind and feeling founded upon the recognition of this inner spiritual unity.

The three things are in fact the nature of the soul; for Freedom, Equality, Unity are the eternal aspects of the Spirit. It is the practical recognition of this truth, it is the awakening of the soul in man and the attempt to get him to live from his soul, and not from his ego, which is the inner meaning of religion, and it is that to which the religion of humanity must also arrive before it can fulfil itself in the life of the race.

After his release from Alipore, Sri Aurobindo returned to the political arena. He started an English language weekly paper, *The Karmayogin* and a Bengali weekly, he spoke at nationalist meetings and challenged the moderate faction for their lack of firmness. At this time he began to be known in British circles as the most dangerous man in India. There was a real possibility that he would be arrested again. Being forewarned, Sri Aurobindo left British India and took refuge first in Chandernagore, and then in Pondicherry .

Freedom is the law of being in its illimitable unity, secret master of all Nature: servitude is the law of love in the being voluntarily giving itself to serve the play of its other selves in the multiplicity.

It is when freedom works in chains and servitude becomes a law of Force, not of Love, that the true nature of things is distorted and a falsehood governs the soul's dealings with existence.

Nature starts with this distortion and plays with all the combinations to which it can lead before she will allow it to be righted. Afterwards, she gathers up all the essence of these combinations into a new and rich harmony of love and freedom.

Freedom comes by a unity without limits; for that is our real being. We may gain the essence of this unity in ourselves; we may realise the play of it in oneness with all others. The double experience is the complete intention of the soul in Nature

Having realised infinite unity in ourselves, then to give ourselves to the world is utter freedom and absolute empire.

Infinite, we are free from death; for life then becomes a play of our immortal existence. We are free from weakness, for we are

the whole sea enjoying the myriad shock of its waves. We are free from grief and pain for we learn how to harmonise our being with all that touches it and to find in all things action and reaction of the delight of existence. We are free from limitation, for the body becomes a plaything of the infinite mind and learns to obey the will of the immortal soul. We are free from the fever of the nervous mind and the heart, yet are not bound to immobility.

Immortality, unity and freedom are in ourselves and await there our discovery; but for the joy of love God in us will still remain the many.

Conclusion

Literature portrays the sentiments of the age. The situation of India before independence was pathetic. Indians were exploited on all fronts by the Britishers. The writers, poets, dramatists and novelists started writing great literature embodying a sense of patriotism. As Gandhiji's popularity rose, so did his influence with many authors of the time using literature to portray his ideals and philosophies. K.S. Venkatramani wrote two important novels- Murugan The Tiller and Kundan, The Patriot. They dealt with the economic impact of Gandhism and the civil disobedience movement. In Murugan The Tiller, we note the sacrifices of a village in their struggle for freedom. In Kundan The Patriot, the main hero Raghu is an amoralist of freedom and Satyagraha. Raghu joins the Indian freedom movement despite his mother's angry protests. Mulk Raj Anand seems to be influenced by Gandhiji in his work 'Untouchable'. The protagonist, Bakha, is a sweeper. His spent the day being beaten. He was treated unjustly merely because of his caste. He finds relief when he hears Gandhi ji's speech. It gives him hope for a better future.

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Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury: The Unsung Hero of Azad Hind Fauz

Harshajit Kalita

Introduction

Indian freedom struggle is one of the major event that turns world politics into a different direction. Later after gaining its most awaited freedom India became the largest democratic country of the globe. But the whole process of gaining its freedom was not so easy. Though the most popular way of fighting for her freedom was the non-violent method under Mohandas Gandhi; but the importance of violent struggle or revolutionary activism was also became an important asset in gaining her most awaited freedom. Azad Hind Fauz or Indian National Army also create a pressure factor or also became the most popular revolutionary organism which works violently for gaining the freedom of our motherland. There were also many Assamese soldiers like Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury, Jalaluddin Ahmed, Chittaranjan Debnath, Sridam Chandra Mahanta, S Rahman, Laurat Singh, Harendra Nath Mech who fought for India's liberation under the INA flag. Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury was one of the last surviving prominent soldiers of this group. Dev Choudhury was born and brought up in a small town of Undivided kamrup District (presently Bajali area of Barpeta district) of Assam named Patacharkuchi in 1917. In the year 1936 when Gandhi visited Barpeta road town of Assam Dev Choudhury who was a student of class eight at that time went to see Gandhi along with his friends. But school authority did not like this. So they punished Dev Choudhury for it. In 1938 after failing his class exam Dev Choudhury visit Manipur in search of a better opportunity for him.

As Netaji's brave asset

Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury joined British Army in 1940 as a clerk. This was the time of second world war. Unfortunately He got arrested by Japanese as Japan Invaded present day Burma and Rangoon (presently Rangoon is known as Yangon) and British lost to Japan. They suddenly became war prisoner of Japan. But Japanese were very much interested and supportive towards the Indian national movement which was against their mutual enemy British. So Japan government along with the famous Indian revolutionary Ras Bihari Bose (Who lived in Japan for a long time to make some foreign support to the revolutionary activism) decided to create a Military band by these Interested Indian prisoner soldier who also wanted to fight for their motherland.

To attract the Indian soldier Ras Bihari Bose from a Japanese plane threw some signed leaflets on the ground which read- 'The Azad Hind party has been formed for the liberation of our motherland. It is not treachery to leave British company for the motherland, death for motherland is a very pious act'. The impression of the leaflet and the special lecture given by the revolutionary hero Ras Bihari Bose on 28th of March in Singapore to the Singapore living Indians at 'Ferrar Park' made Dev Choudhury a staunch believer of Ras Bihari Bose. Also after this meeting The Indian National Army was formed in Bangkok next month. Dev Choudhury also joined in newly formed 'Indian National Army' or INA under the leadership of Mohan Singh and Ras Bihari Bose

The Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauz got its momentum when Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took the leadership of *Fauz* on 1943. Under Bose they fought some of the decisive battles in Burma and Imphal. As a Lieutenant of INA, Dev Choudhury led his *Fauz* against British in many impactful battles from various battlefields of south-east Asian places like Singapore, Rangoon (presently Yangon), Arakan Front, etc. In the hills and plains of Nagaland, Manipur, and some areas of greater Assam, the INA forces bravely fought to free Indian soil from the control of the British Empire. The INA soldiers displayed amazing bravery, patriotism, and sacrifice at Imphal, Palel, Kohima,

Bishenpur, and other frontier districts; their actions continue to inspire Indian youth today. Netaji also unfurl the first flag of Independent India in a remote place of Imphal, Manipur. This was very much important in that crucial political scenario. Significantly in all the battlefield Dev Choudhury showed his courage and became an asset of Netaji's young Brigade. Colonel Prem Kumar Sehgal, Major General Zaman Kiani, Colonel Chowkat Malik and Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury posed a strong challenge against the mighty British in various battlefields. Netaji then tasked Dev Choudhury with Colonel General N N Mishra to attack Chittagong across the Arakan Mountains. But unfortunately this mission became a massive failure for Azad Hind Soldier. Seventy Azad Hind soldiers were killed by the soldier of allied power and also lieutenant Dev Choudhury became seriously injured in the attack of midnight 3 AM. As a dependable and efficient INA soldier, Shri Umesh Chandra spent some time working at Netaji's office in Rangoon where he was tasked with creating a map of different significant areas in north-east India.

War through the ink and pen

Dev Choudhury also write about his exclusive experiences of war and also his view on contemporary socio-political condition in his book "*Sei Ronangon*". In this autobiographical work Dev Choudhury wrote. "Give me a gun and I shall once again kill the corrupt. I am old but not old enough to be unable to shed my blood for the sake of my country. Dev Choudhury also wrote about the present political landscape. "This is not the independence we fought for. It is painful for me to see our present bunch of so called leaders. Their day of reckoning will come soon".

Dev Choudhury was one of the last surviving Azad Hind soldier of India. Also he was from the very small group of assamese soldier joining to Netaji. According to Chandan Dev Choudhury⁴ in an oral conversation Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury was very much active in various social issues such as social discrimination, caste etc. His heroism was not confined in a small area of battlefield but in the various other sectors of society.

⁴Chandan Dev Choudhury is the son of Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury

When Azad Hind soldiers caught in the hand of British they were treated very harshly. As a Black category⁵ soldier Dev Choudhury have to face harsh treatment from British. At first British kept them in Red Fort but later shifted them in Multan jail. Fortunately within a little time span they became free with the famous Red Fort trial where a group of lawyer including Bhulabhai Desai, Tez Bahadur Sapru, Jawaharlal Nehru defended the case of Azad Hind Fauz soldier. This event was popularly known as famous INA trial. It was there fate that the arrested soldiers along with Dev Choudhury Could not have to suffer death or imprisonment in this trail. They again back to the open air in 27 February, 1946.

During his days as an Azad Hind soldier Dev Choudhury was very close with Netaji Bose. During Azad hind days Dev Choudhury was greatly inspired by the work ethics and vision of Netaji Bose. Netaji's ambition of being like a leader like Kamal Pasha⁶ and to collecting the soldier for the supreme war like Raja Mahendra Pratap previously did inspired and attracted Dev Choudhury a lot. Dev Choudhury saw there were various inspiring sentences were written in the wall of Bose's room. Some of these are like "No power in the world has the power to stop our aspirations. I say our victory is inevitable- Delhi Chalo". In his autobiography Dev Choudhury revisits his precious memories with Netaji.

Also In his autobiography "*Sei Ronangon*" Dev Choudhury recalls the day of their escape from Multan Jail- "There were various gates near the Lahore railway station, along with these gates there were written that- we welcome the soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj. As soon as we reached the station countless people cheered 'Netaji Zindabad, Azad Hind Fauj Zindabad' and took us to the reception room. Many local people came to us and they distributed flowers and fruit to us. Suddenly a situation made where the Congress volunteers had to push the crowd back with sticks".

5 British divided all the arrested soldiers of Azad Hind Fauz in Three categories- first one was White category. This was for them who joined Azad Hind Fauz from the British army just to get rid of extreme suffering; second group was Gray category, this was the group of Indian soldiers who joined Azad Hind army just to make future benefit of independent India. Also the last one was Black category; these are the soldiers who voluntarily joined Netaji's Brigade just to ensure the desired freedom of their motherland.

6 Kamal Pasha was the famous revolutionary statesman of Turk. Also he was the first president of independent Turk.

Being as a black category soldier, the British authority declared that along with Dev Choudhury all black category soldier will not be eligible for any job in their era in the future. Certainly this was the way how they wanted to treat the Azad Hind Soldier. As British possessed extreme hatred towards the Indian soldiers of this kind of punishment was inevitable for their most dangerous enemy. Also after independence Dev Choudhury and most of the Indian National Army Soldier could not get the desired respect as they were not directly involved in the popular non violent ways adopted by Congress. After returning to his native place Dev Choudhury voluntarily joined in education sector and finally he involved himself in business. Umesh Chandra Dev Choudhury maintained an active life till his demise at the age of 97 in his native place of Patacharkuchi on 2013.

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Contributions of the Forgotten Brave Nationalists of India in the Indian Freedom Struggle

**Himashree Dutta
Debojit Ghosh**

Introduction

India's liberation struggle was a turning point in the country's history. A number of activists for independence gave their lives in a sequence of historic incidents. Salvaging India from the tyrannous clutches of the British Empire required a protracted struggle - a struggle that witnessed the birth of many heroes. While some heroes achieved recognition and became ingrained in our memories, others who fought just as valiantly went unappreciated. The stories of those people are alive sometimes only in the classrooms teachings, but could not reach to the people in the rest of the country. Unfortunately, the brave sons and daughters of the Northeast have yet to get appreciation from the people of India for their valiant leadership throughout the war for independence from the British. However, as Indian citizens, we have a responsibility to be aware of the unsung heroes whose contributions to the country's independence movement have somehow become buried in the annals of time. It is crucial to note that many Indians, whose identities are still unknown to the general public, joined the battle against British rule, devoted their lives in the process, and played a significant part in India's struggle for independence. The suggested research investigates several lesser-known Indian independence fighters who made significant contributions but were never recognized.

Objective

This research discusses the unacknowledged leaders of India's struggle for freedom. The purpose of the research is to examine how freedom fighters contributed to the nation's independence. The key objectives are to draw attention to certain lesser-known combatants from different areas of India and their sacrifices, which are not included in regular textbooks and which even today's children are unaware of.

Methodology

We must elucidate the significance of the unsung Indian heroes who fought for their country's independence from the British Empire and the British East India Company and made significant and valuable contributions in a variety of fields.

Result & Discussion

Peer Ali Khan

Only a small number of people are familiar with Peer Ali Khan, who was the most well-known hero of the 1857 uprising beside Mangal Pandey. One of the original revolutionaries in India, he was executed by hanging together with the other 13 insurrectionists. Yes, at this very day, his work still motivates a lot of admirers. However, his name just disappeared in later generations.

Matangini Hazra

Born in Tamruk, Bengal Presidency of British India, Matangini Hazra was an avid participant of the Civil Disobedience Movement and the Movement to Quit India. She was a strong antagonist. She was born on October 19, 1870, to poor parents, and she never had a formal education. When she was 18 years old, she lost her first marriage and became a widow.

In 1932, she was put in jail for taking part in Mahatma Gandhi's Dandi March and breaking the Salt Act. The trek to Dandi to make ocean swab was seen as illegal since British officials had put a tax on swab items. For six months, Hazra was held captive in Baharampur.

She took part in Gandhiji's Quit India Campaign in 1942. A group of 6,000 followers, the most of whom were women, were led by Hazra, who was 71 at the time, to gain control of the Tamluk police station. As soon as she moved, she was shot. She ultimately passed out from the pellet wounds.

Sonaram Chutia

Sonaram Chutia has actively participated in the Quit India Movement. He was detained by the British and sent to Jorhat Central Jail in 1942 as a result of his involvement in the quit India struggle. He had spent two years and eighteen days behind bars. After being freed in 1944, he was once more subjected to a 6-month house detention. He was honoured for his efforts by the Union government in 1972 and the Assam government in 1973.

Keladi Chennamma

Chennamma was a revolutionary and independence warrior from India who served as Rani of Kittur, a former princely state in the state of Karnataka. To retain Indian rule over the area, she led an armed army against the British East India Company in 1824, defying the doctrine of lapse. She was defeated in the third battle and died in custody. On October 23, 1778, in Kakati, now in Karnataka's Belagavi District, she was born. In 1824, her husband Raja Mallasarja passed away, leaving her with a boy at an unstable state. The death of her son in 1824 came next. The state of Kittur was given to Rani Chennamma, who had the difficult task of defending it against the British. She adopted Shivalingappa in 1824 and declared him the heir to the crown. Because of this, the East India Company, under the pretext of the Doctrine of Lapse, ordered Shivalingappa's departure. In an attempt to further her case, Rani Chennamma wrote a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Bombay Presidency. The request was refused, and conflict ensued. St. John Thackeray, a collector and political agent, died in the conflict during the first wave of hostilities in October 1824, which saw heavy British defeat.

Despite an agreement between Rani Chennamma and Chaplin that the war would end after their release, Chaplin added more soldiers to the conflict. Mr. Munro, the nephew of Thomas Munro and the sub collector for Solapur, was murdered during the second attack. Sangolli Rayanna, Rani Chennamma's lieutenant,

assisted her in her valiant resistance. Nevertheless, Rani Chennamma was eventually apprehended and imprisoned in Bailhongal Fort, where she passed away on 2 February 1829.

Bina Das

Bina Das was a West Bengal-born nationalist and revolutionary in India. She was the child of Sarala Devi and Beni Madhab Das. Her older sister Kalyani Das also fought for independence. Bina Das belonged to the Chhatri Sangha, a semi-revolutionary group for women in Kolkata. She made an attempt on the life of Bengal Governor Stanley Jackson on February 6, 1932, in the University of Calcutta's Convocation Hall. A different liberation warrior, Kamala Das Gupta, provided the revolver. She attempted to shoot five times but was unsuccessful, and she was given a nine-year jail sentence.

She joined the Quit India movement in 1942, and from 1942 until 1945, she was yet again detained. She served in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from 1947 to 1951. On December 26, 1986, her slightly decomposed body was discovered on the side of the road.

Kiang Nangbah (U Kiang Nangbah)

During the 1857 insurrection, Kiang Nangbah (U Kiang Nangbah), a warrior from Meghalaya, engaged in combat with British troops. Kiang Nangbah belongs to the Jaintia tribal ethnic group. The situation worsened in 1860 when the British imposed a home tax on the tribes living in the Jaintia highlands. Later, they banded together under Nangbah's direction. He spearheaded military-style assaults on the British. The British colonial powers were in danger of being overthrown as a result of these invasions because of their strength. On December 30, 1862, the British publicly hung him at Lawmusiang. In 2001, the Indian government released a postage stamp in his honour.

Taji Mideren

Taji Mideren was a farmer and merchant from the Elopain hamlet in the Ithun Valley in the Lohit district of the North-East Frontier Agency (Arunachal Pradesh). Taji Mideren engaged in anti-British operations in 1905 and killed three British officers near to the Dikran river. He organised his fellow Mishmi tribe members

to stand in opposition to the expansion of British rule and established the Mishmi Confederacy under the guidance of Pangon and other Mishmi chiefs.

In an effort to catch him for the murder of three British officers, a British expedition was sent to his village in 1913. He was taken prisoner by the British in 1917, and they then drove him to Tezpur, Assam, where he was executed by hanging.

Sonaram R. Sangma

Sonaram R. Sangma, the first Garo political figure from Meghalaya. He was born in a little hamlet village named Rongrokgre near Nachirongdik in the Garo highlands in 1867. He challenged the British authorities and pushed for more territory for the Greater Garo. Sonaram was pulled into the midst of the struggle against the British and zamindars. He was sought out by the Nokmas, Laskars, and other Garo chiefs whose territories had been annexed by zamindars for counsel, direction, and to lead the agitation. From Tura to Rongrenggiri, he built a route that was referred to by the locals as Sonaram Sorok or Sonaram Path.

Chakradhar Bhuyan

Another freedom warrior, Bhuyan, was born in the Lakhimpur district of Assam in December 1931. He joined the Quit India Movement in 1942 by taking Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration. He was assigned the role of a spy to gather sensitive British intelligence during the independence struggle.

Rani Gaidinliu

Gaidinliu was born on January 26, 1915 in the hamlet of Nungkao in the Tamenglong District of Manipur's current Tousem Subdivision. She belonged to the Rongmei Naga tribe, also referred to as the Kabui. She joined her cousin Haipou Jadonang's Heraka religious organisation at the age of 13. Later on, the movement evolved into a political movement that aimed to expel the British from Manipur and the nearby Naga regions. At the age of 16, she was detained in 1932 and convicted with a life sentence from the British authorities. She gained popularity in the community as Rani Gaidinliu when Nehru gave her the title "Rani" ("Queen"). Rani Gaidinliu was freed from Tura Prison by Prime Minister Nehru in 1946, 14 years after the Interim Government of India had been

established. She vehemently opposed the conversion of Nagas to Christianity because she supported the ancient Naga religious practises. In 1982, the Indian government recognised her as a freedom warrior by bestowing the Padma Bhushan upon her. Gaidinliu visited her hometown of Longkao in 1991, and she passed away there on February 17, 1993, at the age of 78.

Bholanath Boruah

Another liberation warrior from Panigaon, Lakhimpur, Assam is Bholanath Boruah. He was born in Panigaon in 1925. He participated in the Quit India movement while leading the Lakhimpur volunteers and other freedom fighters. In 2014, the Indian President acknowledged Baruah for his contributions as a famous independence fighter.

Gaurikanta Talukdar

Gauri Kanta Talukdar was from the northeastern Indian state of Assam's Kamrup district. He joined the Indian Freedom Movement while still a student and made a substantial contribution to the Swadeshi Movement. He vigorously opposed J. R. Cunningham's Cunningham Circular, which prohibited students from parking in public places, in 1930. The Circular outlawed all student action that was both pro-Swadeshi and anti-British. In order to counter this, Gauri Kanta and a few of his fellow independence fighters established the famous School of Guwahati, Kamrup Academy, and Sibsagar Vidyapeeth to provide educational opportunities for those students who leave the institutions managed by the British Government. He also contributed to the founding of Guwahati University.

Tikendrajit Singh

The fourth and only child of King Chandrakirti's third queen, Chongtham Chanu Kouseshwari Devi, Tikendrajit, commonly known as Koireng, was born on December 29, 1855. He resolutely contested the British army's hostile behaviour since he was born a nationalist. He was a champion who steadfastly resisted the British and opposed the spread of colonialism. Tikendrajit is exalted because of his patriotism. The Lion of Manipur, Manipurgi Nongsa, is a title given to him. To honour his contribution to the battle for freedom, the Manipur state observes August 13 as Patriot's

Day. He will always be revered by the people of Manipur as a symbol of resistance against oppression.

Conclusion

The dialogue above makes it evident that individuals from many regions banded together to protect their motherland. We live in a country because of unidentified freedom warriors. Nevertheless, they made a lot of contributions to their homeland. However, they are hidden from our perspective. Women participated extensively in all aspects of the liberation struggle during the time of repression. They participated in protests, processions, picketing and Gandhi's different initiatives, including weaving and spinning. As we strive to coexist in love and peace while upholding social fairness, we must remember the sacrifices they made. The legends of independence warriors still provide inspiration for today's youth. Their battles demonstrate the depth of their values and the differences between them in life. By fostering peace throughout the nation, we as Indian citizens should demonstrate our respect, honour, and sacrifice.

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Women and Indian Freedom Movement: A Literary Perspective

Hiranya Bora

The history of Indian Freedom Movement is loaded with the stories of tremendous abdications made by men and women. From the very beginning women participated in the movement, but it was sporadic, men played the leading role in the crucial parts of the movement. Although, the involvement of women was sporadic but the history of this movement would be incomplete without bringing forth the contribution of women. At a time when the leading freedom fighters were in the prison, women jumped on the struggle breaking the conventional societal and familial bondages and continued the incessant endeavor. The contribution of these tradition-bound women was not less than their male counterparts, they fought with exemplary fearless attitude. But the most lamentable thing is that many of them lost in the heaps of traumatic experiences of the struggle and remained unsung. These women were highly influenced by Gandhian ideologies and can be traced in Indian writings over the ages. It enables readers to get a glimpse of the women's enthusiasm toward the freedom movement. A huge number of Indian writers captured these women warriors in their works using fictional characters which gave strength to the wisdom of women in the formation of an anti colonial India.

Literature is always committed to society and to the nation. It believes that every individual of the society has some duty and power to make a change. The enormous power of literature can make a change in the responsibility of the citizen towards their nation both on the social aspect and the artistic one. During the pre-independence period, the status of women in India was in a deprived

state. Women were largely expected in the implementation of household responsibilities and they were not permitted to participate in other tasks. The freedom of assembly and expression of women were often suppressed in the totalitarian regime until the emergence of some social reformers such as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Raja Rao, and R.K. Narayan etc. These social reformers, through their works— specially the fictional works, had undergone numerous challenges that were associated with bringing about changes in the status of women.

In literature, produced in the time of freedom movement, people could read in details about the disastrous atmosphere under colonial regime in different parts of India. During the movement, writers encouraged women to take part in every step towards the freedom on par with men and women should take the responsibility to uplift themselves from the shackles domesticity and male oppression to attain their dreams. A very famous Indian novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894) set forth the principles of selfless militancy as taught in *Bhagavat Gita*. His renowned Bengali novel, *Anandmath* (1882) is a historical novel, set in the background of Sannyasi Rebellion in the late 18th century. In this novel, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee imagined unskilled Sannyasi fighters beating the skilled British forces. Resurgence of women during the movement is also a vital objective of this novel. The women in this novel collectively represent the deprived position of Indian women who were fighting a twin war, one at home against the patriarchal society which limited their zeal to do the household activities and another with the English soldiers. Women in the novel were depicted playing the central role in the formation of an independent and ideal nation. Through the characters of Kalyani and Shanti, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee shows a blueprint for his concept about the role of women in nation-building. Kalyani, comes forth as a symbol of feminine shakti. She was a chaste woman who refused to eat food until her husband eats, yet she didn't think twice before taking a brave decision when she realized that her husband could not join the freedom movement due to his affection towards his family. Kalyani sacrificed her life and even killed her son in order to make her husband free to fight for freedom. At the same time, another woman in the novel, Shanti, played a role completely counterfoil to Kalyani. She refused herself to change into a chaste woman, she believed in adoring the soul through her duties towards

the nation. She felt no hesitation while cutting her hair short for her mission and even scolded her husband when he seemed to move away from the mission. She told him that her love and honor for him lies in being a 'Fighter's Wife'. There is a saying that, 'behind every successful man there is a woman' and this novel proves it. In the novel, directly or indirectly, women stood by their men and motivated them for the freedom struggle which were often remained unseen or unheard due to dominance of patriarchy.

Another Bengali novel by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee *Devi Chaudhurani* (1884) also fuelled Indian women for the patriotic struggle against the British Empire. The novel was initially banned by the British but later the ban was lifted by Indian government after getting independence. In the novel, Chatterjee traced the journey of Prafulla, the protagonist of the novel, starting as an innocent young girl and eventually becoming Debi Chaudhurani, a powerful dacoit leader. Prafulla is an ordinary girl who is shunned by her father-in-law and became iconic woman, a legendary warrior. Prafulla's journey from her in-laws to a leader of a dacoit gang is nothing short of iconic. She is the savior of the oppressed people and is respected by all. Like a real queen Devi Chaudhurani and her group of dacoits fought against the oppression of the British rule and devilish zamindars and even rescued her people. Chatterjee advocated the involvement of a woman protagonist in the freedom struggle at a time when women were still behind the purdah, which stimulated many women to join the movement. The most incited thing for the women is that how Prafulla, a woman from an orthodox Bengali middle class family turned into a name feared by the British rulers.

During the movement, in 1930's, Mahatma Gandhi encouraged women to take part in Satyagraha. Gandhi was leading the country towards freedom without picking up any weapons. Many writers of the time portrayed the Gandhian ideals and its impact on the people, especially on women. Raja Rao, a very famous Indian novelist followed the Gandhian ideals in his fictional works. His renowned novel, *Kanthapura* (1938) accounts the story of brave Indian women and their contributions to the freedom movement using some fictional characters. This novel is a fictionalized version of Gandhi's esteem of women in combination with their acts in the freedom movement. Despite the pervasive domination of patriarchal society in the novel, it is astounding to see that women are given equal rights of participation as men in the

movement. Raja Rao goes far beyond to allow Indian women to assemble themselves into true Satyagrahis by creating 'SevikaSangha'. Mahatma Gandhi worked against the patriarchal society and evoked a liberal mindset in women.

Moorthy, the protagonist of the novel knows the significance of women in Satyagraha. When he returned from the city as a Gandhian man, he approached the village women and distributed free Charkhas because he could presume the terrible impact of foreign goods on the people. Foreign goods were exploiting the Indians and making them poor. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the Charkha could spin not only economic salvation but it could also revolutionize the minds and hearts of Indians. In the novel, the village women aimed at the formation of a new independent and self-sufficient nation by the extensive use of Charkha. Another important character of the novel, Rangamma, a rich and educated widow, was made a member of Congress committee as she was influenced by the Gandhian ideologies and became a source of knowledge and courage for the village women. In order to influence and motivate the women to take an active part in the movement, she used to tell them about the historical figures like Sarojini Naidu, Rani Laxmi Bai etc. Men should appreciate the power of women and women should also feel their power, what they can do for themselves, for their children, and for their nation. When Moorthy was arrested along with his men, the women of his village came forward and took the charge of the struggle and protested for their liberation. They were molested, tortured, raped and even beaten severely, but they stood strong and didn't lose the hope and bearing all the toughness they resisted the British rule. Women can handle pain better than men, when it comes up to their family and nation.

In 'Feminism', Judith Harlen discusses some points that basically all feminists agree upon. She says that, women seek access to education, economic, and politics and then, they furthermore seek a change in control over reproduction, sexuality, violence and society. Obviously these are the general points but the important thing is that all these different aspects of human life are controlled mainly by men. In the novel, men raised objection towards women volunteers when they became bolder than before and carried their exercises in public. Some men were so old fashioned and bigot that they looked upon women as only capable for household works. So,

when anything became wrong in the house, the men started blaming the women volunteers. But Rangamma made all those men silent and told them to think for the nation not for the discrimination. Raja Rao in *Kanthapura* shows us how women provided their selfless service to the freedom movement raising above the restrictions of a male dominated society.

R.K. Narayan's *Waiting For the Mahatma* (1995) also reflects the Gandhian ideology and influence on women of the country, it shows how women became non-violent soldiers of the freedom struggle. Bharti, the leading woman character in the novel is a devoted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. She is quite active and modern in breaking through the shell of conservatism and choosing to be a freedom fighter. R.K. Narayan's women characters seek their identity in the Indian male dominated society. They gain the atrocity, adventurousness and courage to manage their works by themselves going against the orthodoxy of the society. In the novel, Bharti is a character who is always prepared for sacrifice in the struggle. Keeping Gandhian ideologies in mind, Bharti participated in freedom movement entirely, sometime by supporting her husband Sriram when he became aberrant from his aim of independence and sometime directly being a staunch companion of Gandhi. She was with Gandhi for a year and boldly accompanied him to several places where they even found threats to the life of Gandhi and to the honor of women followers. During her campaigning with Gandhi, she was kept in jail with other women followers, even though she didn't lose the spirit of her aim. The women freedom fighters in R.K. Narayan's novels possessed a lot of courage and intense patriotism. Ranging from household duties to the processions on the streets women could be seen irresistible.

According to Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1971), we learn more by observing and imitating others. Psychological research suggests that role models can be more important in influencing attitudes and moral values than rational processing of information, as they tap into the way in which our brains process information and learn. The fictional characters can act as role models and as their influence upon our values and attitudes conducted through subconscious processes, we are more vulnerable to their influences. All the fictional characters in the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Raja Rao and R.K. Narayan played a role model in influencing the values and attitudes of the

real women freedom fighters of India. During the movement, when women were under the suppression of traditions and male dominance, these fictional characters fostered a sense of patriotism in the attitudes of women to come up and take a notable responsibility in the struggle. Keeping aside the fictional characters, the contribution of real women characters in the struggle for an independent India cannot be failed to notice. A lot of courageous women raised their voice against the colonial regime, such as Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Sarojini Naidu, Madam Bhikaji Cama, Begum Hazrat Mahal, Usha Mehta, Kasturba Gandhi etc. Being an Indian it is our duty to remember all these gracious women freedom fighters in our writings, perhaps it is a way to pay tribute to them. Women shouldered a vital responsibility in Indian freedom movement. They bravely faced the baton of police, raped and even went to jails and their family members refused to accept them because they were raped. Hundreds and thousands of Indian women dedicated their lives in the freedom movement of India.

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Quest for National Consciousness and a Vision of Free India: A Study of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Anandamath*

Iypshita Gogoi

Introduction and Objective

Anandamath was published in 1882 and in its first publication, it was titled as *The Abbey of Bliss* which is a translation of 'anand' which means bliss and 'math' meaning abbey. The first hymn to symbolise Bengal as the Motherland Vande Mataram, meaning "Hail to the Bengal Motherland" was published in this novel. According to Nakul Kundra "On the literary canvas, it is the portrayal of the 'historical' conflict between the Children of Mother Earth and the Muslim ruler of Bengal, who rules but does not govern, in league with the British" (3). The novel portrays the condition of the Indian people who had to either flee from their places leaving everything they have behind or die of starvation and disease. The condition of the common people who had to struggle everyday to live and the way their basic requirements were crushed by the rulers was portrayed. It was perhaps an attempt to instil consciousness in the minds of the people of how inhumanly they were treated and the injustice served to them.

In this aspect, the novel was successful in accomplishing two goals. First it gave the nationalist movement a workable plan for a revolt against colonial control and it gave a strong impression of India as a land of divinity. This was the first time the Hindu concept of the mother goddess, which connotes power was

connected with the notion of the nation as a political entity, and the symbolic impact of this union was profound. In Bankim's art and presentation of the novel's plot, historical events that took place in Bengal in the latter part of the eighteenth century are tightly linked. There was a brawl going between Bengali natives and British soldiers. Through the narrative in *Anandamath*, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee made an attempt to awaken the lost hope of the natives to stand up against the injustice perpetrated to them.. The paper aims to analyse how Bankim Chandra Chatterjee has crafted the plot of the novel in such a way that ignited the feelings of patriotism among the Indians and contributed to India's independence.

Discussion

The narrative opens in Padachina village in the lives of its landlord Mahendra Singh, his wife Kalyani and their daughter Sukumari. However, they too had to leave their home as there was nothing to eat and in order to survive they left for the nearest city to their home. However, during the journey they encounter man-eating robbers and are separated from each other. In order to save her child, Kalyani runs into the jungle. The picture of the man-eating robbers forces the readers to feel the pitiful condition of the native people who had to resort to such cannibalistic tendencies to fill their stomach. Hunger and need forces humans to do the most inhuman of things and Bankim has portrayed this very skilfully in the novel. The condition of the common people grew pathetic in the villages. Neither their ruler Mir Jafar cared nor the Britishers who were only hungry for the taxes. The dreadful condition of the people of Bengal as well as the inhumanity of the rulers is very evident in the following lines in the translated edition of Julius J. Lipner:

The people suffered, but the king extracted taxes to the full. And because they had to pay their taxes in full, the poor ate but once a day...Once again people went hungry...Then Muhammad Reza Khan, the king's revenue officer, thinking to show how important he was, at once increased taxes by 10 percent, and great was the lament in Bengal. (131-2).

Soon Mahendra meets the Sannyasis and learn about their vow to free India from outside threats. The Sannyasis call themselves the 'children of the mother'. Mother symbolised their motherland India.

Bhavan, who was a Sannyasi often, sings “Mother, hail! Thou with sweet springs flowing, Thou fair fruits bestowing, Cool with zephyrs blowing, green with corn-crops growing, Mother, hail” (Chatterjee Anandamath, trans. Roy 48). Perhaps it gave him motivation and energy to continue his duties towards his mother land. To this Mahendra questions him that his song refers to a country and not to a mortal mother. Bhavan replies that “we recognize no other mother; the Motherland is our only mother. Our Motherland is higher than heaven. Mother India is our mother, we have no other mother, no father, no brother, no sister, no wife, no children, no home, no hearth-all we have is the Mother India” (49). This highlights Bhavan’s love and feeling of attachment to his motherland. The lines in the song Vande Mataram signifies the patriotism inherent in the Sannyasis like Bhavan. Each line ignites passion and a ray of hope to free their homeland. “His voice purely understands the meaning and transformed into nationalism. Every line of this song creates the image of free India” (Nooli 2). Bhavan believed that they were indeed the children of India when he said that “we are children of Mother India” (51). This feeling of attachment towards ones motherland and the zeal to provide freedom to ones mother is evident in his thoughts. He in a way outlines that it’s everyone’s responsibility to safeguard India from thievery and abuses. In *Anandamath*, Bankim “fused for the first time a revived Hindu religious fervour with a newfound nationalistic zeal” (Mukherjee 903).

Mahatma Satya, the leader of the Sannyasis shows him at first an image of a massive, powerful, and opulent representation of ancient India. This was described as the image of India before the arrival of the British and Muslim rulers. Then he brings Mahendra to a dark room in the bowels of the earth. It was described as sad and gloomy and this image of mother India looked in rags and tears. A sword hung over her neck which represents the British rule which has acted as a dacoit and pillaged mother India of her splendour and has turned the whole country into a burial ground. Mahatma Satya opined that the sword dishonoured mother India and now this sword will only help in bringing back her glory. Lastly he takes him through a bright way to a map of India where it was radiating. It was bright beautiful, full of glory and dignity. Through this Mahatma Satya shares his vision of a free India with him. However,

through the mention of the sword it can also be assumed that Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was not preaching for a non violent resistance. Perhaps, he was of the opinion that if the enemies control us through violence then we too should resist them through the same method. Perhaps the environment he witnessed under the British Raj was enough to convince him that peace couldn't be restored without some suffering and violence.

The Sannyasis shared sense of nationalism served as a pathway for the Indian people. They may have experienced a spiritual awakening as well and reflected on the strength of working together to drive out the invaders. The novel may have provided them with a strategy for demonstrating their resistance to their adversaries. It is also implied that liberating the country from intruders is a moral undertaking, much as the British civilising mission in the colonies. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee also kept in mind the degenerating condition of the culture and identity of the country due to the Britishers and Muslim rulers and the notion that Indians are timid and are meant to be ruled and controlled. He resisted this pre conceived notion by portraying the rebel Sannyasis as people who can renounce their families and the pleasures of their lives for the aim of freedom which is evident in the following lines from the translated edition by Basant Roy: "When we have mastered all techniques and attained our goal, we shall return to our homes for our duties as householders" (59). They are aware that taking this route might result in torture and the loss of their lives, but they persist in doing so with all of their heart and mind. Not only do the men renounce everything, even the women played a similar role. Shanti, the wife of Jiban who was a Sannyasi also became one of them. She kept reminding her husband of his duties and fully supported him. She was not a timid lady rather; she was no less than anyone. She had immense will power and strength due to which Mahatma Satya agrees to let her stay as a Sannyasi. She was a lady with a difference. She had travelled a lot of places and dressed like boys. When the Britishers and Sannyasis were fighting in the battlefield then it was Shanti who snatched the gun from the Britishers and even Kalyani, the wife of Mahendra was no less. After learning about the rebel Sannyasis and her husband's inclination towards the cause, she decided to end her life so that she doesn't become his weakness in this battle for freedom of mother

India. This kind of sacrifice is not an easy decision but she took it for India's Independence.

The British belief of the 'white man's burden', which stressed that dominating the indigenous was a responsibility since they couldn't care for themselves, was shown to be flawed in the novel. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee demonstrated how natives can become so strong when they work together for a shared purpose. For instance, when Mahendra and Mahatma Satya were arrested, the Sannyasis along with the common folks resisted and condemned the Britisher's which ultimately forced them to free both of them. The feeling of nationalist consciousness was rising among the people as Jiban gave them a powerful speech. It filled the crowd with motivation and they were ready to step forward for the common shared goal.

The adversaries were taken aback by this since they had never anticipated the local's reaction in this way. That served as a sort of warning to them that anything was now conceivable. According to Arunkumar A. Nooli, "Mahatma was also a Sannyasi, the novel indicates the reformation of Hinduism with some with some changes within it. Bankim preached moral and ethical duties of every citizen of the country and he was deeply influenced by noted social and religious reformer Raja Rammohan Roy"(4). The rebel Sannyasi's didn't have the kind of ammunitions and weapons that the Britishers had. However, they didn't let that stop their mission. They overcame these struggles everyday by minor challenges like looting the factories of Britishers where arms were kept and manufactured. Mahendra was given the task of building a fort where they could store their arms and ammunitions safely. They attacked the Sannyasis under Captain Thomas's command and seemed to be winning until seventeen guns from Padachina arrived just in time to change the tide of the fight. Bhavan eventually dies in the conflict, and the Britishers restart the war only to lose it once more. Jiban was an excellent job at the battlefield and through his sacrifice; he fulfilled his duty to serve Mother India.

Conclusion

To conclude it can be argued that through the novel *Anandamath*, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee has tried to instil the rising feeling of national consciousness among the Indian people

and has shared his vision of a free India. His depiction of the three images of mother India not only touched the heart of its readers but also ignited the feeling of patriotism towards ones motherland. Very symbolically Bankim kept the context of the story as a Sannyasi rebellion against the inhuman muslim rulers and the Britishers and provided an idea to the subjugated Indians to stand up together for the injustices served to them. The characters of the novel in a way acted as role models to the Indian masses which gave fuel to the feeling of nationalism and contributed in a significant way to India's struggle for independence.

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Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement: An Analysis

**Jhuma Das
Swapna Chhetri**

Introduction

The Indian freedom struggle movement was a series of historic events with the ultimate goal of ending British rule in India. When the history of Indian freedom movement is written, we can't forget the pivotal contribution of Women in India. In the pre-independence era, the positions of women are deprived. The sacrifice made by the women of India will occupy the important place in our country. They fought with true spirit and courage and faced various tortures, exploitation to give us freedom. Women came forward and join the freedom movement when most of the freedom fighter was in the prison. The history of the freedom struggle movement is replete with the saga of bravery and scarifies of hundred and thousands of women of our country. Women's participation in India's freedom struggle began as early as in 1817. Women played a pivotal role in achieving India's independence. The early 19th century saw the freedom struggle take full swing and women from across all castes and class took the baton of being equally responsible and dedicated to Indian freedom struggle. In the freedom struggle women involved in protests and rallies against the British Rule. India has a rich history of women who have played a significant role in the country's freedom struggle. Women freedom fighters in India made significant contributions to the country's independence movement against British rule. Despite facing various social constraints and discriminations, these women freedom fighters challenged the patriarchal norms and joined the

freedom struggle and inspiring future generations with their bravery and determination.

Objective of the Study

1. To explore the role of women in the freedom struggle movement in India
2. To examine the historical emancipation and upliftment of women in India

Research Methodology

The present study based on descriptive method and secondary sources. The secondary data collected through various relevant books, journals, articles, internet etc.

Role of Women in the freedom Struggle movement in India

In the pre-independence era there are number of women largely contributed to the Indian freedom struggle movement. The role played by the women in the freedom struggle was inspirational for our country. They fought with true spirit and courage and faced various tortures, exploitation to give us freedom. The list of great women for their dedication and devotion of our country is too long. They are:

1. **Rani Lakshmbai:-** Rani Lakshmbai the queen of Jhansi, prior to the great rebellion of 1857-1858 against the East India company. She is a glorious example of brave and powerful women to fight against the British. She became one of the greatest women freedom struggle fighters of the Indian Rebellion of 1857. She was defeated and Jhansi fell to the British. She continued to fight against the British even after the fall of Jhansi.
2. **Pritilata Waddedar:-** Pritilata Waddedar was a young and courageous lady. She decided to join the Indian Independence movement. She is known for leading fifteen revolutionaries in the 1932. Pritilata is a deal for every woman in India. She is considered as “A beacon of light for women”.
3. **Sarojini Naidu:** - she is popularly known as the “Nightingale of India”. She was responsible for awakening and encouraging the women in India. Sarojini Naidu played an provital role in

the Indian independence movement in the British Raj. She was the first Indian Woman to be the president of the Indian national congress and first ever women governor of India. She is promoting women rights especially women's education in India. She became a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his idea of Swaraj. She spread the message of Khadi and inspired people to boycott foreign goods. In 1942, she was jailed for taking part of the Quit India Movement.

4. **Kasturba Gandhi:** - Kasturba Gandhi, the wife of Mahatma Gandhi, who was involved in the Indian Independence movement in the British Raj. She first time involved politics in South Africa in 1904 and in 1913 she took part in protests against the ill-treatment of Indian immigrants in South Africa, for which she was arrested. While in prison, she led other women in prayer and encouraged educated women to teach the uneducated women how to read and write. In 1942, she was arrested again for participating in the quit India movement and she died while imprisoned in Poona.
5. **Annie Besant:** - Annie Besant was a great and courageous lady who has been title as a freedom fighter. In 1916 she established the Indian Home Rule League and also became the president of India's National congress. She one of the founding member of Banaras Hindu University. She worked for the promotion of a national awakening of the people and involved in politics and freedom struggle in India. She fought against the social issues including the caste prejudice and child marriage and she spend a lot of effort in India to improve the education system in India.
6. **Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit:-** She was one of the most prominent lady freedom fighters of India. She was an active member of the Indian National congress and closely work with Mahatma Gandhi. In the freedom struggle movement she was arrested several times. She was an fearless lady and she is an inspiration to all Indians.
7. **Aruna Asaf Ali:-** Aruna Asaf Ali was a great, courageous and inspirational lady. In 1932, she was participating Civil Disobedience movement and she was arrested. In 1942, she was again arrested for her involvement in the Quit India

Movement. She also worked for the improvement the lives of women in India.

8. **Kamla Chattopadhyay**:- she was a remarkable lady freedom fighter of India. Her father, Dwarkanath Chattopadhyay, was a close associate with Mahatma Gandhi. She was inspired by her father's work and became involved in the freedom movement. She actively involved in the movement and joined Indian National Congress. After the independence of India she continued fight for the rights of women and minorities.
9. **Sucheta Kriplani**:- She was an Indian freedom fighter and politician. She was first Indian female Chief Minister, serving as the head of the Uttar Pradesh government. In 1942, she was involved in the Quit India Movement and she was arrested by the British.
10. **Kanaklata Barua**:- Kanaklata Barua was a remarkable lady freedom fighter of India. She was born undivided Darrang district of Assam. In 1942, during the Quit India movement she joined the Mrityu Bahini, a death squad comprising groups of youth from the Gohpur sub-division of Assam. In 1942, she decided to hoist the national flag at local police station and she was died when police fired.
11. **Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur**:- She was a politician and freedom fighter in the Indian independence movement. She actively participate in the 1942 Quit India Movement. She became the first health minister in post independent India. She strongly opposed to the practice of purdah and to stop child marriage and campaigned to abolish the devadasi system in India.
12. **Kittur Chennamma**:- She was one of the first women to lead an armed revolt against the British. She is known as the national hero in Karnataka and she is inspiration to all Indians. In 1942, the British decided to annex Kittur into their empire. She was refused to accept this and led her army against the British forces. Through ultimately she was defeated and she is a symbol of strength and courage which inspire others to fight for their right.

Conclusion

Women played a crucial role in India's independence movement and their contribution should not be overlooked. Despite facing various challenges such as violence, imprisonment, and social stigma these women stood up for their rights and freedoms and inspiring future generations for their rights.

In August 15, 1947 India achieved its independence because of satyagrahas, a century of revolutions, struggles and blood shedding by freedom fighters. The women shouldered critical responsibilities in India's struggle for freedom. They organized various public meetings, organized picketing of shops selling foreign alcohol and articles. Women were sold khadi and actively participated in national movements. Hundreds and thousands of Indian women dedicated their lives for obtaining freedom of their motherland.

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Dislocation and Relocation Trauma in Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*

Jintu Doimari

Salman Rushdie's *Midnight Children's* 1981 publication marked a turning point in the post-independence development of the Indian English Novel. So much so that the phrase "post-Rushdie" now denotes the roughly ten years that followed, during which a flood of books by both known authors and up-and-coming authors appeared that were obviously influenced by *Midnight's Children*. The narrative opens with Aadam Aziz, a German-trained physician who just so happened to be treating the young daughter of a landowner named Ghani. All that Aadam Aziz could see was a seven-inch-long perforated sheet, which piqued his interest. Kashmir serves as the location, and the beautiful surroundings are described with such amazing word choice. On the precise day that the First World War was declared, he saw Nazeem's face. They ultimately got married with her father's blessing after falling in love with each other over time and leaving Kashmir for Agra, upset by the annoying conduct of an elderly boatman named Tai. The tale picks up steam at this point when Aadam Aziz was forcibly relocated, and the relocation has been passed down the generations.

The couple was greeted by the bodies of the rioters who had died as a consequence of the unrest that broke out on August 6, 1919, as a result of the misinterpretation of Mahatma Gandhi's big plan. Aadam Aziz had serious injuries during the disturbance that broke out and was treated by Mercurochrome for more than a week before it subsided. Hanif, Mustafa, Mumtaz, Alia, and Emerald were their five children, which they had after settling into city life. Salman has given the readers a wealth of information on political

events and the disputes between India and Pakistan through the primary narrative.

Mumtaz, the second of five children, was married to Nadir Khan, a young man, and Mian Abdulla's personal assistant was provided safe housing in their home's basement. A year later, her father discovers that the pair have not yet consummated their marriage and is aware of Nadir Khan's impotence and sends him away. Mumtaz had married Ahmed Sinai, a trader, and had changed her name to Amina before leaving for The Methwold Estate in Delhi.

It is clear that Dislocation has a significant impact on their life. Amina still yearns for her ex-husband Nadir Khan despite Ahmed and Amina's tranquil existence together, but she has managed to move on. Pregnant, she visited a fortune teller, who said that the kid would never be older or younger than his nation and said he saw two heads, knees, and a nose, alluding to Saleem and Shiva, which Salman would later reveal.

“She was beset by the phantoms of Ramramseth, and the old prophecy of a child with a cauliflower instead of brain; she was plagued by the dreams of a monster child, began to drive her wild all over.” (455)

As our heroine shows up at the Narlikar nursing home on August 15, 1947, exactly at midnight, when the clock joined hands to welcome the wiggling infant Saleem into the world, the novel's plot abruptly shifts. Together with Saleem, 1,000 other children were born.

“I was born in the city of Bombay... once upon a time. No, that won't do, there's no getting away from the date: it was on August 15, 1947. And the time? The time matters too. Well then: at night, it's important to be more ... on the stroke of midnight as a matter-of-fact Clock-hands joined palms in respectful greetings as I came.” (p.3, ch.1)

Unlike his grandpa and father, he was "displaced" at the moment of his birth by Mary Periera, who, persuaded by the ideas of her radical Socialist boyfriend Joseph D Costa, switched the newborns, granting wealthy baby advantages to a poor baby and vice versa, as Saleem subsequently discovers.

Everything is great until Saleem discovers that his mother is frequently visiting a café to meet her ex-husband Nadir Khan, and Ahmed discovers that his wife is no longer interested in him and

begins drinking and becoming a dipsomaniac. Ahmed then begins drinking heavily and develops dipsomania. Saleem moves again when Amina (the reverend's mother) advises her to leave her drunken husband and go live with Saleem's uncle Commander Zulfakir in Pakistan for the benefit of the kids. Saleem makes use of every chance to win his uncle's favor because he finds it difficult to do so and to get along with him. He also did not get along with his aunt, and his enuretic cousin Zafar regularly teased him.

Because he spent his whole life in India, he finds it difficult to adjust to the people and culture of Pakistan. Salman makes several cultural and religious connections in this passage. It is clear that these have had a significant influence on Saleem's mentality. Amina leaves to Pakistan with her husband in response to Mary's sister's news that Ahmed Sinai's health is worsening. They open a towel factory to make a livelihood in Karachi. Saleem is still emotionally linked to Bombay, and he is difficult to feel at home in the predominantly Muslim Pakistan.

As the Indo-Pakistan war broke out, Saleem lost his parents, his home, and his memories were erased when a silver spittoon, his mother's inheritance, fell on his head. The chapter is titled "How I attained purity" by Saleem. Suddenly, he is in Bangladesh. He was transferred when he found a way to get away from there and reach Delhi. He wed Parvathi, the witch, who had the skill of sorcery, and was devastated to learn that she was having an affair with Shiva of the Knees, Saleem's archenemy. Parvathi's adultery irritates him, and he departs from her. He travelled to Mumbai with snake charmer Picture Singh and made his new home there.

Throughout the story, we learn that Mary Pereira switched Saleem as a baby and that his real parents were the impoverished woman Vanita and the landowner William Methwold, with whom Vanita had an affair. Eventually, Mary confesses herself to nursing Saleem despite her looming remorse. Talking of displacement we must forego Shiva, who is the biological son of Ahmed Sinai and Amina Sinai, Shiva has gone through the traumas of being poor and we may find him insulting Saleem by calling him "The Rich Kid". Shiva, in addition to Saleem, also significantly influences how the effects of the displacement are handled. The icy conflict between Saleem and Shiva alludes to the previous conflict between the world's destructive forces (Lord Shiva).

The Arabian Nights tale of Scheherazade, in which Scheherazade tells the King 1001 stories, is referenced by the number 1001. Saleem reads and writes his narrative to Padma, also known as The Dung Lotus, who comforts him as he lies dying. Salman is confessional in the sense that he details Saleem's physical attraction as a young child to his Aunt Pia Mumani, Amina's physical description, and his attraction to and haunting of his sister Jamila's face while putting down things that are banned in society. In *Midnight's Children*, we experience a spine-tingling roller coaster ride through every problem we encounter, including adultery, incest, desire, greed, envy, and love.

To sum up, *Midnight's Children* is a mash-up of references to many political, cultural, and religious ideas. No wonder Saleem said, "To understand me you have to swallow the whole world". The incorporation of the Indo-Pakistan conflict and other contemporary themes into Saleem's life makes this a title work in post-colonial literature. This book is divided into thirty chapters, each of which is a metaphorical exposition. This demonstrates Salman Rushdie's artistic ability. Saleem is seen in the novel's conclusion gazing at the kid, who is actually Shiva's rather than his. Salman Rushdie has handled the subjects of Truth and narrative, British colonialism and Post-Colonialism, Sex and Gender, Identity and Nationality, Fragments and Portioning, and Bildungsroman with skill. He has succeeded in creating a significant and captivating work that endures. Because of his inventive writing style and sharp word choice, *Midnight's Children* presents a fresh perspective each time we read it.

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Role of Birsa Munda in Freedom Struggle of India and Demanding Rights for Indigenous People

Juli Kumari Sah

Introduction

As we know that British had its control on India since early seventeenth century, India had faced many issues and challenges in each and every aspects which made the lives of Indians pathetic. British government had controlled political, economic as well as social aspect of the people of India. British government gradually tried to expand their control on each and every aspects of life of the people through political and administrative activities across the country. Initially East India Company arrived India for commercial purposes. But later on, the power was handed over to the British government. There were held many movements, Hartal, Dharna, Boycott, etc. in each corner of India against British government for their exploitative policies. Subsequently, after many revolts and movements, India got its Independence on 15th August, 1947 from British exploitation and finally formed self-rule government by Indians themselves.

Similar revolts were seen in Bengal Presidency (now Jharkhand) held by Tribal groups under the leadership of Birsa Munda against the policies of British government which were exploitative in nature. British government had imposed many laws on lands of Indigenous people which made people erratic and vagarious. Hence, struggle started in these areas. People started to come together to fight for their primitive rights on land and forest against British government. People started to organize themselves in

order to oppose British government for their policies and laws which were unreasonably imposed on them. These revolts and oppositions of Indigenous people against British government made the government frustrated and anxious towards Indigenous people.

Unfortunately, revolts were get ended when British government killed people who were engaged in this struggle. They also caught Birsa Munda and assassinated him in jail to stop revolts which were held against them. These assassination of Birsa Munda and brutally killings of people engaged in revolts were printed in the minds of Indigenous people. In this present study, we will see the life sketch of Birsa Munda, turning phase of Birsa Munda's life towards revolutionary thought, factors which led to revolts against British government by Indigenous people under the leadership of Birsa Munda, and assassination of Birsa Munda at the early age of 24 along with other fellowmen.

Life sketch of Birsa Munda

Birsa Munda was born on 15 November 1875 at Ulihatu in Bengal Presidency (now in Jharkhand). He belonged to the Munda Tribe. The Munda Tribe is one of Tribal groups exists in Jharkhand at present which was Bengal Presidency earlier. His father's name was Sugana Munda and his mother's name was Karmi Hatu. Birsa Munda did his schooling at Salga where he studied under his teacher named Jaipal Nag. He had joined Christian Mission school for further studies. Later on, he left the Christian Mission school after recognizing the maul behind providing education to Indigenous groups and other groups across the country by the British government. The rest phases of his life had spent in struggle and movements against British government while protecting the rights of Tribal/Indigenous group. He also made people conscious about their primitive rights on forest and land. To oppose Christianity which was forcefully imposed on Indigenous people as well as with artfulness conversion of religion to Christianity, Birsa Munda developed a faith named 'Birsait' among Tribal groups which meant one God and it encouraged them to revert back to their original religion. Meanwhile, people started to refer Birsa Munda as 'Dharti Abba or Father of the Earth'. Birsa Munda's famous slogan against British government was- 'Abua Raj setarjana, Maharani Raj tundujana' which meant 'let the kingdom of

the Queen be ended and our kingdom be established'. Birsa Munda died on 9 June, 1900. In 2021, the government of India has declared that 15th November, the birth anniversary of Birsa Munda will be celebrated as Janjatiya Gaurav Diwas.

Turing phase of Birsa Munda's life towards Revolutionary thought

Birsa Munda's life had taken turn towards revolutionary thought when he was in Christian Mission school. Birsa Munda belonged to a poor family whose livelihood was basically depended on agriculture. He became Christian and join Christian Mission school in order to receive education. Meanwhile, British government arrived in Bengal presidency in order to make profits from natural resources of that place as well as by imposing laws on land of Indigenous people. They also introduced other system like money lenders, landlords etc. in order to extort money and other resources from poor people who have primitive rights on natural resources.

When Birsa Munda realized and saw the disastrous look of British government towards the land of Indigenous people as well as expansion of their political and administrative control in that area, he turned himself into a revolutionary fighter. It happened in very early age of his life. He left Christian Mission school and started to oppose the British government. He also started to awaken people towards their primitive rights on forest and land rights and duties to protect these rights. For the success of movement, Birsa Munda organized and formed groups to fight against British government in order to protect their rights on land and other natural resources. He influenced other people and also he was supported and followed by other different groups who joined Birsa Munda in his fight. Birsa Munda declared that he will end the Raj of Queen and will establish their Raj. Thus, conversion of religion of Indigenous people into Christianity and imposition of different kinds of taxes on land of Indigenous people made Birsa Munda a revolutionary fighter.

Factors of Turbulence among Tribal/Indigenous Group against British Government

There are many factors which goaded Indigenous people to revolt against British government. Birsa Munda was first among them at that time. Birsa Munda wanted to receive education for better life. In this regard, Birsa Munda changed his religion to Christian in order to join Christian Mission school to receive education. But later on, Birsa Munda realized that British government introduced such an education system in Christian Mission school which will be going to benefit them in administrative works in return. Consequently, he left the Christian Mission school immediately after knowing the reality.

For acquiring more money and resources from India, British government started to expand their control across the country. They started to impose taxes on land of Indian people arbitrarily. British government had introduced the system of moneylenders, landlords, traders, mahajans, discriminatory policies on land, etc. into the area of Bengal Presidency which is now in Jharkhand for their business i.e. earning and looting money and resources. Jharkhand was rich in natural resources. Generally, Indigenous people were completely depended on forest and land for their livelihood. When British government violated the primitive rights of Indigenous people on forest and land, Indigenous people had lost their patience. Hence, Indigenous people got agitated by the activities of British government which led to the condition and situation of forceful conversion of Indigenous people into Christianity, displacement of Indigenous people from their original place, administrative expansion of British government, discriminatory laws imposed on land of Indigenous people, etc. All these circumstances led to the development of agitation among Indigenous groups. Hence, revolts were held under the leadership of Birsa Munda against British government for their cruelty towards the lives of Indigenous groups.

Birsa Munda and Movements against British Government

Birsa Munda got involved into revolts against the British government in very early age of his life. When Birsa Munda got to know that the British government is exploiting their natural resources and trying to establish their control over land of

Indigenous people, he started to oppose them. The struggle started in 1890s by Indigenous people under the leadership of Birsa Munda. Many revolts were held by them to protect their rights on land. He also introduced a religious faith among people called 'Birsait' meaning one God.

Birsa Munda prohibited other people to pay tax to the British government. As he was engaged in revolts against British government and awakening people, he was caught and put behind the bar for two years. When he came out of jail, he again started to organize people against British government. He trained people for arm struggle. He planned to attack police stations and other places on 24th December, 1899. Accordingly, they started attacking on Christmas Eve over many places. People, under the leadership of Birsa Munda, attacked police stations at Khunti, Jamar, Basia, Ranchi etc. In that attacked eight policemen were killed. People also burnt the houses of landlords who followed the orders of British government in order to collect taxes from people. The arm struggle ended on 5th January, 1900.

Ulgulaan revolt was one of the major revolts held by different Indigenous group under the leadership of Birsa Munda on 6th January 1900. Troops of British government also replied to Tribal brutally. Places where revolts held actively by the Tribal were handed over to the army to control the situation and prevent people to organize any movements against them. Finally, on 3rd February 1900 Birsa Munda was caught and put into jail where he was assassinated in the jail itself.

Cruelty of British Government and Assassination of Birsa Munda

Birsa Munda and his followers from different Indigenous groups had held many revolts against the tax imposed by British government on land of Tribal/Indigenous people. The British government had not imposed taxes only to establish their control on land and forest. Conversion of religion of Tribal people into Christianity by British government was also the major factor which led to many revolts by Tribal people against the British government. Tribal people led by Birsa Munda had held many revolts against the autocratic rule of the British government which included various kinds of taxes on land and forest, type of education which were

provided to tribal people, conversion of religion of Tribal people into Christianity etc. British government hence got frustrated by the act of Tribal /Indigenous group which was led by Birsa Munda. Subsequently, they started to search Birsa Munda and his followers to kill them in order to stop revolts which were held against British government. When it seemed impossible to catch Birsa Munda, the British government kept reward of Rs 500 on Birsa Munda. Eventually, Birsa Munda was caught and put into jail for two years by the troops of the British government itself. When he came outside, he continued his duties to protect rights of Indigenous people. British government attacked the Dombari Hills where Birsa Munda and his follower used to get together for discussion. In that attack, the troops of British government had killed many people. Later on they had caught Birsa Munda in the Jamkopai forest in Singhbhum in 1900. Birsa Munda was put into jail. To subdue movements, Birsa Munda was assassinated by them in jail itself on 9th June, 1900. The British government said that Birsa died due to Cholera. It is still not become clear the cause of death of Birsa Munda. The revolt ended there. The British government continued his activities to make profits and exploited the people of India across the country until 1947. Finally, India got freedom from British government on 15th August 1947 after many years of struggle and sacrifices of many lives from each corner of the country.

Conclusion

We can here conclude that the role of Birsa Munda in freedom struggle which had started in late nineteenth century against British government is unforgettable. It indicates the responsible nature of Birsa Munda towards protecting the primitive rights of Indigenous people on forest and land. It also shows the strength of Birsa Munda to fight against arbitrary rule of British government who had introduced numbers of discriminatory laws on lands of Indigenous people who have primitive rights on natural resources. When Birsa Munda recognized the real nature of British government towards imparting education for fulfilling their own self-interest, he left the Christian mission school. He tried to awaken other peoples against the British government who forcefully imposed taxes on land which alienated Indigenous people from their own land. Later on, many other Tribal groups influenced

by them and join the movements and get together against the discriminatory policies of the British government. He went to jail for two years. He sacrificed his life in order to protect the rights of Tribal people from arbitrary rule of British government. He was a brave fighter who showed strength and represented the power of Indigenous people towards protecting their primitive rights on forest land and other natural resources.

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Satra, Satradhikar and the Freedom Struggle in Assam

Krishna Hazarika

Introduction

Assamese cultural nationalism was unique from other forms of cultural nationalism popular in other regions of the country. Cultural nationalism emphasises a national identity defined by cultural traditions and language, rather than notions of shared origin or race.

If one defines "cultural nationalism" as mentioned above, then Mahapurush Srimanta Sankaradeva's ideas can legitimately be regarded as an intergrationalist philosophy. Srimanta Sankaradeva fought against the conventional aspects of society as the pinnacle of the cultural Renaissance, the founder of the Bhakti Movement, and a fervent supporter of Vaishnavism. He promoted Vaishnavism as the cornerstone of cultural unity that connects all of Assam to the rest of India through a liberal and integrationist attitude.

Srimanta Sankaraadeva, an enigmatic individual who gave path to the chaotic Assamese society by launching a novel approach to the established Vaishnava religion, which gave birth to a set of new principles and supported in communal synthesis (Baruah 425-428). The Neo-Vaishnavite Movement, founded in Assam in the latter half of the 15th century by Srimanta Sankaradeva, ushered in an age of socio-cultural renaissance in Assam, humanist in substance and popular in form, in literature, as well as in the vocal and visual arts.

It changed their social, cultural, and religious landscapes while also altering their perspective on life and the universe as a whole. The movement to establish an egalitarian civil society based on the common principles of brotherhood, equity, humanism, and democracy made Neo-Vaishnavism stand out among the many Bhakti-cults of India in terms of its distinctive and original nature. Officially named as Eka-Sarana-Naam-Dharma, this new credo of truth established by Srimanta Sankaradeva. Sankaradeva promoted devotion to Lord Krishna or Vishnu as the only true God.

The movement was unique because, unlike other contemporary cults in the rest of India, Srimanta Sankaradeva's Neo-Vaishnavism placed more focus on cultural unity, social reforms, and spiritual growth through novel ways of religious ethics based on local factors. This was at a time when Assamese society was in disarray and was as divided and faction-ridden as it was. It was revolutionary because Neo-Vaishnavism in Assam was a way of life as much as a religion.

Objectives

1. Highlight the rise of cultural nationalism in Assam
2. Focus on the role of satras and namghars in propagating cultural national
3. Emphasis on the political influence of the Satradhikars in the freedom struggle with special emphasis on Pitambar Deva Goswami in Majuli.

Methodology

A descriptive-narrative approach was adopted to give shape to the paper. Both primary and secondary sources were studied to gather relevant information. The various government data and data from satras have been acquired as primary sources. Novels and books were studied in terms of secondary resources. The latest MLA style has been used for citations and references throughout the paper.

Discussions and findings

The establishment of two distinctively unique institutions, namely the satra and the namghar, became the foundations of the Neo-Vaishnavite movement in Assam, both of which began to serve

not only as a means of spreading faith but also became deeply entwined with the cultural and social fabric of Assamese society. Since the beginning of the 16th century until the arrival of the British, Assam's cultural past centres around the Neo-Vaishnavite Movement, which found expression through the institution of Satra (Nath 189).

The Namghar-Satra network created a well-organized yet decentralised religious framework, which is a distinctive element of Assamese Vaishnavism. The Namghar provided a great venue for showcasing various creative forms and attracting the general public to associate with the spirit of Neo-Vaishnavism. The Namghar represents two principles: equality and the recognition of the inherent dignity of all living beings (Nath 190). The Namghar is visible in practically all Assamese villages, so much so that the identity of local residents is inextricably linked to the Namghar they attend. In fact, the Namghar evolved to serve as a venue for the community's religious as well as socio-cultural activities.

The Namghar's distinguishing trait is that it recognises the need of communal knowledge and social growth via involvement of everyone for community restoration and stability. Srimanta Sankaradeva developed the notion of community development and Panchayati Raj much before the British Raj did. As a result, the Namghar serves as an excellent venue for decentralised planning and decision-making. The Namghar ensures development of the people, by the people, and for the people by encouraging the engagement of the entire village in the decision-making process for the determination of social goods and the allocation of resources to attain them.

Throughout the first half of the 20th century opium supply, sale, and use in the state have reached disturbingly high levels as a result of the government's strategy of encouraging its use in order to generate cash. Pitambardev Goswami, the Satradhikar of Garamur Satra in Majuli, made a concerted effort to mobilise the populace against opium use and the government policy that sought to normalise it as early as the first decade of the 20th century. Pitambardev Goswami was able to successfully organise the populace in opposition to opium use and the government's use of the drug as a source of revenue (D. Nath 136).

It should be emphasised that Pitambardev's opium eradication effort had gone far and wide, beyond Majuli's borders, into the tribal and backward districts of Lakhmpur, Sibsagar, and Jorhat. He espoused the values of boycotting foreign items, particularly clothing, and began to wear Khadi himself. It's worth noting that even before Gandhiji embarked on the Dandi March to defy the salt prohibition, Pitambardev Goswami in Majuli avoided British-made salt in favour of mineral or brine salt. He dedicated himself to the upliftment of the downtrodden, the abolition of untouchability, and widow remarriage. He committed himself to the advancement of the downtrodden, the abolition of untouchability, and widow remarriage. Pitambardev Goswami worked hard to create the Majuli Co-operative Banking and Purchase Sale Society Limited in the Garmur Satra, with branches in outlying villages, in 1917 (Hazarika 49).

The momentum of the 1921 movement swept to Majuli as well, propagating non-cooperation beliefs among the population. Pitambardev Goswami and others led trips to the island's rural communities, preaching non-violence, boycotting foreign goods, and wearing Khadi (Hazarika 46). During his trips, the Satridhikar gave printed flyers to the villages, explaining the values of non-cooperation. Gandhiji's visit to Jorhat and meeting with Pitambardeva Goswami inspired him to continue his non-cooperation activities not only in Majuli but also in the rural districts of Lakhimpur, Jorhat, and Sibsagar.

Majuli was impacted by the civil disobedience movement. He travelled from village to village at this time teaching what Swaraj meant, accompanied by a few of his supporters. He gave the locals the following explanation of the significance of Swaraj during one of his meetings. He believed that to attain swaraj, independence was a requisite (D. Nath 139). The Satradhikar attempted to create the necessary social conditions in this way in order to establish swaraj, which he saw as being unquestionably the prerequisite and fundamental requirement for an independent nation. His insistence on the abolition of untouchability and the advancement of Harijans was also founded on the notion that caste discrimination and untouchability had shattered the very foundation of nationalism. Consequently, it would seem that the Civil Disobedience movement in Majuli was mostly focused on

Pitambardev Goswami's advocacy of its principles among the local populace.

The populace swiftly embraced the Satradhikar, and under Pitambardev's direction, Majuli developed into one of the Congress's most significant bases. Pitambardev Goswami personally toured the nearby villages, including the Mising inhabited villages, teaching non-cooperation and recruiting Congress members, along with Krishnachandra Dev Goswami, the Deka Satradhikar of his Satra. Pitambardev Goswami moved to Jorhat and took over as head of the Congress towards the end of the year, when the majority of the Congress leaders were incarcerated. Pitambardev Goswami's movements and actions quickly incited the government's fury, which led to immediate limitations on his freedom of movement and confinement to the Satra.

When the Satradhikar was restricted to the Satra, Krishnachandra Dev Goswami, stepped out openly to lead the campaign. He began to address large crowds and encourage them to join. On November 12, 1942, he was captured and imprisoned (A.C. Bhuyan 64), and the government prepared to arrest the Satradhikar on any excuse. When the government discovered that the entire campaign was being led from the Satra, it arrested Pitambardev Goswami in July 1943 and imprisoned him in Jorhat for the next two years (Hazarika 209). A spectacular situation resulted after the Satradhikar's arrest. His followers, as well as residents of nearby villages, staged protracted processions while carrying flags and chanting the national anthem. They were joined by Jyoti Prasad's *Viswa Vijayee No Jawan* (D. Nath 143). Meetings were conducted at Rangachahi, Garmur, Kamalabari, Salmara, and Ahatguri, and objections were filed. Those who participated faced harsh punishment from the government, which resulted to the arrest and imprisonment of thousands of them (Bharali 48).

From the Quit India movement's aftermath until the end of the war, a number of violent movements grew in popularity. When the Mission decided to place Assam in Group C, there were strong responses in Majuli's Vaishnava community. The Satradhikar of Majuli, as the leader of the important monasteries, was expected to play a crucial role during this time of turmoil and conflict in order to achieve Assamese unity and reject the plan. Hemchandra

Goswami, the Satradhikar of Auniati Satra, published a pamphlet entitled *Hindu Samajalai* (an appeal to the Hindus) in the newspapers, in which he conveyed his opinions on untouchability, which had weakened the fundamental power of unity among the Hindus, and the need for its abolition; he appealed to the Hindus to remain united in this time of crisis for their own survival. Haridev Goswami, Satradhikar of Dakhinpat Satra, also distributed his thoughts through Assamese, English, and Bengali publications (D. Nath 144-145). The Satradhikar's articles, which were distributed both inside and outside of Assam, and their calls for religious unity undoubtedly contributed to the eventual annulment of the Mission's provisional plan to include Assam within the province of Bengal, saving it from becoming a part of Pakistan one year later.

Conclusion

It might be said that Sankaradeva's Neo Vaishnavism, with its dynamic philosophy of inclusivity, has spawned a new Cultural Nationalism. The Neo-Vaishnavite Movement created new institutions called Satra and Namghar, which not only served to expand the religion but also helped to preserve and stabilise it by assimilating it into Assamese social and cultural life (H. J. Nath 191).

The inhabitants of Majuli Island are proud of their participation in the war for their country's independence, despite all the physical limitations that plague the island. It was only natural for the island's inhabitants to have kept their distance from all the various developments that occurred in other parts of the country during the 19th century given their isolation from the state's mainland as well as their emphasis on tradition and superstition. Fortunately, one of the island's greatest Satradhikar, Pitambardev Goswami of Garmur Satra, led the battle there throughout the time, exposing the island to reforms from the 19th century and innovations from the 20th century.

It's fascinating that Pitambardev stressed non-violence from the start, at least for the purpose of his religious convictions, perhaps long before Gandhiji accepted it as his ideal. This is perhaps why there were few or no acts of terrorism or sabotage in Majuli during the conflict. Aside from incarceration, lathicharge,

and the imposition of punitive levies, there weren't as many police brutalities as in other regions of the state.

Pitambardev Goswami brought the principles of anti-partition to the island as early as 1905 due to Majuli's status as a hub of the different faiths and his desire for religious unity. Thus, a movement for communal solidarity served as the impetus for the Majuli liberation war. Pitambardev Goswami raised the national flag at Kamalabari on August 15, 1947, and the people of Majuli celebrated the occasion by performing Bhaonas throughout the Satras and villages with great zeal.

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Role of Assamese Women in Freedom Movement

Lakshima Gogoi

Introduction

History of freedom movement is incomplete without the name of the women freedom fighters. From the Vedic period to till present day role of women in every stage of society is unparalleled. The spark of freedom against the British started with the Sipoy Mutiny in 1857. From then to till freedom women were actively engaged in the movement. In the initial stage participation of women were not large in number, they are only from those of higher classes and educated women. After Gandhi's returning to India in 1917, a new light dawned on the horizon of India's freedom movement. He called for the women to participate in the movement as women have more patience and endurance. This made women from across the country joining the epic struggle in a large scale. Gandhi said that, "I passionately desire utmost freedom for our women."

Women from Other Parts of India: The women were actively there in the movement from the very beginning. Contemporary to Sipoy Mutiny the queens of other parts of India were fight for their country to their last breath. Some of them are mentioned below:

Rani Laxmibai was the first women to stand against the British. Her original name was '*Manikarnika Tambe*' known as '*Jhansi Ki Rani*'. When the East India Company attacked Jhansi on 25th March 1858 she encouraged her soldiers and fought a great war against the British. But the cunning British deceitfully captured her fort and she had to go away from there. She went to Rao Saheb's camp at Kalpi

but the British also captured Kalpi. From there she moved to Gwalior and fought her last battle with those absorbent on 18th June, 1858, at the age of only 29 she died a martyr death. Her name will always there in the pages of history for her spirit, love and sacrifice for the country.

Rani Gaidinliu was another one amongst them. *Gaidinliu Pamei* was a spiritual and political freedom struggler from Manipur. Only at the age of 13 she met her cousin Jadonang, the leader of *Heraka* religious movement. The British hanged Jadonang and after his death only at the age of 17 she became the leader of *Heraka* religious movement. At the time of struggle when she was in Puloni village with her companion, they started to build a wooden fortress for their safety. But its completion British attacked on them and she was arrested, punished for life time imprisonment. She was released after freedom on 15th August 1947. When she was in Shillong jail, Jawaharlal Nehru met her and gave the title of Rani.

Many of women were strongly participate in the movement after Sipoy Mutiny. Along with Rani Laxmibai and Rani Gaidinliu there were also Rani Tarabai, Begum Hajarat Mahal, Lalita Baksi, Jaalkari, Sundarbai, Sundar Matibai, Queen of Ranigarh etc.

Women of Assam in Freedom Movement: All of those great leaders who fought for the country are well known to us. But there were also the women amongst those freedom strugglers leave their homes, family and even their lives. Likewise the other women of India the Assamese women were also actively participate and worked hard for the movement. In compare to others it's said that Assamese women were more independent. By spinning the threads they weave their own clothes at their home. Looking at their weaving skill Mahatma Gandhi once said, "Assamese women are born weaver, they can weave fairy tales in their cloth." All the people of Assam were plunged into the movement, amongst them some of women made a powerful impact on the minds of Indian people. They are:

The first Assamese women martyr of freedom movement was Kanaklata Barua. She was only 17 years old when she became martyr. On the day 20th September 1942, a group of freedom fighters led by Kanaklata Barua called *Mrityu Bahini* headed towards Gahpur police station. They were trying to hoist the flag at

the top of the police station and at that moment the police warned them not to take a step towards the station. But she did not listen anything and went towards the station and immediately the police force fire on her and instantly she fell down and became martyr. A young girl sacrifice her all dreams, puberty and even her life for the country.

On the same day at Dhekiajuli in Sonitpur district a group of *Mrityu Bahini* led by Monbar Nath attempted to hoist the national flag atop of the Dhekiajuli police station. There was a 12 years old young girl in that group and she was Tileswari Barua. She was inspired by the song of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala and joined the movement. While Monbar Nath attempted to hoist the flag by climbing atop the police station he was gunned down by the police. The other volunteers were also attacked and she was shot down and lost her life. She is said to be the youngest girl martyr of India's freedom struggle. In respect to her patriotism and her sacrifice the people of Dhekiajuli celebrated martyr day every year on 20th September.

Again on the same day on 20th September 1942, a 60 years old woman Bhogeswari Phukanani died a martyr death at Barhampur. After the announcement of Quit India Movement in 1942, thousands of people come out to the street. Bhogeswari Phukanani also one of them inspired more and more people to join in the movement. She was the leader of women's wing in Barhampur. The canning British Government imposed ban on the volunteers' training camp and arrested them on 16th September 1942. In against of this action on 18th September hundreds of people gathered there and organised a rally, the meeting was presided over by Pratap Chandra Sharma. At that time a troop of soldiers arrived there and disperse the gathering, they arrested Pratap Chandra Sharma. The freedom fighters were not stopped, a large number of people led by Bhogeswari Phukanani and Ratnamala Phukan arrived at that place and stopped the way of the force. The officer Captain Finish tried to take away the flag from Ratnamala's hand. Bhogeswari Phukanani could not bear that insult toward the national flag, with anger she starts beating Captain Finish on his head until he fell unconscious. Captain Finish could not bear the insult he took out his pistol and shot her at a close range. Immediately she fell

down and became unconscious. After two days on 20th September she breathed her last breath.

One another Assamese revolutionary, Chandraprabha Saikiani was not only fight against the British but also against the superstitions and backward mind set of the people of society. She might be the first Assamese woman travelling from village to village by bicycle to spread the news of freedom movement and inspiring the people to join in the movement. Again she fought for the education of girl child. She was born on 16th March 1901, at that time the society did not allow the girls to step out of their home. Her father Ratiram Majumdar was the *Gaonburha* (village head man) and he was very supportive of girl education. She and her sister Rajaniprabha walk through several kilometres to attend school. After passing the primary school she gathered the other girls and opened a school to teach them what she learnt. While coming for inspection of school Inspector Nilakanta Barua greatly impressed by her and awarded scholarship to Chandraprabha and her sister for higher study at Nagaon Mission School. At the school she faced a new trouble, the school administration was providing hostels only to those students who were Christian or who convert their religion to Christianity. Chandraprabha raised her voice against this and the authorities were forced to allow the girls of all religions to provide the hostel facilities.

In 1925 at Nagaon, Assam Sahitya Sabha Session was presided over Rajanikanta Bordoloi where he was delivering a speech upon the equality of women in education. But at the same meeting the women were sitting behind a bamboo screen away from the men. Looking at that Chandraprabha could not stop her rebellious mind and gave a very powerful speech on that meeting about removal of bamboo screen and ask everyone to sit equally with the men. She tried to remove the taboos faced by herself and other women of her days. In the very next year in 1926, *Assam Pradeshi Mahila Samiti* was established in her effort, it was Saikiani for whom the organisation was familiar to every women of Assam, even in the rural areas also. After she met Gandhi in 1921, she actively participated in the freedom movement. She spread the message of Gandhi to boycott the foreign textiles and other items or goods from the country. She inspired the people to use *Khadi* *Brashtra* weaving by themselves in their handlooms. She requested

the Assamese women to come forward and participate in the movement. She was imprisoned thrice in 1931, 1942 and 1943. Nothing could stop her patriotic spirit for working the society as well the country. At last at the day of her birth on 16th March, 1972 she died in cancer.

Amongst all those names whom we lost in course of time, one of them is Pramila Medak, a *Mising Koneng*, from Medak village of Golaghat. Her father Bikaram Medak was a farmer. Though he was a farmer but he was very concern about education of his daughters. Due to the lack of school in their village Bikaram arranged a tutor for Pramila, namely Fulkan Gogoi. When she learnt about freedom movement from Kamala Miri's associates she decide to took part in the movement. She joined the group of Kamala Miri and started spread the message of freedom from village to village. Shankar Barua, a revolutionary was hiding from the British at that time. One day he was hiding there in Pramila's home and the British arrived there and asked for Shankar Barua. Police hit Pramila on her chest, back and teeth by gun and ordered to get him out but she said nothing to them. Due to this incident she had to run away from her home for a while but she did not stop to work for the country at that time also. She spread Gandhi's message of use *khadi*, boycott foreign textiles and inspired them to weave their own clothes at their homes. Pramila Medak was the only women in the *Santi Sena* of Kamala Miri, while they were helping those injured soldiers of 2nd world war at the refugee camp in Dimapur.

There were many more women freedom strugglers whose names were lost in course of time. Like the mentioned above woman like Kaniki Mariyani, first woman contractor Punyawati Doley, Guneswari Devi, Malati Mem, Dariki Dasi Barua, Rebati Lahon, Kumali Devi etc. they are those women of India who live a fighters life and who died a martyr death.

Conclusion

Every woman across the India plays a vital role in the movement. They participate in the every form of protest that going on at that time. Assamese women's contribution to the struggle was not less than the rest of the other women of the country. Along with the men, the women were also actively participated in those movements that were launched by Gandhi. They organised

processions, doing picketing and disseminate the message of movement to the remotest area of Assam. They whole heartedly accept Gandhi`s call for spinning and weaving and popularised it amongst the people of Assam. Looking at the weaving skills of Assamese women, Gandhi once said, “Assamese women weave dreams on their looms.”

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Silenced Voices and Blatant Biases: Foregrounding the Forgotten Women in Indian Freedom Struggle

Dr. Mallika A Nair

Media constructivism and Historiography paint stories of many brave episodes of great chivalry, celebrated time and again through re-visitations in History books, documentaries, films and narratives of historical significance. The Indian Freedom Struggle is often acknowledged as the most subtle form of silent revolution against the atrocities of Colonialism. But, there are infinite blank spaces within the pages of our Freedom Movement that decisively put this claim to shame. The aftermath of Indian Independence did not deliver the promised Golden Age but brought in the most traumatic episode of Partition, thus embossing the bloodless revolution with the bloodied marks of thousands of innocent lives. Not all of these lives were lost on the battlefield of Panipat; nor were they sacrificed at the Country's borders. Many were lost defending their homes and fields, fighting bravely against the gruesome usurpers among the British army. It is indeed significant to note that while we often acknowledge the sacrifices of our brave warrior men such as Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad, Bal Gangadhar Tilak only a handful of women warriors find their names in historical references. Rani Lakshmi Bai, Bikaji Cama, Sarojini Naidu etc. are some of the lucky few whose names we often hear mentioned. The voices of the marginalised communities are often silenced, their echoes snubbed and shut out by the din of the more popular slogans, singing out praises of martyrdom and mayhem.

Caught within the endless snarl of caste discrimination and Dalit marginalisation, History has seldom recorded the great sacrifices made by the Adivasi communities of rural India. A close analysis of the Freedom Movement would reveal to us the fact that there are many more such brave women who are never mentioned and whose identity our historiographers comfortably overlook. The present article would attempt to reconstruct a few such personae whose infinite courage and fortitude make them stand out from a crowd and shine through the foggy blur of yesteryear's memories.

The first among such women would be Demati Dei Sabar, more popularly known as Salihan. She belonged to the Sabar tribe of Odisha. The tribals worked in the fields of the rich Zamindars and often went without food and other basic amenities in life. Some of these tribals were also actively involved in organizing anti-British movements and Demathi Dei's father, Kartik Sabar was one of them. One afternoon a young girl from their village named Saliha, came rushing to the fields where Demati Dei and other women were working and informed them about a battery of British officers who were attacking the village and burning their homes down. Demathi Dei and her friends race home to find their old people thrown out of their homes along with other belongings. The village was looted, their grains packed into the Britisher's vehicles; Demati's father had been shot in the leg and he was lying on the ground bleeding. The women, who were almost 40 in number, fell upon the attackers, in an effort to save whatever little they could, in terms of lives and life-stock. The tribal women, weary of the wild animals in the region, constantly carried lathis with them which now came in handy. They drove the British army out of the village, and saved the grains thus holding out hunger at arm's distance.

This event might seem like a very common incident during the British Raj, but the fact remains that Demathi Dei was only 16 at the time. So the question arises as to why, Demathi Dei never finds any mention among the great freedom fighters of India? Was it her status as an Adivasi Dalit woman that decided her deed and destiny to be forgotten in time?

The inequality rampant within the gendered space of Pre-independent Indian society might seem to be a prime cause as will Demathi Dei's identity as a Dalit, tribal woman. The aspects of subjugation on multiple social dimensions must account for this

blatant bias at wiping out Demathi Dei's victory from being recorded anywhere in terms of a manipulated silence by the Indian historiographers. She lived till 90, deprived of even the basic human needs, in constant poverty and ill health, but with a spirit that still held the vestige of the old fire, smoldering within the depths of her aged countenance.

There was a tribal queen in the Southern tip of Tamil-Nadu named Velu Nachiyar whose story must be told. Velu Nachiyar was widowed when the Britishers killed her husband. Nachiyar had to abscond her Kingdom to save herself from the Britishers. For eight years, she tried to gain support by convincing the adjoining kingdoms to stand united and fight the British army. Hyder Ali, the then ruler of Mysore gives her five thousand soldiers and the armory needed for the battle. Nachiyar leads her men to victory under the guidance of her brilliant commander Kuyili. It was Kuyili who immersed herself in ghee, set herself on fire and ignited the ammunition battery on fire by jumping into it, thereby destroying every last bit of their ammunition. But then, why is History strategically silent about Kuyili, the Dravidian Tribal woman, who was the architect of a great victory over the British army?

The Kurichiyas of Wayanad, in the North Malabar region of Kerala, and made up a large part of Pazhassi Raja's army that fought against the Britishers in Kerala. The tribal women in India have virtually no role to play in the social and political spheres.

Horizontal hierarchies of gender bias and caste discrimination often play out in wiping personae out of their field of activity. Nietzsche's theories on power struggle in the hierarchical order of any system condemns the practice of inter-sectionality as being the most dominant evil among different types of marginalization. Inter sectional feminism considers the intersecting social structures of gender, race, social class, sexual orientation, religion, ability, and age, among others, as interrelated and shaping one another. Inter-sectional feminists reject the idea that all women experience oppression and gender inequality in homogeneous ways. So, what pattern of power struggle defines the absolute silence that the sacrifices made by Dalit women freedom fighters endure in our Country? If History records only the voice of the winners, where are our tribal women freedom fighters? Even as the individual has a responsibility to the society it inhabits, the society too owes a

similar responsibility to the integral personae that makes them a part of each society. Gender Bias and caste discrimination are evils as ancient as this ancient land of ours. Although, annihilating the loop of old practices demand constant time and consistent effort, it is inevitable that history and Historiographers be woken-up from their long slumber in order to foreground the efforts of our Great Indian women freedom fighters who over time immemorial, have made relentless sacrifices to keep the flag of our nation flying sky high forever.

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The Struggle for the Dalit Emancipation in India Before and After Independence

Mantrack Saha

Introduction

Discrimination against the Dalit minority in India has a long history on the social, economic, and political levels. They have, however, formed some movements over time to struggle against this persecution and demand their rights. Social reformers like Mahatma Jyotirao Phule strove to undermine the caste system and advance Dalit education during the 19th century, which is when the Dalit movement first emerged. During the Indian Freedom Struggle, when figures like Dr B.R. Ambedkar significantly influenced the conversation about social justice and equality, the Dalit movement gained traction.

The Dalit movement persisted in growing and changing after India attained independence in 1947. Dalits' rights were recognized by the Indian Constitution, which also included affirmative action guidelines for their advancement. The reality, however, was frequently different because Dalits continued to experience prejudice and violence. As a result, Dalit organizations like the Dalit Panthers were formed in the 1970s to combat the injustice Dalits experienced through demonstrations and strikes.

Through the efforts of activists like B.R. Ambedkar and Kancha Ilaiah Shepherd, the Dalit struggle has recently attracted attention on a global scale. Other marginalized communities in India have been motivated by the movement to band together and fight for their rights. The history, development, and many struggles

and victories that the Dalit movement experienced in India both before and after independence will all be covered in this chapter.

Background of Dalits

It is crucial to first comprehend the backdrop and the circumstances, particularly the caste or jati system and the practice of untouchability, that made such movements necessary to comprehend the history of the Dalit struggle in India.

The society of the early Vedic era was divided into four classes, or Varna, which were the brahmins, or priests, the Kshatriyas, or warriors, the vaishyas, or farmers, traders, and merchants, and the Shudras, or labourers. A fifth category of the untouchables emerged as a result of the Varna system being entrenched and inheritable. The vernacular system became obsolete during this time, and jati, or occupational groups, which were simultaneously forming acquired importance. The jatis or castes were established based on birth and upheld by rigorous laws prohibiting endogamy or commensality.

The untouchables included a few crafts persons who assisted with burials and cremations, as well as a few hunters and gatherers. They were compelled to leave the villages' periphery and forced to work for the other castes since they were seen as polluting. Due to different socio-religious limitations, they were kept out of the general society. It was against the rules for them to put their hands near food or drink. Additionally, they were denied access to resources like education, temple admission, land ownership, and resources in general. Torture, exploitation, and violence were frequent companions.

Dalit Emancipation in India Before Independence

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar

Dr Ambedkar attributes the development of "untouchability" to the "contempt of the Buddhist and beef-eating by untouchable communities." The "Broken men" of the past, according to Ambedkar, are the untouchables. According to him, the 'Broken men' practiced Buddhism. Brahmins were never revered by them and were seen as dirty. The Brahmins also showed no respect for the Buddhists. The broken men became considered untouchables as a result of Brahmins' anti-Buddhist

sermonizing. Cow meat is a component of the diet of the nation's untouchable populations, according to Ambedkar. However, he asserts that, except for untouchables, no Hindu society, no matter how low, consumes cow flesh. He attempts to link the "beef-eating" custom of untouchables to the origin of untouchability. He led a 10,000-person mob to protest the Caste-Hindus' refusal to allow the untouchables to use the public wells in Mahad in 1927. 10,000 people marched with Ambedkar to Chowkdar Tank to assert their civic water rights. This demonstrated to the untouchables the power of their sheer numbers. He started his campaign for temple admittance in 1929, and several temples were shut down rather than admit untouchables. In Nasik, 15,000 untouchables made an effort to enter the Shree Rama temple. Rioting started as they persisted in trying to enter the temple despite being informed, they couldn't. The Dalits were given two votes under the 1932 Communal Award, one to elect their representatives to distinct seats in the Provincial Assemblies and the other to cast a joint ballot with Hindus in general elections. Separate electorates were established for other minorities. Gandhi began a fast-until-death because he disagreed with the prize. He claimed that the caste system was founded on religious beliefs and that these religious values must be eradicated to abolish the caste system. He founded the Independent Labour Party in the latter half of the 1930s. Despite Congress winning the majority of seats in the 1937 provincial council elections, it performed well. Ambedkar ran for office and used it to advocate for Dalits.

Gandhi and Dalit Movement

Gandhiji first introduced the 'untouchability' practice into the national movement in 1920 by including a call to rid Hinduism of the evil of 'untouchability' in the Nagpur resolution of the Congress. Even though he started a campaign for their welfare, it wasn't well received. Harijan was later used to describe the untouchables by him. He joined the Vaikom and Guruvayur Satyagrahas, two protests against the untouchability custom. Even the idea of a separate electorate, as stipulated by the communal award in 1932, was rejected by him because he thought that once the downtrodden classes were divided from the other Hindus, there would be no reason to improve society's perception of them.

Mahatma Jyotirao Phule

Jyotirao Phule was born in the Mali caste in Pune in 1827. His family was known as "Phule" because they provided flowers to the Peshwa's home. He was smart when he was younger. He completed his English education in 1847 while attending the Scottish Mission School in Pune. He was highly affected by Thomas Paine's Rights of Man as a child. He believed that regardless of caste or creed, everyone had equal standing because we are all children of God. He had the rather strong impression that for our society to advance and develop, education must be properly distributed, especially among women, and that the socioeconomic conditions of the underprivileged should be improved. At a young age, he established a school in Bhide for untouchable female students. He was requested to close the school and leave the area because upper-caste residents in the area complained. He fled but soon returned after getting money from well-known Europeans and Indians to resume the construction. He established the first native library for pupils of lower castes. Jotiba became a teacher at the Scottish Mission School in 1854, where he was heavily inspired by famous educators and missionaries. Jotiba established a night school at his home in 1855, and his wife actively assisted him in this endeavour. The government gave him land in 1857 on which to build a school. The widows' orphanage was established by Jotiba in 1860, which considerably aided the poor women. To protect the Dalits and the untouchables' civil rights and social justice, Jyotirao established the Satya Shodhak Samaj in 1873. Jyotirao testified in front of the Hunter Commission in 1882, demonstrating his support for Dalit and female education. He opposed child marriages and Sati. He demanded free, mandatory primary education up to the age of 12 and was in favor of Western-style schooling.

Dalit Emancipation in India After Independence

Dalit Panthers Movements

In April 1972, Namdev Dhasal established the social organisation Dalit Panther in Mumbai. Its heyday occurred in the 1970s and into the 1980s. The Black Panther Party, an african-american revolutionary organisation that originated in the United States and operated from 1966 to 1982, served as the model for Dalit Panther. The American 'Black Panther Movement inspired the

organization's name. They dubbed themselves "Panthers" because they were expected to fight for their rights with the tenacity and power of their oppressors, not submit to them. Through the US Black Panther Newspaper, which was published weekly from 1967 to 1980 and was distributed worldwide, the US Black Panther Party always acknowledged and supported the Dalit Panther Party. Its structure was based on the Black Panther. The group's members were young males from Scheduled Castes and Neo-Buddhist groups. The majority of the leaders were famous writers. The debate around Dhale's piece "Kala Swatantrata Din" (Black Independence Day), which appeared in "Sadhana" in 1972, caused a huge uproar and helped spread awareness of the Dalit Panthers throughout Maharashtra. Dhale joined the organisation and rose to become a well-known leader as a result of the Panther's unwavering support for him amid this dispute. As a result of media attention given to this issue, Panther branches appeared on their own in numerous locations around Maharashtra. Compared to earlier Dalit movements, the movement constituted a dramatic shift. The movement's original emphasis on militancy through the use of crude weapons and threats gave it a revolutionary flair.

Bahujan samaj party and Dalit movement

In 1971, Kansiram left the DRDO and founded the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, and Minorities Employees Welfare Association with his coworkers. Through this association, efforts were made to investigate the issues and harassment experienced by the aforementioned employees and to develop a workable solution. The caste system was another important topic that was addressed in the founding of this association. As more and more people joined, this association proved to be successful. Backwards and Minority Communities Employees Federation was founded in 1973 by Kanshi Ram and his coworkers. "Educate, Organise, and Agitate" served as the motto of the first operational office, which was established in Delhi in 1976. This served as a foundation for the dissemination of Ambedkar's thoughts and views. After that, Kanshi Ram kept expanding his network and educating people about the facts of the caste system, how it worked in India, and Ambedkar's ideas.

In 1980, he founded the 'Ambedkar Mela' travelling exhibition. This highlighted the life of Ambedkar and his thoughts through pictures and narrations. He established the Dalit Soshit in 1981. The DS4 or Samaj Sangharsh Samiti is a rival organisation to the BAMCEF. It was developed to defend employees who were raising awareness of the caste system against violence. It was designed to demonstrate that workers could stand together and fight for their rights. However, this was a political organisation rather than a registered party. He founded the Bahujan Samaj organisation, a full-fledged political organisation, in 1984. But it wasn't until 1986 that he officially announced his switch from social worker to politician by announcing that he would only work for/with the Bahujan Samaj Party. Later, he became a Buddhist. The Kanshiram movement demonstrated a distinct approach, coining the term "Bahujan" identity to include all SCs, STs, BCs, OBCs, and religious minorities as opposed to "Dalit," which essentially represented only the scheduled castes. As the primary resource for these areas, Kanshiram began with a group of Bahujan government personnel who declared themselves to be apolitical. Later, it sparked the creation of the agitating political group known as DS4, which went on to develop into the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), a full-fledged political party.

Conclusion

The fight for the independence of the Dalit community, also known as Dalit emancipation, has been a protracted and difficult process in India. Dalits were subjected to social, economic, and political subjugation before independence, and they were denied fundamental human rights. But as the liberation struggle got underway and Dalit leaders like Dr B.R. Ambedkar worked to advance their cause, there was a rising recognition of their misery and calls for their emancipation. Following Independence, the Indian government implemented several programmes, such as affirmative action laws like reservations in employment and education, to support the social and economic advancement of Dalits. Untouchability was prohibited by the Indian Constitution, and social equality was encouraged.

However, despite these initiatives, Dalits continue to experience marginalization and discrimination across most of India.

Major issues still include caste-based violence, denial of fundamental rights and services, and underrepresentation in governmental and administrative systems.

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Rise of Political Awakening and Early Phase of the National Movement in Kerala

Dr. Martiz Kurian

The most striking phenomenon in the history of India in the 19th century was the rise of the national movement. Various factors contributed to the arose of modern Indian nationalism in Indian. The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report claimed credit that the British rule was the harbinger of nationalist upsurge in India. It wrote “the politically-minded Indians are intellectually our Childrens”. It would be more correct to say that Indian nationalism was partly the product of a world-wide upsurge of the concepts of nationalism and right of self-determination initiated by the French Revolution, partly the result of Indian Renaissance, partly the offshoot of modernisation initiated by the British in India and partly developed as strong reaction of English polices in India. One of the most important factors of political awakening was the impact of English education. The new generation of youths took to the study of English, European history and western political thought with their emphasis on individual liberty and political freedom. Naturally they desired freedom, liberty, nationality, self-government and democracy for their own country. The new generation in Kerala too was imbued with thoughts of Jeremy Bentham, J.S. Mill, Rousseau and Voltaire. There was widespread political awakening in the country and Kerala was also affected by this wave.

The role of Kerala in the Indian independence struggle was not so significant, but it was not so insignificant also. The basic reason for this was the division of Kerala into three separate

territorial administrative units namely Malabar, Kochi and Travancore. While the people of Malabar fought against British imperialism directly, the people of Kochi and Travancore fought directly for responsible governments from the respective kings and indirectly against the British, as these princely states were totally controlled by the British government. The movements for social and economic reforms were active the princely states of Travancore and Kochi. But in the case of Malabar District, being part of the erstwhile Madras Province participated in struggle for political freedom.

Early Activities of the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 and it soon became the spearhead of the Indian Nationalist Movement. These developments attracted the attention of the people of Kerala. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century delegates from all parts of Kerala attended the annual sessions of INC. Among the prominent persons who attended the early Congress sessions were T.M. Nair, V. Rairu Nambiar, Chettur Sankaran Nair, G. P. Pillai, Mannath Krishan Nair, C. Kunhirama Menon, C. Karunakara Menon, S.K. Nair, K.T. Narayana Menon, K.P. Achuta Menon *et al.* In 1897 Chettur Sankaran Nair got the unique honour of being elected to preside over the Amaravati session of the Congress. He is the one and only Keralite to adorn this post. However these the work of these Malayalees had helped for the growth of political consciousness among the people of Kerala. As Malabar District came under the direct administration of the British, the Congress with its preoccupation with the affairs of British India, was more active in this area. However, organised political movement began only after the turn of the 20th century.

In Malabar, the organised political activities began only in the second decade of the 20th century. Although a political conference had been held at Calicut under the Chairmanship of C. Vijayaraghava charier of Salem in 1903. Its meetings made the people of Malabar politically conscious about their rights, privilege and duties. The important step taken by the Congress committee during the period was the formation of the Malabar District Congress Committee in 1910. C. Kunhirama Menon was its first secretary Malabar District Congress Committee. It took twenty-five

years to have a congress district committee in Malabar. The main purpose of the meetings of the District Congress Committee was mostly to elect a few delegates to attend the sessions of the Indian National Congress. The Provincial Conference of District Congress was held at Calicut in 1913 was also successful to some extent in creating political consciousness among the people.

During the first World War (1914-'18) organised political activity started in the district. In 1915 when the All-India Home Rule League was started by Dr. Annie Besant it set up its branches in such places a Kozhikode, Thalasseri etc, K. P. Kesava Menon functioned as the Secretary of the Kozhikode branch. He also functioned simultaneously as the Secretary of the District Congress Committee. P.A. Kunhahammad was the Assistant Secretary of both the Home Rule League and the District Congress Committee at Kozhikode. Among the active workers of the Home Rule League at Thalasseri was V.K. Krishna Menon. Under the joint auspices of the Home Rule League and the Congress several meetings and processions were organised at Kozhikode and other centres. Political activity in Malabar reached a high pitch. In 1916 a public meeting was held here under the presidency of Collector Innes in order to consider ways and means of raising public contribution to the Governor's War Fund. K.P. Kesava Menon who had given advance notice of his intention to oppose the move was refused permission by the Collector to address the gathering in Malayalam. There upon, K.P. Kesava Menon accompanied by vast majority of the audience staged a walk-out. The incident created a profound impression among the people all over the district. This was sometimes the first public protest against British government in Malabar. Both Home Rule League and Indian National Congress worked for the freedom of the country. So, the members of both these organization were the same.

Political Conferences in Malabar

A feature of the activities carried on under Congress auspices in Malabar during this period was the conduct of District Political Conferences every year. The first such conferences were Malabar district political conference held in (4th and 5th May) 1916 at Ottappalam in Palakkad under the Presidentship of Dr. Annie Besant was an important land mark in the history of the national

movement in Malabar. In an important resolution of the conference, it exhorted the people to organise committees in the district for the attainment of self-government. It passed some resolutions requesting the government authorities to grant home rule to the Indians and to free the political prisoners. The participants were mainly educated middle class. The success of the Palakkad conference was a source of inspiration and encouragement to the leaders and the people.

The second district political conference was held at Calicut in (23rd and 24th April)1917 under the presidency of Sri. C.P. Ramaswami Iyer. The conference was attended by several delegates from different parts of Malabar, Travancore and Cochin. The conference touched on a number of problems like self-government for India, the Arms Act, Elementary education, Tenancy question, need for increased industrialization etc. The arrest of Dr. Besant, B.P. Wadia and G.S. Arundale by the middle of 1917 greatly excited the national consciousness of the people of Malabar.

Third Malabar district political conference held in (6th to 8th May) 1918 at Talasseri under the presidency of Mr. Azad Ali Khan Bahadur a Zamindar of Benganapilli passed important resolutions like Indianisation of the army, introduction of primary education, the repeal of repressive acts etc.

The fourth Malabar district political conference held at Vadakara in (5th to 6th May) 1919 under the presidency of K.P. Raman dealt with the important political developments with a special reference to the needs of Malabar. The leaders of the national movement in Malabar realized the evil effects of the caste system and untouchability. They found that it was a major obstacle to political activity. The nationalists adopted concrete programmes to fight these social evils. They firstly passed resolutions in the meetings urging the public opinion and religious organisations to eradicate the evil of untouchability. They also occasionally involved in direct action as well. For example, when the authorities of the Zamorin's college at Calicut denied admission to low caste students the nationalists organised struggles demanding admission for them. Another important step taken by the early nationalist to challenge caste discrimination was the organizing of inter-dining. The nationalists also fought against the denial of accessibility to

public spaces for untouchables. For example, the roads near to the Calicut Tali temple was closed to the polluting castes stating that their entry will turn the place polluting. Rejecting such beliefs as superstition and ungrounded the nationalists appealed to the elites to open all public roads to the lower castes. To break the existing elite conventions the nationalists' leaders like K.P. Kesava Menon, K. Madhavan Nair and Manjeri Rama Iyyer walked through the road near to the Tali temple, along with C. Krishnan and a group of men belonging to various lower castes. It encouraged common people to be daring enough to walk through the road near Tali temple and even remove the board on the road prohibiting the lower castes entry. An important consequence of the Tali Road agitation was that it inspired untouchables from other parts of Malabar to initiated similar movements.

The rich people and landlords of the district dominated the proceedings at these conferences. The resolutions passed at these conferences were not revolutionary in language, tone or contents. They were mainly appeals to the British Government for the introduction of such reforms as increased representation for the people in the legislature, expansion of local self-governing bodies, provision of better educational facilities, repeal of repressive measures like the Mappila Acts etc. The Kozhikode conference even appealed to the people to make generous contributions to the War Fund while the Vadakara conference affirmed loyalty to the British Crown. The leaders of these early Political Conferences were Moderates who believed in constitutional agitation rather than in militant action. Like their counterparts elsewhere in the country, their activities centred on what came to be known as the three Ps, viz, prayer, petition and protest.

In 28 April, 1920 the fifth Malabar district political conference was held at Manjeri under the presidentship of Kasturi Ranga Iyengar. This was the last in a series of early district political conferences held in Malabar. The preceding year had witnessed momentous political developments at the national level The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (April 13, 1919) had come as a big shock to the people of Kerala as elsewhere in the country. The incident, it may be recalled, had led to the resignation of Sir C. Sankaran Nair from the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The repressive measures adopted by the British

Government to crush the national movement had created feelings of revulsion in the minds of the people. In these circumstances, the Extremists who had come to Manjeri in large number got the upper hand in the deliberations at the conference.

The fifth conference was marked the decline of the great influence that had been exerted by Dr. Annie Besant on the political developments in Malabar. The Manjeri conference marked a change in the composition of delegates as well as in the nature of the Congress deliberations. The conference was attended by about 1309 delegates among whom were a large number of Muslim peasants. The conference represented a trial of strength between the two wings the moderates led by Dr. Annie Besant and the extremists led by K.P. Kesava Menon. The representatives of the landlords who attended the conference identified themselves with the moderates while the tenants and workers present in the conference sided with the extremists. An important resolution passed in the conference declared that India was ready for self-government and that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were unsatisfactory. Dr. Besant and her wing vehemently opposed the resolution. The resolution was passed by a huge majority. Mrs. Besant and her followers staged a walkout.

The Manjeri conference also passed resolutions demanding the introduction of tenancy reforms, the regulation of working hours in factories, prohibition of child labour, etc. In another resolution the conference conveyed its congratulations to Sir C. Sankaran Nair for having resigned his membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The conference also approved a resolution expressing solidarity with the Indian Muslims on the Khilafat issue and calling upon the people, Hindus and Muslims alike, to respond to the call of Non- Co-operation under Gandhiji's leadership in the event of the British Government not taking steps to redress Muslim grievances in this regard. The Manjeri conference revealed the rising tide of nationalism in Malabar. It broadened the mass base of the nationalist movement in Malabar. The conference clearly indicated that Malabar cared more for a national organisation and the policy it enunciated than for an individual and his or her personal opinions. So it had an important place in the history of the political struggle of Malabar. The nationalist movement in Malabar during the pre-Gandhian era was an upper caste organisation. The

early district political conferences were held under the control of elite classes. The Mappilas and the lower castes in Hindu religion were not so active in the national movement in the early days. Later, Malabar played an important role in the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movement of the early 1920's. Malabar witnessed the large-scale boycott of foreign goods, courts of law, educational institutions, etc. Many people resigned their jobs, advocates stopped their practices and students boycotted schools and colleges. With Manjeri ended the last of the District Conferences, for by the time Congressmen met at Ottappalam in 1921, the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee organised on linguistic basis had come into existence.

The Kerala Provincial Congress Committee was formed in the year, 1920 on linguistic basis. Membership in the party was thrown open to all those who were ready to pay an annual fee of four *anas*. The first conference of Kerala Provincial Congress Committee was held at Ottappalam on April 23, 1921 under the presidentship of T. Prakasan. It was the first representative gathering of Congressmen from Malabar, Travancore and Cochin. Delegates from all the five district committees attended the meeting. The tenants' conference, Khilafat conference, students' conference and farmers' conference were also held at the same spot. The conference gave its full support to the decision on non-cooperation adopted by the Indian National Congress in Kerala. The conference passed a number of resolutions urging the govt. to redress the genuine grievances of the people. In the conference at Ottappalam, resolutions asking all lawyers to suspend practice and all shop keepers not to sell foreign cloths were passed. Such requests were for first time in Malabar.

It endorsed the non-co-operation resolution of the Nagpur congress (1920) and requested the people to participate in the struggle to end the alien rule and to achieve 'swaraj'. The moderates and the Home Rule Leagues boycotted the Ottappalam Conference since they were totally opposed to the non-co-operation movement. The large-scale attendance of the delegates from all over Kerala and the smooth proceedings of the conference and above all the enthusiasm of the local people irritated the district administration and the delegates were beaten up without any provocation. But the delegates had shown considerable restraint to bear with the

persecutions of the police. The attempt of the police to provoked the Congressmen further ended in failure. Police assault on Ramunni Menon, secretary of Ottappalam Conference and Ahamad Khan, Khilafat leader from Madras led to a confrontation between the local people and the Police. But the leaders pacified the local people and requested them to be calm even on provocation. As pointed out by *The Hindu* it was an object lesson in non-violence. K Madhavan Nair wrote “after the Ottappalam Conference, there was a resurgence of Khilafat and Congress activities”. The common masses became politically conscious and there existed perfect communal amity among them. The period marked the expansion of the Khilafat and Congress activities in Malabar. This alarmed the Collector and he determined to crush the movement with large scale arrests. The police arrest of Khilafat leaders triggered off the Malabar rebellion of 1921. The tenancy movement, the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movements partially caused for the outbreak of the rebellion.

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Role of Assamese Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement

Mitalee Gogoi

Introduction

In today's India, we have seen how several women across all fields have time and again broken gender stereo types. History is proof of how women freedom fighters have given their blood and sweat to free our country from British rule and fight for the injustice that existed back then. Everyone speaks about the prominent role played by the male freedom fighter. However, without female freedom fighters achieving Independent India would remain a dream. From being considered as second citizens, being victims of domestic violence, uneducated population, practicing Sati system to transforming themselves into great freedom fighter leaders has remained unknown to a lot of people. Along with the men, the women of Assam also responded to each and every phases of the freedom movement launched by Gandhi, however woman's role has not been given due place and recognition in the construction of history. Gandhi's entry in the national movement encouraged a greater section of women to join the national movement and various constructive programme like hand spinning Tand hand weaving, removal of untouchability, raising the status of women enabled the emancipation of women. However, it is not easy for women to fight as warrior's in the male dominating society. Like, other part of the India in Assam, Women's role in national movement is notable; Assamese women like Kanaklata Barua, Nalini Bala Devi, Bhogeswari Phukanani, Tileswari Barua etc. took part in this movement. The revolutionary group of women helped their male counterparts in cutting telephone and telegraph lines, burning

Government buildings and damaging bridges to paralyze the British administration.

Objectives :

- To understand the importance of Assamese women in the freedom struggle of India.
- To explore the role played by different women groups and women movement to make India Independent.
- To create awareness among different women freedom fighter.
- To highlight their sacrifices and sufferings of Indian women.

Methodology

To write this paper, the data has mainly contained on textual approach, related books and articles, pdf files (e-reprints) downloaded from the websites. Thus, secondary sources have been used to write this paper.

Results and Discussions

Whenever the history of India's freedom struggle is written, the sacrifices made by Indian Women will surely find the most prominent place in it. It was disgraceful to call women a weaker section, it was an injustice committed to them by men. If they meant moral courage, women had it many times more than men. If she had not more inner strength, self sacrifice and tolerance than men and mankind would not survived. The consciousness of the women in the whole of India took a unique shape and Gandhi's entry in the national movement encouraged a greater section of women to join the national movement. Gandhi was of the opinion that woman's patience and antipathy to violence made them particularly fit for the Satyagraha and Non- violent movement which he had launched. Assam the eastern most state of India was noticeably drawn to the national mainstream in 1921 with the formation of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee (APCC). Gandhiji's leadership of the National Congress in 1920 and call for the Non-cooperation movement drew a large number of men and women throughout the country to the national struggle for freedom. During this period the Assamese women participated in the movement through the Assam Chatra Sanmilan (Assam Student Association) and the Assam Sahitya Sabha (Assam Literary Society) till the formation of the Assam Mahila Samiti (Assam Women Association) in 1926 which

was a provincial women association. Large number of women joined the movement by participating in meetings, organizing processions and boycotting schools, courts and offices. Under the able leadership of brave patriots like Nabin Chandra Bordoloi, Tarunram Phukan, Kamalakanta Bhattacharya and Chandra kumar Agarwalla some women mostly from the urban areas and belonging to the families of congress leaders and workers came forward to take up organizational and publicity work among the rural women. They were namely Hemanta kumari Devi Bordoloi, poetess Nalinibala Devi, Bijuli Phukan, Sumitra Bhattacharya, Kiranmayee Agarwalla, Rajabala Das etc. The promotion of spinning and weaving was one of the major constructive program of the Non-cooperation movement. In this regard the achievement of the Assamese women was remarkable. Almost all the women of Assam, irrespective of their caste creed, and status were efficient in spinning and weaving. It was due to the large-scale production of the “khadi” by the women, the boycott of foreign clothes was highly successful in Assam.

The prohibition of opium and liquor was another important item of Gandhiji’s constructive program. The women of Assam also participated in this program by picketing before the opium and liquor shops. Those people who refused to give up intoxication were socially boycotted. Dariki Dasi Baruah, an anti-opium worker of Golaghat was arrested on February 1, 1932 for taking active part in anti-opium picketing programme and was imprisoned for six months. She was in an advanced stage of pregnancy at the time of her arrest. In the jail she suffered from dysentery and finally breathed her last due to miscarriage. The authorities of the Sibsagar jail advised her to appeal for a conditional release, but she straightway refused to comply with the advice till the last hour of her life. This patriotic woman who left behind the example of strong determination, sacrifice and greatness is yet to find her rightful place amongst the martyrs at the national level.

The contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund was another important part of constructive program. Assamese women contributed both in cash and kind. Twelve ladies from the Sibsagar town donated all their valuable ornaments to the fund. Instances of parting with diamond rings were also reported. Bhanumati Talukdar, whom Gandhiji called the ‘Sorojini’ of Assam, left her

family (husband and children) to work exclusively for the congress. A few other devoted workers, like Chandraprova Saikiani of Darrang district, gave up their jobs to participate in the movement actively and effectively. They also actively participated in fund collection for the congress and in campaign against untouchability and popularization of Hindi, which was to be considered as the national language.

During the period of Civil Disobedience movement in 1930 some girl students of Assam decided to start a revolutionary organization called the 'Mukti Sangha' in the premises of Kamrup Mahila Samity (Women Association) building. They were Puspalata Das, general secretary of the students' union of the Panbazar Girls' High School, Sarala Saxena and Jyotsna Mazumdar. The girls took a pledge to fight for the liberation of the country from alien rule and signed it with their blood. Thereafter, Sukumari and Parul Moitra, daughter of Suren Moitra— the famous revolutionary from Rajshahi also joined the Mukti Sangha. When the school authorities came to know about this Puspalata Das was expelled from the school. The historic Dandi-march was launched by Gandhiji on 12th March 1930. He started his march from Sabarmati Ashram accompanied by 78 selected followers to Dandi on the sea-coast covering 200 miles on foot. There he broke the salt-law by making illegally, but openly, salt from the seawater. As Dandi was too far from Assam so it was not possible for its people to join the march physically. So they extended their moral support by organizing meetings in different places and took part in symbolic processions and violated government orders and law. Such a symbolic procession of a large number of people including several women was taken out from Kaliabor to Nowgong through a distance of 30 miles violating government orders.

Accordingly, the women of Kaliabor decided to join the celebration in the district head quarter town, Nowgong. More than 400 women proceeded towards Nowgong under the leadership of Guneswari Devi, Darbai Mech, Mohini Gohain and Kiranbala Bora. Women of the wayside villages also joined the procession. On 26th January, when the national flag was about to be hoisted in the presence of a huge crowd, the police started attacking the people. The women were beaten up and the national flag was taken away from them. In Sibsagar, a lady named Kamalabala Kakati was

arrested and sent to jail for participating in such a procession. The removal of untouchability was another primary objective of the freedom movement. Untouchability was not a major problem in the province of Assam.

In Jorhat, Giribala Devi an orthodox Brahmin lady opened their private family temple to the Harijans in the presence of Gandhiji. Swarnalata Devi, another women from Jorhat was known as “Kasturba (name of Gandhiji’s wife) of Assam” for her devotion to the work of Harijan welfare. Realizing the increasing participation of women in the freedom movement, the congress working committee (CWC) decided in April 1940 to open a women’s wing of the congress at the national and the provincial level. As a result, the women’s wing in Assam was opened in September 1940 with Pushpalata and Amolprova as joint secretaries. It was an important step to drawing more women to the national movement. The year 1942 was to be a momentous year for the people of Assam as it was to be for other parts of the country. Quit India movement was the third and the last struggle where Gandhiji adopted the slogan ‘Do or Die’. The women of Assam understood Gandhiji’s concept of ‘Do or Die’ in their own way and participated in all types of activities during the Quit India movement. The Darrang District Congress Committee of Assam decided to hoist the national flag on the police stations and the court buildings, which were the symbols of British authority. Accordingly, the plan was drawn under the leadership of Pushpalata Das to hoist the national flag on 20th September in Gohpur, Dhekiajuli, Bihali and Sootea. It was decided to come out in processions consisting of men and women from nearby villages and to proceed for flag hoisting. The police opened fire on the peaceful processionists at Gohpur and Dhekiajuli. Kanaklata Barua, Khahuli Devi and Kamuli Devi died of bullet injuries on the spot and many others were badly injured.

In the Sibsagar district, Aikan Bhuyan of Mudoijan near Teok took the lead in setting fire to the Amguri High School. She conducted several secret meetings where she reportedly instigated a number of congress youths to damage government properties. The local congress entrusted the task of carrying top secret messages from one place to another to Sudhalata Dutta and Reboti Lahan, who often had to traverse long distances on foot to carry out their

duty. Sudhalata Dutta once even covered a distance of 142 kilometer on foot with a child on her lap. During one such errand Reboti Lahon developed pneumonia and breathed her last while walking from Boloma to Ghiladhari.³⁰ Braving all hazards, the girls in the course of their visits to various places with secret messages also propagated the idea of underground movement, even in the remotest areas of Assam. In Nowgong district Jaymati Saikia cooperated with the revolutionary group to burn the Bebejia road bridge on 25 / 26 August 1942. In that district, girls like Pitrani Saikia and Dagati Bora worked for the security of the underground male workers. Brajnath Sarma's wives, Gunawati Devi and Rakshada Devi helped their husband and his underground party workers to carry on their sabotage activities by providing them with food and shelter. Ratnabala Phukan, a female member of the death squad, not only took part in the destruction of bridge and the burning down of government buildings but also allowed her house to be used as a center of underground activities.

Bhogeswari Phukanani was an active organiser of the freedom movement in Nagoan. On September 18, 1942, She was shot by the British while marching forward with the national flag at Brahmapur. Padumi Gogoi, Thunuki Das, Kon Chutiani and Golapi Chutiani were as active participation in the Quit India Movement from Dhekiajuli. They were wounded in the lathi attack near Dhekiajuli police station on September 20, 1942.

The Indian freedom struggle, the Quit India movement was a success for the Indian freedom fighters. The independence of India was the culmination of years of courage, bravery, hard work and millions of lives that were sacrificed to get freedom for the nation. The freedom fighters were those who selflessly sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the country. They are considered the epitome of patriotic people and the pillars behind the freedom movement. Not only they inspired and motivated others to fight against injustice but also made a way to the rise of India as an independent nation.

Conclusion

In the light of the above discussion, it can be concluded that our nation needs to remember that our freedom struggle would not quite be the same without same. However, as bright stars shone in

the freedom struggle, there were also many nameless women who have in their own way contributed to the movement. Countless women also contributed to the cause of freedom by bearing patiently the hardship. This struggle of the women headed by women's organization was also the struggle for emancipation. Providing them a public space, it gives women a scope to define a self- image, in terms of an individual and separate identity rather than the traditional identity of being a daughter, wife and mother.

In analyzing the role of women in the Independence movement, it thus become clear that the perception of the Assamese women, her strength and subsequent contribution to the movement is not monochromatic.

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India's Struggle for Independence: Women Against the British and Patriarchy

Monsoon Rupam

Introduction

In the history of anti-colonial movements all over the world, the struggle of India for attaining independence from the British Raj is noteworthy. The most remarkable element of this fight for independence is that of the participation of women in large numbers which used to be an alien sight because of the inferior position and status of Indian women who would be confined to the domestic realm because of patriarchy. Women's participation in the freedom struggle was moderate until the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi whose leadership fueled the confidence of Indian women to come out of their houses and fight against the British Raj for the sake of their country. However, the patriarchal structure of the Indian society was so rigid back then that the intensity of women participating in the freedom struggle was hindered to certain extent. The women themselves were skeptical about participating in the freedom struggle as they were burdened with domestic responsibilities as well as self doubt about their capabilities. Moreover, the menfolk too tried to obstruct their participation in the freedom struggle fearing that such an activity would erode the existing patriarchal power structure where the men had an upper hand over the women. But Gandhi tried to invoke nationalist consciousness among the women and appealed them to fight against the brutalities of the British by moving ahead together with the Indian men.

Construction of the term women

Mahatma Gandhi's emergence in the Indian political scenario during the early part of the 20th century brought momentum to women participation in the struggle against the British. The stereotypical characteristics of women like that of being submissive, docile, nurturing, patient, non-violent was considered by Gandhi to be helpful to carry on the political campaigns and realized the significance of women in the nationalist movement. To convince and make Indian women realize about their capabilities in the freedom struggle, Gandhi constructed the notion of "New Women" where the 'inherent feminine' attributes will go in line with his political campaigns against the British. Gandhiji's strategy to fight with the British was applying the concept of passive resistance, based upon non-violence, capacity to bear the sufferings, tolerance, which he believed to be abundant in Indian women due to their socialization.

But this construct of "New Women" had to be upgraded to sync with the changing political scenario. Gandhi felt the need to encourage women to come out in the public sphere and this renewed construct bore qualities like strong willfulness, fortitude and steadfastness contrasting the earlier notion of women. But it can be analysed that although women's participation in the freedom struggle and the notion of "New Women" liberated women yet this liberation was limited and conditional upon service to nation. Patriarchal roots of oppression within the family structure remained unchallenged.

The deification of mother as Goddess was strategised by the Nationalist leaders to increase the participation of women by evoking nationalism in them and conveyed the idea to the British that India is a strong civilization. Gandhi brought in the idea of motherhood to be an ideal role of women considering motherhood to develop peace, sacrificial tendency and non-violence among women and contended that India needed these inherent qualities of women to fight against the British in a non-violent way. India was identified by the Nationalist leaders as 'Bharat Mata' serving a dual purpose – the Indians were the children of the country who had to protect the honour of their mother from the enemy, that is, the

British and the symbolic representation of women as mother further motivated women to participate in the freedom struggle.

Indian Women Against British

The women of the country got themselves involved in various nationalist activities, both inside and outside the domestic sphere. Inside their homes, they spun the charkha and wove khadi. They held classes to educate other women and to make them aware of the nationalist propaganda. Nationalist literature in the form of art, poem, articles were promoted to raise nationalist sentiments. Nursing care and preparations for shelter was made by the women for the nationalist leaders to protect them from British atrocities. Outside the home, women would organize themselves in Prabhatferis where they would walk to the nearby local temple and sing songs to arouse nationalism and patriotic feelings in the hearts of people. Women very efficiently took up all nationalist activities and promoted nationalist propaganda when the nationalist leaders were detained by the British.

To support the move of emancipating Indian women, many influential women joined the movement under Gandhi. Annie Besant was an eminent woman who bravely fought against the custom of child marriage, purdah pratha and raised her voice against subjugation of women under the men. She argued that India could only make progress when the women of the country sees the face of development. She was the first elected woman President of the Indian National Congress and she made use of her official position to work for the rights of the women. Sarojini Naidu was another eminent woman who was a renowned poetess at that time who tried her best to spread the message of nationalism through her poems and speech. She did not limit her efforts to literature alone but even fought to bring political reforms and tried to eradicate age-old customs like child marriage and purdah. Her constant fight for the development of Indian women made her stand as the President of the National Congress which gave her even a bigger platform to bring change for the womenfolk. Sarojini Naidu went to England in 1919 as a representative of the Home Rule League and at Kingsley Hall in London, she delivered a speech regarding the Jallianwala Bagh massacre that killed hundreds of unarmed Indian protestors. This tragic incident was one of the driving factor that instilled the

wrath of the nationalist leaders against the British bringing Indian struggle much more closer to freedom from the violent British. During this time period itself spanning to 1924, India witnessed two more movements under the nationalist leaders which are the Khilafat movement and the Non-cooperation Movement through non-violence to address the injustices of the British government. Gandhi contended that Non-cooperation Movement would not reach its successful height in the absence of the women. This movement adopted the strategy of boycotting foreign goods, institutes and adopt Swadeshi goods and institutions. The women were encouraged to join the Indian National Congress and to participate in the movement to attain Swarajya. Women played an influential role in the Swadeshi Movement. They were given the responsibility of boycotting foreign goods, picketing foreign cloth shops and liquor. Women would sit in front of the foreign shops and did not let customers get in. They would even lie down in front of the shops to stop customers from making any purchase. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, women took active part in Satyagraha and held meetings and demonstrations at regular intervals as a part of nationalist program. Women leaders would deliver speech to the procession mates to make them aware of the atrocities the British had meted out to the Indians and motivated them to fight together as a country against them. Those women who did not take active part in the movement passively participated by spreading the message of Swadeshi and spun Khadi to give meaning to the movement. Women fought against the British fiercely which is evident when they without any fear observed a total strike on the day when Prince Charles arrived at Calcutta. This move of the women infuriated the British and the women participating in the strike were thrown behind bars. Opposing the Simon Commission also saw the active participation of women when in 1927, the British constituted the Simon Commission under Sir John Simon to enquire into the working of the India Act of 1919 and suggest further reforms. Annie Besant held a meeting at Malabar with many women where it was argued that the Commission has to be boycotted because it was a refutation of India's right to self determination.

Meanwhile, in the year 1920, The Peasant Struggle that took place in Awadh was another instance of active participation of women. In Awadh, Taluqdars were the loyal supporters of the

British who raised war loans against the peasantry to bring benefit to the British. This made the peasants of Awadh furious and they prepared to get compensation for the grievances under their leader Baba Ram Chandra. The British arrested him in Pratapgarh jail and to protest against the arrest of their leader, near about 40,000 peasants forced the British government to release him. This uprising saw active participation of women when they constrained the police force by pelting stones on them when they approached near the peasant who took up activities like destroying the crops of the Taluqdars in different estates. In the year 1925, a woman named Jai Kumari hosted an all woman conference named as 'Kisan Devi ki Sabha' where emphasizing the issues of women, a few resolutions were passed.

- a) Panchayat should rear a cow in every village so that milk is available for small children.
- b) The wife should get her right after the death of the husband after the authenticity of the marriage being proved. If the wife isn't present, rights should be transferred to the son or daughter.
- c) Meetings would be held in every villages at certain intervals to meet with the demands of the peasant women or the Kisanin.
- d) One anna per woman will be contributed for women panchayats in every village.
- e) Laws will be constituted by the Government to redress their grievances.

Although these resolutions had no political base yet it reflect the issues and concerns of women at that time that revolved around their children, property rights, social rights, legal rights etc. The Kisanin Panchayat made use of traditional ceremonies to mobilize and educate women. But during the late 1930s, the Kisanin Sabha at many places was not supported by the right wing leaders of the Indian National Congress which was why Congress didn't allow peasant membership and disregarded their right to vote in the election process. When the women of the Sabha found their names to be missing from the voter's list of the organization they protested in front of the District Congress Committee Office.

However, it is to be noted that before the Kisanin Sabha upheaval, the 1930s saw another event with active participation of

women during the Salt March, also known as Dandi March which was a mass civil disobedience movement, women played a significant role. The British government imposed salt tax and salt being an important home based ingredient united the women of the country who marched to the sea depots from Sabarmati Ashram on 12th March, 1930 till Dandi, a coastal Village in Gujarat to manufacture salt illegally from the seawater. Many women were caught and were jailed.

The political participation of women in the Quit India Movement in 1942 added effectiveness to the nationalist movement. Gandhi's call for Quit India Movement with the spirit of Do or Die made the British imprison him with all other leaders. In the absence of leaders and an organized structure, the women came out to the streets protesting by raising slogans, holding meetings, demonstrations and even directly participated in extremist activities like involving in dealing with explosives. Women like Usha Mehta from Gujarat, Sucheta Kripalini from Punjab, Kanaklata Barua, Nalini Bala Devi from Assam took active part in the movement in different regions of the country with the spirit of achieving freedom from colonial rule.

The women not only participated in the major events against the British but also worked simultaneously in bringing social change in the country and elevate the status of women in the society fighting patriarchal power structure. The fight to achieve voting rights for Indian women was made by Annie Besant. Unfortunately, on the ground of social incapability of women the British didn't grant voting rights to the women. This decision was vehemently opposed by the women and under the umbrella of women organizations like Women Indian Association, Mahila Sewa Sabha, Women's Home Rule League the women of the country joined hands together fought for their voting rights. As a consequence of the protest, the British government was bound to pass this issue to the State Legislative Council. Another revolutionary move taken by the Indian women to bring social change was their fight to eradicate child marriage from the society. The women organized a campaign to pass the Child Marriage Constraint Act which came to be known as the Sarda Act. The women not only protested against this evil but also explained to the masses how this custom affect the health of the girls. The women

activists even emphasized on the importance of education opportunities of the girls. To instrumentalize these, the Women Indian Association supported various legislations to penalize child marriage in India. This move taken by the women reflected the important role played by the Indian women in the freedom struggle that not only fulfilled nationalist propaganda to win over the British but also placed India at the threshold of modernity. India witnessed the essence of liberal feminism during the nationalist movement when women who were always portrayed as signifiers of Indianness were beginning to be looked as neutral citizens of the country and this was possible through the efforts of the 'Women's Charter' issued by the women activists of the country and passed by the Indian National Congress, Theosophical Society and the Indian National Social Reform Conference in December, 1927. The Charter demanded equal pay for equal work, equal standards of morality, equal rights to divorce, maternity benefits for factory women constructing the idea that women should get all the benefits as men as citizens of the country. This liberal feminist construct demanded universal adult suffrage when they not only asked for voting rights to women but also raised voice against communalism propagated by the British. The women realized that representation of women on communal lines would be challenging to address the needs of women of all communities. The women portrayed sisterhood when they worked altogether irrespective of their communal identity and offered the idea to the country that modern Indian women are the model citizens.

Conclusion

Women all over the country contributed greatly in achieving freedom from British. In a patriarchal society, it was not easy for women to challenge the unequal power structure and come out together with men to fight against the British and the prevailing patriarchal ideologies of the Indians. But due to the efforts of nationalist leaders and a few brave women, the womenfolk of the country could raise voice for themselves and the country. The nationalist movement not only led India to achieve freedom from colonial power but also emancipated women.

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Role of Tribal Communities in Indian Independence

Munmi Haloi

Introduction

The world's largest tribal population is found in India and Africa. These starting figure show that more than 80 million tribal people who belong to 533 district tribes make up over 10% of Indian's total population. The tribes of India are deeply rooted in the natural world, and they live in some of the most pure and beautiful landscapes in the world. They are very basic, frequently inquisitive individuals who have mostly been untouched by modern society. They have maintained their rituals and traditions. India is a one-of-a-kind country with over 700 tribal communities. Its greatest strength is its tremendous cultural diversity. Through their wonderful art and craft, indigenous people have enriched the country's cultural legacy. Recognizing the critical role that tribal communities play in nation-building, our constitution includes special provisions for the preservation of tribal cultural and the development of scheduled tribes. Tribal people are seen as being those who live in basic communities with members who are of the same ethnic group, speak a same dialect, and have a close bond with their surroundings. For a considerable portion of our history, they coexisted peacefully with the mainland Hindu dynasties. Some tribal members had a religious connection to the settlements; others interacted with them by trading forest products; and still others served in the king's army.

The British saw India as a colony and sought to gain as much as they could from it by using its resources to build their own

personal fortunes. It was only natural for the British to meddle in tribal matters because tribal regions are among those that are most naturally endowed in terms of mineral resources, flora, and fauna. For instance, the British needed wood for railway tracks, coal for running trains and ships, and control over the forests resources so they could make money and enjoy killing animals. As a result, they placed restrictions on the tribe's ability to move around in the forest, particularly in the forested areas, and they brought in foreigners to encourage commercial agricultural activities. Additionally, Christian Missionaries actions posed a risk to regional traditions and identities. A variety of initiatives were started by the tribal leaders and people in response to this exploitation of outside intervention as well as other social, cultural, and political challenges like the extinction of one's own culture; some of these movements are crucial components of the Indian independence movement.

Though with a tremendous change in cultural modes, it has much common with the other societies prevailing in the world and country. The freedom of India is said to be the outcome of the popular Indian leaders, but very few of the people know that many tribal heroes and heroines in the different states of India contributed to the freedom of India from the British rule. The history of the freedom struggle of India and the practical freedom of India from the British cannot be complete until the contribution of the tribal heroes of India is traced out and known to the people of India at large. Still now tribal heroes remain unknown and unpopular their contribution in organizing the tribal people of the nation for an effective participation in the freedom struggle cannot be un-avoided. They could not be history of the nation because of being different from the masses, but they will find room in the heart of mother Indian freedom there lies their sacrifice.

A few of the movements are worth mentioning here

The Santhal Insurrection (1855-1857): A tribe known as Santhals is mainly found in Bihar. They are primarily farmers. The Santhal revolt of 1855-1857 is credited with starting the first peasant movement in India. The founding of the permanent land settlement in 1793 is mentioned is this uprising. The Santhals had been cultivating these grounds for centuries until the British began their settlement pattern, taking them away. The British government's land was purchased at auction by the zamindars, bought it and

donated it to the peasants, who used it for farming. The ordinary peasants were oppressed by the zamindars and moneylenders, as well as by groups of Europeans and government officials, who also raised the land tax. The Santhals were so oppressed that they made the decision to rebel against the traders, moneylenders, and zamindars. In the beginning, in Bihar the Santhals offered little resistance. At the same location where there was the fiercest battle for property and the highest rents, they even went beyond their bounds of retreat and migrated towards the borders of the Ganga plains. The Santhals could not stand this. They turned to rebellion

Munda Uprising (1897-1900 AD): Even though there were other uprisings in between, such as the Kherwar uprising, the Munda uprising on the Chotanagpur plateau was extremely comparable to the Santhal uprising in terms of scope. Birsa Munda was in charge of this uprising, which was directed not only against the British colonial government's continued employment of outsiders to subjugate the native tribes but also against the operations of Christian missionaries who encouraged conversion to their religion there. Although Birsa Munda was imprisoned by the British, it began as a socio-religious protest. After his release, Birsa Munda organised an armed uprising against British oppression and transformed it into a political and military revolution. The movement's main objective was to create self-rule. Despite Birsa Munda's passing in 1900, the movement persisted and is recognised as the forerunner of the current Jharkhand agitation.

Tana Bhagat movement (1914-1919 AD): Jatra Bhagat led the Tana Bhagat movement alongside other Oraon tribes people. The movement, which largely opposed British taxes, arguably started India's first Satyagraha (civil disobedience) movement against the British. The protests were against the actions of the British, Christian missionaries, and other strangers who had been hired by them as landlords. The embrace of monotheism also encouraged internal changes among the tribal people, who gave up drinking alcohol, eating meat, and participating in tribal dancing. Jatra Bhagat connected the Bhakti cult to the national cause and introduced it through this.

Other Revolts: In the Andhra region of the Madras Presidency from 1922 to 1924, there was a Rampa Rebellion headed by Alluri

Sitarama Raju British restrictions on the freedom of movement of tribes in woods, which prevented them from engaging in their customary shifting farming known as Podu. Rani Gaidinliu, a 16 years old from Nagaland who led the civil disobedience movement of Mahatma Gandhi in her area, led another key tribal Indian independence struggle. She advised people not to work for the British government or pay taxes to them. However, she was apprehended in 1932 and sentenced to life in jail. She received the title of “Rani” from Jawaharlal Nehru in 1937.

Role of Famous Indian Tribal Leaders in Independence

Tilka Manjhi: Indian liberation warrior Tilka Manjhi was also first Adivasi leader from the paharia (Hill peoples) community. About 70 years before Mangal Pandey, in 1784, he resisted the British. In order to combat the British exploitation and resource grabbing, he organised the Adivasis into an armed militia. Augustus Cleveland, a manager for the East India Company, was attacked by Tilka Manjilka. He was fatally injured by Tilka. The British encircled the Tilapore forest where Tilka operated as a result of this incident. He was apprehended in 1984. He was hauled to the collector’s home in Bhagalpur, Bihar, while being tied to the back of a horse. He was hanged from a banyan tree with his torn body.

Govind Guru: The catastrophic famine of 1899-1900 disproportionately afflicted tribes. A social reform movement that aimed to better the conditions of the oppressed sprang from this tragedy. Govind Guru founded the Bhagat Movement to alleviate the problems the Bhils were having. Guru and his followers landed at Mangarh in 1913. The united troops of the British and princely nations slaughtered Guru and over a thousand other persons in an incident that become known as the “Magadh Massacre” because they believed the leader and his soldiers had plans to topple the princely realms.

Birsa Munda: Birsa Munda was a legendary tribal leader from the tribal area of Chotanagpur. Even though he died at an early age of 25, he was revered as a freedom fighter, spiritual leader, and folk hero. He advocated for the importance of cultural heritage and assisted people in realising the worth of land and the rights they hold in relation to it.

Telanga Kharia: The local tribes people in the Chota Nagpur region were motivated to rebel against British cruelty and injustice by Telanga Kharia, a member of the Kharia tribes. He organised an army of roughly 1500 trained troops for guerrilla warfare against the colonial authorities and established 13 jury panchayats.

Jatra Bhagat: He was also known as Jatra Oraon, of the Gumla District (his supporters were known as “Tana Bhagats”) founded the Oraon tribals, one of the five largest tribes in South Asia, to struggle against the tyranny being carried out by the local zamindars and government. In 1921, the tribe firmly backed the Non-Cooperation Movement. As a result of their advocacy, “The Bhagat Agricultural Lands Restoration Act” was passed for the tribal people who were land dispossessed in then-Bihar.

Rajmohini Devi: The tribal people of Surguja and the surrounding areas were affected by Rajmohini Devi of the Manjhi tribe (of the Gond group). She had about 80,000 supporters when she started the Bapu Dharma Sabha Adivasi Seva Mandal in 1960. She was motivated by the ideals of Gandhi. She strove to free women, educated the indigenous people, and ran campaigns against drinking and superstition.

Narayan Singh: The 1857 Sepoy Mutiny affected both the conduct of Indian Army soldiers and the tribal hinterland. One example of this is the tribal landowner Narayan Singh, whose ancestors belonged to the Sarangarh-based Gond tribe. At August 1856, he helped the farmers by distributing grain that a trader had been hoarding. The British overlords executed him publicly for this act of kindness on December 10, 1857, at Rsiapur.

Janjatiya Gaurav Divas: The Indian government has designated November 15 as Jannjatiya Gaurav Divas in honour of valiant tribal independence fighters. In 2021, the declaration was made. Indian’s all over the nation were inspired by tribal revolutions against British colonial rule in various parts of the country that were related to national independence struggle. These tribal heroes, however, are well known to the general public. The government has designated November 15 as Janjatiya Gaurav Divas in order to raise awareness of their contributions to the nation among future generations. It is Birsa Munda’s anniversary; indigenous groups all around the nation regard him as Bhagwan. Birsa Munda led the struggle against

British oppression and heroically fought against the nation's exploitation by the British colonial system, calling for "Ulgulan" (Revolution). The statement honours tribal tribes illustrious past and rich cultural heritage. Every year, the day will be observed in honour of the tribal people's efforts to preserve their cultural heritage and promote the noble, hospitable, and patriotic Indian ideals.

Conclusion

India is the home of several known and unidentified tribes, each with distinct cultural characteristics, will always remember the contributions made by the diverse tribes and the heroes who belonged to them. If periodic tribal uprisings against the British had not occurred, India might not have been free from the British rule and the British might not have sensed the force and unity of India. Indeed, Indian's independence came about as a consequence of the combined efforts of its male and female residents as well as urban and rural, contemporary and primitive, literate and illiterate, urban and rural, and raiders and rebels. Behind Indian's official declaration of its final independence on August 15, 1947.

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Role of Karma Yogis in Freedom Struggle from Northeast India

**N. Aphaba Singh
Dr. Raksha Rawat**

Introduction

Northeast India, commonly known as the "Seven Sisters," is a region in India's east that includes seven states: Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Tripura. Northeast India's early history is distinguished by the existence of several tribal people with distinct cultures and customs. Northeast India was colonised by the British in the nineteenth century. The British East India Company rapidly expanded its power in the region, and by the mid-nineteenth century, the majority of Northeast India had been annexed to British India. Following India's independence from British rule in 1947, the status of Northeast India became a knotty matter. Various movements for autonomy, self-determination, and ethnic rights emerged in the region. Many people, including Karma Yogis, played critical roles in fighting for independence and exercising their rights throughout this time period. Karma Yoga is a spiritual system that emphasises self-sacrificing action and service to others, and many who followed this path made numerous contributions to the Northeast India freedom fight. The role of Karma Yogis in the freedom struggle from Northeast India was multifaceted and impactful. Here are some key aspects:

Social Reform and Empowerment: Karma Yogis in Northeast India advocated for social reform and the empowerment of marginalised groups. They organised awareness campaigns,

advocated for oppressed people's rights, and supported local communities to fight for their rights.

Education and Awareness: The value of education and knowledge in mobilising people for the freedom struggle was recognised by the Karma Yogis. They also held workshops, seminars, and other educational events to spread awareness of the independence cause and urge people to join the fight.

Non-violent Resistance: Karma Yogis pushed for nonviolent resistance to British colonial control based on the ideals of Karma Yoga, which promote nonviolence and unselfish behaviour. They organised peaceful marches, strikes, and satyagrahas (nonviolent resistance) to seek freedom and affirm Northeast India's rights. They encouraged people to oppose injustice peacefully and worked to raise awareness about the importance of nonviolence in obtaining freedom.

Leadership and Mobilization: Karma Yogis organised and led a number of movements, including the Assam Tea Tribes Movement, the Naga National Movement, and the Mizo National Movement. They inspired and motivated people to join the fight for liberty and actively participate in it.

Contributions of the Brave Karma Yogis from Northeast India in the Freedom Struggle

The Northeast region of India, comprising states like Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Tripura, and Sikkim, has a rich history of contribution to the freedom struggle of India against British colonial rule. The brave nationalists from Northeast India played a significant role in the fight for independence, displaying great courage, determination, and sacrifice. Some of their contributions include:

Rani Gaidinliu: Known as the "Rani of Nagas," Rani Gaidinliu was a prominent freedom fighter from Manipur. She joined the fight against British rule at a young age and was a staunch advocate for Naga self-rule and independence. Rani Gaidinliu played a key role in leading her tribe, the Zeliangrong Nagas. She led a widespread anti-tax campaign among the Naga tribes, encouraging them to boycott the payment of taxes to the British authorities. She also worked towards reviving and preserving the traditional Naga

culture and way of life, which had been suppressed by British colonial policies. She was a strong advocate for women's empowerment and gender equality. She actively encouraged women to participate in the freedom struggle and fought against social evils like child marriage and dowry system. She also advocated for women's education and worked towards improving the status of women in Naga society.

Tirot Sing: Tirot Sing, also known as U Tirot Sing, was a Khasi leader from Meghalaya who fiercely fought against the British. He was the chief of the Khasi tribe and led his people in a revolt against the British. He is remembered as a valiant freedom fighter that stood up for the rights of his people and fought against British oppression. He led his Khasi tribe in resisting British colonial rule in the Khasi Hills region. He organized and mobilized his people to stand up against the oppressive policies and exploitative practices of the British administration, including forced labor, taxes, and land alienation. He organized and led his tribe in armed resistance against the British authorities, using hit-and-run tactics and strategic ambushes to challenge the British dominance in the region.

Bir Tikendrajit Singh: Bir Tikendrajit Singh was a Manipuri prince and one of the key leaders of the Anglo-Manipuri War of 1891 against the British. He led a valiant resistance against the British forces. His sacrifice is remembered as a significant event in the history of Manipur's struggle for independence. He was the commander-in-chief of the Manipur army, and he led the resistance against the British East India Company's invasion of Manipur. However, Manipur eventually fell to the British, and Bir Tikendrajit Singh was arrested and later executed by the British for his role in the war. He also worked towards strengthening the defence capabilities of Manipur to protect it from foreign invasions. He is revered as a national hero in Manipur, and his legacy continues to inspire people to fight for justice, freedom, equality and his bravery in the face of adversity make him an iconic figure in the history of India's freedom struggle.

Kushal Konwar: Kushal Konwar was a freedom fighter from Assam who played a crucial role in mobilizing the people of Assam against British rule. He was actively involved in the Quit India Movement in 1942 and was arrested by the British authorities. He

actively participated in the Quit India Movement, which was a nation-wide civil disobedience movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1942, demanding the immediate end of British rule in India. He was a young student at the time and took part in various protests, rallies, and demonstrations as part of the movement, showing her strong resolve to fight for India's independence.

T. Sakhrie: T. Sakhrie was a prominent Naga leader and freedom fighter who actively fought against British rule from Nagaland of Northeast India. He was one of the founding members of the Naga National Council (NNC) in 1946, which demanded the independence of Nagaland from British India. He played a crucial role in organizing the Naga people and advocating for their rights and self-rule. He made significant contributions to the Indian freedom struggle movement. He was a prominent leader of the Naga National Movement, which aimed to assert the rights and autonomy of the Naga people against British colonial rule and later against the Indian government after India gained independence in 1947.

These are just a few examples of the brave Karma Yogis and nationalists from Northeast India who contributed to the freedom struggle against British colonial rule. Their unwavering courage, sacrifice, and determination continue to inspire generations and are remembered as a significant part of India's struggle for independence.

Literature and Freedom Movement from Northeast India

The literature of Northeast India has played a crucial role in the freedom movement against British colonial rule. It has been a powerful medium for expressing the aspirations, grievances, and resistance of the people of the region, and has contributed to the social, cultural, and political awakening of the North-eastern communities during the freedom struggle. Here are some notable contributions of literature from Northeast India to the freedom movement:

- 1. Assam Sahitya Sabha:** The Assam Sahitya Sabha, established in 1917, is one of the oldest literary organizations in Northeast India. It played a significant role in promoting Assamese literature and language and was actively involved in the freedom movement. Many of its members were vocal critics of

British rule and used literature as a means to raise awareness about the political and social issues of the time. Writers like Lakshminath Bezbaroa, Bishnu Prasad Rabha, and Hiren Bhattacharya, among others, contributed to Assamese literature with their patriotic writings and inspired people to join the freedom struggle.

2. **Bishnu Prasad Rabha:** Bishnu Prasad Rabha was a renowned literary figure from Assam, India, who actively participated in the Free India Movement during the Indian independence struggle. He made significant contributions through his literary works, which reflected the socio-political and cultural issues of his time and inspired people to fight against British colonial rule. Some of his notable literary works during the Free India Movement include: "Ban Theatre (1936)", "Sarvadharm Samanway (1942)", "Asomor Jatiya Sangeet (1944)", and "Moi Kala BhangaKori (1945), Bihute Othoba Anyanya Rachanar Samajshastra (1950), as so on Bishnu Prasad Rabha's literary works during the Free India Movement were powerful tools of expression that advocated for social, cultural, and political changes and inspired people to fight for India's independence from British colonial rule.
3. **Lakshminath Bezbaroa:** Lakshminath Bezbaroa, also known as Sahityarathi (chariot of literature), was a prominent literary figure from Assam, India, who made significant contributions to literature during the Free India Movement or the Indian independence struggle. He used his writings to inspire and mobilize people to fight against British colonial rule. Some of his notable literary works during the Free India Movement include: "Burhi Aair Sadhu" (The Old Monk, 1909)", "Manomoti (1909)", "Mrityunjoy (Conqueror of Death, 1911)", "Monomohan (1911)", "Adhale-Sakale (Before and After, 1946)", and some other literary work literary works during the Free India Movement were influential in shaping the public opinion, raising awareness about social issues, and inspiring people to fight for India's independence from British colonial rule.
4. **TemsulaAo:** Temsula Ao is a contemporary Indian writer from Nagaland, a north-eastern state of India. She has made

significant contributions to literature, particularly in highlighting the socio-political issues faced by the Naga people during and after the Free India Movement or the Indian independence struggle. Her literary works reflect the struggles, aspirations, and cultural identity of the Naga community. Some of her notable literary works during the Free India Movement include: "Laburnum for My Head (1993)", "These Hills Called Home: Stories from a War Zone (2006)", "The Old Brahmaputra and Other Tales (2013)", "Songs that Remind Me of Home: A Collection of Short Stories (2019)", and some other his work during the Free India Movement provide a unique perspective on the challenges and aspirations of the Naga community.

5. **Lamabam Kamal Singh:** Lamabam Kamal Singh was a prominent literary figure from Manipur, a north-eastern state of India, who contributed to literature during the Free India Movement or the Indian independence struggle. He used his writings to raise awareness about the socio-political issues faced by Manipur and the need for self-governance and independence from British colonial rule. Some of his notable literary works during the Free India Movement include: "Matangi Manipur (The Motherland Manipur, 1936)", "EinaKengeNungsi (The Cry of a Dying River, 1955)", "Meitei Lonu (The Meitei Race, 1965)", "MatamGiWari" (The Story of the Motherland, 1969)", and other works done by Lamabam Kamal Singh's literary works during the Free India Movement were instrumental in raising awareness about the socio-political issues faced by Manipur and advocating for its independence from British colonial rule.

These are just a few examples of the rich literary contributions from Northeast India to the freedom movement against British colonial rule. The literature of the region has served as.

Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement

Women in Northeast India played a significant role in the Indian freedom struggle, contributing in various ways to the fight against British colonial rule. Here are some key roles played by women in Northeast India in the struggle for Indian independence:

Political Participation: Women actively participated in the political movements and organizations that emerged during the freedom struggle. They joined and supported political parties such as the Indian National Congress (INC) and other nationalist groups, and took part in protests, demonstrations, and public meetings.

Underground Movements: Children and youth in Northeast India also joined underground movements that aimed to resist British rule. They took part in armed resistance movements, such as the Naga insurgency and the Mizo National Front (MNF) uprising, among others. Many young people joined the ranks of freedom fighters and actively participated in armed struggles against the British authorities.

Civil Disobedience and Non-Cooperation: Women in Northeast India participated in civil disobedience and non-cooperation movements against British rule. They joined in boycotts of British goods, picketed liquor shops, and participated in protests and demonstrations. Women from Manipur, such as Irawat Laxmi Devi, were known for their active involvement in the civil disobedience movement and for leading protests against British policies.

Social and Cultural Movements: Women in Northeast India played a crucial role in social and cultural movements that aimed to promote the rights and welfare of their communities. They were involved in campaigns against social evils such as child marriage, dowry, and caste discrimination.

Publications and Media: Women in Northeast India used publications and media to raise awareness about the need for freedom from British rule. They wrote articles, poems, and essays that were published in newspapers, magazines, and other publications. Many women intellectuals and writers, such as Renuka Devi Barkataki from Assam, used their literary skills to inspire and mobilize others for the cause of independence.

Support to Nationalist Movements: Women in Northeast India extended their support to the broader nationalist movements in India. They participated in fundraising campaigns, contributed to the welfare of freedom fighters, and provided support in various other ways. Women from Nagaland, Manipur, and other states in

Northeast India were known for their active involvement in supporting the nationalist cause.

Role in Revolts and Uprisings: Women in Northeast India actively participated in armed revolts and uprisings against the British authorities. They supported and fought alongside their male counterparts in movements such as the Naga resistance led by Rani Gaidinliu and the Mizo National Front (MNF) insurgency, among others.

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Contributions of Mahatma Gandhi: A Philosophical Study

Naina Rani Basumatary

Introduction

Gandhian philosophy is still relevant and important because of many certain reason/factors due to the unavoidable circumstances. He frequently mentioned the importance and significance of philosophical statement- 'I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills and rivers' (Bose). He advocated for Rama Rajya where the princes and pauper's interest were protected on the contrary to communist principle who advocated Praja Raj. Rama Rajya is a system where the society is run by the principle of Lord Rama. It is a term popularized by Mahatma Gandhi. Rama Rajya means Divine Raj, Kingdom of God, sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. Rama Rajya of Gandhi's dream ensures equal rights to prince and poor man. From these above statements/sentences we came to know that Gandhian views are totally focused on the society and religion on the basic foundation of truth and non-violence so that his philosophy or thought are still significant and important in the modern times even in the complex society within the first half of the 21s century. He further mentioned that there is no question of failure when non-violence is being practiced. Due to this reason most of the social activists/freedom fighters practiced his ideology for the cause of their aim and objective such as, Vinoba Bhave, Jayaprakash Narayan, Martin Luther King Jr., Nelson Mandela, Aung San Suu Kye etc. From all these perspectives we know that Gandhian philosophy is still relevant and important in the

minds and hearts of the people. Now let us discuss the four Philosophies of Mahatma Gandhi.

Concept of Truth

Mahatma Gandhi was a great supporter of truth and non-violence. He had a great importance to the concept of truth and non-violence. Satya and Ahimsa are the foundation of Gandhi's philosophy. According to Gandhi, the word Satya is derived from Sat which means 'being'. Gandhi says, "In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as one thousand names of God. But these one thousand names of God were by no means exhaustive. We believe - and I think it is the truth - that God has as many names as there are creatures and therefore, we also say that God is nameless, and since God has many forms we also consider Him formless, and since He speaks to us in many tongues, we consider Him to be speechless and so on.... if it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth." (Gandhi, Young India) This passage interprets Gandhi's saying that God is Truth.

First of all, this assertion is the result of a search for the universal reality that is God. Secondly, God is described as Truth because God alone is real. According to Gandhi, Truth is not an attribute of God, but God is Truth. Truth, according to him, is derived from the word 'sat' and 'sat' means 'is'. So, by saying God is Truth, he asserted that God alone is. But later on, instead of asserting 'God is Truth', he came to assert that 'Truth is God'. But such conversion presents logical contradiction. Such contradiction is practically removed when the subject and predicate are identified with each other. Therefore, we can say that there is nothing extraordinary in shifting the emphasis from 'God is Truth' to 'Truth is God'. But Gandhi's reasons were not simple. He says, "But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be God, God is Truth above all.....But two years ago I went a step further and said Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements, viz. that God is Truth and Truth is God. And I came to the conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth" (Gandhi, Young India). So there is a reason for bringing this change. One of them is that the word Truth is not as ambiguous as the word God. Nobody understands exactly the same thing by the

word 'God', God may be pantheistic, theistic, polytheistic, or even deistic. But, the word 'Truth' is always clear in its significance. Another fundamental reason, for suggesting this change is that Gandhi is able to realize that it is possible to rationally doubt the existence of God, but that it is self-contradictory to attempt to deny Truth. Reason can deny the existence of God but it cannot reject Truth. Truth is the only factor which is completely universal and comprehensive. This leads Gandhi to assert the primacy of Truth. He says, "I don't care for God if He is anything but Truth." (Bose) There are some implications of Gandhi's assertion that Truth is God. These implications have both a pragmatic and religious value. According to Gandhi, the object of worship is not God but Truth. Truth can become a basis for a universal religion because it can bring everyone together.

Concept of Non-Violence

Gandhi said, "Ahimsa and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather a smooth unstamped metallic disc. Who can say, which is the observe, and which the reverse? Ahimsa is the means; Truth is the end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so ahimsa is our supreme duty. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end sooner or later. (Gandhi, Young India)" For Gandhi, the word Ahimsa has both a negative and positive import. The positive aspect comprehends the negative aspect and represents its essence. The meaning of Ahimsa is non-killing. Ahimsa is the opposite of himsa. Gandhi accepts this and adds more content to it. Himsa means causing pain or killing any life out of anger, or for a selfish purpose, or with the intention of injuring it. And refraining from all this is Ahimsa. But he is aware that himsa is unavoidable in certain circumstances. He is of the opinion that killing or injury to life can be an act of violence under certain conditions. The conditions are anger, pride, hatred, selfish consideration, bad intention and similar other considerations. Any injury done to life under these conditions is himsa. Thus, the negative meaning of Ahimsa is 'non-killing' or 'non-injury'. But the positive aspects of Ahimsa are more basic than it's negative characters. It stands for positive attitudes towards other living beings. Gandhi expressed that *Ahimsa is natural to man*. Man is both Body and Spirit. Body can represent physical power and on

occasions can do Himsa but man's true nature consists in his spiritual aspects. The moment the spiritual side of a man is awakened, his non-violent nature becomes apparent. The positive aspects of Ahimsa is nothing but love. Love is the feeling of oneness. Ahimsa demands effort to free mind from feelings like anger, malice, hatred, revenge, jealousy etc. because it creates obstacles in the way of love. Gandhi says that non-violence is meant for the strong and not for the weak. One who is weak develops fear and out of fear starts arming himself against real or imaginary enemies. One can be truly non-violent if he has conquered fear. Again Gandhi said that Sacrifice is an indispensable companion of Love. He says, "Love never claims, it ever gives. Love ever suffers, never resents, never revenges itself." This is self sacrifice and this involves suffering. So, suffering is conceived as an aspect of Love. So, according to Gandhi, the essence of love is suffering and not enjoyment. Gandhi believed that Ahimsa can be practiced universally. It is a power which can be wielded by everyone. But there is one supreme condition for the practice of Ahimsa and that is faith in God. To practice Ahimsa, one requires an inner strength, which can only be generated by a living faith in God. Faith in God will make man see that everyone is one and equal. Thus, the love of God would turn into a Love of Humanity which can make possible the practice of Ahimsa.

Concept of Satyagraha

Satya means 'truth' and Agraha means 'insistence'. So, Satyagraha means insistence on truth. Satyagraha goes beyond passive resistance. There is a difference between passive resistance and Satyagraha. Passive resistance admits violence and is a weapon of the weak whereas Satyagraha is a weapon of the strong and admits no violence under any circumstance whatsoever. Passive resistance does not involve complete adherence to truth whereas, Satyagraha insists upon truth. The theory of Satyagraha sees means and ends as inseparable. The means used to obtain an end are wrapped up in and attached to that end. He says that as the means so the end.

According to Gandhi, a Satyagrahi must possess a number of qualities and character. Some of them are as follows:

- Must have a living faith in God.

- Must believe in truth and non-violence.
- Must be leading a chaste life.
- Must be a habitual Khaadi wearer and spinner.
- Must abstain from alcohol.
- Must willingly to carry out all the rules of discipline that are issued.
- Must obey the jail rules.

A Satyagrahi should also follow the following principles:

- Non-violence
- Truth
- Non-stealing
- Non-possession
- Chastity
- Body labour
- Fearlessness
- Equal respect for all religions

Satyagraha means the resistance of evil by its opposite, i.e. by good, it includes moral and religious discipline. It refers the active force and not the inactive force. Some features of Satyagrahi are:

- A Satyagrahi must be sincere and honest.
- He must be open-minded and must be a disciplined teacher, he must learn to put on restraints upon his own self.
- He leads to sacrifice firm behaviour in essential for a Satyagrahi.
- Simplicity and humility are regarded as the key factors of a Satyagrahi.
- A Satyagrahi practices truth in his actions, in thought and also in speech.
- Truth and non-violence with love is essential for Satyagrahi.

Concept of Sarvodaya

Sarvodaya etymologically means ‘the betterment of all’, and that precisely that is. Sarvodaya is often compared with Utilitarianism. It is the doctrine that believes in the greatest good of the greatest number. But, Sarvodaya is more comprehensive and more altruistic than Utilitarianism. Utilitarianism is after all a hedonistic doctrine, its standard somehow is pleasure. It is for the good of oneself that others are taken into consideration. Sarvodaya,

on the other hand, is based on 'love', it is to self-sacrifice for the good of others. The end of all activities, social or political, has to be nothing else but the uplifting of everybody. This can be possible when no is neglected and it is only possible in the panchayat system, which, through its small village units will be able to pay attention to every individual of the village. Sarvodaya is based on the belief that there is an essential unity behind everything. The realization of oneness is the supreme condition for the effectiveness of Sarvodaya. It is very difficult to obtain perfect realization of oneness in this life, but true spiritual life consists not in attaining the ideal, but in constantly striving and aspiring for it. Gandhi feels that in a completely non-violent society there should not be any need of the present type of police or military or law-courts. But it is not possible to have a completely non-violent society all at once. Therefore, so long as imperfections and immorality remain, police and law-courts would be needed. But, Gandhi says that their character and pattern should be different, they should not consider themselves to be the masters of the people, they should be real servants of society dedicated to the task of reforming the wrong-doer. In fact, Gandhi feels that in a state of his conception there would not be much problem, because the possibility of crime will automatically go down. Whatever little acts of crime would be committed would be tackled with love. He is convinced that such a police would get spontaneous help from the people. Likewise, military should also be engaged in promoting the ways of non-violence. Use of arms would not be normally permitted even the aggressor can be met with an army of satyâgrahis. But so long as people are not reformed, police and military in their usual senses will have to be retained. He feelingly says, "Alas! in my Swaraj of today, there is room for soldiers, I agree too that a sudden withdrawal of the military and the police will be a disaster if we have not acquired the ability to protect ourselves against robbers and thieves." (Sharma)

Conclusion

From the above discussion we came to know about the four philosophical ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. We can see that his ideas are all inter-related with each other. The foundation of his philosophy is based on truth and non-violence. To reach to the truth, we must know God because where there is true knowledge there is also Bliss. Likewise, for the practice of non-violence, people must

understand that his true nature consists in his spiritual aspects. It demands a sincere effort to practice non-violence. Gandhi has put forwarded the concept of Satyagraha, a technique of non-violence, which teaches us what to do and how to do the practice of Non-violence. But Faith in God is the fundamental condition for the practice of Non-violence as it requires an inner strength which can be generated by a living faith in God. And last but not the least, the concept of Sarvodaya which is self-sacrifice for the good of others, is based on the belief that there is unity behind everything. In this modern era, we should follow his philosophy and learn again to have faith in God and Unity. We should constantly strive and aspire for people to be together in this modern world.

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Matmur Jamoh: Unsung Hero of Adis

Nangku Das

Introduction

The freedom struggle of India gloriously ended in 1947 with the Independence of India from British rule. It was undoubtedly one of the largest mass movements in the world which stimulate millions of people irrespective of caste, class, ethnicity, religion and ideology with a common agenda of defending India against the chains of British oppression. Despite the fact that many scholars acknowledged heroes of India who received praise for their enormous contributions against British domination, the contribution of the downtrodden has never been a focus in the research, or history books. There are heroes whose names are not on the list of major leaders in India's independence movement who fought against the British. In the Adi Country, Matmur Jamoh's name was one such unsung hero of the Adi (Formerly call as Abor) community who murder Assistant Political Officer of Sadiya, Neol Williamson in 1911. The ever increasing commercial interest of the Company, strategic location of NEFA (present Arunachal Pradesh), and aggressive attitude of the Adis culminated in that murder and led to Anglo- Abor War (Milun Mimak) of 1911- 12.

Objectives of the Paper

The aim of the paper is to pay homage to a forgotten hero of the Indian Freedom Struggle of Adi Community in Arunachal Pradesh against the British. The study will draw the attention of historians and researchers to document this unknown name in the struggle for India's independence from colonial rule.

Methodology

The analytical method is used in the study. The study is based on Matmur Jamoh, forgotten freedom fighter from Arunachal Pradesh. The paper is based on primary like personal interview and secondary sources like available books, journals, e-newspapers, websites, and youtube documentaries.

Cause of the Anglo- Abor Conflict

Right from the beginning of their contact with the Adis, the Britishers found them very difficult to deal with. But in those days the Britishers were following a policy of non – intervention with the Indian native powers, so they decided not to involved much with them. However, this peaceful relation could not continue for long due to the aggressive attitude of the Adis as well as the increasing commercial interest of the company. Thus, the Anglo- Abor conflict compelled the Britishers to send four expeditions to the Abor Hills in 1848, 1858, 1859 and finally in 1911-12 after the murder of Neol Williamson. Let us evaluate the causes of these conflicts,

1. Economic difficulties of the Adis: - In those days the economic condition of Adis was very miserable. The Jhum cultivation was only means of agriculture which was very tough and did not yield much. The Adis claimed, for instance, absolute sovereignty over the plain Miris whom they treated as runaway slaves and also claimed an inalienable right to all fish and gold found in Dihang River. (*Chowdhury J.N : Arunachal Through the Ages, Page 131*) The British too have their eye on these foot hills because of the expanding tea and opium industry in Assam. The Miris now gradually leaves the hills and accepts British citizenship. Trade with the peoples of plains, force labour and extractions from the Miris were serving as the economic life- line to the Adis. Any interference, into the existing arrangements and economy was likely to cause hardship to the Adis. (*Pandey & Tripathy: A Comprehensive History of Arunachal Pradesh, Page- 301*).
2. Imperialist interest of the British in Adi hills: - In spite of stiff opposition of the Adis, the British interest in Abor hills continue. It was due to the advancement of the imperialist interest of British Empire and to put a check on the increasing

Chinese influence in the Abor hills. (*Pandey &Tripathy: A Comprehensive History of Arunachal Pradesh, Page- 301*).

3. Growing Chinese influence increased in Tibet and Bhutan:- China too was an imperialist power. After establishing their control over Tibet and Bhutan, Abor Hills could be their next target.
4. No Man's land: - NEFA (present Arunachal Pradesh) in those days was almost a no- man's land. Sir Lancelot Hare, Lt. Governor of Assam in 1910, said, "We have an Inner Line and Outer Line. Up to the Inner Line we administer in ordinary way... The country between the two lines is very sparsely inhabited and is mostly dense jungle" (*Burman S.G: NEFA- The Land and Its People- 1963*). The British got more alarmed about the Chinese designs after her attack on Lhasa and escape of Dalai Lama to India on 25th February, 1910. Many British officers believed that after the Chinese established their control over the independent kingdoms of Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim, she will definitely extend her influence over NEFA, which was a no- men's land. The need to defend valuable tea gardens of Assam increased. (*Pandey & Tripathy: A Comprehensive History of Arunachal Pradesh, Page- 302*).
5. Visit of British Political Officers: - They anxious to know how far the country of the tribes of NEFA was cultivable, how far their hills and valleys could be depended as a barrier for the plains of Assam, and to what extent the Chinese has extended their influence in NEFA, These questions led many young British Political Officers to venture into the hills and to think of various measures of saving the plains of Assam. However, the higher authorities were not in favour of their actions. These officers ignore the limit of their duties and venture into the hills with the best intention of saving the hills. Some of such officers were Young Husband, F.M. Baily, Neol Williamson etc. The tribal people did not favour the visit of outsiders. (*Pandey &Tripathy: A Comprehensive History of Arunachal Pradesh*)
6. Suspicion of the tribal peoples: - The Adis were always suspicious of these tours since, in such tours they were not only required to work as porters but were also supposed to provide

ration to the touring team without any substantial payment. These force labour haunted the Adis as a direct interference in their freedom. Further, there was a rumour of imposing tax on the Adi land.

Earlier visit of Neol Williamson in Abor Hills (NEFA)

Neol Williamson took over as the Assistant Political Officer at Sadiya in 1906 from Mr Needham (*Chowdhury J.N : Arunachal Through the Ages, Page:141*). Shortly after his appointment he toured into the interior of the North Eastern Hills and very often cross the lines of his jurisdiction. The main objectives as already mentioned, was to get detailed knowledge of the tribal land, explore the possibilities of the trade route to Tibet and to ascertain the extent of the Chinese influence in this area.

In 1908 he toured Pasi, Gallong and Minyong villages around Pasighat. In 1909, he visited Lohit valley beyond the 'Outer Line'. After return from Lohit Valley he toured the Abor hills, along the course of Dihang River and went up to Kebang. He was accompanied by Col. D.M. Lumsden and W.L.B Jackman, a member of the American Baptist Mission at Sadiya. The touring party could not go beyond Kebang village due to inter-tribal war amongst Panggis and the Minyongs.

Then in 1911, he penetrated into the Mishmi Hills up to Walong. There he noticed the Chinese flag at Menikari and was also reported the Chinese occupation of Rima. The Chinese activities in the Mishmi Hills brought his concerned about the lot of the Abor Hills. So, just after his return from the Mishmi Hills he decided to re-visit the Abor Hills to find out the extent of the Chinese influence in Abor Hills (*Pandey &Tripathy: A Comprehensive History of Arunachal Pradesh, Page- 302*).

Rule and Regulations for touring beyond Inner Line

To prevent troubles with the frontier tribes, passes are required for subjects who want to cross the Inner Line. So, before touring into NEFA, the sanction of the Local Govt. must first be obtained in all cases because such tours were likely to involved complication that could demand the sending of punitive expedition later. It needs the prior permission of the Government of India (*Himilton A: In Abor Jungle, Page 42*). But Neol Williamson

neglect obtaining such permission from the Government in undertaking his tours.

Murder of Neol Williamson

In his 1911 ill-fate visit of Abor Hills, he was accompanied by Dr J.D Gregorson, a tea garden doctor posted at Tinsukia in then Lakhimpur Dist.(much interest in tribal affairs), 34 Nepali cooliees, 10 Miris, 2 orderlies and 3 servants. The party start from Pasighat. On reaching Rottung village on 18th March 1911, some rations and a case of liquor were found to have been stolen. Suspecting the ‘Abor careers,’ who were also engaged, Williamson openly demand the culprits to be presented before him on his return journey. Williamson’s guts of threatening the Adis on their own homeland frustrated the Adis. Planning of killing the entire party was discussed by the village council that same night which was also informed to Williamson but he underestimated the Adis. On 19th March the party continue journey and reached Panggi village. They waited for the porters to arrive there. On 28th March, Manpur, a Mising servant, was sent down along with three sick coolies and some letters pass through Rottung boasted to the villagers that he was sent back to bring more sepoy into the hills to punished the Adis. Manpur’s statement enraged the villagers who at once killed all the four men and decided to followed Williamson and his party. (*Sir R. Reid: History of Frontier Areas bordering on Assam. Page-224, 1983*)

On 30th March, 1911, the villagers of Rottung gather more men from Kebang and Babuk village and killed Dr. Gregorson and three coolies at Pangi camp. On that fateful day, Williamson move further north and reached Komsing village. On 31st March 1911, around at 10.00 am Williamson and his party was attacked and killed by the furious Adi peoples. Only few who manage to escape and informed the murder of Captain Neol Williamson at Sadiya.

Adi version of the murder

Adis have their own version of the murder of Captain Neol Williamson and in my study this part is based mainly on oral tradition. According to them, the plan of murdering Captain Williamson was made by one Matmur Jamoh, son of Matdung Jamoh and the Gam of Yagrung village in present East Siang

District of Arunachal Pradesh, to revenge the insult made to him by Captain Williamson in his earlier visit to Yagrung village in 1908. Mr Osong Ering, Retd. IAS, told me on my interview as he has written in his short article book: *When Time Fades and Memory Returns*, that his father Adul Ering have seen him personally. Matmur Jamoh was an average height, in his middle age and was a good orator. He did not like the advancement of the Britishers into the Adi land. In the book *Songs of the Siang*, Ethno Historian Igul Padung writes, Matmur Jamoh was convinced and considered futile the services rendered to the British touring parties to the interior of Abor hills. For him the people's labour as path clearer, load carrier as well as ration supplier to the touring party was wastage of time, energy and time. He disliked the English behaviour of the superiority meted out to his folks.”.

So, he did not order to clear the approach road which Capt. Williamson and his party was to use during his visit in 1908. When the touring team somehow reached Yagrung village, they were warmly welcomed as per tribal tradition and the Gam (village Headman) offered a gift to Captain Williamson. But to dismay Capt. Williamson not only refused to accept the gift but also slapped Matmur, the Gam and called him ‘dirty Abor with ring worm on his hips and shoulder’. It hurt Matmur severely who decided to avenge his insult sooner or later. Captain Williamson's second visit into the region in 1911 was a golden opportunity for Matmur to avenge his insult.

Consequently, he began conspiring against the Britishers and persuaded some of the capable warriors namely, Lotiang Taloh and Popiom Jamoh of Yagrung village, Lomlo Darang and Bapak Jerang of Kebang village and Lunrung Tamuk from Panggi village. They secretly followed Williamson till Komsing in his second visit into Abor Hills. It is said Lombo Darang led the murder of Gregorson and party at Panggi Village on 30th March 1911. The Murder was ordered by Jote Tamuk, the Gam of Rottung village. Lal Bahadur too was injured but escape, who became the main guide of Gen. Bower. On 31st March, 1911, Matmur along with Namu Nonang and Lunrung Tamuk were the main person responsible for the murder of Neol Williamson and his party. After the revenge he hides himself at a hill today call “Matmur Ditung”.

When the torture of British increases the villagers lied Matmur and call him back and the British arrest him and taken away.

Anglo- Adi war of 1911- 12

The whole episode caused a commutation in the total hierarchy of the British administration from the Deputy Commissioner to the Secretary of State and the British Parliament (*Arunachal Review- June 2018*). On 18th April 1911, Maj. Gen. H. Bower made a tour of inspection of the area not affected by the murder to make preparation for a punitive expedition. Lord Crew, Secretary of State approved Bower's proposal and sanction the expedition on 24th July, 1911. This expedition is known as Milun Mimak amongst the Adis.

A huge force of about 3000 troops, were collected for the expedition. Base camp for Abor Expedition was selected at Kobo (Dihang- Lohit junction) and from there the forces were divided into two columns, one to proceed via Ledum village and another via Pasighat. The major and a tough battle was fought at Kekar Monying, but the Adis were defeated. By December, 1911 after the occupation of Komsing village many Adi chiefs requested for peace. Fines were imposed on different villages and peace was established. In this way the Great Abor Expedition came to an end.

Matmur and his colleagues went into hiding, but surrendered, due to the atrocities done to their village. They were tried before Military court on 2nd April 1912, where they were convicted. The main culprit, Matmur Jamoh, was sentence to life and sent to Kalapani. His death is not known till date.

Major Findings

1. Despite the fact that many scholars acknowledged heroes of India who received praise for their enormous contributions against British domination, the contribution of the downtrodden has never been a focus in the research. There are heroes whose names are not on the list of major leaders in India's independence movement who fought against the British. Their names remain in the folklore, tales, songs and oral traditions of the people. (Mochahary Rakesh, Conference: Interdisciplinary National Seminar on "India Independence at

75" At: Department of History, Teresian College, Mysore, Karnataka.

2. Matmur Jamoh, a village headman of a small village was responsible for British to send a major expedition against the Adis tribe. The issue roar even in British Parliament.
3. The Adis fought against the Britishers bravely particularly at Kekar Monying, but were compelled to surrender as they can't stand against the modern army of the Britishers.
4. Matmur and his colleagues later surrender as his village was being tortured by the British. It is said he was sent to Cellular Jail (Kalapani), but research scholars and others who interest in Matmur Jamoh could not get any record of Matmur at Cellular Jail at Andaman.
5. The tribals in every part of India are particular about their freedom. Any interference to their freedom led to revolt.
6. The British young officials were very devoted in their duty and were adventurous. They were very concerned about the security of the tea gardens and other resources in Assam. Their records are a major source today to study the peoples of Arunachal and other North East States.
7. These young British officers hardly take proper permission from Government before venturing into the tribal areas.
8. 'Inner Line' is a British gift to the people of present Arunachal Pradesh. It is the only tool that keeps the tribal identity intact in Arunachal Pradesh.
9. One of the positive attitudes of the present BJP Government is that it gives respect to all the freedom fighters like Matmur Jamoh and honour them through *Azadi ki Amrit Mahotsav*.
10. The growing Chinese attempt to enter into present Arunachal Pradesh was also a reason why the British increasingly try to penetrate into Abor and Mishmi Hills in spite of opposition from the Adis.

Conclusion

An attempt have been made to find and give an honour to all those sons of Mother India who have sacrificed could not get a

place in the text books of our school or in the syllabus of higher studies. The area where episode of Matmur Jamoh took place happens to be of one of the most neglected region till recently. Even then without the knowledge of modern concept of nationalism, patriotism etc. Matmur, a tribal, raise his voice against the British imperialism. Though his community could not stand well against the British power but it gave an education to the people about the true nature of the colonialist. The episode of Matmur ultimately make the British feel necessary to the draw a permanent border with China which later came out as Mc Mohan Line.

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Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement

Niharika Das

Introduction

The women of India were underprivileged during the time before independence. The key contributor to this was the prevalence of male dominance in society, where women were considered secondary to men and commonly referred to as second-class citizens. It was believed that women were only fit for household chores and bearing children, and that their place was in the kitchen, therefore, they weren't permitted to engage in other activities, nor were they given any opportunities to express their opinions. During this period numerous systems were imposed, which had negative consequences on women. These included child marriages, restraints imposed upon widow remarriage, female feticide, female infanticide, prejudices against woman's education, the custom of offering girls to deities, the purdah system, sati, and polygamy. During the period of the East India Company, many social reformers had undergone numerous challenges to bring about changes in the status of women within Indian society. Thereafter, things started changing and a massive participation of women was observed during the freedom struggle of India which led to the era of modern India. However, the women went through extreme torture, misery, and exploitation to provide their country's people with independence. The incredible sacrifices made by them throughout the freedom struggle movement are highly valued. Women from all over the country, including those from educated and liberal households with different castes, creed, race, community, religion, rural and urban settings, joined hands together

to fight for the liberation of their motherland. The entire history of the freedom movement has witnessed the saga of exceptional bravery, sacrifice, and political sagacity of hundreds and thousands of women of our country who walked shoulder to shoulder with men of their times to achieve an independent India.

Objectives of the study

1. To understand the importance and the role played by the women during the freedom movement of India.
2. To create awareness about the different women freedom fighters of India who fought for our freedom against the Britishers.
3. To highlight the sufferings and sacrifices of each women freedom fighter since the first War of Independence (1857-58) up to the Quit India Movement (1942).

Research Methodology

While writing this paper, both historical descriptive and exploratory methods are used. The data were basically collected from secondary sources that mainly concentrated on a textual approach, books written by eminent scholars and articles, and papers written in various National and International Journals have been considered to do the framework of this paper.

Review of Literature

There are quite a few pieces of literature on "The role of women in the freedom movement," and some of the most significant ones that have been referred to while writing the present article are listed as follows:

- ❖ "Role of women in the freedom movement (1857-1947)" by Manmohan Kaur (1985): This book covers the 90-year era between 1857 and 1947, when Indian women participated in the independence struggle. The first attempt at freedom was undertaken in 1857, and it ends in 1947.
- ❖ "Women in the Indian National Movement: Unseen faces and unheard voices, 1930-42" by Suruchi Thapar (2006). She has done outstanding work on the Indian freedom movement. The author emphasized on the notable female leaders including

Annie Beasant, Vijaylaxmi Pandit, Sucheta Kiripalani, and Sarojini Naidu.

- ❖ Monjita Basumatary & Dr. Seema Rani (2022), conducted a study on the “Assessment of the Contribution of Indian Women in Freedom Struggle”. The researchers explored the role played by the women leaders in the freedom struggle with the aim of creating courage, consciousness, emancipation among women of all walks of life.

Findings and Discussion

Women Freedom Fighters of the National Movement

In our history books, very little or no information is provided about the role that the great women freedom fighters played in the path of the Indian liberation movement. However, history is filled with the names of notable men who fought for independence. The triumph of India's independence would have remained a dream without the help of women's movements and freedom fighters. These women came up in groups and individually, took the initiative, and played a crucial role when the male freedom warriors were imprisoned. Some of the women freedom fighters are mentioned below who sacrificed their lives in the name of India's independence, and the younger generation should be made aware of them.

Great Women Freedom Fighters of India

I. **Rani Laxmi Bai (1828-1858):**

Indian history has never witnessed a mighty, brave, and strong women warrior like her. Also known as Jhansi ki Rani Laxmi Bai, the second wife of the king of Jhansi, Raja Gangadhar Rao, protested against the “Doctrine of Lapse”. She dressed as a man, fought bravely during the Revolt of 1857, refused to surrender Jhansi, and died on the battlefield while battling the British army. She has set a glorious



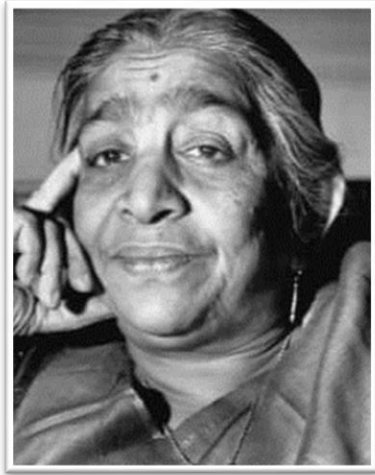
example of patriotism and national pride in the minds and hearts of the Indians.



II. Begumhazrat Mahal (1820-1879): She was the wife of the ousted ruler of Lucknow and played a powerful role during the revolt of 1857 against Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse, which demanded that she cede control of Lucknow.

III. Sarojini Naidu (1879-

1949): During the partition of Bengal in 1905, she joined the national movement against it. She was the second woman to lead INC as the president in 1925. She was one of the female protestors at the Dharsana salt work during the Salt Satyagraha. She was imprisoned after taking the lead in civil disobedience. She was also arrested during the "Quit India movement" in 1942.



IV. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit (1900-1990): Mrs. Pandit joined the Non-Cooperation Movement, and with the connection to the Civil Disobedience Movement, she was imprisoned thrice in 1932, 1940, and 1942. As India's envoy to the inaugural United Nations conference in San Francisco, she played a crucial role in opposing the power of the British. She was the first woman to hold the office of President of

the General Assembly of the UN. During the Salt Satyagraha, along

with her sister and her young kids, she organized processions and picketed the stores that sold alcohol and foreign clothing. She has fought several fights and dismantled numerous obstacles in the favour of women in India.

V. Kamaladevi Chattapadhya (1903-1988):

In December 1929, she was chosen as the president of the Youth Congress and urged the National Congress leaders to set Poorna Swaraj as their objective. She took part in the Salt Satyagraha on January 26, 1930, and in a fight, she held the Tricolour flag in order to protect it, capturing the attention of the whole country. She was pelted

with blows as she resolutely stood guard over the flag while heavily bleeding. She sparked an energetic movement within the All-India Women's Conference.

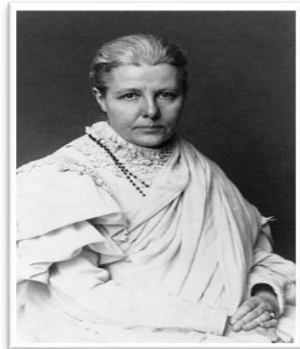


VI. Kasturba Gandhi (1869-

1944):The wife of Mahatma Gandhi and a leading supporter of the Gandhian programmes. She was one of the first women to be imprisoned in the Transvaal and it was due to participating in the Quit India Movement in 1942. She died while imprisoned at Poona.

VII. Annie Besant (1847-

1933):Annie Besant, Irish-born, was a fervent supporter of India's fight for independence. In Madras, India, she established the Home Rule League in 1916. In 1917 in Calcutta, she became the first woman to serve as the president of the INC. Her associate



Margaret Cousins established the "Women's Indian Association" and prepared the legislation granting Indian women the right to vote. She had put forth a lot of effort to shape the public's perception of the Indian issue favourably. Even today, India honours her tremendous contributions to the freedom movement, educational reform, and social change with gratitude.

VIII. Aruna Asaf Ali (1909-1996): She arose to take part when her time came in 1942 during the Quit India Movement. She started the Quit India Movement by raising the National Flag at the Gowalia Tank Maidan in Bombay, and many young people looked up to her as an inspiration. She went underground to avoid being arrested and started working full-time as an activist for the Quit India Movement.



IX. Rani Gaidinliu (1915-1974): The movement of Naga nationalists against the British was taken forward by this notable Manipur-born women leader. Her movement was active during the Civil Disobedience Movement to drive out foreigners from Manipur. She was praised by the nationalist leaders for her exceptional patriotism. She was jailed in 1932 and was released after India gained Independence. Jawaharlal Nehru gave her the title "Rani of the Nagas," for her advocacy for the Naga people.

X. Durgabai Deshmukh: Durgabai led a group of salt law violators to Marina Beach in Madras during this Satyagraha. Due to her involvement in the Salt Satyagraha, she was imprisoned for three years.



XI. Janakidevi Bajaj (1893-1979): She was close to Mahatma Gandhi, and in 1921 she burned all foreign-made clothing that was worn in and out of her home. She also advocated khadi, worked round-the-clock on the charkha and spindle, and provided door-to-door training on the charkha.



XII. Sucheta Kriplani (1908-1974): She began her career as a social worker in the public sector in 1932. In 1939, she entered politics and joined the INC. She participated in a personal satyagraha in Faizabad in 1940, for which she received a two-year imprisonment. She disappeared during the Quit India Movement and performed outstanding work

secretly coordinating the anti-British opposition.

XIII. Uda Devi (1830-1857): She was a fighter in the Revolt of 1857, and a Dalit woman who climbed a pipel tree and shot between 32 and 36 British troops. The Britishers recognized her as a brave foot.

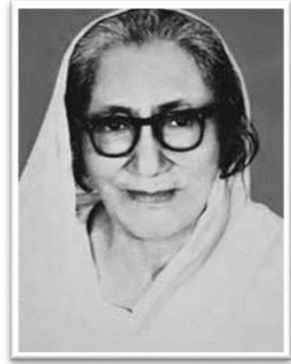


XIV. Madam Bhikaji Cama

(1861-1936): She served as an inspiration for the Indian youngsters in the UK. In order to circulate her revolutionary ideas, she founded the Free India Society, unfurled the first National Flag at the International Socialist Conference in Stuttgart (Germany) in 1907, and started the periodical "Bande Mataram." She

travelled extensively and gave talks on Indians Fighting for Independence. She is properly referred to be "Mother India's first cultural representative of the USA".

XV. NALINIBALA DEVI (1898-1977): She was one of the few women in Assam who participated in the Swadeshi and Non-cooperation campaign. She established a training facility in Guwahati alongside Hemanta Kumari Devi and Guneswari Devi to increase the production of khadi. It impacted the women considerably and led to the opening of 500 Khadi caps for Congress, which were used as a weapon against the British.



XVI. Chandraprava Saikiani (1901-1972): She promoted social change and opposed the caste system. She permitted women to enter the Hajo Hayagriva Madhav temple outside of Guwahati. She joined the Non-Cooperation movement in 1921, participated in the Indian War of Independence, and was imprisoned for activities against the Britishers.

XVII. Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddy (1886-1968): She was the first Indian woman to be nominated to the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1926 for her achievements in the fields of medicine and social service. However, she resigned from her positions and joined the freedom movement and protested against the torture of women and the use of oppressive tactics against female protesters during the Salt Satyagraha and Non-cooperation Movement.





XVIII. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur (1887-1964): She was deeply influenced by Gandhiji and followed him religiously since 1919. In the midst of the Salt Satyagraha, she joined Congress. She actively engaged in the Quit India Movement and the 1930 Salt Satyagraha as a member of Congress. She had been arrested in Bombay for breaking the Salt Law, when she travelled to the North West Frontier Province to promote the causes of the

freedom movement, she was arrested and found guilty on a charge of sedition.

XIX. Matangini Hazra (1870-1942): Known as Gandhi Burhi, from West Bengal, a freedom fighter and martyr, will be remembered for her heroic act. In 1932, she joined the freedom struggle. She was imprisoned throughout the Salt Satyagraha. She successfully organized a black flag protest in 1933 while the governor of Bengal was speaking to a crowd that was surrounded by police. She was jailed and given a six-month severe jail term this time.



XX. Indira Gandhi (1917-1984): In 1938, she joined the INC. After India gained independence in 1947, she took over management of the Prime Minister's residence. She put forth a lot of effort to help minorities progress socially and economically. She imagined a cutting-edge, independent, and vibrant economy. She battled fearlessly and vehemently against all forms of religious fanaticism,

including communalism and revivalism. She rose to become the unbreakable image of India's self-assurance.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that women have participated in the Indian freedom movement in large numbers. If we were to recall the names of the women freedom fighters who fought for our freedom, we will find that the list is a very long one. There are more than 100 women freedom fighters who took part and sacrificed their lives for the nation, but only a few of the names are listed in books and other kinds of literature.

Along with the above-mentioned women warriors, Mridulla Sara Bai, **Usha Mehta**, **Kamla Das Gupta**, Malati Choudhary, Subhadra Joshi, Basanti Devi, Begum Royeka, Capt. Laxmi Sehgal, Ammu Swaminathan, Sabitri Bai Phule, Kanaklata Barua, Abadi Bano Begum, Tara Rani Srivastava, Rukmini Lakshmi pathi, Tarkeshwari Sinha, Sarala Devi Chaudhurnai, Annupurna Maharana, Accamma Cherian, AV Kuttimalu Amma, Amal Prabha Das, Bhogeshwari Phukhanai, Mirabehn, Maharani Jind Kaur, Krishnammal Jagannathan, Yashodhara Dasappa, Janaky Athi Nahappan, Kalpana Dutta, Maa Rama Devi, Hanse Mehta, Sister Nivedita, Sarlabehn, (Fig. 1, pictures are in the order of the names as mentioned here) and many others also lost their lives and endured untold amounts of abuse, suffering, and torture during this journey of freedom movement. On August 15, 1947, India finally gained its independence after several struggles.



Fig 1: Women Freedom Fighters who sacrificed their lives for the nation's Independence.

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Role of Women in Indian Freedom Struggle

Nivedita Dutta

To call women the weaker sex is a libel, it is men's injustice to women. If by strength is meant moral power, then women is immeasurably man's superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self sacrificing ...has she not greater powers of endurance, has she got greater courage? Without her man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman. I have nursed this thought now for years." (Mahatma Gandhi)

Women's possess a very prominent place in India's freedom struggle. It was a matter of disgrace to put them under the umbrella term 'weak'. If strength meant moral courage, women had it many times more than men. Men and mankind wouldn't have survived lest women lacked inner strength, self sacrifice and tolerance.

When most of the men folk were in prison, women jumped into the arena of freedom struggle. They had always been contributing in the freedom struggle, but the wave of their unprecedented enthusiasm had surprised the British Government. The Home Secretary of the British govt. had to confess that nothing had disturbed him more than the great awakening among the Indian Women and the part played by them in Indian politics.

Legacy of Social Reforms

The participation of women was not bound by geographical territories. The participation of the Bengali women in resistance movement had its origins and background in the social reforms of

the 19th century. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries protestant missionaries with the support of allies in India and England took the initiative in advocating a number of social reforms in Hindu Society. They drew attention to practices such as infanticide, child marriage, the deplorable conditions of widows, the exposure of the sick and dying on the banks of holy rivers, Hook swinging at the Hindu festivals, the practice of sati, the prevalence of caste system that dehumanized a great part of the society, bonded labour etc.

In 1820, Raja Ram Mohan Roy emerged as the first modern Hindu exponent of social reform. The first step in the direction of Women's liberation in modern India was taken by him by way of opposition to sati and its abolition through legal sanctions (Dec.1829) leaving lasting legacy for the women's movement in India.

Under pressure from social reformers, the Govt. of India Act of 1856 legalized the marriage of Hindu widows, child Marriage Act of 1872 banned child marriage and fixed minimum age of marriage at 14 for the girl and 18 for the boy, permitted widow remarriage and inter caste marriage and penalized polygamy among the Brahmo Samaj.

It is these reforms mainly in the provinces of Bengal that helped the women to participate actively, even as early as 1885, in the emerging nationalist movement, by freeing them from the shackles of the traditional practices and values.

Women and Politics

From the inception of Indian National Congress (1885) its membership was open to women also. The women attended the fourth session of the Congress at Bombay in 1889. Like the males, females participated from Calcutta including Swarnakumari Devi, sister of Rabindranath Taore. She had abandoned purdah and together with her husband, edited the Bengali journal, Bharati, having thus achieved the name of being the first Indian Woman editor.

Swarnakumari began 'Sakhi Samiti' (Ladies Association) to infuse among Indian Women an active and enlightened interest in country's welfare. From Bengal also came Kadamboni Ganguli, a graduate of Kolkata University and the first woman doctor from

Bengal. Swarnakumari Devi and Kadambori Ganguli attended the Congress Session as delegates in 1890. The later had the honour of being the first woman to speak from the congress platform when she proposed a vote of thanks to the President Pheroze Shah Mehta.

Sarala Devi Chaudhurani, daughter of Swarna Kumari, who was to take an active part in the nationalist movement in the years to come, composed a song urging the people different provinces of the country to join the freedom struggle. Interestingly the same song was sung in chorus at congress session in 1901.

The decision for the partition of Bengal, announced by the Govt. on 20th July 1905, first time galvanized the common people including women into political action. In Sept. 1905, Rabindranath Tagore announced his plan for observing Rakhi Bandhan on the partition Day i.e. 16 October. Women also took 'non-cooking day' as suggested by Ramendra Sunder Trivedi. Protest meetings were convened by women and about five hundred of them witnessed the laying of the foundation stone of the Federation Hall at Calcutta on 16 Oct. 1905. Women organized Swadeshi fairs and Saraladevi Chaudhurani opened 'Lakshmir Bhandar' selling only indigenous articles, gave up use of foreign articles and use of foreign cloth and smashed their foreign bangles.

Another eminent lady was Kumudini Mitra (daughter of Krishna Kumar Mitra, a renowned nationalist) also organised a group of educated ladies in order to make a liaison among different revolutionaries. It also propagated and preached the cause of the revolutionaries through Suprabhat, a Bengali magazine.

Women helped in distributing revolutionary pamphlets and literature and in maintaining connections between different revolutionary leaders. Mrs. Ramsay McDonald, who accompanied her husband in his tour of India, visualized that the Swadeshi movement could not have succeeded without the female assistances.

Women and Swadeshi Movement

Swadeshi movement arose from Bengal and spread throughout the country-stormy tours of leaders, women's dharnas at foreign goods stores and bonfires of foreign goods and students giving up schools and colleges in the face of expulsions for violating Government orders became a routine matter. Women too

played an important role in organizing processions, rallies and dharnas and in spreading the boycott movement and raising funds for it. Women of Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab and the central provinces were more active.

Sushila Devi of Sialkot was spreading new awareness by delivering lectures at various places. Hardevi, wife of a barrister of Lahore Mr. Roshan Lal was editing Hindi magazine *Bharat Bhagini* Pooran Devi of Hisar, a leading member of Arya Samaj, was visiting every district to spread the message of Swadeshi. Agyawati and Ved Kumari of Delhi were delivering lectures to men folk more than to women. Sarla Devi of Bengal visited Punjab and served as a bridge between the two provinces.

Among the freedom fighters of the Central Provinces, the most active women were Satyabhama Tilak, Yamunabai Savarkar, Avantika Bai Gokhale, Lakhmibai Khare, Janakibai Gore, Lakshmibai Datar, Lakshmibai Rahalkar, Godabai Khare etc. They set up a women's wing of Abhinav Bharat and named it Atma Night Yuvati Sabha whose members secretly assisted the revolutionaries through this institution. The women of Maharashtra organized Hindu Sahbhajam and Haldi Kumkum etc. to eradicate untouchability. Mrs. McDonald, wife of Ramsay McDonald, who visited India during those days, wrote : A storm like movement is running through the women.

The year 1917 was considered a milestone in the history of women's progress in India. Mrs. Annie Besant became the first woman President of the Congress. Under Annie Besant's Presidentship a resolution was passed demanding equal voting rights for women. A women's deputation led by Smt. Sarojini Naidu met Mr. Montague, Secretary of State for India and Viceroy Lord Chelmsford. Although in the name of the social incapability of women, the British Government did not give voting right to women in the Parliament under the Mount – Ford Reforms Scheme, but the Provincial Legislature Council was given the right to think over the matter of it so desired. Women Indian Association, Mahila Sewa Sabha, Women's Home Rule League and Indian Women's University joined together to register a strong protest against it and intensified their activities. Consequently the British Government was compelled to pass on the issue to the State Legislative Councils.

Women during Gandhian Era

The entire history of the freedom movement, as we know underwent a change with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene in 1917. With his experience of South Africa behind him, Gandhi was conscious of the female potentialities as passive resisters. As he experimented with his weapon of Satyagraha in India he felt that women could take part in it together with men. Women were drawn to Gandhi by his magnetic personality, his distinctive naturalness and transparent sincerity.

During the days of the Champaran Satyagraha in India in 1917, women had lent a helping hand to him by organizing literacy classes and doing other constructive work. Also in the Ahmadabad labour movement of Feb 1918, Anusuyaben Sarabhai fought a brave battle on behalf of the workers even against her own brother.

Mahatma Gandhi was deeply influenced by Ghokhale's views. Like him, he was a moderate, as such he favoured social reforms and cooperation with the Government for this purpose. In the issue of young India (31st Dec. 1919) he wrote "The Reform Law and the declaration accompanying it indicate the British Government's intention to do justice to the Indians. Indians should, therefore, shed all doubts. It is not our duty to criticize the proposed reforms, we must make efforts for their success. "Gandhi, thus, co-operated with the British Government from the very beginning. But the issues of the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwala Bagh massacre and Khilafat compelled him to follow the policy of non-co-operation.

Defense of India law was to lapse six months after the end of war. Therefore, the government tried to bring in the oppressive Rowlatt Act to acquire preventive and punitive powers. Gandhi declared a country wide strike on 6th April 1919. The Hindu – Muslim unity made the strike a great success.

A massive public meeting was organised at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on 13th April 1919.

When people had assembled there, General Dyer reached Jallianwala Bagh with 100 Indian and 50 English Soldiers. Without warning the people, General Dyer fired 1650 rounds. According to the government reports, 500 persons were killed and one to two thousand persons got injured.

At General Dyer's Cruel orders, the injured were left there in pain for the night without any water or medical aid. Women were caught and molested. The wailing women had to undergo this humiliation when they came there to look for their dear ones. Some of the women, who managed to enter or were already inside, did commendable work. Most prominent of them were Mata Attar Kaur and Rattan Devi. Wailing for their dead husbands, they ran to and fro throughout the night driving away dogs gnawing at the dead bodies. They looked after the injured and consoled and encouraged them till morning. A wave of resentment ran throughout the country against this massacre. Women's organizations till now working through national organizations, for women's education, social reform and the social, economic and political rights of women had now started preparing themselves for the coming national Boycott movement. In July 1919, Sarojini Naidu went to England as a representative of the Home Rule League. At Kingsley Hall in London, she delivered a fearless speech based on facts about Jallianwala Bagh which opened the eyes of the whole world and Naidu's oratory was universally acknowledged.

Women and Non-Co-operation Movement

After the First World War, Indians expected something from the British, but they met with disappointment. And during this period of excitement and frustration, the Jallianwala Bagh incident took place. The incident lent great strength to the freedom struggle which brought the Indian struggle closer to freedom. It was an unprecedented incident. Due to the British policy against Khilafat in Turkey, Indian Muslims had turned against the English. Therefore, in 1920, Hindus and Muslims joined hands to fight against Britain on the Punjab and Khilafat issues. On 4th September 1920 at a Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, it was decided that a nonviolent Non-Co operation movement be launched.

The national level programme of this movement was to boycott foreign institutions, government institutes and foreign goods and to adopt Swadeshi goods and organizations. The resolution got approval in the annual session at Nagpur in the Central province in Dec. 1920.

Gandhi issued an appeal saying that non-violent Non-co-operation Movement for Swarajya could not succeed without the

participation of women. He called upon women to join the Indian National Congress and to participate in this movement for Swarajya.

He wrote in 1921, “I have great expectations from women. I want that they should make an equal contribution for the attainment of Swarajya. Their job would become much easier if women did so willingly. “At Gandhi’s call, women joined the congress and played an important role in taking it forward and making it successful.

In the non-cooperation movement, women in the several parts of the country joined the processions and propagated use of khadi and charkha. Some of them deserted government schools and colleges.

Bengal had come to occupy an important place in the freedom movement. Bengal had come to occupy an important place in the freedom movement. Under the leadership of Basanti Devi (wife of Chitraranjan Das), her sister Urmila Devi and the organizer of Nari Karmo Mandir Suniti Devi and several other women for the first time courted arrests by selling Khadi and indulging in other illegal activities. They went from home to home persuading people to purchase and use Khadi. They appealed to the people to observe a complete strike on the day of prince of Wales’ arrival in Calcutta. The government arrested them for showing disrespect to a VIP and for selling Khadi. It surprised even Gandhi and he remarked that along with men, women also made a great contribution in the attainment of Swarajya.

In the Central Provinces in Gujrat, Kasturba Gandhi led the movement. She toured various places and inspired the people to follow Gandhi’s advice for the attainment of freedom. In the Nagpur area of the Central provinces, Anusuya Bai Kale was in the forefront both in Congress work and in spreading awareness among women. In the Jabalpur area, well known poetess Subhadra Kumari Chauhan was busy in organizing volunteers raising funds and at the same time writing inspiring poems.

In the Central provinces and Gujrat, Dandi Behan, Dahi Behan, Bhakti Bai, Mithu Ben, Maniben, Shiva Bai Patil, Nandu Ben, Narmoda Ben Bhatt etc. were organizing Satyagraha under

Kasturba's leadership. Sarala Devi Tarabhai was busy in organizing volunteers. Her daughter Mridula Tarabhai also lent a helping hand. Women helped Gandhi in raising Tilak Swaraj Fund. They helped with cash and ornaments. Annapurna Devi was the first women in Andhra Pradesh to set an example of sacrifice by donating all her ornaments. Among the Muslim women, there was Abida Banu Begum who was known as Bai Amman was the mother of Ali brothers. She went from place to place in the Central Provinces to popularize Khadi and to promote Hindu Muslim unity.

Women members of the Nehru family were also active. Despite weak health, Kamala Nehru took part in the movement. In Delhi, the movement was going strong under the leadership of Ved Kumari, daughter of Swami Shradhanand and in Punjab under Lala Lajpat Rai's wife Radha Devi. In Orissa, Rama Devi Chaudhuri and Savitri Devi of Nepal were going from place to place to create public opinion in favour of the non-cooperation movements. In Southern India, women like Lilabai Sangram, Muttu Lakshmi Reddy who had been till then active in the social field alone, then jumped into the freedom struggle through the boycott movement.

In Bombay, women organized several public meetings to protest against Prince of Wales' arrival and the civil reception to be given to him. Kasturba Gandhi presided over them and visited many states to make the movement successful.

On 8th Nov 1927 British Govt. appointed a Commission of British only, called Simon Commission. The Congress passed a resolution that it should be opposed everywhere. Women too did not lag behind. Hansa Mehta played leading role among the demonstrators. Annie Besant played an important role in opposing Simon Commission. Under her leadership a public meeting was organized at Malabar in which a large number of women participated. They held that the appointment of the Simon Commission was a negation of India's right to self determination.

In Punjab, Radha Devi, Pravati Devi, Lado Rani Zutshi, Atma Devi, Kartar Kaur, Rajkumari,

Amrit Kaur etc. participated in the boycott of the Simon Commission. In Uttarpradesh, Swarup Rani Nehru, Beguam Abdal Qadir, Suniti Devi and in the Central Provinces Anusuya Bai were

in the forefront. In 1928, Amina Ghulam Rasul Qureshi, Kusum Ben, Ganga Ben, Danda Ben, Shivabhai Patel, Mani Ben Vallabhbai Patel, Madhumati etc. cooperated in the no-tax movement in Gujrat and the Central Provinces. The movement succeeded only because of the efforts of women.

Conclusion

Throughout the provinces and presidencies, women played a vital role in the Freedom struggle. Although the movement faced initial setbacks due to a lack of education, women gradually became more enlightened about the cause. In response to Gandhiji's call, women from both urban and rural areas stepped forward and made significant contributions to the movement. They actively participated in various aspects of the struggle, demonstrating their unwavering commitment to the cause of freedom for their country.

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Forgotten Freedom Fighters of North East India

Nupur Dutta

“It is blood alone that can pay the price of freedom.
Give me blood and i will give you freedom”

- Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

Introduction

Before the advent of colonial rule, India was a self-sufficient country having higher number of natural resources. India then established itself on the world map with decent number of exports. Assam was ruled by Ahom kingdom for more than six hundred years. It was Badan Chandra Borphukan who invited Burmese to the “Bor Akhom” to defeat political rival with Purnananda Buragohain. But unfortunately, Burmese captured whole Assam and severely tortured the common people as well. To solve the problem the Last Ahom king Purandar Singha sought help from British who ruled India that excluding the North-Eastern part. In 1826 Yandaboo Treaty was signed between British and Burmese and British occupied Assam slowly.

It's fair to accept that under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi when freedom movements were going on, his words were like direction, courage and strength to million of people of India. Gandhi's messages gave opportunities to women of India to break away from past with all frustrations. Most of the Assamese as well as Khasi, Manipuri women also played an important role during the phases of the freedom struggle.

During the Civil-Disobedience movement women from 'Mukti Sangha' one of the revolutionary organizations were participated in the movement like Pushpalata Das, Saralata Saxena, Kanaklata Baruah, Bhogeswari Phukanani etc. Another eminent freedom fighter of Manipur is Nagarani Gaidinliu. One of the prominent freedom fighters of Assam was Kushal Konwar. Though they were belonging from different castes and communities, their aims and objectives were same.

Kanaklata Baruah: Birbalain Assam: Kanaklata Baruah was an eminent female figure in the India's Independence history in Assam. She was born on December 22, 1924 at the Barangabari village of Gohpur in Assam. Her father was Krishnakanta Baruah and mother was Korneswari Baruah. Her ancestors belonged to Dolakakhoriya Baruah of Ahom Dynasty. She started her primary education from Barangabari school and at the age of five she became an orphan and took all the responsibilities of household. From the childhood onwards she was inspired by Gandhiji's nationalism and had a dream to dedicate herself for the cause of the nation.

She wanted to join "Azad Hind Fauz" at the age of seventeen. But due to the minor age, she could not join there and she finally joined "Mrityu Bahini". Kanaklata Baruah was made the leader of the women cadres of the "Mrityu Bahini".

Kanaklata Baruah's role in Indian Freedom Movement: Kanaklata Baruah was known as the warrior of Assam who fought against British in order to make India free from Britisher's role. The Indian National Congress then took a resolution "do or die". Under the leadership of Jyoti Prasad Agarwal of Darrang District in Assam took a resolution to hoist the National Flag at the court and at police station. Kanaklata Baruah's name was enrolled as a volunteer for the purpose of hoisting the National Flag of India.

On September 20, 1942 the revolutionary group of Gohpur decided to hoist the Flag at Gohpur Police station. The group of people were marching ahead. Kanaklata Baruah was in front of the marching group holding the National Flag. The police fired at her. She was badly injured but kept on holding the Flag till Mukunda Kakoti took it from her. She attained martyrdom. Kanaklata Baruah's heroic sacrifice is remembered with pride by the people of Assam.

Nagarani Gaidinliu (the brave heart): Gaidinliu was born on January 26, 1915 in a village named Lanka in Manipur. Her cousin “Jadonang” was an eminent political leader of Naga’s of Tamenlang area of Manipur. Gaidinliu was an ardent follower of her brother and spirited too. She was daughter of Lothanang and Karotlinliu.

Gaidinliu was arrested at age of sixteen since she had taken part in movement in movement against Britishers. She was sentenced to life imprisonment by the British rules. After spending her youth years in jail, in 1947 she was released after India attained Independence. She was titled as a “Rani” by the then Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru. Therefore, she gained local popularity as a “Rani Gaidinliu.” In 1993, she died. Still, she is called as the “Daughter of the Hills” in Manipur.

Kushal Konwar (a satyagrahi): Kushal Konwar was a great freedom fighter from Assam. He was hanged into death due to some wrong information received by Britishers. Kushal Konwar was born in March 21, 1905 in Chaodang Chariali, Ghiladhora Mouza of Golaghat District in Assam. He was member of Indian National Congress. His father was Sonaram Konwar and mother was Kanakeswari Konwar and he was the fifth child of his parents. At the very young age he married Prabhawati and had two sons.

Kushal Konwar’s contribution to the Indian Freedom Movement: On 8th August, 1942 the members of Indian National Congress took resolution of “do or die”. With the encouragement of Mahatma Gandhi across the India people came out with a slogan “Vande Mataram”. Some of the leaders of Assam also joined this movement. Leaders like Gopinath Bordoloi, Siddhinath Sharma, Omeo Kumar Das, Bimala Prasad Chaliha etc. were arrested in different parts of Assam and thrown into jail.

Kushal Konwar along with some of his friends were discussing about the Indian freedommovement. But suddenly some leaders decided to remove sleepers from a railway line. At that night Kushal Konwar was at his home. It was 10th October, 1942 a foggy early morning. Indian Independence activists from Assam removed the sleepers from a railway line near Sarupathar of Golaghat district. A British military train passing by derailed and over a thousand of British soldiers were killed. The police immediately started an operation to catch the culprits.

Kushal Konwar was accused as a chief conspirator of the train derailed and he was arrested by police. He was an ardent follower of Gandhiji's principle of Non-violence. The innocent Kushal Konwar was charged as the mastermind of the plan. In the court of CM Humphrey was declared guilty to Kushal Konwar and sentenced him to hang into death though there was not single proof against him. When his wife visited him in the Jorhat jail, he said that he was proud since among the thousand of prisoners he was selected by God to give the supreme sacrifice for the country. In the jail he spent his time by reading "Holy Gita". On 15th June, 1943 at the age of 38 years he was hanged into death.

Conclusion

Indian freedom fighters are not only freedom fighters but can be called as martyrdom of the nation. They have sacrificed their lives for make the country independent. There are also eminent freedom fighters from North-East India whose names are not highlighted in the Indian history of freedom movement. There were leading women who came out and joined the freedom movement at that time when women were not given so much priority in other parts of India. Kanaklata Baruah from Assam and Gaidinliu from Manipur have come out from their home and sacrificed their lives for the nation. Swahid Kushal Konwar was a man who thought his sentenced for death as a blessing of God is the man who is not only the pride of Assam but pride for the India. British Government took lives of some innocents and Kushal Konwar was such innocent. Revolution is an inalienable right of mankind. Freedom is an imperishable birth right of all. Those fighters are heroes of the nation. Therefore, they should be remembered by the whole nation for their sacrifices and shedding their blood.

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Indian Freedom Movement and Role of Women: A Revolution to Gender Equality in Indian Society

Nur Samima Begum

Introduction

While fighting for Indian freedom, most of the men folk were in prison, our women jumped into the arena of freedom struggle. Their love for motherland and wave of their unprecedented enthusiasm had surprised the British Government. The year 1917 was considered a milestone in the history of women's progress in India. Starting from Mrs. Annie Besant; first woman President of the Congress, under whose presidency a resolution was passed demanding equal voting rights for women to Smt. Sarojini Naidu; Nightingale of India, meeting Mr. Montague, Secretary of State for India and Viceroy Lord Chelmsford, all our freedom fighter's love for motherland is quite noticeable. Different unit like Women Indian Association, Mahila Sewa Sabha, Women's Home Rule League and Indian Women's University also joined together to register a strong protest against and intensified their activities. During the days of the Champaran Satyagraha in India in 1917, women had lent a helping hand to Mahatma Gandhi by organizing literacy classes and doing other constructive work. Also in the Ahmadabad labour movement of Feb 1918, Anusuyabehn Sarabhai fought a brave battle on behalf of the workers even against her own brother. When Gandhi declared a country wide strike on 6th April 1919, the Hindu – Muslim unity made the strike a great success. Women participation in the history of freedom struggle can be traced back to 1817 when Bhima Bai

Holkar who fought against the British Colonial Malcolm and defeated him in the guerrilla warfare. Many other women like Kittur Chennamma, Rani Begum Hazrat Mahal played a prominent role and fought against the East Indian Company in the 19th century before the War of Independence of 1857. Even though in First war of Independence 1857 -58, the Britishers were successful in ending the war in a year but it was a remarkable and magnificent revolt as it involved massive participation from Indian rulers and women. Rani Laxmi Bai was the first freedom fighter of the struggle for Independence India. She made people realize the value of patriotism, heroism and self-respect.

Objectives

- To create awareness among different women fighter
- To study freedom movement of India in general
- To explore the role played by women freedom fighter in freedom movement

Methodology

To write this paper, the data has been mainly collected from textual approach, books written by eminent scholar and articles and papers written on various National and International Journals has been considered to do the framework of this paper. Thus, secondary data has been used to write this paper.

Great Women Freedom Fighters of India

- Rani Laxmi bai of Jhansi (1828-1858): She is regarded as a fearless warrior who played a major role in the First war of Independence and fought against the British for our freedom. She is model of patriotism, self-respect, courage and perseverance. Rani Laxmi bai was a vital figure in the Indian Revolt of 1857.
- Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949): Named as the Nightingale of India, noticeable poet, remarkable freedom fighter and an orator. She crusade for the Khilafat movement and the Quit India Movement and was elected as the President of the Indian National Congress in 1925.
- Madam Bhikaji Cama (1861-1936): She has played a prominent role in the Indian struggle for freedom and also the

first women to unfold the Indian Flag at the International Socialist Conference in Germany.

- Begum Hazrat Mahal (1820-1879): Also referred to as Begum of Awadh, who played an impactful role in the Revolt of 1857 she team up with Nana Saheb and Tantia Tope during the revolt and a stamp to commemorate Begum Hazrat Mahal was issued by the Government of India in 1984.
- Annie Besant (1847-1933): An Irish lady and a commanding member of the Theosophical society. She connected with the Indian National Congress and participated in the political and educational activities in India, she was the first women to be elected as the president of congress, led the Establishment of the Indian Rule Movement in 1916, she opened a number of schools which also incorporates the Central Hindu College, High school of Banaras and started a newspaper called New India.
- Aruna Asaf Ali (1909-1996): She is recognised as the Grand Old Lady of the Independence India, an active member of the congress party, she was also engaged during the Civil Disobedience and Salt Satyagraha in public marches and monthly journal of the Indian National Congress named In-Qilab. She was the editor of it and during the Quiz India Movement she hoisted the Indian National Congress flag in Bombay.
- Usha Mehta (1920-2000): Known for broadcasting the congress Radio during the Quit India Movement and was also responsible for circulating information regarding news ad arrest, protest movement and actions taken by the national youth and Gandhi slogan Do or Die.
- Kasturba Gandhi (1869-1944): Leader of the Women Satyagraha and was engaged with indigo workers in the Champaran, Bihar in the No Tax Campaign and Rajkot Satyagraha.
- Kamala Nehru (1899-1936): She played a vital role in the campaign against No Tax in the United Province and was led picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops and participated in the freedom struggle.

- Vijay Lakshmi Pandit (1990-1990): She was the President of the congress party, she joined the non-cooperation movement to fight for an Independent India and was arrested in 1940 and in 1942 she participated in the Quit India Movement.
- Umabai Kundapur (1892-1992): She served the nation for 50 years, leader of women's wing of Hindustani Seva Dal and creator of the Bhagini Mandal. She helped Dr Hardikar to recruit over 150 women to help in Belgaum session of the All India Congress.
- Uda Devi (-1857): Was a warrior in the Revolt of 1857, she was a Dalit who climbed a pipal tree and shot around 32 to 36 British soldiers and is recognised as a brave feat by British.
- Begum Royeka (1880-1932): She was creative writer and a social impact worker in Bengal, who led the foundation of a school primarily for Muslim Girls who is referred to as a Notable Muslim Feminist, through her writings she raised her voice against the challenge and fought for Bengali Muslim women.
- Capt Lakhmi Sehgal (1914-2012): A great freedom fighter, the women who stood against casteism in India and fought for the freedom of India.
- Ammu Swaminathan (1894-1978): A political activist and a social worker during the Indian Independent movement and was a member of the constituent assembly. She is recognised as one of the strongest voices against the caste system in India. She was part of various cultural and social organisations and was the president of Bharat Scouts and guides and was selected as the mother of the year in 1975 and a member of Rajya Sabha.
- Matangini Hazra – (1870-1942): Known as Gandhi Buri, she was a prominent Indian revolutionary. She participated in the Quit India Movement, at the age of 71. She went to capture a police station during the Quit India Movement.
- Rani Gaidinliu (1915-1993): Regarded as the most iconic freedom fighter who joined the movement at the age of 13 years. She led the Heraka movement to revive the Naga Tribal region. She started a movement against the Britishers in

Cachar Hills and the Hangrum Village which threatened the British Raj which further let her go underground.

- Sucheta Kriplani (1908-1974): She was the first women chief minister who served the government of Uttar Pradesh from 1963-1967, participated in the quit India Movement and worked closely in several partition movements with Mahatma Gandhi.
- Savitri Bai Phule (1831-1897): She is regarded as one of the early feminists who stood against the caste and gender discrimination and opposed child marriage, she led the foundation of the first women's school at Bhida Wade in Pune 1848, she recognised the untouchables and open a home to help the young widows, to transform the lives of widows and eradicate child marriage.
- Jhalkari Bai (1830-1890): She played a prominent role in the battle of Jhansi and provide the queen the opportunity to escape and took over the command in the army, she is regarded as a courageous woman and a shadow of Jhansi ki Rani, who had incredible fighting tactics which led her into Durga Dal.
- Janakidevi Bajaj (1893-1979): She was closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi, In the year 1921 she burnt all kind of clothes being used in and out of her home which were foreign, she promoted khadi among people and she worked day and night on Charkha and spindle and gave door to door training on Charkha.
- Kuntala Kumari Sabat (1901-1938): She was a follower of Gandhi who believed that Independence is her birth right and encouraged other women to be participate in the freedom struggle. She is the founder of Bharati Tarpovan Sangha which was built for promoting oriya literature, she was a poet and she used that as a tool in the journey of Independent India.
- Sarala Devi Chaudhurnai (1872-1945): She used music as a weapon to invoke patriotism among the people, she was the editor of a powerful nationalist Urdu weekly, Hindustan newspaper, she also published English edition. She was highly influenced y Gandhi philosophy and dedicated her life to the National struggle. One of her motive was to empower women, she educated them and formed the Bharat Stree Mahamandal.

- Annapurna Maharana (1917- 2012): An outstanding freedom fighter and a social reformer, she was closely connected with Mahatma Gandhi and took part in several programme for the upliftment of the poor. During the Quit India Movement, she was send to prison many a times.
- Rajkumari Gupta (1940-1976): She was closely associated with Chandrashekar Azad and supported him by carrying materials and messages to other revolutionaries, she played a paramount role in the Kakori train robbery, she supplied guns and pistols for the robbery and was connected with the Azad group in Allahabad which was later led by Bhagat Singh.
- Nalinibala Devi (1898-1977): She was among the few women who participated in the non-cooperation and Swadeshi Movement in Assam. She along with Hemanta Kumari Devi and Guneswari Devi opened a training centre in Guwahati amplify the production of khadi which influenced a number of women which resulted in opening 500 khadi caps for congress which was used as a weapon against British.
- Chandraprava Saikiani (1901-1972): She was a social reformer who stood against the caste system, she allowed the entry of women to the Hajo Hayagriv Madhav temple near Guwahati. She participated in the India struggle and joined the non-cooperation movement in 1921 and she was send to jail for engaging in civil Disobedience movement and a rebel Satyagraha.
- Krishnammal Jagannathan (1926-2013): A social reform who used Satyagraha as an instrument to provide land to the landless in Tamil Nadu and stood against social inequality and fought against the British for her mother land.
- Yashodhara Dasappa (1905-1980): She participated in various social movements including Forest Satyagraha movement, An active social worker and political activist who encouraged more and more people to participate in the Satyagraha movement, she received the Padma Bhushan the third civilian honour in 1972 by the government of India.
- Amrit Kaur (1887-1964): She was a prominent leader in the freedom struggle who travelled across the country to circulate the message of freedom, she even joined the INC and

participated in India's struggle for freedom, she also joined the Dandi march and Quit India Movement, she also went on a mission to goodwill to Bannu in 1937.

- Mirabehn (1892-1982): She participated in the freedom movement and also joined Gandhi in the Round table conference in London 1931, she was part of the non-cooperation movement in 1931, she was arrested and detent with Gandhi, she was part of the Shimla Conference and cabinet mission, the Constituent assembly and partition of India.
- Janaky Athi Nahappan (1925-2014): She is also known as Janaky Thevar who was a remarkable commander of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment of the Indian National Army, she led the foundation of the Malayan Indian Congress under John Thivy. She was also involved in the National council of women's organisation.
- Nellie Sengupta (1884-1973): An English Women who fought for the Independent of India, In 1933 on the 47th annual Indian National Congress she become the President of INC. She also went to sell khadi, door to door.
- Azizan Bai (1832-1857): She was a warrior who fought the 1857 war, wearing a male attire and armed with pistols and also played a major role in collecting and distributing guns and pistols to the soldiers.
- Kalpana Dutta (1913-1995): She was known to make bombs for the revolutionist, she joined Surya Sen's Republican Army which had carried the Chittagong Armoury raid.

Conclusion

The above are the contribution of some of the prominent women freedom fighters whose sacrifice deserve utmost respect and the young generation should be told about them, as half of the history of freedom struggle is unknown. Women of all the India were fully and actively participated during the Freedom struggle. These women's participation in India freedom struggle is the story of making bold choices, finding themselves on streets, inside jail and legislature. It is seen that slowly but gradually women involvement has matured and progressively depend on other

movement which fight against all form of oppression, injustice and degradation.

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Unsung Heroes: The Brave Nationalists from Northeast India in India's Freedom Struggle

Parismita Das

Introduction to the contributions of the brave nationalists from Northeast India in the freedom struggle

The Indian Freedom Struggle was a long and arduous journey, marked by the contributions of numerous brave individuals from across the country. Among these individuals were nationalists from Northeast India who played a crucial role in the fight for independence from British rule. These brave men and women, who hailed from states like Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, and Meghalaya, were actively involved in various facets of the freedom struggle, including armed rebellion, peaceful protests, and civil disobedience movements. Despite facing significant challenges such as geographical isolation, language barriers, and cultural differences, they fought alongside their fellow countrymen to achieve the common goal of a free and independent India.

The role of the Ahom Kingdom in resisting British rule, including the Battle of Saraighat in 1671

The Ahom Kingdom, located in present-day Assam, played a crucial role in resisting British rule in India. The Ahom Kingdom was one of the most powerful kingdoms in the region, and its military prowess was unmatched by any other local power. The Ahoms were skilled in guerilla warfare, and their tactics often caught their enemies off guard. They also had an excellent naval force that patrolled the Brahmaputra River and its tributaries.

The British East India Company began their conquest of India in the late 17th century. The Ahom Kingdom was one of the first local powers that the British encountered in their expansionist quest. In 1765, the British defeated the Mughal Empire and became the dominant power in India. However, the Ahom Kingdom remained unconquered until the 1820s.

One of the most significant battles between the Ahom Kingdom and the British took place in 1671. The Battle of Saraighat was fought on the Brahmaputra River near Guwahati, the present-day capital of Assam. The Ahom Kingdom was ruled by King Chakradhwaj Singha, who was an able administrator and a skilled warrior. The British were led by Captain Davis, who commanded a fleet of ships that sailed up the Brahmaputra River.

The Ahom Navy, under the leadership of Lachit Borphukan, was ready to face the British fleet. The Ahom Navy was vastly outnumbered, but they had the advantage of knowledge of the local waters and the support of the local people. The Ahom Navy used a combination of guerilla tactics, traps, and ambushes to defeat the British.

Lachit Borphukan is regarded as one of the greatest military commanders in Indian history. He led the Ahom Navy to victory against the British, despite being outnumbered and outgunned. His leadership and tactical acumen were instrumental in the Ahom Kingdom's victory.

The Battle of Saraighat is an essential chapter in the history of the Ahom Kingdom and India's struggle against colonialism. The Ahom Kingdom's resistance to British rule inspired other local powers to resist the British, and it played a crucial role in India's eventual independence in 1947.

The contributions of Kanaklata Barua, who was martyred during the Quit India Movement in 1942

Kanaklata Barua was a brave Indian freedom fighter who made significant contributions to the country's independence struggle. She was born on December 22, 1924, in Gohpur, Assam. Kanaklata was an ardent patriot who actively participated in India's freedom movement from a young age.

Kanaklata Barua's role in the Quit India Movement in 1942 is widely recognized. She was only 18 years old at the time but was already deeply committed to the struggle for Indian independence. Along with a group of young activists, she led a procession to hoist the Indian flag at the local police station in Gohpur, Assam. Unfortunately, the police fired on the unarmed protestors, killing Kanaklata and her comrades on the spot. This incident came to be known as the 'Tezpur Martyrdom Day'.

Kanaklata Barua's sacrifice became a rallying point for the freedom movement in Assam and the rest of the country. Her martyrdom inspired many young people to join the struggle for freedom. Her contribution to the freedom movement was a testament to her courage, commitment, and dedication to the cause of India's independence.

The role of Gopinath Bordoloi in the Quit India Movement

Gopinath Bordoloi was a prominent Indian freedom fighter and politician who played a significant role in the Quit India Movement of 1942. Born on June 6, 1890, in Raha, Assam, Bordoloi was deeply committed to the cause of Indian independence from a young age.

The Quit India Movement was a nationwide civil disobedience movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in August 1942. The aim of the movement was to demand immediate independence from British colonial rule. The movement was met with severe repression by the British authorities, who arrested thousands of activists, including Gandhi himself.

Gopinath Bordoloi played a crucial role in organizing and mobilizing people in Assam to participate in the Quit India Movement. He worked closely with other prominent leaders like Bishnu Ram Medhi and Tarun Ram Phukan to build a united front against British colonialism.

Bordoloi led protests in Assam, was arrested by the British, imprisoned for 3 yrs. In prison, he organized protests and communicated with other freedom fighters. After release, he helped form Congress in Assam and became the first Chief Minister.

The contribution of Rani Gaidinliu, who led an armed resistance against British rule in Nagaland and Manipur

Rani Gaidinliu was a prominent Indian freedom fighter who played a crucial role in the struggle against British colonialism in Nagaland and Manipur. She was born on January 26, 1915, in the village of Longkao in the present-day state of Manipur.

Gaidinliu was a member of the Naga tribe and was deeply committed to the cause of Indian independence from a young age. She was inspired by the teachings of the religious leader Haipou Jadonang, who had led an armed rebellion against British rule in the early 20th century.

In 1932, at the age of just 17, Gaidinliu emerged as a leader of the Heraka movement, which sought to establish a Naga kingdom independent of British rule. She traveled extensively across Nagaland and Manipur, mobilizing people to join the movement and fighting against the British colonial authorities.

After India gained independence in 1947, Rani Gaidinliu continued to work for the welfare of her people. She campaigned for the rights of the Nagas and worked to promote peace and unity among different communities in the region. She was awarded the Padma Bhushan, one of India's highest civilian awards, in 1982 in recognition of her contributions to the freedom struggle.

The role of Bir Tikendrajit Singh in the Anglo-Manipur War of 1891 and his subsequent execution by the British

Bir Tikendrajit Singh was a prominent leader who played a crucial role in the Anglo-Manipur War of 1891. Born in 1856, he was a member of the Manipuri royal family and was deeply committed to the cause of Indian independence from British colonial rule.

The Anglo-Manipur War of 1891 was a significant event in the history of Manipur. The war was fought between the British colonial forces and the Manipuri army, led by Bir Tikendrajit Singh and his brother, Thangal General. The Manipuri army was fighting to protect their kingdom from British colonialism, but they were ultimately defeated.

After the war, Bir Tikendrajit Singh was arrested by the British colonial authorities and was subsequently executed. His execution was a significant event in the history of the Indian

freedom struggle, as it was seen as a symbol of British oppression and injustice.

Bir Tikendrajit Singh's role in the Anglo-Manipur War of 1891 was significant. He was a brave and visionary leader who recognized the importance of unity and solidarity in the struggle against colonialism. He mobilized people to fight against the British colonial forces and inspired many others to join the freedom struggle.

Despite the defeat of the Manipuri army, Bir Tikendrajit Singh's legacy continues to inspire generations of Indians. He is remembered as a martyr who gave his life for the cause of Indian independence and the welfare of his people.

In conclusion, Bir Tikendrajit Singh played a significant role in the Anglo-Manipur War of 1891 and was subsequently executed by the British colonial authorities.

The contributions of U Tirot Sing Syiem, who led the Khasi uprising against the British in 1829

U Tirot Sing Syiem was a prominent leader who played a crucial role in the Khasi uprising against the British in 1829. Born in the year 1802, in Nongkhlaw, a village in present-day Meghalaya, U Tirot Sing was a brave and visionary leader who fought tirelessly against the British colonial rule.

The Khasi uprising against the British in 1829 was a significant event in the history of Indian freedom struggle. The Khasi people, who lived in the hills of Meghalaya, were fiercely independent and refused to submit to the British colonial authorities. U Tirot Sing Syiem was a key figure in this uprising, and he mobilized his people to fight against British colonialism.

U Tirot Sing Syiem was a charismatic leader who inspired his people to fight for their rights. He organized his people into an army and led them into battle against the British colonial forces. Despite being vastly outnumbered and outgunned, U Tirot Sing Syiem's army fought valiantly, and they managed to inflict significant damage on the British colonial forces.

Although the Khasi uprising was eventually suppressed by the British colonial authorities, U Tirot Sing Syiem's contributions

to the freedom struggle were significant. He was a brave and visionary leader who recognized the importance of unity and solidarity in the struggle against colonialism. He inspired many others to join the freedom struggle, and his legacy continues to inspire generations of Indians.

U Tirot Sing Syiem was a symbol of resistance against British colonialism, and his contributions to the freedom struggle were significant. He recognized the importance of preserving the Khasi culture and identity and worked tirelessly to ensure that his people were not subjugated by the British colonial authorities.

In conclusion, U Tirot Sing Syiem was a remarkable leader who played a crucial role in the Khasi uprising against the British in 1829.

The role of Tripura in the freedom struggle and the contributions of leaders such as Sachindra Lal Singh and Binod Bihari Chowdhury

Sachindra Lal Singh was a prominent figure in the Indian freedom struggle and played a significant role in the movement. He was born in 1899 in a Zamindar family in Bengal and was involved in nationalist activities from a young age.

Singh actively participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920. He was imprisoned several times for his involvement in the movement, including a three-year imprisonment in the Hazaribagh Central Jail in 1922.

In 1928, Singh became the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and played a key role in organizing the Bengal Congress session in Kolkata in December that year. He was also a member of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) and served as the President of the All Bengal Students' Conference.

Singh was one of the leaders of the Salt Satyagraha movement in 1930 and was arrested for his participation in the Dandi March. He was later released from prison on health grounds.

During the Quit India Movement in 1942, Singh was arrested and imprisoned in the Hazaribagh Central Jail. He continued to be involved in nationalist activities after India's

independence and was elected to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1952.

Singh's contribution to the Indian freedom struggle was significant and his dedication to the cause earned him the respect and admiration of many. His commitment to the principles of non-violence and civil disobedience inspired countless others to join the struggle for India's independence.

Binod Bihari Choudhary was a prominent figure in the Indian freedom struggle and played a significant role in the movement. He was born in 1894 in a Zamindar family in Bihar and was actively involved in nationalist activities from a young age.

Choudhary joined the Indian National Congress in 1919 and was a staunch supporter of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent approach to achieving independence. He actively participated in various movements led by the Congress, including the Non-Cooperation Movement and the Salt Satyagraha.

In 1930, Choudhary was elected as a member of the Bihar Legislative Council and became the first person to move a resolution for the establishment of a separate province for tribal people in Bihar and Orissa. He also worked for the rights of farmers and laborers, and was a champion of social justice.

Choudhary was arrested multiple times during the freedom struggle, imprisoned for over 2 years. After independence, he worked for society, was elected to Constituent Assembly, Planning Commission, and served as Minister in Bihar govt. His work for marginalized communities and social justice inspires many.

Conclusion

The Indian freedom struggle required the participation of people from all parts of the country. While the movement saw the involvement of many brave and committed nationalists from across India, those from the Northeast faced a unique set of challenges. In conclusion, Northeast Indian nationalists faced unique challenges during the freedom struggle, including geographical isolation and cultural differences with the rest of India. Despite these obstacles, they made significant contributions to the movement and helped to shape the future of India. Their struggle serves as a reminder of the diversity and richness of India's history, and the importance of

recognizing and celebrating the contributions of all those who fought for the country's freedom.

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An Analytical Study on Role of Tribal Movement in British Era

Pranjit Kalita

Introduction

Like other social groupings, the Indian tribal's took part in the anti-colonial campaign. There were two different kinds of tribal anti-colonial movements: those that opposed their oppressors, such as landlords, moneylenders, traders, thekedars (contractors), government officials, and Christian missionaries; and those that collaborated with and merged with the Indian National movement. The first category of movements might be referred to be anti-colonial because they were aimed against the social classes that British colonisation had created and who worked with the natives. The tribal's regarded these classes as foreigners. Over a period of 70 years, it is estimated that there were more than 70 tribal uprisings. (1778 to 1948). These uprisings varied in how anti-colonial they were. The most significant anti-colonial tribal movements and uprisings were the Tamar revolt (1789-1832), Kherwar movement of Santhals (1833), Santhal revolt of 1855, Bokta risings, Sardari Larai or Mukti Larai movement of 1858-95, Birsa Munda's movement (1895-1901), Devi movement in Gujarat (1922-23), Tribal movement in Midnapur (1918-1924), Jitu Santhal's movement.

Objectives

1. To study the socio-economic conditions of the tribal's during the colonial period.
2. To study the tribal movements which were against colonial exploitation and Oppression.

Methodology

Analytical methods have been used for this study. Data are collected from secondary sources like books, magazines, journals, internet etc.

Socio-Economic Profile of the Tribals During the Colonial Period:- From the very beginning, tribal people had lived in rural India. For millennia, the tribal communities existed in different economic conditions and relative solitude. They kept their distinct identity despite their interactions with non-tribal people. Each tribal community continued to have its own political and economic structures, as well as its own socio religious and cultural life. The primary sources of production and subsistence for the tribal people prior to the coming of the British were land and forests. For the tribals throughout India, the forests held a special significance. They were allowed to use the minor forest products according to custom. The essential components of the everyday needs of tribal people were things like firewood, flowers, fruits, leaves, honey, building supplies, edible nuts, medicinal herbs, etc. To build homes, for food, and for shifting agriculture, they used resources from the forest. They let their livestock roam in the woods. They felt safe because of the woodlands. According to Kr. Suresh Singh, the forests are important to the tribal people because they allow them to survive under circumstances that would be impossible for people of a more civilised race. Jungle fruits and vegetables of all kinds (sag) are a good reserve in the event that the crop fails. They are able to teethe successfully despite the stress that could cause problems thanks to these.

The indigenous people also engaged in weaving, basketry, fishing, hunting, and foraging. Their means of subsistence and labour were not very sophisticated. The primary weapons used for hunting and self-defence were bows and arrows.

To handle their social, religious, economic, and political concerns, the tribal communities had their own chiefs and clan councils (panehayat). Each tribe gave its individual chief a portion of the land's output. However, it wasn't a legal right; rather, it was a moral obligation. Every year, the people offered the chiefs a voluntary tribute in kind and a few days of free labour.

Salient Features of the Tribal Movements:- Tribal revolts and movements were the tribal's' response to being exploited and oppressed. They recognised their adversaries among the outsiders (dikus), including landowners, lenders, thekedars, missionaries, and representatives of European governments. In their respective regions, they started up movements against their oppressors. Their protests against outsiders can be categorised as anti-colonial. They rose up in revolt against them as a result of their exploitation, which included encroaching on their land, evicting them from it, nullifying their traditional legal and social rights and customs, opposing increases in rent and calling for the transfer of land to the tiller as well as the elimination of feudal and semi-feudal forms of land ownership. These movements generally had social and religious overtones. However, they were focused on problems that were connected to their own existence. These "movements" were started by the various chiefs of each group. The movements, which initially focused on social and religious causes as well as against the oppression of foreigners, eventually combined with the National movement and the anti-tax campaign. The tribal people used axes, lathes, bows, and arrows as their primary weapons in battle with their foes. They frequently adopted a violent approach to their movement, killing oppressors and setting their homes on fire. The authorities brutally put an end to the majority of the movements. The tribal people were forced to abide by British policies that were against their best interests. In tribal regions, the government instituted protective administration. The government believed that the tribal territories could not be subject to the standard laws. The Scheduled District Act (1874) was passed by the government, and the Govt. of India Act (1935) designated the tribal territories as excluded zones.

Some Major Tribal Movements in India:- In the latter half of the 19th century, the first signs of tribal insurrection emerged. Tribal members took part in the 1857 uprising, which extended throughout the tribal territories. The people were forced to participate in it. The following sections describe some of the major tribal movements that were primarily anti-colonial in nature.

- **Tamar Revolts (1789-1832):** - The Tamar tribal people rioted more than seven times against the British administration between 1789 and 1832. Midnapur, Koelpur, Chatshila, Jalda,

Dhadha, and Silli tribal communities joined the insurrection led by Bhola Nath Sahay of Tamar. By 1832, the arrows of war had spread throughout the area, and Ganga Narain Singh, a relative of the Banbhum Raj family, was leading the movement on behalf of the Oraons, Mundas, Hos, and Kols.

- **The Kherwar Movement of the Santhals 1833:** - The desire to return to an idealised era of tribal autonomy sparked the Kherwar movement. Bhagirath Majhi served as the movement's first leader. He vowed to free the Santhals from their captivity to British authorities, landowners, and financiers. He promoted the veneration of the Hindu deity Ram, referring to him as Santhal "Caudo". He imposed on the Santhals a code of behaviour based on the Hindu concepts of pollution and cleanliness. The Kherwar movement adopted a political stance in order to drive the non-Santhals off their land.
- **Santhal Revolt of 1855:-** Sidhu and Kanhu Murmu, two Santal rebel leaders, gathered about 60,000 Santhals on June 30, 1855, and announced a revolt against the East India Company. For the duration of the uprising, Sidhu Murmu had amassed roughly ten thousand Santhals to rule a rival government. The main goal was to impose and uphold his own laws in order to collect taxes.

After the announcement, the Santhals quickly armed themselves. The Zamindars, money lenders, and their agents were put to death in numerous communities. The management of the Company was unprepared for the open rebellion. A small group was initially dispatched to put down the rebellion, but when they were unsuccessful, the spirit of the uprising was further stoked. The Company management finally made a significant move when the law and order situation became out of control and sent in a sizable number of troops with assistance from the local zamindars and the nawab of Murshidabad to put an end to the rebellion. Sidhu and his brother Kanhu Murmu were the targets of a Rs. 10,000 reward offered by the East India Company.

Following this, there were other clashes, which led to numerous Santhal force casualties. The gunpowder weaponry used by the East India Company forces proved to be too

advanced for the Santhals' rudimentary weapons. The 40th Native Infantry, the 7th Native Infantry Regiment, and other troop detachments were ordered into battle. From July 1855 to January 1856, there were significant skirmishes in locations including Kahalgaon, Suri, Raghunathpur, and Munkatora.

Following the combat deaths of Sidhu and Kanhu, the uprising was eventually put down. During the uprising, the Nawab of Murshidabad provided war elephants that were used to destroy Santhal homes. In this incident, more than 15,000 people died, dozens of villages were devastated, and numerous people participated in the uprising.

The Santhal leader was able to organise over 60,000 Santhal who divided into 1500–2000 person units to participate in the uprising. Poor tribals and non-tribals like the Gowalas and Lohars (who were milkmen and blacksmiths) have sent knowledge and weapons to the revolt in order to assist it. In addition to the Santhals, Ranabir Samaddar contends that the uprising also included native people of the area including the Mahatos, Kamars, Bagdis, Bagals, and others. Under the direction of Chanku Mahato, the Mahatos participated.

- **Birsa Munda Revolt:** - One of the notable Indian subcontinent tribal uprisings of the 19th century was the Munda Rebellion. In the years 1899–1900, Birsa Munda served as the movement's leader in the area south of Ranchi. The ulgulan, also known as the "Great Tumult," aimed to create both independence and the Munda Raj. As the khuntkattidar, or first forest cleared, the Mundas have historically benefited from a preferential rent rate. But they had witnessed the khuntkatti land structure being undermined throughout the 19th century as the jagirdars and thikadars arrived as merchants and moneylenders.

Before the British arrived, this land alienation process was already well underway. The movement of non-tribal people into tribal areas was expedited by the foundation and consolidation of British control, nevertheless. Forced labour, also known as Beth beggary, has become far more common. Furthermore, dishonest contractors had turned the area into a hub for hiring indentured workers. A number of Lutheran,

Anglican, and Catholic missions started to arise, which is another another alteration connected to British administration. The tribal people became more organised and aware of their rights as a result of the missionaries' efforts to promote education. As the social rift between the Christian and non-Christian Mundas widened, tribal unity was weakened. Thus, the agrarian unrest and the rise of Christianity aided in the movement's revitalization, which aimed to rebuild the tribal society that had fallen apart due to the pressures and difficulties of colonial control.

Birsa Munda (1874–1900), the son of a sharecropper who had received some schooling from the missionaries, was influenced by Vaishnavism and took part in a movement in 1893–1894 to stop the Forest Department from taking up local wastelands. In 1895, Birsa declared he a prophet endowed with supernatural healing abilities after claiming to have witnessed a vision of God. Thousands of people went to hear Birsa's "new word," which foretold an impending flood. The new prophet started criticising the prevailing religious doctrines, rituals, and practises of the tribe. He urged the Mundas to resist superstition, abstain from animal sacrifice and alcohol consumption, wear the sacred thread, and uphold the tribal custom of doing devotion in the sarna, or sacred grove. It was primarily a revivalist movement that aimed to rid Munda society of all outside influences and re-establish its pure essence. The movement was also impacted by Christianity, which developed the Munda worldview and philosophy by combining Christian and Hindu idioms.

Then, what started as a religious movement was given an agrarian and political undertone. Christian tribe radiates began filing lawsuits against foreign landowners and Beth beggary starting in 1858. This was the Sardari ladai, also known as the Mulkai ladai, or battle over land. Through its interaction with the Sardar movement, Birsa Munda's religious movement underwent a transformation. At first, the Sardars (tribe chiefs) had nothing to do with Birsa, but as his popularity grew, they drew on him to give their own frail battle a strong foundation. Despite being influenced by the Sardars, Birsa was not their representative, and despite the two movements' shared agrarian

roots, there were significant contrasts between them. At first, the Sardars claimed allegiance to the British and even to the Raja of Chhotanagpur, saying that their main goal was the abolition of intermediary interests. On the other side, Birsa had a constructive political agenda with the goal of achieving political and religious independence. The goal of the initiative was to assert the Mundas' ownership rights over the land. Birsa believed that this ideal agrarian system would be feasible in a society free from the influence of European officials and missionaries, making the Munda Raj necessary.

In 1895, the British imprisoned Birsa for two years because of fear of a conspiracy, but when he was released, he was much more of a firebrand. In a series of late-night gatherings that took place in the jungle between 1898 and 1899, Birsa purportedly called for the execution of Christians, rajas, hakims, and thikadars.

There was an undertone of resentment towards the dikus, but except from a few contentious incidents, there were no overt attacks on them. Instead, the rebels assaulted police stations, government buildings, churches, and missionaries. On Christmas Eve 1899, the Mundas attacked six police stations in Ranchi and Singhbhum districts with arrows and attempted to burn down churches. Next, in January 1900, there were attacks on police stations and speculations that Birsa's supporters would attack Ranchi on January 8 caused fear. However, the rebels were crushed on January 9. Birsa was taken prisoner and perished there. Three of the nearly 350 Mundas who were placed on trial were executed, while 44 were sentenced to life in prison.

The survey and settlement efforts of 1902–1910 were an attempt by the government to address the complaints of the Mundas. Their khuntkatti rights were partially recognised by the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908, which also outlawed beth begari. Tribal people from Chhotanagpur gained some legal protection for their land rights.

- **Devi Movement in Gujarat (1922-23):** - The Devi Movement began as a social movement in South Gujarat between 1922 and 1923. It was a movement where it was believed that Devi

Salabai was ordering the tribal's to refrain from consuming animal flesh, alcohol or toddy, to take daily baths, to clean up after faeces with water rather than a leaf, to keep their homes clean, to release or sell their goats and chickens (which were kept for eating or sacrifice), and to shun Parsi liquor merchants and landlords. It was believed that those who disobeyed these divine commands would experience bad luck, become insane, or perhaps pass away. By December 1922, the movement had taken over Surat city and the entire region where the tribal people lived. This campaign targeted the social classes that abused the native people and engaged in the illicit alcohol trade. These classes included Parsi landlords and moneylenders who also sold alcohol. The tribal members made the decision to shun Muslims and Parsis, refrain from doing business with anyone involved in the sale of alcoholic beverages, and bathe while a Parsi's shadow is cast across them. At first, this movement was a religious movement, but by the end of December 1922, it had changed to become a non-cooperation movement. The tribal members began to promote boycotting public schools and burning of foreign clothing. A Parsi toddy shop owner in Jalalpur Taluqa was forced to pay a fine of Rs. 120 to a nationalist school by the tribals using Devi medium. Since 1921, Gandhians have been working with the tribal people in Bardoli Taluqa and Mahal. Even before a campaign of civil disobedience was started in their region, Gandhi pushed for the inclusion of the Adivasis in the national movement. The Adivasis had not previously exhibited any interest in the national movement. As a result of Kunravji Mehta's efforts with the tribes, Gandhi's name became well-known among them. The tribal people had a far greater affinity with the national movement. Through the Devi medium, the names of Gandhi and Devi came to be associated in the years that followed. The Congress leaders then travelled to Bardoli and had some talks with Devi. They advised the tribals that by donning Khadi, Devi's authority might be strengthened. On January 21, 1923, the Congress hosted the Kaliparaj Conference, which Vallabhabhai Patel presided over. About 20,000 adivasis participated in this meeting. The conference decided to support the removal of toddy trees, the closing of liquor stores, and the spread of Khadi. Many chaudhris of the

tribal people fulfilled their promise to support the Gandhian movement and the Indian National Congress in their fight against British rule in the following two decades, namely in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1942.

- **Tribal Movement in Assam:** - During the British colonial era, the Assamese tribal people—who lived in Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mikoram—resisted British attempts to encroach on their territory. By 1873, the British region that would later become known as Assam began to take shape.

In 1826, the British seized the independent tribal states of the Khasi Hills as well as the states of Jaintia, Cachar, and Assam. A portion of the Naga Hills and the Mizo Hills were annexed in the 1860s and 1870s, respectively. The British sought to convert Assam's agriculture into tea gardens that would be used only by them. In order to advance their colonial objectives, they also sought to alter indigenous culture and traditions. In rebellions headed by Gundhar Kunwar and Rup Chand Kunwar in the years 1828 and 1829, the tribal people rebelled against British policies. The British brutally put an end to them. Peali Barphukan was put to death for his involvement in the 1828 uprising. The Khasis fought an independence war. (1829-33). U. Tirot Singh led them in that way. He was the leader of a coalition of minor Khasi nations. They had engaged in clandestine combat with the British. Along with their subjects, the Khasi chiefs opposed the British. But in the end, they had to give in.

The 1857 uprising served as inspiration for the Assamese tribal people. Two significant uprisings against the British occurred in 1860, one in the Jaintia Hills and the other in the Nowgong Plains. The increase in taxes was the root cause of these revolutions. The Khasis revolted at the rise in taxes imposed by their rulers' le: Jership. They used bows and arrows to fight for their freedom. When the army was dispatched to subdue them in 1863, they finally submitted. The cultivation of the poppy crop in Nowgong district cost the indigenous people their livelihoods in 1860. The growth in revenue followed it. Additionally, they were asked to pay higher taxes on pan and betel nut. To collect the increased taxes, government agents

utilised force. The Nowgong tribes, primarily in the Phulanguri region, rose up in revolt against the British. They took their cue from the tribal's of the Jaintia Hills, who had revolted a short while previously.

Conclusion

The Indian independence struggle was a fantastic effort by many people from all throughout the nation. For the independence of their nation, they had given their lives and their souls. Many Indian freedom warriors, including those involved in tribal uprisings, battled against British authority. Their role to the fight against the British Raj is immeasurable and has persisted in history.

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Impact of Drug Trafficking Among Children and Youths as a Barrier in Indian Freedom Struggle: A Socio-Legal Study

Puja Gupta

Introduction

Drug Trafficking is an illegal worldwide enterprise that includes the synthesis, distribution, and sale of chemicals, all of which are prohibited by law. To understand the dynamics of the world market for illegal drugs, UNODC conducted a research and conducted market monitoring. The yearly world drug report contains additional information and plays a significant role in the current study.⁷

In order to cope with the prohibition of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances in India, the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985, also known as the NDPS Act, was created. The Distribution, Manufacture, Cultivation, or Production of Substances Prohibited by Law Act specifically forbids anybody from doing any of these things. This Act was initially passed in 1985, however it has since been modified three times, in 1988, 2001, and 2014. Yet in 2014, a specific amendment was introduced that loosened limitations on essential narcotic drugs

⁷ J.Sasi Kumar, *Narcotic Drugs and Money Laundering: An Investigation of the Illegal Drug Traffic Among Indian Opium Farmers*, The Bureau of Police Research and Development(28 August 1970), <https://bprd.nic.in/WriteReadData/userfiles/file/201608020552270235597Report.pdf>

(such morphine, fentanyl, and methadone), making them more available for use in treating severe disease and suffering.⁸

Furthermore, drug trafficking has a detrimental effect on the economy, which is one of the main reasons why it is difficult for children and young people in India to achieve their independence because money laundering plays a significant role in this situation and can impede economic growth, particularly in smaller, less developed nations like our North-East regions. According to the 2022 World Drug Report's unique insights "*seek to assist Member States anticipate and tackle dangers from drug markets and reduce their consequences, as well as promote deeper international collaboration to combat the impact of the global drug issue on health, governance, and security.*"⁹

Thus, by summarizing all the reports it can be said that throughout the world, the “Golden Triangle (Laos, Burma, and Thailand) and the Golden Crescent are said to account for almost 90% of all drug manufacturing and distribution (Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran)”. In the transit of narcotics, the proximity of the “Golden Crescent” to other nations, particularly to Europe, is crucial.

Objectives

- i. To determine a critical framework of tactics to stop the sale of drugs to Indian children and youths who are fighting for freedom.
- ii. To comprehend the types and parameters of both legislative and judicial interpretations of drug use and trafficking.
- iii. Using socio-legal analysis from both national and international perspectives, this research aims to look at the negative consequences that illegal drug trafficking has on countries' border regions.

⁸ The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substance Act, 1985 (NDPS Act), No. 61, Acts of Parliament, 1985 (India).

⁹ UNODC World Drug Report. (2022). *Reading allowed: Annual report and financial assistance of the European Union*. Retrieved from <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/world-drug-report-2022.html>

Methodology

Qualitative research is the main research approach employed in this study. Taking this into account, the primary and secondary materials used in a doctrinal legal research are mostly library-based and comprise:

- i. Primary Sources
 - a. Statutory Regulations
 - b. Laws and legislation
 - c. Court Decision Reports
- ii. Secondary Sources
 - a. Text/Reference Books
 - b. Magazines/Journals/e-Newspapers/e-Magazines
 - c. Legal Encyclopedia/ Digest of Cases
 - d. Internet/WebPages

Analysis

India has become into a transit point as well as a final destination for heroin and hashish made in the Golden Triangle and Golden Crescent during the past three decades. Moreover, a variety of pharmaceuticals, psycho tropics, and outdated chemicals made both locally and abroad are also trafficked across Indian territory. In addition to breaching India's border, the two-way unlawful transit of these medicines and chemicals presents a serious danger to the country's safety. The country's borders serve as the initial point of contact for drug trafficking because about 70% of these narcotics and drugs are transported over land utilizing different modes of transportation. Regarding India, many borders exhibit various trafficking patterns based on the nature of the border, its surroundings, as well as the manufacturing, consumption, and distribution of narcotics, as seen below:

- i. **India-Pakistan Border:** The Golden Crescent, the world's greatest supplier of heroin and hashish, is close to the India-Pakistan border, making it dangerous for the smuggling of opium and cannabis.
- ii. **India-Nepal Border:** The two types of cannabis that have traditionally been transported from Nepal into India are hashish and marijuana (ganja). Recently, there has been a two-way flow of drugs and narcotics across the borders between

India and Nepal and India and Bhutan due to rising demand for cannabis from Nepal and Bhutan in India and corresponding increases in demand for codeine-based pharmaceutical preparations and low-grade heroin in Nepal and Bhutan.

- iii. **India-Myanmar Border:** Due to the India-Myanmar border's proximity to the Golden Triangle, the local population in the region's North Eastern states' growing drug demand, political unrest and insecurity caused by the numerous local insurgencies, and a porous and inadequately shielded border, traffickers have been able to smuggle cocaine and other psychiatric substances into the region through this border in an increasingly large scale.
- iv. **India-Bangladesh Border:** The border between India and Bangladesh has historically allowed for the smuggling of a wide variety of substances, including opium, marijuana (ganja), cannabis, codeine cough syrup, brown sugar etc. The India-Bangladesh border is relatively porous, there is extensive settlement along the border, and there is a huge demand for cough syrups with codeine in Bangladesh. These factors all contribute to drug trafficking along the border.¹⁰

In truth, a COVID-19 pandemic case moved from China to the rest of the world in late 2019 and caused a global pandemic. In order to address the threat to the public health, governments established a number of limitations that began in the early months of 2020 and had an influence on the global patterns of drug consumption. These limits were:

- i. Due to the brief border restriction, which hampered the typical route of illegal drug shipping from nation to nation, there were no street narcotics available.
- ii. Also, all of the typical recreational situations where stimulant medications are widely taken had to be closed due to international restrictive measures that various nations imposed.
- iii. This tendency, in particular, was first seen primarily in the major cities of Northern-Europe, but it has since expanded

10 Prajapati Nishka, *Drug Trafficking in India*, Legal Service in India, June 13, 2021.

throughout the globe and is now a concerning reality in the nations of Western-Europe.

- iv. Also, by encouraging drug users to seek out other psychotropic medications, presumably through illegal internet markets, the associated social alienation and rehabilitation clinics added to the psychological misery.¹¹

Impact of Socio-Legal Factors

In India, the use of illegal narcotics by children and teenagers has grown to be a serious societal problem. If things keep going in this direction, civilization will soon lose its status in terms of education, society, and the economy. The state will incur harm that is both permanent and irrevocable in the future generations. Thus, before it's too late, a fight must be launched against the trafficking of illicit narcotics. The following are the main arguments for such actions:

- i. The main cause of the youth's unhappiness is the lack of good career options and limited business opportunities for locals.
- ii. Another major factor is the general decline of interpersonal ties within families and society.
- iii. Another factor is when parents give their kids too much freedom, which makes it difficult for them to regulate them.
- iv. Under the guise of teaching or coaching, keeping kids out of dangerous neighborhoods or cities has long been a major driver of illegal drug usage.
- v. Another good explanation is because earlier, succeeding state governments did not set up their infrastructure to combat drug dealers.
- vi. Last but not least, the ineffective anti-drug effort and effective social organization agenda are a few other reasons for its quick expansion in the country.

Some other impacts were analyzed below:

- i. The Issue with Security:** Addicts who use drugs not only have higher medical costs, but they also pose a greater risk to people

¹¹Marinelli Enrico, Zaami Simona, and Rosaria Vari Maria, *New Trends of Substance Abuse During COVID-19 Pandemic: An International Perspective*, Front. Psychiatry, June 17, 2021, at 32, 33.

around them and their surroundings. Addiction to drugs impairs a number of mental processes, including sensitivity, focus, cognition, collaboration, and response time, all of which are necessary for safe functioning. Because of the active component or item, the production methods itself, and the precursor chemicals required for synthesis, the unlawful production and disposal of drugs and medicines greatly impact the environment.

- ii. **Drugs' Effects on the Economy:** Effect of Drugs on Public Safety Drug use has a direct influence on public health and safety. It prevents the orderly development and effective operation of society. Crimes are brought on by drug addiction, which lowers the degree of safety in society. Even road safety is compromised by addiction. The two primary factors contributing to road accidents are alcohol and drug usage. Drug users who are also motorists put other drivers at danger. On foot, drug users run the danger of getting into mishaps. At work, drug abuse leads to terrible accidents and other tragedies (such as factories, offices, hospitals, etc.).
- iii. **Drug's Effect on Governance:** It is challenging for governments to control unlawful activities like drug trafficking and illegal manufacture. As a result, the government is struggling financially. In conclusion, the government invests a significant amount of money in the following areas:
 - a. Centre's for Rehabilitation;
 - b. Centre's for Professional Training;
 - c. Centre's for Counseling Management;
 - d. Working-Place Absenteeism; etc.
- iv. **Social Effects of Drug Use:** Young drug users' parents go through a lot of pain. Parents are unable to address the peculiar behavior of their drug-using child. When they see the elderly using drugs, the younger generations incorrectly think that drug abuse is a socially acceptable behavior. The family members eventually come to terms with this while still feeling furious, terrified, humiliated, and embarrassed. A drug user in the family regularly acts in a violent, aggressive, careless, and selfish manner that is not acceptable in society. Gambling is practiced by many addicts. The presence of drug addicts in the

home has a negative impact on children. Because of this, kids fear them. Many children who take drugs as adults do so now. The negative emphasis of society also wrecks children's life. Drug abuse between parents and children is a risky cycle that has to be broken.¹²

It was therefore observed that during the previous several months, there have been 830 complaints, 1424 convictions, 18.81 kg of heroine, 7944.72 kg of marihuana, 14.28 kg of opium, 67371 bottles of cough medicine, 1270394 capsules and tablets, and \$1,00,76,282 in currency. Also, the cultivations of cannabis and poppy in 15 Bighas and 1 Lecha were demolished.¹³

Findings

- i. It was found that the research strongly emphasizes the part played by women in the drug trade. As secretaries in criminal organizations that deal with money laundering and by receiving international shipments of illegal items (such as cocaine, opium, poppy seeds, cannabis, etc.) in such dubious firms, women have allegedly had a range of "invisible" tasks both at national and international territories.
- ii. It observed that the failure of the anti-drug authorities to adequately carry out their tasks is evidenced by the fact that the illicit drug trade cannot be stopped by the law or by its enforcement. Every law enforcement organization, with the exception of the Narcotics Control Bureau, such as Custom, Central Excise, Police, State Excise, and Revenue Intelligence, etc., only has "Drug Law Enforcement" as an added duty. As a result, the "Narcotics Control Bureau" is unable to combat the Indian Independence Struggle effectively due to a staffing shortfall.
- iii. The findings show that the difficulty in protecting the country's borders from drug traffickers stems from India's use of a number of strategies. On the one hand, it has enacted strict anti-drug laws, joined numerous voluntary organizations, and made

12 Das Pushpita, A Case for Border Security: Drug Trafficking in India 24 (Id ed. 2012).
13 e-Paper, Assam to Arrest 4,100 Persons for Drug and Livestock Smuggling in 2021: Governor, THE ECONOMICS TIMES, January 26, 2023, at A1.

efforts to increase the physical security of its borders through a variety of means. On the other hand, it has actively sought the assistance of its neighbors and other countries through a number of bilateral and multilateral agreements.

- iv. It was discovered that on their journey to the West, drugs produced in both the Golden Triangle and the Golden Crescent pass via India, which is geographically situated midway between them. In reality, India also cultivates a sizable amount of opium that is permitted; some of this opium may be acquired illegally in a variety of forms.

Suggestion

- i. All law enforcement organizations should have access to adequate facilities and infrastructure for thorough training on a variety of topics related to drug misuse and illegal trafficking.
- ii. The government should offer farmers with viable alternatives so they may produce those foods that were away from the unlawful growth of opium and marijuana, and it should firmly enforce the many domestic laws passed for the control of drug trafficking.
- iii. It is necessary to advance the money transaction and money laundering inquiry into the opium and heroin trade in order to identify the related narcotics network, conduct a financial investigation, and seize any forfeited property.
- iv. In order to halt the drug trade, it is important to keep an eye on the borders and immigration regions so that children and youngsters are more aware of the Indian liberation movement. The death penalty should be enshrined in the law as a means of punishing drug suppliers.

Conclusion

India has struggled with social evils that are worse than those that existed during the British colonial era, as well as other events, ever since gaining independence. In addition to seriously hurting the social fabric of India among children and young people, illegal trafficking in India is a major financial obstacle to the nation's desire for independence. Despite the fact that some criminal organizations and traffickers have been operating the drug trade in this region for the past few years, India has long been a significant target for the trade. Since they have ventured too far outside the

limits of urban areas, many children and young people are developing drug dependence. As India is the only country in the world with the biggest percentage of children, numerous other nations want to provide medicines to our kids in an effort to kill them. This has already destroyed a few lives, and many families are still dealing with the terrible effects of drug use on their children, families, and individuals. That is a really serious issue.

Thus, for the first time in India, Assam government has just taken a new move that unquestionably has the potential to reduce drug use by giving Assam Police operational authority to target drug dealers. We can only hope that the “Government's Zero Tolerance” approach will help to alleviate the state's drug issue.

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Freedom Movement and Assamese Society in Assamese Literature with Special Reference to Jyoti Prasad Agarwala's Dramas

Queen Sonowal

Introduction

Titled as the "*Rupkonwar*" meaning prince of beauty, Jyoti Prasad Agarwala was accredited with many qualities. Agarwala is known for his musical masterpieces, lyrical compositions, proficient directing and literary prowess. As an artist he was radical, aiming towards the change and songs this philosophy reflected in his brilliant artistry. Agarwala was also an active member of the freedom struggle, participating as a volunteer in the Civil Disobedience Movement and was jailed for fifteen months. In the August Movement of 1942, Jyoti Prasad Agarwala shouldered the responsibility of *Shanti Sena*, roused the people to participate in the Quit India Movement and revolt against the imperialist endeavors of Second World War. His writings finely depict the Assamese society in close proximity as he himself witnessed the events and alterations taking place. This paper attempts to throw light on his completed and incomplete works that reflected a picture of the events and society of Assam during the August Movement in 1942.

Aim of the Study

Literature always reflects the time and background of its composition. This paper aims to bring out the works of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala in the context of the freedom struggle of 1942.

Methodology

Based on secondary sources. The present work uses textual sources like the books written and compiled by authors, research papers, journals and articles.

Review of Literature

There are noteworthy works produced on the history of Assamese literature by eminent writers. Along with the literature, the freedom struggle of 1942 has always been a subject of Assamese academic research. *History of Assamese Literature* (1964) by Birnchi Kumar Barua, *Assamese Literature* (1959) by Hem Barua, *Asomiya Natyo Sahityor Jilingoni* (1988) by Hari Chandra Bhattacharya, *Asomiya Sahitya: Adhunik Jug* by Prafulla Chandra Bora, *Asomiya Sahityor Buranji sasta khanda* edited by Homen Borgohain are some of the publications that throw light on the history of Assamese literature. The paper titled *The Quit India Movement in Assam* by Dr. Fakrul Islam Laskar, a part of the Rahul Kumar Mahanta edited *Redefining India* (2019); *The Quit India Movement* by Arun Chandra Bhuyan, *Landmarks of Freedom Struggle in Assam* (1958) by Keshab Narayan Dutta, *Nationalist Upsurge in Assam* (2000) edited by Arun Bhuyan emphasize the contribution of Assamese community in the freedom struggle of India. The *Jyoti Prasad Rachanwali* edited by Dr Satyendranath Sarma is the compilation of all the completed (published and not published) and incomplete literary works of Jyoti Prasad Agarwala. It includes his writings in Assamese as well as English and Hindi.

Discussion

Jyoti Prasad Agarwala in a short life span composed a great number of works which make him a legendary figure in the field of Assamese literature. Popularly known for his incredible lyrical and musical compositions, Agarwala wrote a number of literary pieces taking the freedom struggle as the backdrop. Among his notable theatres, the name of Labhita came to the forefront while talking about a drama based on the 1942 rising. Although Agarwala started another screenplay with the story of Kanakalata Barua, a Martyr of the Quit India Movement, he failed to complete it by his death (1951).

Socio-Political Commentary

"Labhita" is a reflection of Assamese life in a period which is marked by the freedom struggle in one hand and the World War two on another. Jyoti Prasad in the preface of Labhita wrote "the drama tries to picturize a realistic sketch of the impact of the revolution of 1942 and the waves of World War two that crossed over the Assamese population (Sharma 188)." The play is unique from the other plays of Jyoti Prasad in character. Labhita depicts the August revolution of 1942 in which India's millions underwent sacrificial suffering for independence. It also depicts how the revolution as well as the second World War shook up Assamese life and fired the imagination of Assamese youths and maidens to blaze, the revolutionary trial. The courage, patriotism and ability of the heroic village girl Labhita and ex soldier of Indian National Army and her pathetic social life – these move us deeply. Realistic to the very core, The drama is principally one of action and thwarted passion. Character enlivened by action and the grim action is directed by the force of circumstances (Barua, 160-161). Although composed in the political backdrop the societal commentary get more importance in the drama (Bharali,118)

Through Labhita, Jyoti Prasad questioned societal norms. The character Labhita despite being in a village is an open minded independent woman. When the landlady of the Mauzadar's house was disrespecting her, she voiced out "I am not here to be a maid." When the elderly Muslim Ilahi baksh gave her a place to stay, her heart was filled with respect for the old man. She criticized Golap for his proposal to accept her, but also hesitated as she stayed in the house of a Muslim. She said "You continue to stay with your village, your people, your society's norms, rules and your caste. But don't address yourself as a modern man in front of others (Bhattacharya,326)."

The story of Labhita was inspired by real life incidents. The first events of Labhita's story is inspired from an incident that took place in Salonibari air field. An Assamese village near the runway which was established by the British force, was evicted by the Gurkha militaries in late 1941. There, a group of women protested against the eviction. Later the deputy commissioner only with the help of Congress workers was able to send them away. Jyoti Prasad

mentioned the incident in his writing. These types of stories are heard from almost all parts of the province. Assam being closer to Burma was also an important strategic base for the Army in the second World War. There are stories of girls and women getting molested, harassed by the soldiers, society's refusal to accept them and later they went on to work in the war front. There were also instances of Assamese people becoming a part of Netaji's Indian National Army and fought in the war against the British. All these stories and events are highlighted by Agarwala through "Labhita". Agarwala mentioned that there is no particular hero and heroine in this drama, the main character here is the Assamese population. It is the story of Assamese life. He presents in this play the significant episodes of revolution of 1942, the glorious advance of the INA, more like a cavalcade, than as a well knit theme of a well made play. The plot depicted the reactions of events in the mind of simple village girl Labhita who swims courageously through the torrents of times (Barua S.N.)

The Quit India Movement caught rapid momentum in the year of 1942. Processions and Protest hartals were spontaneously organized by people in many places of the province (Guha,272). The Congress constituted an Emergency Committee anticipating trouble ahead, in every province to accomplish its agenda of self sufficiency and self protection. One such committee was also formed in Assam and under that committee an efficient *Santi -Sena* organization was built up. About 20,000 volunteers joined the *Santi-Sena* whose leaders were trained in such a way to meet any emergency arising out of World War II. Jawaharlal Nehru was so impressed with that organization that once seeing its rally at Boko, Assam, he said, "I wouldn't easily forget the sight I have seen here." The *Santi – Senas* used to guard the villages at night. They offered yeoman service in rendering aid to the evacuees at the stations on the Assam Bengal Railways (Laskar, 154). Jyoti Prasad Agarwala was the organizer of Tezpur Shanti Sena and later he was called on by Omeo Kumar Das to assist Hem Baruah. Later he became a leader of the All Assam *Santi Bahini* and traveled to every nook and corner of Assam spreading the message of freedom struggle.

Jyoti Prasad Agarwala started *Kanakalata* in the later part of his years but could not finish it. As the name suggests, the drama is based on the life of martyr *Kanakalata Barua* who sacrificed her

life in the fight for liberation. In September, 1942, the unarmed men and women went to the Gahpur police station to hoist the national flag in the police station compound. They tried to enter into the police station by two gates, Western gate, Kanaklata Barua and some other ten girls were at the head of the procession. Kanaklata Barua had in her hand the national flag. When the Officer in charge of the Gahpur police station refused to allow the people to enter into the police station. The threat of the police officer failed to deviate the masses from the object and they went forward. The police subsequently fired on the masses. One bullet hit the chest of Kanaklata Barua while another one smashed the head of Mukundaram Kakati (Laskar, 163). The fragments of the drama that was composed by Agarwala shows how the intensity of the 1942 movement works in the lives of rural Assam. The beginning scene of Kanaklata depicts children and teenagers singing Bihu husori wearing Gandhi cap, expressing the widespread ideas of freedom in Assam. Old and young of all genders took part in the struggle against colonial atrocity, many sacrificing their lives in the revolution.

Musical Patriotism

Agarwala's dramas are also filled with songs with patriotic messages and revolutionary consciousness. In "Labhita", the Congress volunteers urging everyone to be a part of the movement, sing

*Biswaabijoy nava juwan
Saktihalini bharotor
ulai aha ulai aha
Hontan tumi biplobor*

Invoking the sacrifice of thousands in the revolution and love for motherland, Jyoti Prasad wrote,

*Thaponat tejere bonti delahi
Lora suwaliye tur
Lachitor dinore jola juikura
Aai oo numua nai
Notun tejere xolita jolise ujolise bhomokai.*

Conclusion

Dramas are a tool of societal expression. Jyoti Prasad Agarwala being a master story writer and a social commentator, brought out a lifelike picture of 1942. On one hand the political developments and on other the consequences of it on the actual majority of Assam is displayed through some fictional characters, which also have real life inspirations. The social conditions - the contradictions within society between landed mediators and common peasants; the mistreatment society shows to a harassment victim; gender roles; human relations etc. are the themes that made the dramas of Jyoti Prasad documentaries of society. Written in the context of freedom struggle, Labhita and the unfinished Kanakalata are two of the most incredible dramatic masterpieces.

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Contributions of Birsa Munda in the Freedom struggle of India: Perspectives and Political legacy

Raja Lohar

Introduction

Birsa Munda was one of the leader who represented the grassroots leadership in the multi-coloured Indian independence movements. It is evident from many academic writings that Birsa Munda's contribution in Indian freedom struggle has been limited to being recognized only as a leader of tribal movements. Birsa Munda has lit the first fire of resistance against British colonial rule and even his leadership and Ideas helped in reforming the tribal socio-economic life. Birsa Munda was born at Ulihatu in the Bengal Presidency (presently in Jharkhand) on 15th November 1875 into a Munda family. His parents were Sugana Munda and Karmi Hatu and they have a hard life livelihood and poverty. Birsa's revolt mainly concentrated in the Munda belt of Khunti, Tamar, Sarvada and Bandgaon. His portrait hangs in the Indian Parliament Museum; he is the only tribal leader to have been so honoured

There was a neglect of research and greater reach about the Birsa Munda's contribution and Ideas in Indian freedom struggle. Indian council of Historical Research, who have published huge corpus of writings on the contributions of Indian freedom struggle have been seen neglected the role of Tribal (Adivasi) freedom fighters. It was Kalikinkar who first wrote a chapter about Birsa Munda (First Academic writing), in book entitled *History of the Freedom movements in Bihar* published in 1957 by Bihar government and later a project entitled 'life and times of Birsa

Bhagwan' by SP Sinha (1964) and Later in 1966 doctoral student of K Suresh Singh has worked on the life and contributions of Adivasi leader. (Bara, 03) Which has encouraged the academicians towards the research about the contributions of Tribal leaders.

Recent years, some notable documentaries have been witnessed, 'Birsa Munda' by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs in 2016, Doordarshan started 'Birsha Munda: The Real Hero' in 2018 and Prasar Bharti Archives named 'Birsa Munda' in 2019. Now days numbers of educational institutions are being established named after Birsa Munda in different parts of India. Even Indian government led by Narendra Modi has acknowledge the birth Anniversary of Birsa Munda as a 'Janjatiya Gourav Diwas'.

Movements against colonial rule

British intrusion to Tribal areas started with permanent land settlement 1773, brought zamindari system and right over lands leads to forced labour, arbitrary taxes and rents and denial of rights of tribal peoples. And also influx of Mahajanas and Thekedars whom tribals called as a diku or outsiders. In this mean time we seen sardar movements who protest and write petition within the law and peacefully against these but got neglected. Sociologist Max Weber famously theorized that 'prophets' emerge during a social crisis. Birsa Munda emerged as a leader to them. Birsa propounded the idea of a "Munda disum," a call to gain freedom from all diku elements, and the British colonial rule was perceived as the mother of all of them, and had to be done away with completely. (Bara, 95) Birsa took a part in the movement against the acquisition of land in the village by the forest department in 1893-94 and even led many rebellions. he was arrested on 19 November 1895 and was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for two years with a payment of a fine of Rs 50. (Singh 66) even after the arrest, he remained an inspiring force among the tribes through the medium of his disciples. He started organizing meetings to mobilize peoples after released from jail in 1897.

British enacted Forest Act of 1894 which restrict the use of forest resources, shifting agriculture and hunting practices and even allow money lenders to tribal areas and started exploitation of them and gradually tribal's started loosing their land and forest rights and becoming the bonded labour. 'Ulgulan or the Great Tumult'

munda language term which means strong Revolution, has been significant started in 1899 to establish munda Raj and it was against British and Christian missionaries who supports colonial rules, Christian missionaries were considered alongside the colonial rulers with the slogan of "topitopi ek topi," meaning hat-donning white men, whether officials or missionaries, are of the same breed (Hoffmann and Emelen 567). Birsa felt that missionaries never strived for Adivasi justice, inspite of having know the real situations of their, rather they informed the authorities about Birsa's activities from villages (Hoffmann and Emelen 567-568). In 1899, he was joined by 7000 tribal men and women who went into the fight to start the revolution. British able to crush the movement and arrested Birsa, where he died on 09 June 1900 at the age of 25 years.

After 8 years of his death finally 'Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act' in 1908 brought by British which limited the transfer of tribal lands to non-tribal which may come after the death of Birsa but roots and foundations are set by him.

Birsa Munda's Ideas and Perspectives

We find that Birsa Munda has wider visions than just mobilizing tribals and protesting against colonial rule. Greater depth analyses shows that he was also a social reformer, protector of tribal identity and have a equal vision for women development.

We all know that term 'Self-rule' has been propounded by Gandhi ji and later other freedom fighters but before them, the Idea of 'Self-rule' has been emphasized by Birsa Munda, his ideas may be specially for the tribal peoples on that time but we can say that he set the foundations and idea of self-rule in India against the colonial rule. He started resistance and movement against colonial rulers with number of movements of Kolvidroh, Munda Rebellion, etc. His Slogan of '*Abua raj seter jana, Maharani raj Tundu Jana*' which means 'Let the Kingdom of the Queen be ended and create our own Kingdom' was the first freedom struggle stone against the Colonial-rule and establish the self-rule.

Mahasweta Devi in his novel 'Aranyer Adhikar' emphasized that Birsa Munda has influence by the His parents whom he seen being oppressed by British and denied to use forest land and resources which they belongs from decade which led his

thought regarding importance of education to socialize the tribal people regarding their rights and led resistance against discrimination on humanism.

Social reformer and protector of tribal identity: He Encouraged tribal peoples and his friends and disciples to get back to tribal roots, traditions and culture which are the real identity of the tribal peoples. He was against the conversion of tribals to Christianity not because of distinct religion rather for these are using for British support who are exploiting tribals at the same time by denying their rights.

Mahasweta Devi remark in the foreword to her novel “Aranyer Adhikar” that Birsa was a modern man, a Renaissance man in the sense that he was far ahead of his time in his thoughts. A modern man educated and enlightened in Christian Schools that Birsa was, he endeavored to extricate the Mundas from their age-old superstition. He sought to build up a brave new world for the Munda community - a world completely free from the perpetual exploitation and inhuman rule of the British Government aided and abetted by the Zaminders, money-lenders and feudal landlords. He wanted all the Mundas to retain their simplicity, sense of morality and equality. For the tribal people, Birsa dreamt of a new religion, the crowning glory of which must be humanism.

He inspired his people to realize the value of owning their land and asserting their right upon them. Birsa Munda always stressed upon the need for tribals to know their rights, culture and fight against the injustice done to them. He also worked towards rationalizing his community and getting rid of their superstitious beliefs, animal sacrifice and alcoholism. Birsa wanted to reform the tribal society and so, he urged them to let go of beliefs in witchcraft and instead, stressed on the importance of prayer, staying away from alcohol, hold faith on God and observing a code of conduct. He always aspires for education to tribals people which can inculcate their views to protect their rights and culture.

Women's participation: We find women perception, as one of Birsa Munda's visions of an ideal society where there was no violence against women. (Singh 70) As we seen that exploitation by dikus was mostly on women in the form of sexual assault and rapes are the prime ones. So women's protection remain the one of their

aims. Sali and Champi who remained a companion of Birsa and stayed with him when he was finally caught. (Singh 71). the movement not only witnessed the participation of women in the gatherings held by the leaders but also many times led the movements and resistance, witnessed two women leaders i.e. Linda Oraon and Maya Oraon, who led the movement in different time period. This ultimately, helped them to improve their political status in tribal resistance and in their society as well.

Birsa Munda was against the conversion of adivasi to Christianity. Birsa claimed to be the messenger of God and the founder of new religion called '*Birsait*'. Birsa advised the tribal people to follow their original traditional religious system. Birsa Munda was given the name, '*Dharti Abba*' or the 'Father of the Earth'. He is the god for the tribal communities like The Mundas, Oraons, and Kharias. The British move impelled by Birsa's struggle created an impression in the Adivasi psyche

Unevil a new era of tribal perspective: Joseph Bara writes that, 'the British move impelled by Birsa's struggle created an impression in the Adivasi psyche that land question was now a settled matter. The ulgulan also prompted the administrative expansion of the region, which opened education-based new job opportunities, encouraging Adivasis to focus on attaining education. This ushered in a new era of Adivasi development. Birsa Munda and his times reflect a case of Adivasi agility against the oppression of British colonialism. This was markedly different from the narrative of an atavistic, "primitive" tribal mind as it had been perceived until then.' (Bara, 08). His contributions brought a new perspective towards tribals who can not only United for own rights but also strive for development based on education and reform. Even after getting independence to present day now, Birsa remain an inspiration and source of belongingness amongst tribals and citizen of India.

Conclusion

He did not only attempt to wage protests and lead anti-colonial movements, but envisioned a radical rupture in the historical continuity of oppression, hegemonic dominance and exploitation and pave the way for self-rule or Munda Raj which symbolize the rights as well the greater prosperity of tribal culture

and traditions. Contribution of tribal leaders not only Birsa but also other important leaders needs to explore which will provide real recognition to forgotten heroes.

Mahasweta in his novel address the Birsa's classmate Amulya who has said that British had to set lie to death for Birsa munda which shows the significant fear of Birsa in their mind and thought. 'Historicity of the text and the textuality of history' (Barry, 116) lie crystallized in Amulya's realization that ulgulan has no end and Birsa cannot die. The tribal people would continue to fight for their basic human rights as well as for their rights to the forest.

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Understanding the Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement: An Analysis

Rashmi Rekha Singh

Introduction

India's independence movement against the British rule has been marked as the foremost freedom struggle in the country. Indian women played very prominent role in the anti-imperialist struggle. The history of freedom movement would be incomplete without recognizing the contributions of women. They belong to different class, caste, religion and geographical area but based on the ideology of unity among diversity they had participated in the National freedom movement to end all kind of suppression from the British imperialism and to establish an independent sovereign nation. In pre-independence period the status of women was not very satisfactory due to the prevalence of unequal power relation in patriarchal society, where most of the women were bound in the private sphere with domestic works. During the British rule various reform movement helped in the women's emancipation process to live in a healthy environment, it also one of the crucial factor behind women's involvement in the Indian freedom movement lasting from 1847 to 1947. They gave their selfless sacrifices towards the nation because of intense love and respect for the motherland. However, their contributions, sacrifices are never recognized as that of the men of the National struggle movement. 'There is a scarcity and unevenness of material in terms of region and time periods. Recent works on the women's movement and women's political participation have used a multiplicity of published and unpublished archival records but such sources have not fully utilised.

Government documents form a major source of information. Including secret police and intelligence reports, not all of which have been analysed. Many private collections are still not open to scholars. Some sources of data are outside this country' (Kasturi and Mazumdar 2). But there is no doubt that a large number of women had participated in the freedom movement.

Objectives of the Study

- i) To explore various roles played by women in Indian freedom struggle movement.
- ii) To create awareness about the contributions of women freedom fighters in the anti-colonial movement.
- iii) To encourage women community to overcome all the barriers of society with courage, rational thinking, discipline and to participate in the public life.

Methodology

The paper is based on descriptive method and secondary data. Various sources of secondary data such as- journals, research papers, articles, government reports, books, internet etc are used to collect the data.

Women in Indian Freedom Movement.

Women's participation in independence movement started in the nineteenth century, 30 years before the Indian independence movement of 1857. Many women including Bai Holkar, Rani Jindan Kour, Rani Trace Bai, Tapaswini maharani, Laxmi Bai fought against the British exploitation. Some other women freedom fighters of 20th century such as-Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Sarojini Naidu, Mridula Sarabhai, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay at the national level, again provincial level women like Annie Mascarene and A.V. Kuttimalamma in Kerala, Durgabai Deshmukh in Madras Presidency, Rameshwari Nehru and Bi Amman in Uttar Pradesh, Kanaklata Barua, Tileswari Barua, Padumi Gogoi, Thunki Das, Rebati Lahon, Khahuli Devi, Bhogeswari Phukononi in Assam, Satyawati Devi and Subhadra Joshi in Delhi, Hansa Mehta, Usha Mehta in Bombay and several others of India including the Irish women like Annie Besant and Margaret had participated in the freedom movement.

The participation of the Bengali women in anti-colonial movement had its origin and background in the social reforms of

the 19th century. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries protestant missionaries with the support of allies in India and England took the initiative in advocating a number of social reforms in Hindu Society. They drew attention to practices which existed as social evil of the society such as infanticide, child marriage, the deplorable conditions of widows, the exposure of the sick and dying on the banks of holy rivers, the prevalence of caste system, the practice of Sati that dehumanized a great part of the society. In 1820, Social Reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy played very crucial role in reform movement in India. He opposed the practice of Sati and emphasized abolition of Sati through legal mechanism. Various initiatives for the emancipation of women such as--sati abolition, widow remarriage, educational right and rising the age of marriage by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshab Chandra Sen, and a lot of others came forward to improve women's condition in every aspects of life. Under pressure from social reformers, the Govt. of India passed the Widow remarriage Act, 1956, child Marriage Act, 1872 and permitted inter caste marriage and penalized polygamy among the Brahmo Samaj. These reforms mainly impact the life and the role of women in Bengal that helped them to participate actively, even as early as 1885, in the emerging nationalist movement, by freeing them from the various social evils like traditional practices and values of patriarchal society. Swadeshi movement arose mainly from Bengal and spread to different parts of the country. Women were very actively took initiatives in organizing processions, rallies, dharnas and in spreading the boycott movement. Particularly women of the central provinces like Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra were more active.

Women helped in connections between different revolutionary freedom fighters. Lots of educated women played leading role to spread the movement through various print media like writing articles in newspaper, through the publication and editing monthly magazines 'Suprabhat', Bharat Bhagini etc. Hardevi edited Hindi magazine Bharat Bhagini. Another eminent lady was Kumudini Mitra who was the daughter of Krishna Kumar Mitra, a renowned nationalist also organised a group of educated ladies for the successful execution of the movement to achieve its planned goal. Sushila Devi of Sialkot was spreading new awareness towards the independence among people by delivering lectures at almost 33 different places of India. Pooran Devi, a leading member

of Arya Samaj visited every district to spread the message of Swadeshi movement to increase strong participation of people in anti-British movement. Sarla Devi of Bengal, Agyawati and Ved Kumari of Delhi were delivering lectures at many places. Another most active women were Yamunabai Savarkar, Avantika Bai Gokhale, Janakibai Gore, Satyabhama Tilak, Godabai Khare Lakshmibai Datar, Lakshmibai Rahalkar played a prominent role to set up the Atma Night Yuvati Sabha, which was a women's wing of Abhinav Bharat. Through this institution the members were secretly assisted the revolutionaries. Kusum Ben, Ganga Ben, Danda Ben, Shivabhai Patel, Mani Benetcooperated in the no-tax movement in Gujrat and the Central Provinces in the year 1928. In Punjab Pravati Devi, Kartar Kaur, Amrit Kaur participated in the Simon Commission boycott movement.

Some Women Freedom Fighters in India

Sarojini Naidu: She emerged as active participant of Indian nationalist movement. She was appointed as second women president of Indian National Congress in 1925. She also represented women during second round table conference in 1932. She was arrested along with other Congress leaders during Civil disobedience movement and Quit India movement. She travelled so many places of India to deliver her lecture related to the issues of India's independence and women empowerment.

Rani Laxmi Bai: She played very pivotal role with her bravery in Jhansi against the British control over their land. She led the strong trop against the British fighter. Rani Laxmi Bai is a national pride and her name is written in golden letters in Indian history.

Aruna Araf Ali: She as a freedom fighter played a vital role in freedom struggle against the British government, she participated Satyagraha movement, civil-disobedience movement and Quite India movement during 1930-1940s. She also imprisoned so many times. She edited a monthly Congress magazine 'Inqilab' to encourage mass mobilization process.

Suchitra Kripalini: She was appointed as the secretary of the women's being of the All India Congress Committee in 1939. She worked at Noakhali in East Bengal when communal riots broke out after the Muslim League's call of Direct Action on 16 August 1946 (Basumatary & Rani 1583).

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: She followed Gandhiji's ideology of Swadeshi. She played an active part in the Dandi march. She organized multiple protests against British authorities and their domination during the time of the Quit India movement. She was imprisoned during this protest. She also worked for the women's right at her later phase of life.

Rani Gaidinliu: She was a Naga political leader who led a revolt against the British rule. She was arrested at the age of sixteen and sentenced to life imprisonment by the British government in 1932. After that she was released in 1947 after India's independence.

Kasturba Gandhi: She played a very crucial role as an Indian freedom activist for the civil rights and independence against the British government both in South Africa and India. She was a very supportive wife of Gandhiji and she helped Gandhiji during the non-violence freedom struggle movement. In 1942 she was arrested and imprisoned for participating in the Quit India movement along with Gandhiji and other participants.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay: She provided a very crucial contribution towards Indian independence movement and the socio-economic upliftment for women. She participated in the Civil-disobedience movement in the 1930's and promoted handlooms, handicraft and theatre.

Basanti Das: She was an Indian freedom fighter who took a very active part in freedom activities and various socio-economic movements. She was arrested by British force during the non-cooperation movement.

Kamla Das Gupta: She belongs to the militant section and was an active member of the 'Jugantar Party'. In 1942, she was arrested in connection with the Quit-India movement and lodged in the Presidency jail (Rani 3).

Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddy: She played a very crucial role during the Salt satyagraha, non-cooperation movement against the British rule. She was the first Indian woman who was nominated to the Madras legislative assembly in 1926 for her merit and services in the field of social service and medicine.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: She believed in Gandhian ideology. She was arrested due to her participation in the Salt satyagraha. Again, she

went to jail in 1937 on charges of sedition. After release from jail she became president of All India Women Conference for seven years.

Matangini Hazra: She actively participated in Gandhian independence movement. In 1932 she involved with salt satyagraha and arrested for violating the salt act. Again, after release from jail she participated in abolition of 'Chowkidari Tax Banda' while marching with giving slogans she arrested again and sent to Berhampur jail for six months.

Mridula Sarabai: She participated the Salt satyagraha and involved in the boycott process of foreign goods and products with another participants. She also faced imprisonment for her role in salt satyagraha.

Kanaklata Baruah: She was an active member and organizer of Mrityu Bahini of Assam. She was shot dead by British police when she was leading a procession holding the national flag on September 20, 1942.

Dariki Das Baruah: She was one of the leading members of the anti-opium campaign and an active participant of Civil disobedience movement. On February 1, 1932 she was arrested and sent to jail for six months. During that time, she was pregnant but she refused to take conditional release from jail after that she died in jail on April 26, 1932.

Thus, by breaking all the socio-economic barriers of society Indian women had involved in a collective effort against British imperialism. During the time of East India Company, many social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar had adopted various essential steps to provide equal right to women. The social reform movement helped them to fight against child marriage, caste discrimination, irrational rituals of society. It also helped to emerge educated middle class women, which increased the number of women's participants in the Gandhiji led anti-colonial movement.

During the time of anti-colonial struggle most of the women also involved in various national level organizations which were related with various social, political and economic issues of society, it helped them to express their self-confident and talent. Most of the literate women were edited magazines, books, newspapers and wrote articles to spread the messages of freedom

movement to achieve the common goal of Indian masses. During the freedom movement thousands of women dedicated their valuable lives for obtaining freedom of their motherland. Swadeshi movement could not have succeeded without their co-operation and strong participation process.

Conclusion

Women freedom fighters provided very crucial contribution towards the freedom struggle movement. Despite facing gender discrimination, various challenges like social stigma, violence, imprisonment they joined the national movement and helped to fulfil the collective goal of the nation. These brave ladies were equally participated with men in the non-violent resistance, civil-disobedience and boycotts, later it helped them to open the door of empowerment and to get equal right in society. Their sacrifices, courage, ideology and determination towards the nation are always inspiration for the future generation. Today's women community should learn the ideologies of these brave ladies to overcome all the constructed barriers with full of confidence and courage for self development and upliftment of the nation. Without development of women national development is impossible. It is the responsibility of every citizen to recognize their contribution and encourage them to actively participate in various socio-economic and political activities of society to make a developed and equal nation in reality.

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Arabic Scholar Hussain Ahmad Madani's freedom Struggle: A Study

Dr. Raysul Hoque
Kabir Ahmed Khan

Introduction

Freedom struggle is a struggle that can be of personal as well national in nature. A nation that has been occupied by certain power sometimes and in maximum cases found to be seeking freedom from that occupying power. The case may be of America, Iraq, Egypt or India. A struggle is a long and difficult attempt to achieve something such as freedom or political rights. The *Americans* in the Thirteen Colonies formed independent states that defeated the British in the *American* Revolutionary War (1775–1783), gaining independence. With the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations, Britain terminates its mandate over the Arab nation, making Iraq independent after 17 years of British rule and centuries of Ottoman rule. And thus India got independence in 1947. The Indian independence movement was a series of historic events with the ultimate aim of ending British rule in India. It lasted from (1857 to 1947).

Here the following lines of Muslim Mirror depicts: “After the revolt of 1857(credited as India’s first war of independence) failed the Ulema who were a leading force of the revolt became the main target of British persecution. A total of 200,000 men and women were martyred at the time. Of these about 51,200 were Ulema. 500 of these Ulema were hanged in Delhi.

Twenty years after India’s first war of Independence, Shaikhul Hind Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan in 1877 formed

‘Samratut Tarbiyat’ whose aim was to prepare for armed insurrection against the British. This organization struggled against British for almost three decades and in 1909 it was reorganized under the name of Jamiatul Ansaar and Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi took charge of it.

In 1913 after the ban of Jamiatul Ansar, Nazzaaratul Ma’arif was formed to drive away the British colonists. The same year saw a freedom movement which came to be known as the Silk Letter Movement or Reshmi Rumal Tehreek under the leadership of Ulema like Shaikhul Hind Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan, Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azaad. The movement aimed to liberate India from British rule with the help of Turkey, Imperial Germany, and Afghanistan.

However Reshmi Rumaal Tehreek got exposed to the British rule with the capture of letters written by Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi on silk cloth in 1916. In the aftermath of its failure 222 Ulema were arrested all over India by the British.

The leading Ulema of this attempt for India’s liberation Maulana Mehmood Hasan and his comrades Maulana Waheed Ahamad Faizabadi, Maulana Azeez Gul, Hakim Syeed Nusrat Hussain and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni were arrested in Makkah and sent to Malta where they remained incarcerated for long periods.

In March 1919 Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind was born. It is an almost forgotten fact that at a time when many Indians were supporting the British and Indian National Congress was demanding partial freedom, Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind had dared to raise demand complete freedom for India.

The demand was raised in January 1924 by Maulana Syed Hussain Ahmad Madni in Cocanada and in March 1926 a resolution to this effect was passed for the first time in Calcutta.

In 1928 Jamiat opposed the ‘Nehru Report’ that sought autonomy under the British rule as it was against Jamiat’s demand for complete freedom. It stopped its support to Congress just because of this reason till 1929. It was in the famous Lahore session of Indian National Congress in December 1929 that Congress voted

in favour of Jamiat and adopted the demand for complete freedom for India, 5 years after the Ulema body had originally raised it.

The Jamiat had also initiated the opposition to Simon Commission with full strength in 1926 which was subsequently adopted by Congress in 1927. Eventually Simon Commission had to return to Britain unsuccessful.

In 1929 Ulema extended full support to Mahatma Gandhi call for Dandi March. As a consequence many Maulans like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Hifzur Rahman Seoharvi, Maulana Fakhruddin, Maulana Syed Mohammad Mian and Maulana Bashir Ahmad Bhatia were arrested.

At least two prominent Ulema were arrested the following year during the Civil Disobedience Movement.

During the 'Second Civil Disobedience Movement' in 1932 Mufti Kifayatullah Dehlavi led more than 100,000 strong men in protest and got arrested Azad Park in Delhi. His arrest was followed by arrests of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni, Maulana Ahmad Saeed Dehlavi, Maulana Hifzur Rahman Seohari, Maulana Syed Mohammad Mian Deobandi, Maulana Habeebur Rahman Ludhianvi and many other Ulema in quick succession. Of the 90 thousand people arrested during the second Civil Disobedience Movement about 44.5 thousand were Ulema and Muslim freedom fighters.

In 1940 Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni once again raised the issue of complete independence for India at Bachhraon. For that he faced a six month imprisonment after being arrested on his way to Unity Conference.

The Ulema body passed the resolution of 'Quit India' on August 5, 1942, followed by Congress passing the same resolution on August 9 during Bombay session. It led to arrest and long incarceration of many Congress leaders and Ulema.

This body of Ulema strongly opposed the two-nation theory and the idea of Pakistan. Soon Jamiat faced a split and a section sided with Muslim League. In the process Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni and Maulana Azad became victims of Muslim League violence which had become politically very strong by 1945. Many other Ulema faced harassment throughout India.

Though the country ultimately became divided on communal lines, we should never forget the sacrifices and struggles of men and women who lived, fought and died for undivided India. A British army general Tomson, who fought against Muslims in the 1857 revolt, wrote in his memoir titled *Rebellion Clerics*: "If to fight for one's country, plan and mastermind wars against occupying mighty powers are patriotism, then undoubtedly maulvis (read Ulama) were the loyal patriots to their country and their succeeding generations will remember them as heroes".¹⁴

Here in the following lines efforts made to discuss the background life story of Moulana Hussain Ahmad Madani with help of wikipedia:

He happened to be an Arabic scholar, Islamic cleric and freedom fighter as well. He was an Indian Islamic scholar, serving as the principal of Darul Uloom Deoband. He was among the first recipients of the civilian honour of Padma Bhushan in 1954.

Madani played a key role in cementing the Congress-Khilafat Pact in the 1920s and "Through a series of lectures and pamphlets during the 1920s and 1930s, Madani prepared the ground for the cooperation of the Indian Ulama with the Indian National Congress."

His work *Muttahida Qaumiyyat Aur Islam* was published in 1938 and advocated for a united country, in opposition to the partition of India.¹⁵

After graduating from the Darul Uloom Deoband, he migrated to Medina with his family. He began teaching Arabic grammar, *usul al-fiqh*, *usul al-hadith*, and Quranic exegesis. He spent 18 years teaching these various Islamic sciences in Medina. He was then appointed as head teacher and "Shaikhul Hadith" of

14 "Muslim Ulema and India's freedom struggle" retrieved on 7th April 7, 2023, URL: <https://muslimmirror.com/eng/85192/>

15. Peers, Douglas M.; Gooptu, Nandini (2017). *India and the British Empire*. Oxford University Press. ISBN 9780192513526. "Madani, head for several decades of the Deoband training centre for theologians, strongly supported Congress nationalism and the ideal of a 'composite nationalism' within an united India, which he thought would be more conducive to the spread and prosperity of his community over the entire subcontinent than any religious partition."

Darul Uloom Deoband. He served in this position for approximately 28 years.¹⁶

Literary works

Composite Nationalism and Islam, Naqsh-e-Hayat (Autobiography of Maulana Madni), Ash-Shihabus Saqib (A refutation of Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilvi), Maktubat Shaykh al-Islam (Spread over 2000 pages), Safar Nama Shaykhul Hind Mahmud al-Hasan (related to Silk Letter Movement), Tasawwur-e-Shaikh (related to Tasawwuf).¹⁷

Awards and recognition

Maulana Madani road in Deoband is named after MadaniPadma Bhushan Award by the Government of India in 1954. India Post issued a commemorative postage stamp in his honour in 2012.



Madani square, structure named after his efforts and hard work in Sylhet, Bangladesh.

Indian freedom movement

After Hussain Ahmad Madani's teacher Mehmud Hasan was sentenced by the British for his role in the Silk Letter

16. The rise and fall of the Deoband movement, The Nation (newspaper), Published 27 June 2015, Retrieved 19 July 2017.

17. Ma'asr Shaykh al-Islam (Biography of Hussain Ahmed Madani), Mawlāna Nizāmuddīn Asīr Adrawī, Page 494, Darul Mu'allifeen Deoband (5th edition, April 2017).

Conspiracy to a prison in the Island of Malta, Madani volunteered to go with him so that he could look after him. He had personally not been convicted. Mehmud was imprisoned for three years. It so happened that Islamic month of Ramadan had come and neither Mehmud Hasan nor Madani was Hafiz of the Qur'an. At this instance, Mehmud Hasan said to his student (Madani) that most of his life, he didn't have a Ramadan without listening to the complete Qur'an in the special night prayers called Tarawih. Hussain Ahmed Madani, who respected his teachers very much, took this very sentence of his teacher seriously and started to memorize the Quran while in prison. Daily, Madani would memorise one Juz (part) of the Quran and recite it in the Tarawih. Continuing to do so, he memorized the whole Quran in the 30 days of Ramadan, thus saving his teacher Mehmud Hasan from being deprived of listening to the Quran, as he had every Ramadan.

After his release, he returned to India and became actively involved in India's freedom struggle. He had considerable influence over a section of the Muslims, more prominently those belonging to Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Maulana Madani was one of the founder members of Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. He was the member of foundation committee (for the foundation of Jamia Millia Islamia) headed by Sheikhul-Hind Maulana Mahmood Hasan, met on 29 October 1929. He was against the two-nation theory, and predominantly due to this, a large number of Muslims from Eastern U.P. and Bihar declined to migrate to Pakistan at the time of 1947 independence of Pakistan and the Partition of India. He became the President of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind, a post he held until his death in 1957. (He also held the post of *Shaikhul Hadith* at Darul Uloom Deoband till his death).¹⁸

Conclusion

Husain Ahmad Madani also took an active part in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932 and the Quit India Movement in 1942 and was imprisoned on many occasions. Husain Ahmad Madani was elected President of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind at its Jaunpur session in 1940, a post he held until his death in 1957.

¹⁸ The rise and fall of the Deoband movement, The Nation (newspaper), Published 27 June 2015, Retrieved 19 July 2017.

Hazrat Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani (RA) in his 72 years of life has created such an enlightenment of knowledge and practice by which not only Pak-India but also the knowledge-seekers of the remote Hejaz have benefited. According to a source, 40,000 scholars have been blessed with knowledge from him. He honored 18 people with the gift of Islahi Khilafah. He was also a unique personality in the world of Tasawwuf and spirituality. He was the president of Jamiat Ulama Hind for a long time. He has written more than forty books, big and small, and left them for the nation. Hazrat Madani was a unique image of the Sunnah Nawabi and a genuine lover. Every act of his whole life has been performed in the manner of circumcision.

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Role of British in Indian Education System

Ritu Devi

Introduction

Education is a powerful tool to unlock the golden door of freedom that can change the world. The education system that existed in ancient and medieval India was prominently that of the “Gurukula” type. In this system, students lived with the teacher or ‘guru’ in the same house. Students learn Veda, Upanishad from the Guru as well as helps in household chores. However, even at that time, India was reputed for many global universities like Nalanda. With the advent of British Rule in India, their policies and measures breached the legacies of traditional school of learning which resulted in the need for creating a class of subordinates. To achieve this goal, they introduced a number of policies and committees to create an Indian canvas of English colour through the education system. Initially, The prime aim of The British East India Company was trading and profit –making, they were not concerned with the development of the education system but to rule in India, they planned to educate a small section of upper and middle classes to create a class “Indian in blood and colour but English in taste” who would act as interpreter between the government and the masses. This was also called “Downward filtration theory”. The following measures were taken by the British for the development of Education in India. The chronological development of Education during the British period in India is discussed below:

Charter Act of 1813

The Charter Act of 1813 was one of the most important acts in the history of modern education in India. In 1733, Charles Grant, an officer of the East India Company came to India. He closely observed the pitiful condition of education in India and wrote a report on it in 1792 after returning to England. He describe in it, “the utterly immoral and wretched condition of Indian society.” the members of the British parliament after going through it felt that they should try to do something for improving the educational status of India. And thus came into being the famous educational clause in the charter act of 1813. This was the turning point in the history of Indian education.

Section 43 of the Charter Act stated that a sum of not less than one lakh rupees should be set apart annually by the company and this amount should be spent for the improvement of literature and science among the learned Indians. It was also stated this amount should be met from the surplus amount which was left over after meeting the expenses of the company in its military, civil, and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debts.

The Charter Act of 1813 was the first official document which sanctioned such a big sum of money for the development of education in India. After this act, the educational responsibility of the Indian people was taken over by the company from the missionaries. All the later developments in Indian education were mainly due to the provisions of this Act. So, it can be said that Charter Act of 1813 had created a new era of British education in India.

Macaulay’s Minutes

Lord Macaulay was the Law Member of the Governor General’s Executive council. He was a great scholar, writer and an eloquent speaker. As a Law member, Macualy was asked to give his legal opinion on the issue whether it was possible to utilise the sum of the one lakh rupee on something else instead of utilising it on oriental education alone. He was also asked to interpret the implication of the section which dealt with education in the Charter Act of 1813. He submitted his famous Minute to the council on February 2, 1835.

According to Macaulay spending of money for maintenance of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian educational institutions was just wasting it. He was of the opinion that such institution must be closed down as they were unable to serve the interest of the general public.

Macaulay had also given his opinion regarding the medium of instruction. He was in favour of accepting English as a medium of instruction.

The role or contribution of Macaulay to Indian Education System is described differently by different people. Some regard him as a “torch bearer in the path of progress” other who are against English education and consider it as a cause of all political unrest in India, blame Macaulay as the cause of all trouble. Some again do not like him for his ignorant and violent condemnation of Indian languages, culture and religion, while others blame him for being responsible for the neglect of Indian languages which led to the use of English as the medium of instructions.

Wood’s Despatch of 1854

The East India Company renewed its trading licence every 20 years. The company set up a committee of some prominent members of the British parliament, to review and analysis the educational policy adopted and progress of education in the country. They came to India and prepared a report on formulating necessary plan and programme of education for future.

On the basis of the recommendations made by the committee, an official despatch was submitted to the company on 19th July, 1854. Sir Charles Wood was the president of the board of control, which had sent the despatch. The despatch therefore, came to be known as Wood’s Despatch.

The major recommendations of the Wood’s Despatch were as follows:

1. English education will enhance the moral character of Indians and thus supply East India Company with civil servants who can be trusted.
2. An education department was to be set up in every province.

3. Universities on the model of the London University be established in big cities such as Bombay, Madras, Calcutta.
4. At least one government school should be open in every district.
5. Affiliated private schools should be given grant in aid.
6. The Indian natives should be given training in their mother tongue also.
7. Provision was made for a systematic method of education from primary level to the university level.
8. The government should support education for women.
9. The medium of instruction at the primary level was to be vernacular while at the higher levels it would be English.
10. Promotion and stress on teacher's training at all levels.

After this Despatch, the attention of the company was also directed towards the sphere of primary education and it undertook the responsibility of supervision of primary education and sanction grant-in-aid.

Hunter Commission

The East India Company felt that there are some reason for low literacy rate in the country. Therefore, in 1882 Lord Ripon, the then Viceroy of India was requested by the general council of India to institute an enquiry into Indian education. Therefore, to look into the matter, Lord Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission on February 3, 1882 with William Hunter, a member of the executive council of viceroy as its chairman. The commission came to be known as "Hunter Commission" after his name.

This commission in its six hundred page report had put forth various important suggestions for the future progress of education in India. The commission had put forward recommendations for all the stage of education.

Recommendations of the Hunter Commission on education are –

1. The Hunter Commission of 1882 recommended that the medium of the primary education should be the mother tongue.
2. More training schools should be established for primary teacher's training.

3. The establishment of a model government high school was recommended in the commission.
4. It was recommended in the Hunter Commission that the school curriculum should emphasize practical aspects and local needs.
5. Religious education was banned in government schools. However, private institutions could set their religious curriculum.
6. Several recommendations were made in the Hunter Commission to facilitate proper education of backward classes.
7. The commission also made several recommendations to encourage the education of Muslims and provide them with proper facilities.

The Hunter Commission 1882 tried to improve the Indian education system by developing proper infrastructure, improving primary education and adopting a policy of religious neutrality.

Lord Curzon's Educational Policy

Lord Curzon came to India in 1899 as the Viceroy of the country. He came to India when its education was at bad condition.. It was regarded as a period of slow growth with a very small increase in the number of enrolment of students, the number of institutions was also declining. So, Lord Curzon convened a secret conference of the Directors of public instruction at Shimla in 1901 to discuss the problems of Indian education. There were defects and some problems for reforms. Discussion were made on problems of every stage of education i.e, from primary to university stage. As a result of this conference "The Indian University Commission Act" passes in 1904.

The University Commission (1902)

When the commission was appointed the condition of Indian universities was in a very bad condition. Nothing had been done for the improvement. The numbers of secondary schools and colleges had increased greatly increasing the burden of the universities and making their conditions worse. It was observed that universities promote only bookish learning. Some type of vocational and industrial education must be provided so that education becomes useful for practical life. The main aim of

appointing the University Commission was formulated as, “To inquire into the conditions and prospects of the Universities established in British India.”

Its major recommendation can be briefly summarised as-

1. Reorganisation of the administration of Universities.
2. A much more strict and systematic supervision of the affiliated colleges by the University concerned and the imposition of more exacting conditions of affiliation.
3. A much closer attention to the conditions under which students live and work.
4. The assumption of teaching functions by the university within defined limits.
5. Substantial changes in curricula and methods of examination.

The main purpose of the commission was just to reorganise and strengthen the existing system and not to bring about any revolutionary changes in it. On the basis of the recommendations of the commission, the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was formed.

Sadler Commission

On September 14, 1917 the Government of India, through a resolution, appointed the Calcutta University Commission with a Dr. Michael Sadler, the vice chancellor of Leeds University as its chairmen. That is why it is also known as Sadler Commission.

It is set up to study and report the causes behind poor performance of Calcutta University however it ended up reviewing all the universities in the country.

- It is said that the improvement of the secondary education is necessary for the improvement of university education.
- School should be completed in 12 years.
- Students to enter university after intermediate stage for a 3year university degree.
- It will provide collegiate education to those not taking up university degrees.
- Separate board for secondary and intermediate education.
- University should function as a centralized and resident teaching autonomous body.

- Focus on female education, applied scientific and technical education, teachers training.

Hartog Commission of 1929

The Government of India appointed the Simon commission in 1927 to study the political, constitutional and educational aspects of constitution of 1919. To achieve this objective, the commission formed an Auxiliary committee with Sir Philip Hartog as its president. The committee submitted its report in September, 1929 which contained detailed explanation of every aspect of Indian education. The report stated that a lot of wastage and stagnation had crept into education. According to it the main reasons of slow education progress are:

- Poverty of the village people.
- Ignorance of people.
- Lack of means of transportation.
- Caste barriers and religious conservation.

The main reason which hampered the growth of literacy rate was that the provincial governments were not taking any concrete steps in the direction of compulsory education. The committee provide different recommendation to reduce wastage and stagnation:

1. The minimum duration of primary education should be 4 years.
2. The lowest class in primary education must be given special attention and whatever wastage and stagnation is rampant there, concrete and intrepid effort should be put forth to remove it.
3. The Government should take up the responsibility of the problem of primary education as it is an issue of national importance.

The Hartog Committee also look into the existing problems of secondary, university and women education in India.

Sargent Report of 1944:

The Sargent Report was the first comprehensive educational plan formulated by the Central Advisory Board of Education. Sir John Sargent submitted the report to Central

Advisory Board of Education in 1944. The major recommendation of the reports are :

1. Pre-primary basic schools for children between 3-6 years.
2. The high school were divided into academic and technical.
3. Mother tongue should be the medium of instruction, and English should be taught as a second compulsory subject .
4. The aim of education should be to make the boys and girls self-dependent.

Conclusion

The education system brought by British can be seen to have a certain positive impact on the Indian society. It can be said that the educational system of in India before pre- independence was not good till the end of the 19th century. But by launching new policies and different recommendation by different committee like Charter Act, Hunter Commission, Wood's Despatch etc in India, the British developed it to maximum extend. Now, the situation is well developed comparing to the other educational system of the world.

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Liberation of the Dalits in the Pre-Independence Era

Dr. Shibani Borah

Introduction

Although there has been certain risings among the Dalits from the later part of 19th century, but suddenly they have started to organize themselves and hence the outcome was that different dalit movements started in different parts of India adding on to the different social revolution and movements amongst the middle class in India. Dalits are being recognized with different names across India, like Holaya, Chandala, Chammar, Panchama etc. The word Dalit is being derived from the Sanskrit word “DAL”, which means crushed or broken up into pieces. The word ‘Dalit’, was being used by Jyotiba Phule, the founder of the Satya Shodak Samaj, which was also a non-brahmin movement specific to Maharashtra. Lately, the word Dalit has become political identification. Gandhiji gave them a new identification, they came to be known as ‘Harijan’. However, the British government in 1930 categorized them as Scheduled Castes.

Different movements of Dalit has taken place in the early 1920’s, being organized in Punjab, Ad-Dharm movement was started. In Tamil Nadu, it was the Adi-Dravida movement, in Andhra Pradesh it was the Adi-Andhra movement etc.

Social Reformation

With regards to the Dalits, the social reforms and casteism plays a remarkable role in nurturing and guiding them. Hence, it can be said that the movements in Maharashtra and the southern part of

India, were mostly influenced by movements in different sections of the society especially the Satyashodhak Samaj. Previously, the Ad-Dharm leaders were members of the Arya Samaj. But later on the members of Punjabi Ad-Dharm got separated from the Arya Samaj due to difference in ideologies.

However, the dalit movements in the southern and western part of India agreed with the general ideology of the non-brahmin movements. They further criticized some of the non-Brahmins who got influenced with the Brahmin culture and tradition with a motive to get government jobs. Again in Maharashtra, Ambedkar movement was started with prime support from distinguished leaders like Shahu Maharaj ji and many members of the Satyashodhak samaj. Ambedkar always mentioned himself as a non-brahmin only. Later on, he became the spokesperson for all the non-brahmins in the legislative assembly. As per the situation prevailing in Madras, the Dalits who were literate created a party known as the Justice Party, but there were much discrepancies with regard to party in power not creating equal opportunities for all. After few days, the most influential leader, M C Rajah, got separated from his followers. Again in Punjab, an educated non brahmin started the Ad-Dharm movement had been a member of the Arya Samaj, influenced by some of its ideologies.

But as far as the participation of Dalits in the National Movement is being concerned, they have acted as an antagonist. The reason behind was that the Congress leaders always resisted the dalit demands. The scenario was different in Kerala, where the Congress leader had given the full support to the Dalits with his active participation in dalit campaigns. Hence, the famous quote “British rule was preferable to Brahmin Rule” was highlighted by the Dalit spokesmen.

The Rise of Dalit Movements

The relationship of the Dalits with the National Movement was very pathetic and the Congress leaders at the time of Independence barely did anything to support the Dalits or to build up confidence among them. Although the Dalits under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Ambedkar did come to be a significant position but it was a result of their concern that Independence is the need of the hour.

Gradually, these movements became organized all over India, as different kinds of bondages were fabricated upon the Dalits. However, a mass movement among the Dalits was started in order to uplift the restrictions being imposed on them with regards to the use of common temples and water wells. The most influential and planned uprisings and campaigns were initiated in Maharashtra, most specifically in 1927 the Mahad tank satyagraha along with the burning of the Manusmriti, in 1928 the incident of Parvati temple Satyagraha, in 1930-35, the Satyagraha in Kalaram temple in Nasik. The movements or struggles were mainly associated with the foundation of schools and educational institutions or societies, they demanded prominent positions in government organizations and fellowships. The ultimate result was that the “concession” system of division was initiated. Although at that particular time, the concessions were necessary because the caste discrimination that was prevailing in the society had resulted in the division of working class in India.

Involvement of Dalits in the National Movement

Once Dr. Ambedkar said, “We want to become a ruling community”, and he was the one who tried to achieve power and utilize it for the benefit of the society at large. His main motive was to share the power amongst different categories of people instead of being centralized with the upper class. He wanted to share the power and authority among different sections of the society. The clash started only when the Dalits demanded for separate electorates i.e constituencies only for Dalits in which only Dalits would be the representatives. But nationally this created a chaotic situation, which further compromised with the concept of ‘reserved seats’ for the Dalits in some constituencies. The issue was the matter of separate constituency being demanded to the Dalits and the Muslims, to which even Mahatma Gandhi had opposed. Gandhi’s opposition related to the demand of separate electorates was not for the sake of Indian unity, but he considered it as a threat to the Hindu unity as Dalits were a part of Hindu community only. However, the consideration of power always stayed with the upper class in order to dominate the legislatures by the Congress. However, after 1932, Gandhi has created a huge programme out of ‘Untouchability’ in the Indian National Movement.

The first depressed classes' conference was organized in Bombay in 1917, in which the non-brahmins and Dalits had made different proposals for the constitution of electorates. The Madras and Bombay government has passed on resolutions which further stated that the constitutional rights of Dalits are equal to all with regards to the usage of government facilities and opportunities, usage of common wells or water reservoir or to children's accommodation in schools. However, these conditions were not effective enough to change the condition of Dalits. However, in 1931, the National Congress formulated a programme formulating the fundamental rights being given to all regardless of their caste and creed, religion. Further, bills allowing the entry to temples was being introduced in between the year 1932-36 in the Madras and Bombay Assembly. The opposition party made a strong oppose to this bill. However, in 1938, the temple entry bills were being passed in Bombay and Madras.

Conclusion

With regard to the Indian anti-feudal movement, the most highlighting thing was its fragmentation. It was a fragmentation which showcased in details the divisions which were among the exploited sections relevant to caste discrimination. Different anti-caste movements and reforms were going on in full swing throughout India, and it also supported the Dalits and non-brahmins to move above on the grounds that they hold. However, the ideologies that they carried on in relevance with the Satyashodhak, obviously posed a threat to the caste hierarchy. Their must have been an expectation that since the national movement was dominated by the upper caste hence there could be some resistance to the dalit demands. Although the communists included the working class in its struggle for their existence to prevail, but then also they failed to unite the working population under the leadership of high class people. It can be said that Kisan Sabha somehow, benefitted Dalits in their own areas of strength. But still the achievements from numerous dalit movements were not satisfactory. This have further started with the custom of struggle laid upon for Dalits. The have provided certain level of pressure on the authorities because of which different reservations and provision under the Constitution of India was laid down by the Dalits. A change in situation from been grounded and broken to

being given extra preference in educational and job sectors, there has been a drastic transition. The revolution and democratic persistence of the Dalits to prove themselves as equal humans to being seeking independence from the Britishers, has been a commendable journey in the history of India.

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Women in Bengal During the British Colonial Rule

Suhail Ahmed Hadi

Introduction

Bengal is located in the eastern part of the Indian subcontinent. It includes present-day Bangladesh and West Bengal state of India. Bengal has a long history of women's movement. It dates back to the anti-colonial struggles against the British rule. In the medieval period, women had no legal or social status other than that derived from their position in the family. Women were secluded at home, not allowed to receive formal education and were not permitted to do any job.

The social reform movement of the 19th century laid the foundation for women's equality with their participation in education and abolition of practices such as infanticide, child marriage and *sati*. The Brahma Samaj led the movement for women's education and equality between men and women. The Christian missionaries began the first girls' schools in Bengal. In the late 19th century, the Muslim community tackled issues of female education and social reform. By the beginning of the 20th century, Bengali women started forming their own organizations to promote social reform. Gradually women began to participate in every sphere of the society such as literary activities, social reforms, politics and revolutionary activities. The prominent women activists in Bengal during British colonial rule were Kamini Roy, Sarala Devi, Begum Rokeya and Masuda Khatun, who fought for women's education and employment. A number of women associations like Bangiya Nari Samaj, Anjuman-e-Khawateen-e-Islam and Chhatri Sangha were formed to promote women

empowerment. Among the valiant women revolutionaries were Labanya Prabha, Suhasini Ganguly, Bina Das, Pritilata Waddedar and who actively participated in the Indian freedom struggle.

Women Activists from Bengal

Kamini Roy was one of the pioneers of women's liberation movement in Bengal, born in Bakerganj District of Bengal Presidency in 1864. She was one of the first girls to attend school in British India and graduated from Bethune College in 1886. She met Abala Bose at the college who stirred her feminist beginnings. They worked together throughout their lives. Roy published her first collection of poems *Alo O Chhaya* in 1889 and Bose established 200 girls' schools in rural areas.

Roy, along with her contemporaries Kumudini Mitra and Mrinalini Sen, formed Bangiya Nari Samaj, an organization to fight for suffrage and women's liberation. As a result, Bengali women exercised their right to vote. She then became a member of the Female Labour Investigation Commission which worked with the government to examine the conditions of women. In recognition of her contribution to Bengali literature she was honoured with the Jagattarini medal in 1929 by Calcutta University. She passed away in 1933.

Sarala Devi was a prominent educationist and political activist, who actively participated in the Indian independence movement. She was born in Calcutta in 1872 and graduated from Bethune College. She started her career as a school teacher in Maharani Girls' School. Then she started writing for *Bharati*, a Bengali journal. Sarala Devi entered politics through her interest in music when she started writing songs to encourage the people to stand up against the British colonial rule. She also took part in the Swadeshi Movement and put forward the rule that women should begin using *swadeshi* products. She started the Lakshmi Bhandar, a women's store, in Calcutta to popularize native handicrafts produced by women. After her marriage with a lawyer and journalist of Lahore, her political activities shifted to Punjab. Sarala Devi founded the Bharat Stree Mahamandal, the first national-level woman's organization to promote women education in the country. In 1923, she returned to Calcutta and resumed editing responsibilities for *Bharati*. She established a girls' school, Siksha

Sadan, in Calcutta in 1930. She continued working for Congress till her death in 1945.

Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain, born in Rangpur in 1880, was an outspoken supporter of women's education. She is widely known as Begum Rokeya. She wrote regularly for the magazines *Nabaprabha* and *Mahila*. Her notable work is *Matichur*, a collection of essays where she expressed her feminist thoughts. She advocated for men and women to be treated equally as rational beings. After her husband's death, Rokeya established Sakhawat Memorial Girls' High School. She went from house to house persuading the parents to send their girls to school.

As an activist, Rokeya founded Anjuman-e-Khawateen-e-Islam, an Islamic women's association, in 1916 that fought for women's education and employment. It organized events for social reforms and was active in holding debates and conferences regarding the status of women and education. Her writings called upon women to protest against injustice and break the social barriers that discriminated them. A firm believer in equality for women, Begum Rokeya spent her life educating girls to make them self-sufficient and independent.

Masuda Khatun (1885-1926) was another pioneering feminist of Bengal. Like other women of her time she received her education at home. She came to be known as Mrs. M Rahman after her marriage to Kazi Mahmudur Rahman, a registrar in Calcutta. She regularly wrote features in *Dhumketu*, the magazine published by the poet Kazi Nazrul Islam. The poet dedicated a book to her in which he gave her the title 'Agni Nagini'. Her features dwelt with the issues concerning women's rights and a remarkable aspect of her formulation was the advocacy of women's waged work. She articulated the problems of patriarchy and the remedies for these in her works. She also organized a centre for rehabilitating prostitutes. After her death in 1926, her husband published her collected works *Chanachur* in 1927.

Labanya Prabha Ghosh (1897–2003), also known as Labanya Devi, was a distinguished personality of the Indian freedom movement from Purulia District of West Bengal. She spent her life fighting with nationalists for India's freedom. Labanya Devi led several protests in Purulia during the British rule and was identified as an important freedom fighter. She was an energetic

member of Shilpashram, an important center of freedom struggle in Manbhum region founded by her father Rishi Nabarun in 1921. It was an organization that functioned as a centre for revolutionaries and other members of the Indian National Congress who hailed from that area. After the death of her husband, she also took over the functioning of Shilpashram.

Labanya Devi edited *Mukti*, a weekly Bengali newspaper founded by her father in 1925. It was an influential revolutionary publication that played a vital role in the independence struggle. Her works did not stop with India achieving independence in 1947. After India's Independence, she led the Language Agitation (Bhasa Andolan) against the obligatory imposition of Hindi over Bengali. She was an inspiration for the young revolutionaries.

Suhasini Ganguly was born in 1909 in the Khulna District of the then undivided Bengal. After completing her school education in the year 1924, she shifted to Calcutta for a teaching job. While staying in Calcutta, she came in touch with Kalyani Das, Kalpana Dutta and Kamala Das Gupta. They introduced her to the Jugantar revolutionary group. Then she became a member of Chhatri Sangha (Women Students Association), a semi-revolutionary organization for women in Calcutta established in 1928. It was a group of 100 members from different schools and colleges which trained young women revolutionaries in arms and recruited future revolutionaries. Many of them left their homes and settled in an *ashram*, called the Punya Ashram run by Sarala devi, where weapons and bombs would be hidden to avoid police inspection.

After the Chittagong armoury raid, the leaders of the Chhatri Sangha instructed Ganguly to provide shelter to the revolutionaries coming from Chittagong in her rented house. In September that year, the British police raided her house and arrested the revolutionaries. But she was released shortly after her arrest. Following her release from prison in 1930, Ganguly continued to be associated with Jugantaar. Using the provisions of the newly launched Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925, British police arrested her once again in 1932, this time sending her to the Hijli Detention Camp near Kharagpur, where she had been detained for six years. Due to her activities associated with Communist Party, she remained in jail even after India's independence. She died following a road accident in 1965.

Ganguly spent much of her later years fighting for the freedom of the nation and spent a long period of her life in prison. But unfortunately, in the vast history of this glorified country, her name remained less celebrated.

Bina Das was a valiant freedom fighter and nationalist, born in Krishnanagar of Bengal Province in 1911. After completing school education, she joined the Chhatri Sangha. Bina Das was only 21 when she created history by becoming one of the first women to hold up arms against the British rule. In February 1932, she tried to assassinate the then Bengal Governor Stanley Jackson, when he was delivering a lecture in Calcutta University. She fired five shots at him but failed. Bina Das was arrested and interrogated where she revealed no names of her companions. She was sentenced to nine years of rigorous imprisonment on charges of attempted murder.

Bina never stopped fighting for independence. After her release from jail, she joined the Indian National Congress and took part in the Quit India Movement. After independence, she became a prominent member of the Bengal Provincial Legislative Assembly and West Bengal Legislative Assembly. She won the Padma Shri in 1960 for her social work. She passed away in 1986.

Pritilata Waddadar was another revolutionary nationalist who is considered as the first woman martyr of Bengal. She was born in Dhalghat in 1911 and received her school education in Chittagong and Dhaka. As a student in Eden College, she participated in various social activities. After completing her graduation in Bethune College, she returned to Chittagong and became a teacher of a secondary school. Then she decided to join the Indian independence movement. Surya Sen, a leader of revolutionary group in Chittagong, heard about her and allowed her to join their group. Along with the revolutionary group of Surya Sen, Pritilata took part in many raids like attacks on the Telephone & Telegraph offices and the capture of the reserve police line. In the Jalalabad battle, she took the responsibility to supply explosives to the revolutionaries.

Pritilata is best known for leading fifteen revolutionaries in the 1932 armed attack on the Pahartali European Club during which one person was killed and eleven injured. She was trapped by the British police during the attack on the club. She swallowed cyanide to avoid getting arrested. The next day, the police found her body

and identified her. She had a suicide note or a letter with her, where she had penned down the objectives of the Indian Republican Army, Chittagong Branch. She became a symbol of women revolutionaries and was honored with a posthumous graduation certificate in 2012 which was withheld by the Calcutta University. A number of institutions, halls and trusts have been founded in the memory of Pritilata Waddedar. In recent years, her character is also played in several movies.

Conclusion

The British rule brought significant changes in the educational, economic, political and social lives of the Bengali women. Urban educated middle-class and upper-class women from modernist families actively participated in the women's movement through educational campaign and writing in magazines, literary journals and pamphlets. They also engaged in community welfare activities through charity and relief work.

In the early 20th century, Bengali women started forming their own organizations to promote women's education and social reform. During the partition of Bengal in 1905, women joined men in protesting this division by boycotting foreign goods and buying only *swadeshi* products. Mahatma Gandhi also played a vital role in bringing women into agitation politics.

It can be said that women of Bengal became liberation during the British colonial rule and the status of women got improved.

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Participation of the People of Bajali in the Freedom Struggle of India

Suman Bhuyan

Introduction

The Indian people played an active and critical role in the freedom struggle. They organized protests, strikes, and demonstrations, and even resorted to armed resistance when necessary. In time, the Indian National Movement developed into one of the greatest mass movement in world history (Chandra 17). In terms of the Assamese freedom fight, the year 1921 is significant because Gandhiji visited and encouraged the populace to start a nonviolent independence campaign. In August 1921, when Gandhiji first came to Assam in Sarbhog Railway Station, Gandhiji had stayed sometime and he lectured before the masses of Barpeta, Bajali, Sarbhog and other places of Kamrup (Das 112). This lecture was very influential for the people of Bajali area. The women of Bajali had played a very prominent role in the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921-22. The people of Bajali participated bulk and with vigour in the Civil Disobedience Campaign in 1930. During the 1942 Quit India Movement, Bajali saw an unequalled battle of tears and blood. Several prominent leaders from Bajali joined the movement who made significant contribution and were also arrested within days of adopting the movement. The death of Madan Chandra Barman and Rautaram Koch in Rehabari Police firings on 25 September, 1942 was a 'tragic incident' in the history of Freedom Struggle of India (Sarma 198). Some of the important leaders who lead the freedom struggle in Bajali were: Sarat Ch. Barman, Dr. Nilkanta Bhuyan, Srikanta Basumatari, Phatick Ch. Baishya, Chandraprabha Saikiani, Phatik Ch. Deka, Umesh Ch.

Goswami, Mara Ram Keot, Bisheswar Sarma, Garga Narayan Sarma and Rajendra Nath Talukdar.

Research Methodology

This work is based on historical research method. To write this paper, the data has mainly concentrated on textual approach, books written by eminent scholars and articles, papers written on various National and International Journals has been considered to do the framework of thispaper. Thus, secondary data has been used to write this paper.

Aim of study

The aim of this paper is to highlight the stories of the freedom fighters belonging to present day Bajali subdivision under Barpeta district and to place them in the national scenario.

Review of Literature

In the context of provincial level, a number of works have been carried out by different scholars on the role of Assam in the freedom movement of India. Sumit Sarkar's *Modem India 1885-1947*, K.N. Dutta's *Landmarks of the Freedom Struggle in Assam*, Amalendu Guha's *Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle & Electoral Politics in Assam 1826 to 1947*, S. L. Baruah's *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, Anuradha Dutta's *Assam in the Freedom Movement*, H. K. Barpujari's *The Comprehensive History of Assam*, A. C. Bhuyan's *Political History of Assam* and a few articles published in North East India History Association's annual proceedings are important to understand Assam's position in the freedom movement of India. But most of those books failed to critically deal with the participation of the people of Bajali in relation to the freedom movements. However, to certain limit, Satish Ch. Sarma's *Swadhinata Sangramat Barpeta* and Narakanta Das's *Swadhinata Yujat Bajalitrty* to study the importance of Bajali in courses of freedom struggle.

Raij Mels of Bajali

Leading members of the Bajali attended the *Raijmels* (public meetings) that had already been held in various locations in Nowgong and Darrang in order to better grasp the situation. The agrarian revolt out broke in Bajali during the beginning of 1869 (Barpujari 88). The people protested against the government tax

policies. A number of *mels* were held at different places of Bajali but no official records are available about those except at Gobindapur to raise an objection against the enhancement of the rates of land revenue. Mr. Campbell directed the police Inspector of Barpeta to inquire. The police inspector was unable to disperse the mob due to limited resources. During the month of April 1894, another *Raijmel* was held at Patacharkuchi and it was agreed in the *mel* to burn the police thana in the middle of the night (Sarma 52). Nevertheless, a sudden, intense thunderstorm and downpour disrupted the plan, scattering people all over. Using an intelligence source, the government was able to gather information the very next day, and the following people were detained and imprisoned. Atiram Choudhury of village Bamakhata, Samar Bayan of Kaljirapara, Manjura Choudhury of Bhogpur, Dhanoram Mahajan of Gohainpara, Jagyneswar Goswami of Anandapur, Jaychandra Sarma of Bhogpur, Mermeria Choudhury of Khandopar and Sukaru Talukdar (G. Sarma 98).

The establishment of *Asom Chatra Sanmilian* in 1916 was an important event in the political history of Assam (Bhuyan 116). Its purpose was to enrich the Assamese language by contributing towards its development and preservation. In Bajali, earlier, in 1913, a student organization called '*Bajali Bandhav Sammilian*' was formed at Chowkhuti. It was later renamed as '*Bajali Chhatra Sanmilian*' in 1917 on the model of the *Assam Chatra Sanmilian*. Its president was Kameshwar Das and secretary was Sonapati Dev Sharma.

Role of Bajali in the Non-Cooperation Movement

Like the other parts of India, Non-Cooperation Movement was started in Assam with peaceful protests and boycotts. The people of Assam were actively involved in the promotion of *khadi* and village industries, which was a key aspect of Mahatma Gandhi's constructive program. In Assam this movement turned into a movement for prohibition of opium, bhang, alcohol and other products (Tamuly 76). Dhaniram Talukdar was the first advocate of Barpeta who left the service of court and joined the Non-Cooperation Movement. During the time of Non-Cooperation Movement the establishment of National School as very prominent in the history of education in Assam. In Bajali also, before 1921 many schools had established locally. In 1901, the establishment of

the Middle School in Pathsala was very prominent in history of education in

Assam. After that, in 1926 Bajali High School was established (Dutta 42-43). At that time the Barpeta Congress Committee was formed and Umesh Chandra Das had selected as president and Dhaniram Talukdar as secretary. The members of the Congress Committee from Bajali were: Ramnath Sarma, Gopi Choudhury, Kabiraj Kirtinath Sarmah (S. Sarma 19). In the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921-22 in Barpeta 54 persons, in Bajali 45 persons and Barnagar 19 persons had politically suffered (Das 108).

Like other places of Assam, the people of Bajali had joined Civil Disobedience movement in clear heart. The Independence Day had also observed in 26 January 1930 in the various remote areas of Barpeta. Prominent leaders of Bajali in the Civil Disobedience Movement were: Phanindra Nath Choudhury, Dr. Jina Ram Das, Rajani Kanta Goswami, Naranarayan Goswami, Ananda Ch. Mahanta, Basanta Kr. Oja, Priyanath Sarma.

Quit India and August Revolution and Bajali

The year 1942 was to be a momentous for the people of Bajali. In this movement like the other places of Assam in Bajali also most of students continued to play an active part in the underground movement by not only boycotting their educational institutions but also by organizing themselves into Suicide Squads known as *Mrityu Bahinis* (Barua 19). Under greater Barpeta sub-division Bajali and Barnagar was the most political conscious area. In the Quit India Movement of 1942, after Barpeta town, Bajali and Barnagar had played a very dominant role. Before beginning of the Quit India Movement in 1937 the visit of Jawaharlal Nehru in Barpeta was a important event (Das 115). After the beginning of the Quit India Movement the student community of Bajali, Barpeta, Barnagar, Sarupeta and other places of Barpeta had left schools and joined as Congress volunteer. As a Congress volunteer the main duty of the students were to conscious to villagers in the remote area of Barpeta. They encouraged the people for joining the freedom struggle. '*Bharat Mata Ki Jai*', '*Gandhiji Ki jai*' was the main slogan of the students. For good management of the Quit India Movement various Council of Actions in the sub-divisions of Barpeta established. In Bajali Council Dr. Keshab Ch. Das was the

Dictator and Narakatna Das was the General Secretary. In Bajali, one Parallel Government had been established and some Congress leaders of Bajali like Kashi Chandra Goswami, Mohendra Nath Das, Dr. Keshab Ch. Das, Gaurikanta Sarma, Manikchandra Talukdar and Manikanta Swargiyari had lead this Parallel Government (N. Das 27-28). They established one Panchayat in every village. These Panchayats had played very important role for the progress of the movement.

Swahid Routa Koch and Madan Barman

Four public gatherings were conducted in the Bajali area to mark "Nagaon Day" following the deaths of Kanaklata Barua and Mukunda Kakati at the hands of the police in Gahpur. The primary goals of these gatherings were to express opposition to British police brutality. There were four locations in the Bajali region where public meetings were held: Jalah, Nityananda, Soukhuti, and Bamunkuchi. However, the meeting in Bamunkuchi was not held for special reasons. Girish Ch. Choudhury, Bharat Chandra Goswami, and Narkanta Das presided over the meetings of Jalah, Nityananda, and Soukhuti respectively. Prior to the start of the meeting, the police had already reached Jalah, Nityananda, and Soukhuti among the four locations. The *Daroga* of Patacharkuchi Police Station Tularam Keot arrived with police and military force at the meeting locations as soon as the meeting had begun, and they detained Girish Ch. Choudhury, Rajani Kanta Sarma, and Bhadreswar Das there. The crowd were protested the activity of police but the police responded to the crowd's protests byfiring in response to their behaviour. Many people were hurt, and Madan Barman, a Class vi student from Bhogpur, and Routa Ram Koch, a resident of Saderi, sacrificed their lives on the altar of the homeland. The police had to severed the head of Madan and Routa for post-mortem (Patgiri10). Arjun Chandra Sharma, Nripendra Nath Sharma, Guneshwar Sharma and Abhay Shastri were also seriously injured. In this 'Rehabari incident' where Madan and Routa were lost their life in bullets and many innocent people were also tortured by the police was the inspiration before the people of not only Bajali but also the people of Assam.

Conclusion

Participation of the people Bajali in the freedom struggle of India is note-worthy. The women of Bajali also played an important

role in the freedom movement. Chandraprabha Saikiani, an Assamese poet and social reformer who protested against all forms of oppression and discrimination against women had inspired the women of Bajali. Under her guidance many women societies were organized and these societies had played a very key role in the freedom movement of India (D. Sharma 34-36). On 26th January 1943, Independence Day celebration was held at Harimandir, Pathsala where Chandraprabha Saikiani was arrested who presided there. The next day, on January 27th, a bomb exploded at Pathshala station in protest against the arrest of Chandraprabha Shaikia, but no casualties were reported. Other women who participated in Quit India Movement from Bajali were Lakhmi Mohan Dutta, Rajani Kanta Dev, Bhubaneswari Devi, Sayati Kalitani and Padmapriya Patgiri. Due to their involvement, the movement became massive in scale. In conclusion, it can be said that with limited scope and restrictions, the role played by the people of Bajali in the Freedom Struggle was indeed remarkable that left far reaching impact on various spheres of this region.

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Role of Tribal Communities in Indian Independence

Susmita Gogoi

Background

- The tribal communities have always been very conservative in nature and wanted to retain features of their society.
- Indian tribal uprisings, rebellions, and movements were motivated by revolutionary ideas.
- After the interference in their way of living, diverse tribal communities from various regions of India led a revolt against the exploitative and discriminatory practices of the British Indian Government during the time of British rule.

Causes of Tribal Revolt During Colonial Rule

- **Introduction of Permanent Settlement in Agriculture:** The tribals' mainstay was agriculture, hunting, fishing and the use of forest produce. With the influx of non-tribals into the traditional regions of the tribals, the practice of settled agriculture was introduced which led to a loss of land for the tribal population. The tribals were reduced to being landless agricultural labourers.
- **Loss of livelihood:** There were restrictions imposed on the use of forest produce, on shifting agriculture and on hunting practices. This led to the loss of livelihood for the tribals.
- **Introduction of the outsiders:** The British introduced outsiders like money lenders into the tribal areas which led to

severe exploitation of the local tribals. They became bonded labourers under the new economic system.

- **Private ownership by non-tribal landlords:** The tribal societies had a system of joint ownership of land which was replaced by the notion of private property.
- **Introduction of Forest Acts:** A Forest Department was set up in 1864 by the government mainly to control the rich resources of Indian forests.
- **Religious Conversions:** The work of the Christian missionaries also led to social upheaval in tribal society and this was also resented by them as they considered the work of missionaries an extension of colonialism.
- **Unregulated Tax Regime by Britishers:** A section of the tribal rebellion was a response to the landlords' attempts to impose taxes on the traditional use of timber and grazing areas, police exaction, new excise regulations, low country traders' and moneylenders' exploitation, and limitations on shifting agriculture in forests.

Impact of Tribal Revolt During Freedom Struggle

- **Politico- Religious impacts:** Religious conversions by Christian Missionaries were at the top at that time. Britishers tried to convert innocent Tribals to Christianity. Revolts brought aggression of tribals against these religious conversions and conserved India to lose its Cultural identity.
- **Social Impacts:** Tribals were used to live in groups and follow their own way of living but with the interference of British policies the tribal somewhere fails to maintain its traditions and customs.
- **Economic Impact:** The **Government Forest Act of 1865** and the Indian Forest Act of 1878 established a complete government monopoly over the forested land. The Tribal revolt has drawn the attention of exploitative British policies for forests resources.
- **Initiated a local Freedom spirit:** Tribal revolts bring into attention of people that fight for independence should not just

the task of few leaders but the responsibility of even the common individual and which is possible too.

Phases of Tribal Uprising in India

The following three phases are used to categories tribal movements. Mainly the Tribal uprisings took place during different phases of the freedom struggle. It lied in 18th, 19th and the 20th century.

- **The First Phase (1795-1860):** It happened at the same time as the British Empire's emergence, growth, and establishment. The top class of tribal society, led by the traditional group whose privileges had been curtailed by colonialism in India, produced the leadership. Major tribal uprisings in this phase were: the Kols Uprising, Santhal uprising, Khond uprising and Early Munda uprising.
- **The Second Phase (1860-1920):** It includes the Koya Rebellion and the Birsamunda-led Munda Uprising.
- **The Third Phase (1920-1947):** It comprises the Chenchu tribal movement, the Rampa rebellion, and the Tanabhat/Oraon Movement.

Major Tribal Uprising

Santhal Revolution

- It is the landmark event in tribal history, referred to as Santhal Hul.
- It took place in Bhognadih village in present-day Jharkhand on June 30, 1855.
- It was led by Kanho Murmu, Chand Murmu, Bhairab Murmu, and Sidho Murmu, and over 10,000 Santhals were mobilized.

Causes

- The seeds of the rebellion were sown in 1832 when the East India Company created the Damin-i-Koh region in the forested belt of Rajmahal hills and invited the Santhals to settle there.
- Over the years, Santhals found themselves at the receiving end of exploitative practices aided by the British.

- Thus Santhals revolted against the East India Company over oppression by revenue officials, zamindars, and corrupt moneylenders and various British Laws.
- After the rebellion broke out in 1855, both sides continued clashing till the uprising was crushed in 1856.
- The British defeated the Santhals using modern firearms and war elephants in decisive action in which both Sidho and Kanho died.

Paika Rebellion

Causes

- The 1817 Paika Rebellion in Odisha's Khurda is referred to as the "original" first war of Indian Independence.
- In 1817, the Paikas – a class of military retainers traditionally recruited by the kings of Odisha – revolted against the British colonial rulers mainly over being dispossessed of their land holdings.
- In the run-up to the revolt, the British had dethroned and exiled the Khurda king in 1803, and then started introducing new revenue settlements.

Revolution

- The trigger for the revolt came as some 400 Kondhs descended from the Ghumusar area to rise against the British.
- Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar Mohapatra Bharamarbar Rai led an army of Paikas to join the uprising of the Kondhs.
- The Paikas fought bloody battles at several places for a few months, but the colonial army gradually crushed the revolt.
- Bakshi Jagabandhu escaped to the jungles and stayed out of reach of the British until 1825 when he finally surrendered under negotiated terms.

Kol Mutiny

- The Kols, alongwith other tribes, are inhabitants of Chhotanagpur. This covered Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau and the western parts of Manbhum.

- The trouble in 1831 started with large-scale transfers of land from Kol headmen to outsiders like Hindu, Sikh and Muslim farmers and money-lenders who were oppressive and demanded heavy taxes.
- The Kols resented this and in 1831, under the leadership of Buddho Bhagat, the Kol rebels killed or burnt about a thousand outsiders.
- Only after large-scale military operations order was restored.

Bhil Uprising

- After the British intruded into the Bhil territory in Maharashtra's Khandesh region, the tribals pushed back fearing exploitation under the new regime in 1818.
- The revolt was led by their leader, Sewaram and was brutally crushed using the British military might.
- This uprising again erupted in 1825 as the Bhils sought to take advantage of reverses being suffered by the British in the first Anglo-Burmese war.

Phulaguri Uprising

The Phulaguri Uprising (also Phulaguri Dhawa/Dhewa) was an agrarian uprising in Phulaguri village in the Brahmaputra Valley, in October 1861 against the new income and farm taxation policies of the British Indian Empire following the Indian Rebellion of 1857. The murders of Lieutenant B H Singer and two police constables on 18 October 1861 led to mass reprisals in which at least 54 Assamese farmers were killed.

The farmer uprising in the Phulaguri area of middle Assam in October 1861 AD was one of the early peasant movements of the Indian freedom movement. It was also the first marker of a significant non-cooperation style movement of the Indian freedom movement wherein the farmers of the Phulaguri region had stopped payment of taxes to the British administration in open defiance of foreign tyranny.

Causes

- In 1861 the British Government imposed a new tax on betel nuts and betel leaves which has great importance in worship and marriage and the betel nuts determined the social status of the Assamese Society. The imposition of taxes on the betel nut and the betel leaf was just like an insult and blow to the social status of the Assamese society.
- In 1861, the British government also declared poppy cultivation as illegal in Nagaon, Sivasagar, Lakhimpur, Darrang, Kamrup and Goalpara district. The people of Phulaguri where most of the Tiwa people engaged with poppy cultivation was very disappointed with this step and they decided to launch a movement of civil disobedience. This step of British government greatly affected the economic condition of the peasant of Nagaon as it was the largest opium producing district of Assam.

Patharughat Uprising

Before the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Patharughat Peasants Uprising occurred on 28th January 1894. Though it took place 25 years before the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, the general populace has largely forgotten the importance of this uprising. More than 100 peasants fell to British bullets in the Patharughat area, around 60 km North-East of Guwahati, in the Darrang district.

Causes

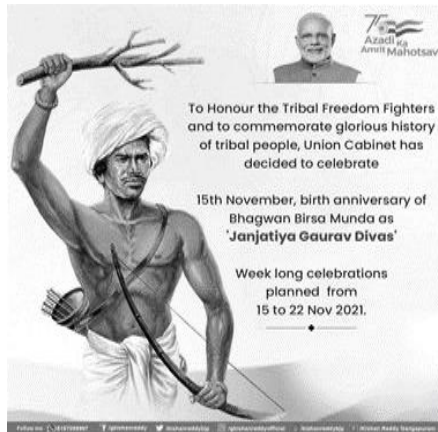
- In 1826, the British annexed Assam and began surveying the state's lands. Based on these large-scale surveys, the British began to fix land taxes, causing bitterness and resentment among these farmers.
- Moreover, in 1893, the British increased this aforementioned taxation by 70-80%. Until then, Assamese peasants used to pay taxes in kind or services instead of cash. Once the British upped these taxes, the peasants organized Raj melas or peaceful people's conventions.
- While these conventions were essentially democratic, the British viewed them as fertile grounds for sedition. Hence, they

would come down on participants with a heavy hand to disperse them.

- On 28 January 1894, British officers refused to listen to peasants' grievances and opened lathi-charge, followed by open firing.
- According to official sources, the number of casualties stood at 15 killed and 37 wounded.
- However, local sources say that around 140 persons lost their lives in the police firing.

Recognising the Role of Tribal Communities in Indian Independence

The government has declared November 15 as Janajatiya Gaurav Divas, to honour the contribution of the tribal community to the nation. It also happens to be the birth anniversary of the great tribal leader, Birsa Munda, whose role in the freedom struggle changed the course of modern India's history. He mobilised the tribal community against the British, forcing them to introduce laws protecting the land rights of tribals. In his all-too-short life — he died in Ranchi jail at the age of 25 — he brought about seminal changes in the lives of tribals across the country.



Conclusion

India is unique in that it has more than 700 tribal communities. These communities have enriched the country's

cultural heritage, through their exquisite art and craft. They have played a leading role in the promotion, protection and conservation of the environment through their traditional practices, with their vast repository of traditional knowledge, they have been the torchbearers of sustainable development. Recognizing the importance of tribals and their role in nation-building, the Constitution made special provisions for the protection of tribal culture and the development of Scheduled Tribes.

Tribal Freedom fighters prove this by fighting for their Rights as various tribal groups in India revolted against the forceful and devastating intrusions into their life and region by the British. The tribals had been living peacefully and in harmony with nature for hundreds of years in their own forests prior to the arrival of the colonial powers. The British came and introduced many changes in their way of life and also introduced outsiders into their turf. This reduced them to the status of labourers and debtors from masters of their own land. The uprisings were basically against this unwelcome intrusion and a fight for their independence.

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Historical Analysis of the First Indigenous Revolt in India Against the British Exploitation: The Santhal Rebellion

Swarup Singha

Introduction

India has witnessed so many wars, movements, rebellions from its long standing history. It was a regular phenomenon in India until 1947, before India gained its independence. But here it has a notable difference of the war and movements which occurred earlier to British rule and during British rule in India. All the wars or movements that occurred earlier to the British were between rulers, i.e. the war between powers where no common man was involved; but during the British period most of the war and movements were between local common people and the colonial power. It was mainly because the Britishers had adversely attacked on the basic needs and necessities of the people, by their various laws and policies to exploit them.

The Santhal Rebellion or the 'Santhal Hul'¹⁹ was also one amongst such a major indigenous revolt in India that was in between of the British Raj, powerful zamindars, money lenders and the local Santhals. The Rebellion took place in mid 1855 and lasted till the first quarter of 1856. It happened due to the three-fold exploitation of the Santhals, by the zamindars, money lenders (Dikus) and the Britishers (Sahibs). Describing the condition of the Santhals at that period (1855-56) a contemporary writer wrote in Calcutta Review,

¹⁹ Hul is a Santhali term. It means a movement for liberation.

"Zamindars, the police, the revenue and court alas have exercised a combined system of extortions, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid and yielding Santhals. Usurious interest on loans of money ranging from 50 to 500 per cent; false measures at the haut and the market; wilful and uncharitable trespass by the rich by means of their untethered cattle, tattoos, ponies and even elephants, on the growing crops of the poorer race; and such like illegalities have been prevalent."²⁰

In such a situation on 30th June 1855, around 10000 Santhals met at Bhagadini²¹ and formally started the historic rebellion under the prime leadership of Sidhu Murmu and Kanhu Murmu.

Literature Review

The Santhal Rebellion has been the subject of numerous historical and scholarly works. Many of these works have focused on the Santhal people's social and cultural identity, their relations with the British colonial authorities and the zamindars, and the political and economic factors that led to the rebellion. Some of the most significant works on the Santhal Rebellion includes the following:

- S.B. Bose, *The Santhal Rebellion: A Study in Revolt* (1921)
- B.B. Roy, *The Santhal Rebellion* (1967)
- Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal* (1973)
- Gautam Bhadra, "Santhal Identity and Rebellion: The Making of the Santhal Community" (1992)
- Biswamoy Pati, "Peasant Uprisings in India: A Case Study of the Santhal Rebellion of 1855-56" (2000)

B.B. Roy's *The Santhal Rebellion*, published in 1967, provided a more detailed account of the rebellion, drawing on contemporary documents and eyewitness accounts. Roy argued that the Santhal Rebellion was a manifestation of the Santhal people's collective consciousness and their struggle for freedom and autonomy. Roy also highlighted the significance of the Santhal

20 L. Natrajan, 'The Santhal Insurrection: 1855-56,' in A. R. Desai, editor, *Peasant Struggles in India*, Delhi, 1979, p. 137.

21 A village half a mile away from the Barhait village, Jharkhand. The Rebellion's leaders Sidhu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairav lived in that village.

leaders' use of religious symbolism and ritual in mobilizing the Santhal warriors for the revolt.

Sumit Sarkar's *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, published in 1973, placed the Santhal Rebellion in the context of the wider Indian nationalist movement. Sarkar argued that the Santhal Rebellion was part of the larger struggle against British colonialism and that it was an expression of the indigenous people's resistance to exploitation and oppression. Sarkar also highlighted the role of the Indian nationalist leaders, such as Ram Mohan Roy and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, in supporting the Santhal cause and advocating for their rights.

Gautam Bhadra's "Santhal Identity and Rebellion: The Making of the Santhal Community," published in 1992, provided an anthropological perspective on the Santhal Rebellion. Bhadra argued that the Santhal identity was shaped by their distinctive cultural practices and their historical experience of marginalization and exploitation. Bhadra also highlighted the Santhal leaders' role in creating a sense of community and mobilizing the Santhal people for the rebellion.

Biswamoy Pati's "Peasant Uprisings in India: A Case Study of the Santhal Rebellion of 1855-56," published in 2000, provided a comparative analysis of the Santhal Rebellion and other peasant uprisings in India. Pati argued that the Santhal Rebellion was distinct from other peasant uprisings in India in its organization, leadership, and goals. Pati also highlighted the significance of the Santhal leaders' use of religious symbolism and cultural traditions in mobilizing the Santhal warriors for the rebellion.

Causes of the Rebellion

The Santhals were primarily agriculturists, and lived in the region of Birbhum, Bankura, Midnaur, Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Chootanagpur, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Manabhum and Barabhum. In 1770 when the great Bengal famine occurred the Jungle Mahal region of West Bengal became depopulated, which resulted in loss of revenue for the British. Therefore the British East India Company after the enactment of Permanent Settlement system brought the Santhals from Ramgarh and Hazaribagh areas and encouraged them to settle agriculture by clearing forest areas in Jungle Mahal and RajMahal hills, because the local Pahariyas were resistant to cutting

down trees and begin cultivation.²² The British officials encouraged them to take out loans from local money lenders to buy farming equipment, seeds and oxen. They allocated a specific land in Damin-i-koh²³ to the Santhals in 1832 with the objective of restoring the forest area. The Santhals immigrated in a large number into Damin-i-koh to live a peaceful life, but they were not able to live peacefully. Also they had to fight with the local Pahariyas at their initial phase. The main objective behind the encouraging of Santhals by the British to settle in Damin-i-koh was to earn profits from their uncultivated lands. The zamindars and money lenders (Dikus) also adopted many unfair practices in the Damin-i-koh, to earn more profits and exploit the Santhals. They started usurious practice, started selling British goods in the region, the Santhals took money in lend from them to buy foreign goods, which ultimately made them fail to repay loans and compelled them to transfer their lands to the mahajans and zamindars. Moreover, the British East India Company also supported them and increased revenue by more than 25 percent. The Santhals were agitated due to the three-fold economic oppression.

Apart from these, the tyranny by Europeans to the Santhals also fueled the Rebellion. The Company decided to settle railway lines in India, for which they required about 20000 coolies for clearing the forests and also for construction of the railway lines. Abha Xalxo wrote that the European entrepreneurs led the constitution and created a demand for labor that had never existed in India before.²⁴ Meanwhile the Santhal people made the majority of the labor force; although it benefited them temporarily in the form of wages, it threatened their traditional way of life and a desire cherished for their tribal independence and to preserve their

22 As mentioned in OSOU, BHI-12, block-4, p.4

23 Damin –I-Koh is a Persian name and it means the skirts of the hills, but the estate comprises not only, as might be supposed from the name, the country lying at the foot or on the slopes of the Rajmahal Hills, but almost the whole range between the Ganges on the north and the Brahmani river on the south. The tract it covers consists of hills surrounded by flat country, with fertile valleys lying, in some instances, between parallel ranges. The valleys lying at the foot of the hills were well – watered by streams, and were cultivated and inhabited for the most part of the Santhals. As cited by Sengupta and Lochan, IJSSHR, 2015, p.103.

24 Xalxo, Abha. “The Great Santal Insurrection (Hul) Of 1855-56.” Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, vol. 69, 2008, p. 737. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44147237>. Accessed 11 Apr. 2023.

identity.²⁵ Since long ago the Santhals were directly attached with nature, they had spiritual beliefs with nature. Thus they understood that the growing modernity might cause them to lose their original identity. Consequently Santhals were losing their interest to work under the Europeans.

In addition, there were also allegations that some members of the railway staff had sexually harassed the Santhali women.²⁶ Another important factor for growing discontent amongst the Santhals was that the Europeans were not paid their proper wages, nor did they pay for commodities that were brought from them, such as milk, eggs, vegetables, etc. So, this kind of extortion eventually stimulated a revolt against the British.

The Santhals were always neglected by the Company government, while they lodged complaints against the extortion of the money lender majahans, zamindars, and the British officers. The administration became corrupted in the Damin-i-koh. Various forms of abusing practices prevalent in the region. The Santhals never got proper justice from the Company government. Their condition went in a deplorable state. They filed petitions to higher authorities against such extortion, but they were never heard before court in time. Therefore a sense of Swaraj or independence arose in their mind. They wanted to free themselves from the alien rule and establish their own rule.

The last most significant cause for the insurrection was that at that time many rumors spreaded related to revolt against the extortion. One of them was that the mystic snakes Nag and Nagin were on the move and attacking the people. To prevent this perceived threat, the Santhals traveled in groups from village to village and performed their rituals. Which had made them close to all. There were such multiple rumors at that time, which worked as a catalyst to raise the rebellion.

The Course of The Rebellion

The Rebellion finally began when the Sidhu and Kanhu Murmu, the prime leaders of the rebellion proclaimed that they had received a spiritual message from the Thakur Bonga²⁷ The holy

25 Ibid

26 Ibid

27 A spiritual deity of Santhals.

spirit urged them to start an insurrection and to lead it.²⁸ Chand and Bhairav, two younger brothers of Sidhu-Kanhu and Jhano and Phulo, their two sisters, also lead the rebellion. Their village Bhagadini was also adversely affected by the three-fold extortion. Besides, their father Chunar Murmu had also lost his hands to the Dikus.

As a result on 30th June 1885, at full moon around 10000 Santhals gathered at Bhagadini, where they declared that the time to be free from foreign rule had come. Then at the direction of Sidhu and Kanhu they had sent their parawanas (orders) to various government authorities of Bhagalpur and Birbhum, Darogha of Thanesh, Dighee and Rajmahal, to various zamindars and money lenders. The parwana had also been sent to Sahibs (Europeans) of Rajmahal. Where they clearly mentioned that, the Sahibs and the Dikus were the prime accused for the extortion committed on Santhals. It was ordered to end the Raj and asked the Britishers to leave the place and settle on the other side of the Ganges. Sidhu and Kanhu declared that their god had directly instructed them to start the rebellion, further they said that the Thakur (God) had ordered them, 'to slaughter all the mahajans and Darogas, to banish the traders and zamindars and all rich Bengalis from their country, to sever their connection with the Damin-i-koh and to fight all who resist them'.²⁹

Within a short period of time the rebellion spreaded all the Santhal areas, many zamindars, mahajans, Darogas were killed. Kadamsir, Birbhum, Hazaribagh, and all the major places of Dikus and Sahibs were highly impacted by the insurrection. Everything that was connected to railway works were burnt down, including the bungalows. The British were surprised by such an open insurrection, so wanted to stop it by any means. The Company enlisted the support of local zamindars, the nawab of Murshidabad, as well as troops armed with modern firearms. They had also announced a cash reward of rupees 10000 on Sidhu and Kanhu, if anybody captured them to the British. The Santhals were failing to resist the British canons, advanced firearms, with their ordinary arrows, axes, bows, and daggers. They had to face high human loss. Consequently in January 1856 the Santhals leader Sidhu and Kanhu

28 Abha, op. cit., p. 740

29 Abha, op. cit., p. 741

were killed by the British. With the death of Sidhu-Kanhu the rebellion weakened. Their villages, huts, were burnt down, and mercilessly slaughtered the poor Santhals. Around 15000 Santhals, including their leaders were massacred by the British.³⁰

Result and Conclusion

Although the rebellion failed to achieve its aim of ending the British and zamindari Raj, and establishing its own rule; but it has had a significant impact in the course of history. After the great rebellion the Santhals gained some administrative, legal, social and political status. The area located between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal hills in Singhbhum district was designated as Santhal Pargana and classified as a non-regulating district. The traditional Manjhi system was resurrected in the region. Moreover, the British had also passed the Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act in 1876, which had given them the land rights, and prohibited the sale of Adivasi land to non-Adivasis in the Santhal Pargana. Furthermore, a special enquiry was made to investigate the matter. The enquiry committee reported that the Santhals had genuine grievances, therefore steps were taken to remedy them.

The eminent socialist Karl Marx, had referred the Rebellion as India's first 'mass revolution' in his book Notes on Indian History. Recently the Rebellion is recognised as the first battle of Independence in India by various scholars. In view of this the government of India also depicted the Santhal Rebellion, 1855-56 as the first war of India's Independence in the observation of Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav.

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Presence of Historical events in Amitav Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines*

Tasneem Farhat Choudhury

Introduction

To talk about the major events of the Indian freedom struggle we cannot miss out on the previous significance of mentioning the Swadeshi Movement, the collaborative screams of 1963- 64, and the partition of India. The Swadeshi movement can be called a nursery of the further course that the Indian National Movement was to take the programme and the ideas that were rehearsed during the Swadeshi Movement came to the hallmark of colourful other movements.

The Shadow Lines by Ghosh captures the times and events of the endless rupture which was created by the partition. This novel is regarded as one of the canonical textbooks which are dealing with the experience of the partition of India. Ghosh revives history in his style. He beautifully juxtaposes particular and mass history with different layers

The major historical events create extreme consequences in the individual's lives. For instance, in the novel *The Shadow Lines*, Tridib arrives in Dhaka in the year 1964, and he was murdered by the mob. The death of Tridib however has affected all the characters in the novel.

The novel is set against the outbreak of World War II and ends in 1964 when violence erupted in India and Pakistan. The text focuses on the partition of India. The trauma of partition continues throughout the three generations. The partition was viewed as a

price of political freedom from British social rule. The division of Bengal and the suffering caused by the partition are also apparent in the novel.

The partition of India and Pakistan has changed the meaning of home for various people. In the novel, we can see the meaning of home for Thamma changes. She is no longer 'coming home' to Dhaka as a native but as a foreigner. She used to take tremendous pride in the heritage of her family in Dhaka. She carries with her memories of her childhood. But she also carries her pain and sufferings with her because her place of origin, Dhaka has changed drastically due to the partition and she can not find correspondence between her remembrance of the place and the reality it offers.

The partition of India brought political separation along with a socio-artistic differences across the nations. The partitioning of the Bose family home in Dhaka serves as a public fable of the great Indian partition. The formerly-familiar house came a matter of curiosity for both halves of the house. still, England was in noway a matter of curiosity either for Tridib or Ila. They can visit London and return unharmed. But the visit to Dhaka was always a matter of curiosity for all. Tridib's death at the hands of the mob, the flight of the grandmother etc has sealed the bond of affection between Dhaka and Calcutta. They've eventually drawn a line between both the places just like the shadow lines between India and Pakistan. The administration that has drawn the lines in charts between India and Pakistan believed:

“In the enchantment of lines, hoping perhaps that once they had etched their borders upon the map, the two bits of land would sail away from each other, like the shifting tectonic plates of the prehistoric Gondwanaland” (Ghosh, 2010, 233-234)

The Journey in this novel is through nonfictional events that shook the sensibility of the people of India and Bangladesh and changed their lives ever. They came as an alien in their country of birth. After Partition, they had to migrate – cross the border, leaving behind not only their home and their land of ancestors but also their history and culture. In *The Shadow Lines*, Ghosh deals with the issues not only of disturbance but with identity and nationhood.

Coming and Going, Arriving and Departing are constantly mentioned in the text.

To conclude we can say that historical analysis is a complex web of factors about individuals, and society. History has its distinct bearings at an individual and mass level. Ghosh's novel rightly depicts the brutalities of the historical events which changed the life of all the people across the border.

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The Politics of Representation: Realism, Subalternity and Resistance in *Sardar Udham* and *Massey Sahib*

Tonmoyee Kashyap
Shristi Mishra

Introduction

The narrativization of the past has been a way of propagating ideas of the nation to a national public, a means by which people might construct a picture of themselves as individuals and groups. Conventional or traditional mainstream freedom struggle movies show the whole trope of resistance from a romantic perspective. Freedom struggle is more often than not shown as a homogenized culmination of a nation's desire. If not intentionally, they, however, neglect certain underlying issues. It's more than just fighting blood and tears for the country. Often the discourse of nationalism runs as an undercurrent in those kinds of movies.

In India, cinematic biography has enjoyed growing popularity in recent years with the realist strand producing many biopics, notably on the leaders of the Freedom Struggle (Dwyer 68). The Independence Struggle, cinematically associated with the lives of its leaders, has evolved into a national frame of reference, a meta-narrative impacting collective identity, and filmmakers have either confirmed or dismantled the mythology surrounding national leaders. People in general have internalized a certain image that they associate with any sort of freedom fighter, if presented on the silver screen, they expect to see a stereotypical version of a larger-than-life image of a hero. It is evident that Bollywood biopics are created with a commercial end in mind since they tell the story in a

way that makes it marketable. Even though they try to chronicle the whole film around the main character, what they fail to provide is a deeply layered representation of that character. Mainstream Bollywood patriotic dramas don't delve deep into the characterization of the main characters, they produce a very filtered kind of image that would please the mass audience. Instead of focusing on freedom fighters as individuals, these movies tend to focus more on them as symbols, stripping away their nuance and simplifying them for multiplex audiences.

Discussion

Re-creating the founding fathers' myths is one way to tell the story of the country. By recounting brave acts, selfless sacrifices, and lofty moral characteristics as well as by creating, rediscovering, or confirming the myths of famous individuals, great men biopics have been used in film to channel the patriotic impulses. Presentations of various versions of historical events favour certain ideologies and normalize a national image in the minds of the general public. The Indian biopic creates and mediates a specific and primarily masculine picture of the country to the spectator by offering a quasi-realistic portrayal of the life of the characters. The biopic “narrates, exhibits and celebrates the life of a subject in order to demonstrate, investigate or question his or her importance in the world; to illuminate fine points of a personality; and... to enter the biographical subject into the pantheon of cultural mythology” (Bingham 10). In order to appeal to the audience, these movies typically focus on highlighting the triumphs of heroic figures while overlooking some of their underlying issues and instances. The biopic engages in a type of historical (re)writing through the stories of individual accomplishments in which historical events are viewed through the hero's experiences. The biopic's distinctive national and cultural inflections make sure that the nation's discourse serves as a medium for the representation of the figure. The fact that the film's plot is typically fictional rather than historical or factual indicates that one of the main goals of the biopic is to construct the nation.

Massey sahib directed by Pradip Kishen and released in 1986, centers around a figure that's peculiar in many ways and diametrically opposed to the typical protagonists that one usually

encounters in movies depicting the freedom struggle, Francis Massey, the anti-hero. In his innocent sycophancy towards and adoration for the English, and the desperate ways in which he tries to accommodate himself within the English culture, his principles are shown to be directly antithetical to those, encapsulated by the nationalist endeavour. Dressed in a suit and hat, roaming around the village announcing himself as the Typist Babu with pride, flaunting his close association with the English officials, at the outset, it seems that he epitomizes the quintessential minion or puppet, a site, an appendage upon and through which the desires of the colonial masters play out and manifest itself, ideologically conditioned by the Raj and the colonial discourse. However, it would be a simplistic reduction, as the film engages with a very nuanced depiction, that allows for the humanization of the characters, showing them as multifaceted and consisting of flaws, rather than just extensions or embodiment of ideals, virtues or vices. portrayals in this movie do not simply valorize or demonize different subject positions. Contrary to the ways in which the intricacies and subtleties of human character are ignored or overruled to suit plot convention, this movie dwells exceptionally well on these aspects. Massey babu is not explicitly or overtly situated within the cavalcade of change or raging resistance, the *Mise En scene* is characteristically marked by an absence of the depictions of the freedom struggle as such, the audience is made aware of an ongoing fight for freedom only through oblique references to events and personages made by the characters, mostly colonial officers. Thus, removed from the politics of the day, this movie might appear to be lacking in many respects and an inadequate representation of the times it intends to capture the ethos of, at first glance. However, on closer inspection the film offers various layers of signification, in historicizing the life and desires of an ordinary clerk under colonial rule, it undertakes a portrayal of the 'other', an aberrant figure in terms of the nationalist discourse, his individual and personal aspirations, desires and nodes around which his identity is constructed, take center stage as opposed to the collective dreams of a nation.

Massey babu is not just a disillusioned man interpellated within an all-pervasive and immanent colonial discourse, his appropriation of the colonizers' culture is not a corollary of his own

acculturation, rather, his characterization as a ‘mimic man’ problematizes his subjectivity and his entire relationship with the colonial discourse. As Homi Bhabha, theorizes in *The Location of Culture*, mimicry is characterized by an ambivalence, while it may be employed by the colonizers as a tool, it nonetheless produces a slippage, a disturbance that provides a counter-discursive subject or identity formation, “the menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority (126).” Mimicry might serve as a form of resistance and parody and it’s quite evident in the ways in which Massey tries to perform ‘Englishness’ which for him is constituted by his limited notions of chivalry, gentlemanliness and ridiculously essentialized views of what being English is all about. Various articulations of his anglicization, the way he arranges his own marriage in mock-Christian Fashion, goes to church without realizing the actual import of the verses being sung, wears a suit and hat to command respect from all, are treated in a comic light. The English culture, and its appropriation for Massey is nothing more than a means of social mobility that garners instant respect from fellow Indians. Massey is not just reduced to a victim, even though she meets a tragic end; he is endowed with an unmatched resourcefulness and intelligence, it’s interesting how his unique ideas and tactics elude his colonial superiors. It functions as a subversion of the colonial discourse that produces racist and essentialist binaries, reducing the colonized people to savages, brutes etc. while claiming their own supremacy.

The film also takes into account the subalterns, relegated to the margins in popular movies, the tribal girl Saila and her family, while the way the other upper caste villagers display their disgust and contempt towards them and speak of them in derogatory terms can be criticized, it can also be considered as a reflection of the difference among the natives engendered by unequal power relations and class hierarchies, something that is passed over by popular narratives catering to the nationalist discourse. Although the figure of Saila can be taken to symbolize oppression, inequality, inter-caste politics, and subaltern silence from a gendered perspective, it can be argued that she also offers an alternative way of resistance through her adamant silence and her use of refusal, she remains formidable and adamant in her decision to not speak or not

listen if and when she does not want to. It is in this way that this movie confronts the various questions of the ‘other’. Instead of outright demonization of the colonizers, *Massey Sahib*, focuses more on the subtle and insidious aspects of colonial machinery. The character of Charles Adam is not explicitly evil, but still his complicity in a system of injustice is made apparent.

“Bollywood films are not solely politically motivated, nor are they entirely devoid of nationalist/anti-colonialist content; however, they are ideologically loaded” (Khan 8). Although Bollywood movies do not only have political motivations or wholly lack nationalist or anti-colonialist content; however, they are ideologically weighted. But movies like *Massey Sahib* (1986), and *Sardar Udham* (2021) relegate this entirety of overt hero worship to the very periphery. Rather than presenting a caricatured version of the characters these two movies focus on humanizing the characters with all their desperation and flaws. In Indian biopics or conventional freedom struggle movies ““dramatic fiction” overwhelms “actualities” – erasing the problematics of a subject’s lives and constructing a larger-than-life hero”. (Kumar 41)

Sardar Udham (2021), a film by Shoojit Sircar, subverts from the conventional style of storytelling that follows a chronological sweep common to most biopics. In order to highlight a significant Indian story, the screenplay for *Sardar Udham* by Ritesh Shah and Shubhendu Bhattacharya maneuvers a different way of storytelling, they employ a non-linear narrative and brings in snippets from different time frames of Udham Singh's life rather than following an A-To-Z way of storytelling. In an effort to depict Singh's arduous journey from his early years in an orphanage in Punjab to his final days as a political martyr in London, the movie jumps between several time periods and locations.

Sony Jalrajan Raj and Rohini Sreekumar in their work *Colonial Rebels in Indian Cinema Narratives, Ideology and Popular Culture* accentuate how the narration of a nation is frequently viewed as a tricky rendition because it contains an amount of sincerity, truth, and belief that might not be apparent in film narration and approaches. Shoojit Sircar's *Sardar Udham*, presents an alternative view and departs from the norm in showing the individual desires of an almost larger-than-life hero kind of

figure rather he employs a collective way of showing a deeply layered character study. It recounts the story of Udham Singh, a key figure in the struggle for Indian freedom. While most famous for his headline-making assassination of Michael O'Dwyer, a former governor of Punjab who led the horrible 1919 Amritsar slaughter, Singh remains a historical enigma, with many of his biographical details cloaked in mystery. In order to depict Singh's tough journey from his upbringing in an orphanage in Punjab to his dying days as a political martyr in London, the movie bounces across continents and periods, reflecting these ambiguities. Udham Singh is a historical character about whom very little information is out there in the popular media. Director Shoojit Sircar and screenwriters Shubhendu Bhattacharya and Ritesh Shah stick to facts while keeping the larger nationalistic plates spinning. However, they also ignore chronology and insert thrilling modern commentary inadvertently.

This movie, however, also became subject to criticism as many people started questioning its narrative style. Sircar refrained from presenting an overtly larger-than-life heroic character of Singh, rather his portrayal of Singh was anything but heroic, we are shown how his character has developed gradually from his youth till his hanging. We are not given a character who is a hyper jingoist, rather we are given a character with whom we can empathize. There are instances in the movie where these things are very much evident. The assassination of O'Dwyer takes place during the opening 20 minutes of the movie; if it were a more traditional film about the independence movement, it would have shown a version of this moment that was blatantly romanticized. Sircar presents it in a subversive way, he doesn't show his character of Udham fueled with rage to take revenge directly after the incident of the Jallianwala Massacre, rather he gives his character time and space to grow and develop gradually. The movie dwells on presenting the sheer difference between a terrorist and a revolutionary. How Udham patiently waited for the assassination and how there is barely any dialogue from the main character is also significant because of the fact that even in the silence there is a kind of a resistance.

There's another instance in the movie, the trial scene of Udham Singh (played by Vicky Kaushal) after the assassination of

O'Dwyer where we can see his character saying, "Freedom is my birthright, and fighting for freedom is no crime", this shows how fighting for freedom isn't something revolutionary or some hyper jingoist movement, it is simply something that people should be able to exercise without any hindrance. This phrase itself acts as a sign of resistance against the colonizers. Sircar thus, in his movie represents a subversive mode of characterization of all the characters in comparison to earlier versions of this movie. One such example is that of the movie *Shaheed Udham Singh* (1999), where actor Raj Babbar played the role of the revolutionary Singh, here in this movie, the events and characters were constructed keeping in mind the dramatic maneuver of the time. Such romanticized, caricatured representation of characters has been neglected by the direction of Sircar's *Sardar Udham*. All of the characters, including the main character in the film, were presented in a way that would overpower the severity of the scenario. The movie's characters and events are all depicted in such a profound way that it allows viewers to really identify with them. Even the portrayal of the British colonizers is humanized; although being shown as cunning and evil, they are portrayed as real people rather than as a stereotype of ice-cold evil.

Conclusion

The cinematic medium has always functioned as a very potent, powerful, and accessible source of mass communication, a receptacle and prism of ideas, ideologies, and imagination, and in some way or another reflective of, deriding, vilifying, praising, or contesting the dynamics of culture at a given time; it is high time that its immense potential to influence discourse and ideology is tapped and examined. Throughout the discussion, it has been appropriated through instances from both the films that how these two films deviate from the norms, to include the representation of and to historicize the lives of "other" subjects, who are typically made to haunt the margins and peripheries in traditional mainstream movies; movies which incorporate radically alternative storytelling techniques to illuminate the lives of unsung heroes. These two films deviate from the general celebration of the larger-than-life characters and rely more on the underlying issues.

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The Unsung Heroes of India's Independence Fight

Trishna Boruah

In today's time period in this chaotic generation, people only remember those who have the most limelight in their entire life. Generation-wise the youth changes every time. Present-day youths hardly find time to reminisce about our prestigious and rich heritage and past life. On one side people are celebrating Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav and on the other side, people forgot about the heroes who sacrificed their lives for this country. We all know that the Indian struggle for freedom was a very crucial war that took millions of people's sacrifices. A very unpleasant and vicious colonial regime aimed to destroy the identity of Indians. The fight of Indians for the freedom from Britishers held for a long period. The blood-sucking fight in India constitutes a unique narrative, which was bloody and turbulent but most importantly not marred by violence and at least it united them. Even today Indians are very inspired by the variegated narrative stories full of valor, bravery, Satyagraha, dedication, and sacrifice. Thus, we are discussing the unsung heroes who may be the leaders of the Indian value system at the time.

For the record of Indian history, the Britishers came to India with the motive of trading purpose in their mind. But slowly their interest and greed paved the way for colonizing India and eventually were successful in doing so. For their own benefit, they started to exploit the Indian resources. Due to a lack of education, the Indians were exploited easily at that time. But some educated intelligent people can come forward to get rid of them because they understand their true evil nature. We all know our famous heroes Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose, etc. In Indian history, their names

are highlighted for their hard work and sacrifices for this nation. The Britishers were very cruel towards the Indian people. If the colonial rule continued India will become like an empty vessel because all the resources were taken away from Indians.

There were many heroes who were unsung, and people hardly recognized them because they were not highlighted in Indian history as like the other heroes. But we can't ignore their sacrifices towards the nation. There are many articles, books, and journals available for the highlighted freedom fighters. But very few materials are available for the forgotten heroes.

One of the unsung freedom fighters was U Tirot Singh. He was a North-Eastern legendary hero who was barely recognized by the people. Although many people did not know who he was and his immolate offering of himself for the land of Khasis. Northeast was a land filled with resources and a very rich cultural heritage. Mystifying North-eastern attracted the Britishers towards the land. British attention was stuck on the limestone reserves which were highly available in the Khasi hills. We all know the British governor David Scott who demanded to directly connect the Brahmaputra valley to the Surma valley. The former chief of Nongkhlaw Khasi Hills was Chattar Singh, who died in the year of 1826. Scott made a condition to the chief that he should grant the British access to the construction of a road through the Khasi hills. U Tirot Singh was elected as the next chief of Nongkhlaw. In order to secure his position, he had no other option but to accept Scott's proposal. After getting confirmation for the construction of the road, the British revealed their true intentions toward the Khasi people. After getting betrayed by the Britishers the Khasi people burnt the convalescent home at Nongkhlaw. The troops were led by U Tirot Singh, they also set free the convicts who were employed in the construction of roads. The Khasi people had only swords, arrows, and bows to fight against the British army. The protesters were not capable of fighting the British army. For the sake of their people, Tirot Singh restored the guerrilla fighting styles and it went on for about four years. He was shot by the British and eventually was captured in January 1833. He massacred several British subjects including two European officers. He is revered as a hero because he was killed while combating the British when they attempted to take over the Khasi hills. His death anniversary is commemorated as a state holiday at Meghalaya.

Our next hero was Matangini Hazra. Many people did not know about her, but she was an active participant in the Indian independence struggle. She was a Gandhian member. Although she did not get much limelight her hard work towards the nation was priceless. She was associated with the Quit India movement and the non-co-operation movement. She was arrested and imprisoned twice for the movements. After being released from prison she became an active member of the Indian National Congress. She was shot three times while marching with the Indian flag during a Quit India movement protest. Despite being shot she did not keep her head down or lower her voice and she kept shouting “Vande Mataram” till her last breath. At last, she was lovingly referred to as Gandhi Buri.

We all have heard about the Jhansi Rani Lakshmi bai but rather than Lakshmi bai, there was a herculean queen in Indian history who fought against colonial rule. She was Velu Nachiyar the queen of the Sivaganga estate. She was the first brawny queen who fought valiantly against the East India Company. She is fondly remembered by Tamil as Veeramangai.

The struggle for independence extended beyond a handful of isolated incidents. Every Indian who stood up and fought back against the British put up a deliberate effort of blood and sweat. Indians are commemorating their platinum jubilee of 75 years of independence today, which is a huge accomplishment. For India, the trip has been exceedingly lengthy and difficult from the start, with many obstacles and upheavals. Regrettably, a lot of the freedom warriors lost their life very quickly for this country, therefore they were unable to see the sunrise on August 15, 1947. We must draw attention to the names that have been lost. Those who make sacrifices without having their names or dates mentioned deserve our gratitude and respect. It is advantageous for us as a country to be able to recognise our genuine heroes, and they deserved our admiration and respect.

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Role of Women in the Freedom Struggle of India: An Analysis

Ananya Kashyap

Introduction

In the Swadeshi Movement, which was for boycotting the goods and services of the British women had participated in that in a large numbers and Gandhiji also appreciated their efforts towards the greater movement. This is the time to rethink that when Indian Independence is the efforts of both brave man and women but it has been seen that the talks are mostly said for man's struggle and fights where women contribution is also equally should be taken. Despite of the limitations, many women played a significant role in the independence movement, paving the way for future generations of women to follow.

Role of Women in freedom movement

The instances of direct participation of women in the freedom struggle start all the way back from 1817, when women such as Bhima Bai Holkar, Rani Chennama of Kittur, and Rani Begam Hazrat Mahal of Avadh fought against the *East India Company* even before the First War of Independence in 1857.

Rani Laxmibai was the heroine of the *First War of Independence*, shaking the entire British Army with her endless courage, bravery and patriotism. Fast forward to 1920, many women such as Sarla Devi, Susheela Nair, Kasturba Gandhi and Kamla Nehru participated in the *Non-Cooperation Movement*. In fact, Lado Rani Zutshi and her daughters, Manmohini; Shyama and Janak, led the Movement in Lahore

A good number of women participated in rallies, raids and stone picketing during the *Civil Disobedience Movement* and *Dandi Salt March* in 1930. In the *Quit India Movement* of 1942, Usha Mehta set up a radio transmitter to spread the famous slogan, “*Do or Die*” until she was arrested. The dissemination of such information is crucial at times of such national activism: it functions as the glue that unites all the simultaneous activism in different regions under the umbrella of one movement, making it larger and more powerful.

As the fog around women’s role in India’s independence struggle slowly lifts, some interesting facts come to light. Circling back to the legend of Rani Laxmibai, the woman who fearlessly fought against the Britishers after the death of her husband, the tales of her valour have been beautifully written out in a famous poem by Subhadra Kumari Chauhan. A snippet from this has been presented below:

“बदुंलेहरबोलों के मँहु हमने सुनी कहानी थी,
खबू लड़ी मर्दा नी वह तो झाँसी वाली रानी थी।”

Here, the word that stands out is ‘*mardani*’. The fact that this woman fought bravely in the face of danger while suffering loss has been reduced to fighting like a man or fighting in a manly way. Modern day arguments such as ‘*cry like a girl*’ and ‘*punch like a man*’ are easy to find out in a day to day conversation.

In other words, the implication that fighting fearlessly is not in the feminine nature and needs to be drawn out as masculine is somewhat outrageous. Moreover, it indirectly credits men with the badge of bravery along with Rani Laxmibai. One must note that this poem is taught in classrooms and almost every kid in India knows this particular line by heart.

It is so deeply instilled that one does not deeply ponder on it. However, this instance, in its mysterious ways, points towards the implication that brave freedom fighters are either men or manly, subtly boxing the narrative of the Indian freedom struggle to its male-dominated starting point.

The objective of this article is not just to highlight the role of women in the Indian freedom struggle but to address some serious concerns regarding their mention in our narratives. This is

not to say that the country is blind to their contributions, but to say that the prevailing idea that women's sacrifices mark their contributions is to deflate the intensity of what they had poured into the struggles.

Begum Hazrat Mahal

She leads the revolt against the British East India Company during the 1857 uprising in Awadh. She served as a symbol of resistance for Muslim women in India and also played a critical role in the development of the independence movement in India.

Zeenat Mahal

She played a crucial role in supporting her husband, Bahadur Shah Zafar II, in the 1857 uprising against the British East India Company. She supported the independence movement through her political and diplomatic efforts. She remained an influential figure in the Indian independence movement despite being exiled to Rangoon (now Yangon) by the British.

Jhalkaribai

She was a key military leader in the 1857 uprising against the British East India Company. She worked closely with Rani Lakshimbai in the defense of Jhansi.

Annie Besant

She was a prominent British socialist and supporter of Indian independence and played a key role in the Theosophical Society, which aimed to promote the study of comparative religion, philosophy, and science, and to encourage the investigation of the mysteries of life and nature.

She founded the Home Rule League, which aimed to promote self-government in India.

Sarojini Naidu

Sarojini Naidu was a prominent leader of the Indian independence movement and a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi. She was known for her speeches and poems and was one of the few women who played a prominent role in India's independence movement. She was also an advocate for women's rights and was instrumental in the formation of the Women's Indian Association.

Sarojini Naidu was the first woman to become the President of the Indian National Congress and was also appointed as the Governor of the United Provinces (present-day Uttar Pradesh) after India gained independence.

Aruna Asaf Ali

She was a leading political activist and independence leader in India and played a key role in the Quit India Movement, which aimed to pressure the British government to grant independence to India. She served as the mayor of Delhi and was a prominent figure in the Indian National Congress.

Kalpana Dutta

Participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement and was arrested for picketing and burning foreign clothes. She helped organize the Bengal Volunteers Corps and was one of the leading female members of the Indian National Congress. She contributed to the women's rights movement in India and worked towards women's education and empowerment.

Sucheta Kriplani

Became the first woman to be elected as the Chief Minister of an Indian state (Uttar Pradesh).

Active participant in the freedom movement participated in the Salt Satyagraha and was arrested several times. She worked towards uplifting the status of women in India and was a strong advocate of women's rights and education.

Rani Gaidinliu

Led a revolt against British rule in India at the age of 13. Her efforts inspired the tribal communities of northeast India to join the independence movement. Imprisoned by the British for her activism and is remembered as a symbol of resistance against colonial rule in India.

Kanaklata Barua

Became a martyr at the young age of 17 while hoisting the national flag during the Quit India Movement. Her bravery inspired many others to join the independence movement and her memory

is still celebrated in India. Represented the spirit of young India and their willingness to sacrifice for the cause of freedom.

Usha Mehta

Active participant in the Quit India Movement and played a key role in the secret broadcasting of Congress radio. She became one of the youngest political prisoners and was arrested several times during the freedom struggle, worked towards the upliftment of women and their education and was a strong advocate of women's rights.

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

Became the first woman to hold a cabinet post in India and was appointed as the Minister of Local Self-Government and Health, acted as the Indian ambassador to several countries and was the first woman to become the President of the United Nations General Assembly.

Worked towards women's rights and education and was a strong voice in the Indian independence movement.

Purnima Banerjee

Actively participated in the freedom struggle and was arrested several times.

Helped establish the All India Women's Conference and worked towards women's rights and education, Contributed to the upliftment of tribal communities and advocated for their rights and empowerment.

Ammu Swaminathan

Actively participated in the Salt Satyagraha and was arrested several times during the independence struggle. She worked towards women's rights and education and was a strong advocate for gender equality. She was also a member of the Constituent Assembly of India formed after independence.

Leela Roy

Became a prominent leader of the Non-Cooperation Movement and was arrested several times during the independence struggle. She worked relentlessly towards the empowerment of women throughout her life. She contributed to the development of rural communities and was a leader in the Indian National Congress.

Hansa Mehta

She was the first woman to be elected as the President of the All India Women's Conference, Actively participated in the independence struggle and was arrested several times. She Worked towards women's rights and education and was a strong advocate for gender equality.

Conclusion

Women played a crucial role in India's independence movement and their contributions should not be overlooked. Despite facing numerous challenges such as violence, imprisonment, and social stigma, these women stood up for their rights and freedoms, inspiring future generations to fight for their rights. These women represent the bravery, resilience, and determination that was essential to India's fight for independence. Today, their legacy continues to inspire and their contributions are an important part of India's rich history.

Indian women played a pivotal role in the Indian freedom movement against British rule. They participated in various forms of protest including civil disobedience, non-violent resistance, and boycotts. Women from diverse backgrounds including royalty, aristocracy, and commoners joined the movement, breaking social norms and defying the colonial authorities. Despite facing numerous challenges such as violence, imprisonment, and social stigma, these women stood up for their rights and freedoms, inspiring future generations to fight for their rights. The contribution of these women to India's independence movement continues to be remembered and celebrated today. Women from various backgrounds including royalty, aristocracy, and commoners were involved in the freedom struggle. Women faced numerous challenges while participating in the freedom struggle, including social stigma, violence, and imprisonment by colonial authorities.

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Role of Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement: In the Context of Assam

Bidisha Pator

Introduction

Indian struggle for freedom was achieved on non-violence ground and as a result the whole nation followed the path of ahimsa. Women being bearer of peace, demonstrated an excellent way of protecting their motherland amidst all the difficulties they faced in the era of suppressor and suppressed.

Indian women during the period of freedom movement, were actively involved both within and outside of their house. Within their home, they spun and wove khadi, educated their fellow women as well as significantly contributed to nationalist literature in the form of poems, books and other such materials that inspired many women to step outside their home and become an active participant. Many women marched with Gandhi towards the achievement of freedom and many were also walking to temples, singing songs that arose the feeling of patriotism, amidst different caste, class, age and religion.

In case of Assam, the society was heavily influenced by the culture of the tribal people, who held a very high position for women. Many concepts like sati, dowry etc. were a foreign concept to them. This liberal status of women had an influence on women belonging to non-tribe as well. Assamese women like- Kanalakta Barua, Dariki Dasi Baruah, Bhogeswari Phukanani, Rebati Lahon, Padumi Gogoi etc. have displayed courage and rebel against the

Britishers by holding national flag, participating in anti-opium picketing, destroying government buildings, cutting telephone cables and wrecking bridges. Despite being an active participant equal to men, there are rare instances in history where woman's bravery have been mentioned. They are less recognised and respected in the present context. Where fear of losing the motherland became more important than fear of death is immeasurable and needs full recognition.

Objective

1. To understand the role played by women in the freedom movement through their lens.
2. To understand the impact of freedom movement in women
3. To find out the challenges faced in the process.

Methodology

The study is based on qualitative research and descriptive in nature. The data and information were collected from secondary sources. Secondary information was collected from books, article, journal, newspaper, website etc.

Women in Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movement

During the period of 1930, only a few women, usually from the families of national leaders like as C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru participated. That is why, on April 30, 1930, in the "Young India," Gandhiji urged Indian women to learn to spin yarn on the "charkha," to leave their homes, and to picket government institutions and businesses selling foreign products or liquor. As a result, more women joined the movement.

The promotion of spinning and weaving was one of the major constructive programs of the Non-cooperation movement. In this regard the achievement of the Assamese women was remarkable. Almost all the women of Assam, irrespective of their caste creed, and status were efficient in spinning and weaving. It was due to the large-scale production of the "khadi" by the women, the boycott of foreign clothes was highly successful in Assam.

The women of Assam also participated in the program of picketing before the opium and liquor shops. Dariki Dasi Baruah,

an anti-opium worker of Golaghat was arrested for taking active part in anti-opium picketing programme and was imprisoned for six months. In the jail she suffered from dysentery and finally breathed her last due to miscarriage. Likewise, Malati Mem, one of the leading members of the anti-opium campaign in tea gardens was killed by government supporters at Lalmati in Darrang district.

In the era of 1940's, an active organiser, Kanaklata Barua of Gohpur, was shot dead by the British police on September 20,1942 when she was holding the national flag during the Quit India movement. Bhogeswari Phukanani of Nagaon district was likewise shot by the British while marching forward with the national flag at Barhampur. Tileswari Barua, an active participant in the Quit India Movement was shot dead in police firing while trying to hoist the national flag at Dhekiajuli. Rebati Lahon, Khahuli Devi, Padumi Gogoi and many such other women have been killed in the process of fighting for India's freedom. What seems to be more interesting is the fact that, despite being oppressed by men as usual, these women chose not to be suppressed anymore by the Britishers. Though it was already difficult to fight back as a women, nevertheless, none of the women at that period chose to give up.

Why women were unrecognised in their struggle for freedom?

The struggle for freedom by women throughout history has been marked by various challenges and barriers that have often resulted in their contributions being unrecognized or overlooked. Women have faced discrimination, oppression, and systemic biases that have hindered their visibility, voice, and recognition in their fight for freedom. Factors such as societal norms, cultural and religious beliefs, limited access to education and economic resources, lack of representation in positions of power, stereotypes and stigmas, language bias, historical perspectives, and intersectional discrimination have all played a role in undermining the recognition of women's contributions to the struggle for freedom. It is important to acknowledge and address these barriers to achieve a more inclusive and equitable understanding of women's role in the pursuit of freedom and social change. Recognizing and honoring the diverse experiences and achievements of women in their struggle for freedom is crucial for

promoting gender equality, social justice, and a more accurate historical narrative that includes the invaluable contributions of women throughout history.

There are several reasons why women's struggle for freedom has been unrecognized or overlooked in history:

Lack of Representation in Positions of Power: Women historically had limited representation in positions of power, including political leadership, decision-making roles, and other influential positions. This lack of representation meant that women had less visibility and voice in shaping policies and advocating for their rights, which contributed to their struggle for freedom being overlooked or dismissed.

Gender Stereotypes and Societal Expectations: Deep-rooted gender stereotypes and societal expectations of women as caregivers, homemakers, and nurturers often relegated women to the private sphere, while men were expected to be active in the public sphere. These societal expectations limited women's visibility and recognition in the struggle for freedom, as their activism and contributions were often seen as deviating from traditional gender roles.

Limited Opportunities for Women's Participation: In many societies, women were historically denied access to education, employment, and political participation, which severely constrained their ability to engage in public activism or contribute to the struggle for freedom. This lack of opportunities and visibility made it challenging for women to gain recognition for their efforts and achievements.

Patriarchal Societal Norms: Throughout history, many societies have been patriarchal, where men held dominant positions of power and authority. These societal norms often relegated women to subordinate roles and limited their participation in public life. As a result, women's contributions to the struggle for freedom were often marginalized, ignored, or dismissed as less significant compared to men's efforts.

Gender Bias in Historical Records: Historical records, including written accounts, documents, and archives, have often been biased towards men's perspectives and experiences. Women's

voices and actions were frequently excluded or downplayed, leading to a skewed representation of history that ignored or minimized women's contributions to the struggle for freedom.

Historical Erasure and Loss of Records: Women's contributions to the struggle for freedom may have been lost or erased over time due to various reasons, including lack of documentation, destruction of records, and neglect of women's stories in historical narratives. This has resulted in a significant gap in recognizing and acknowledging the role of women in the struggle for freedom.

Cultural and Religious Norms: Cultural and religious norms have also played a role in suppressing women's recognition in their struggle for freedom. Traditional beliefs and practices that restrict women's roles and participation in public life, as well as oppressive cultural and religious norms, have often limited women's visibility and recognition in their fight for freedom.

There are multiple historical, societal, and systemic factors have contributed to women's struggle for freedom being unrecognized or overlooked. It is important to acknowledge and address these barriers to achieve a more inclusive and equitable understanding of women's contributions to the fight for freedom throughout history. Recognizing and honoring the diverse experiences and achievements of women in their struggle for freedom is essential for promoting gender equality and social justice.

Conclusion

Women in Assam played a significant and multifaceted role in the Indian freedom struggle movement. They actively participated in various forms of protests, demonstrations, and civil disobedience movements against British rule, took on leadership roles, advocated for social reforms, contributed to publications and media, and provided support to the cause in various ways. Despite facing numerous challenges and discrimination, women in Assam demonstrated resilience, courage, and determination in their pursuit of freedom and independence.

It is crucial to acknowledge and recognize the contributions of women in the freedom struggle in Assam and ensure that their

role is appropriately represented in the historical narrative. By honoring the contributions of women, we can promote gender equality, empower women, and create a more inclusive understanding of the Indian freedom struggle. Women's contributions to the freedom struggle continue to inspire and serve as a reminder of the crucial role they play in shaping societies and driving positive change. It is important to celebrate and remember the invaluable role of women in the Indian freedom struggle, including in the context of Assam, and strive towards a more equitable and just society where the contributions of all genders are acknowledged and valued.

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A Study of Gender Inequality in India

Debashree Saikia

Introduction

Inequality predicted on gender (or sex) is a ordinary civil rights misdeed that takes in a multiple shapes, together with sexual embarrassment, unequal remuneration for ladies who do the same jobs as guys and inequality even on the level of being pregnant. In simply gender inequality consider as gender biasness. Which in simple term means the gender stratification or making difference a male or a female.

Indian society is male dominating; a woman still needs the anchor person and a family. Their dominating nature has led women to walk with their head down. It was all practiced from the beginning and is followed till date. But to remove this disparities the woman's reservation in parliament, is one of the commendable step taken by Government of India.

Womens are viewed as an economic & financial liability despite contribution in several was to our society, economy and by their families. In many parts of India, the crime against women is increasing day by day. Rapes, Domestic violence, molestation, forced prostitution, Sexual-exploitation at work places are common affair today. So it's an alarming issue for our country.

The major causes for the gender inequality are find out as the need of a male heir for the family, huge dowry, continuous physical & financial support to girl child, domestic violence, poverty, caste system etc.

Review of Literature

Dve, D. (1990), has focused on the situation of women of weaker sections of people and to safeguard the interest of these people. Paper focus on the scheduled caste and tribe women's status in Indian society and also suggested that socio-economic development plays an important role to reduce the disadvantage of scheduled group women.

Chaudhary, & Sarkar, D. (2012). focused an the main factors that cause the inequality i.e. educational status, work participation, level of gender inequality and suggested some relevant strategies to overcome this gender inequality to promote the deprived women.

Sharma, R.E. (2015). this paper highlights the inequality among the different states of India in today modern era. It has presented gender inequality with the help of some evidences & statistics and signifying the inequality practiced in India & its comparison with other Asian & western countries.

Objectives

- a. To identify the gender inequality elements.
- b. To suggests the measures of reducing gender inequality.

Factors Behind Gender Inequality:

There are many factors which are responsible for gender inequality

1. Economic elements

I) Property Rights

Although girls have equal rights under the law the personal belongings and obtain same inheritance rights, but in exercise, ladies are at a disadvantage. The Hindu Succession Act of 2005 offers identical inheritance rights to ancestral and at the same time owned property, the law is weakly enforced

II) Employment inequality

Some not unusual inequality that take area within the administrative center are the gender- primarily based imbalances of people in strength and rule over the control of the company. Women

aren't able to circulate up into higher paid positions quick in comparison to guys. Some common disparities that take area in the workplace are the gender - based totally imbalances of people in electricity and rule over the organisational management. Women aren't capable of pass up into better paid positions quick as compared to guys.

III) Labour involvement

There is wage inequality between man and woman in India. A substantial number of women enter the labour market after thirties, generally after completion of their reproductive roles of child bearing and rearing.

2. Cultural elements

I) Son Preference

Men are given the exceptional rights to inherit the own family name and residence and they're regarded as additional popularity for his or her own family. Moreover, the prospect of dad and mom, losing daughters to the husband family and high priced dowry of daughters in addition discourages parents from having daughters. There is a study perception that daughter is a legal responsibility.

II) Old age support from sons

A key issue using gender inequality is the preference for sons, as they're deemed greater than women. They are imagined to aid the vintage age safety in their parents.

III) Lineal System

It is a not unusual kinship machine in which an character's circle of relatives membership derives from and is traced via his or her father's lineage. It commonly entails the inheritance of property, names or titles by using people related through one's male kin.

3. Social elements

I) Health

On fitness problem, the gender inequality among women and men life expectancy and woman stay compared to guys in

proper health because of plenty of violence, disorder or other relevant factors.

II) Education

The female literacy rate in India is lower than the male literacy rate. According to census of India 2011, literacy rate of female is 65.46% compared to males which are 82.14%.

III) Dowry

The dowry system in India contributes to gender inequalities by using influencing the belief that ladies are a burden on families. Such belief limits the assets invested with the aid of parents in their women and restriction her bargaining strength inside the circle of relatives.

4. Legal and political factors

As per our constitution men & women are equal according to the law and means they have equal rights. But, unfortunately, legal & political bias has prevented the law to attain the success of equity in gender. This is another reason for inequality in gender.

Suggestion

Gender inequality is the most urgent challenges of today. It's time we take actions towards solutions.

I) Help individual women succeed

Promoting financial inclusion among women can help provide women with the opportunities to start businesses, get an education and increase their independence and agency. It is a practice that helps one woman at a time gain traction to improve their lives while creating benefits that reverberate throughout communities.

II) Remove the gender pay gap

Employers can promote gender equality in the work place by being transparent about wages, to ensure women aren't receiving less than men in equivalent roles.

III) Use skills - based assessments

Employers are encouraged to use skills-based assessment and structured interviews when recruiting, to reduce the risk of unfair bias.

IV) Make work life balance a priority

Improving Work-life balance can benefit both men and women

Conclusion

India must take concrete steps wishes to reduce the gender inequality. The educated people should develop a national consciousness of the positive impact of gender equality. There is a need for changes in perception towards women. The human society would be most advantaged only if women are treated equally and are not gender inequality in India through the various societal programs. The campaign of our P.M. Mr. Narendra Modi " Beti Bachao Beti padhai " Can be successful, when the mindset of Indian society will be changed towards women.

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Contribution of Women of Assam in the Freedom Struggle of India

Deepshikha Keot

Introduction

The freedom struggle of India is a branch of many stories; incidents and it is incomplete without mentioning the contribution of women. The entry of Gandhi in the freedom struggle was another component of the development of Indian nationalism in different parts of India. In the Gandhi era of the freedom struggle of India, he launched three major movements against the British power. The Non-cooperation movement in 1919, the Civil disobedience movement 1930, and the Quit India movement 1942. The people of India were participated in the three particular movements. The participation of women along with men was a major factor of Indian politics. In the Indian freedom struggle women were involved both radical and non-violence.

The arrival of Gandhi to Assam in 1921 had a huge impact of the people of Assam as well as the women of Assam. In the Gandhi era of the freedom struggle of India, the women of Assam organised the meeting, rallies and also organised some women's organizations like the Nari Satyagraha Samiti, the Assam mahila samiti (1926). They involved with hand spinning, hand weaving, boycott for foreign goods, liquor, foreign clothes, picketing in the different region of Assam.

Objective

- a. Study about the contribution of women of Assam in the freedom struggle of India.

b. Impact of Gandhi and his action about women of Assam.

Methodology

This paper mainly based on secondary sources. The paper deal with descriptive and analytical method also.

Discussion

The British were directly or indirectly connected with North-East by the Diwani of Bengal. In 1826 the treaty of Yandabo was the another turning point for the politics of Assam. The revolt of 1857 was also a minor impact to the British power by the people of Assam. The people of Assam were several resistances against the British power. Like- The Phulaguridhewa (1861), the Patharughat revolt (1894). Gradually they established some organization like Rayatsabha, Assam satrasanmilon, Assam association, Sarbajniksabha etc. for growth of nationalist sentiment among the people of middle class. In 1921, the formation of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee (APCC) was another route for the development of Assam to the pan Indian connections.

The Non-cooperation movement and the women of Assam: In 1920 the meeting of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta and decided the path of Swaraj. Gandhiji called it Non-cooperation with the British India Government. Gandhi visited to Assam in 1921 and encouraged the people of Assam for the freedom struggle of India. During this period his good impression of the women of Assam greatly increased. In Assam Gandhi was impressed with the tradition of the chaddar, spinning and weaving by the women of Assam. On 18.8.1921 the day Gandhiji arrived at Gauhati where a large number of women participated the meeting. In Gauhati a group of women lead by Bidyutprava Devi, she launched a procession and violet Sc. 144. They were arrested by the police. Some prostitute of Gauhati stop their profession and associated with the spinning and weaving as their livelihood. On 8th December, 1921 a meeting was held and attended by the more than 100 women. In this meeting the women of Assam propagate the swadeshi and boycott the foreign goods. Some women in Gauhati and Sivasagar namely Mohini Baruah, Nikujalata Chaliha, Kankanbala Baruah, Kamal kali Baruah and many more collected funds and donated their valuable ornaments to the funds for the

India's freedom movement. A group of women from Gandhiji also visited to some rural area of Assam. Guneswari Majumder from Barnagar area was the president of the Mahila Congress and she initiated to famous the tradition of spinning and weaving. Bhanumati Talukdar was another active woman from Kamarupa district, she also popularised the tradition of spinning and weaving and the hand spun cloths. Gandhiji called her "Sarojini of Assam". In Gauhati and Darang a large number of women like Sasibala Changkakati, Padmavati Devi Phukanani, Snehhilata Bhattacharya, Chandraprava Saikiani, Kiranmoyee Agarwala, Sarala Das, Kiranwala Barkakati etc, took the leadership of the movement. Malti or Mungri Mem a tea worker girl of Lalmati from Darang district, helped congress to organized the volunteers. She was killed by the British and she was famous for the first "sahid" woman in the Non-cooperation movement in Assam. During this period in the area of Golaghat, Mangaldoi, Nowgong, Sivasagar, Jorhat and other parts of Assam women were mainly associated with the non-violence activities like - rejection of opium, picketing before the shop, spinning and weaving, boycott foreign goods, burning foreign cloths, used handmade cloths. Some name of the women of this period are-Nalinibala Devi, Chandraprava Saikiani, Swarnalata Baruah, Ashradha Bhakatani, Mukeshari Devi, Pramila Medok etc.

The Civil disobedience movement and the women of Assam: On 12th March, 1930, Gandhiji launched the Dandi March. The people of Assam couldn't join the Dandi March directly. So, they marched from Kaliabar to Nowgong. In this marched a large number of women participated along with men. From hundred to thousand women of Assam irrespective of caste, class, creed, status and position came out and participated in the movement. They launched the processions and called prabhatpheris. They also held meetings, boycott foreign goods, picketing liquor, opium. During this period, they faced police lathi charge, arrest and suffered in prison. Guneswari Devi, Muktabala Baishnavi was the first Assamese women went to imprisonment. In Golaghat, two women arrested with their babies. In 1930, some women of Assam started a revolutionary organization and known as Mukti Sangha. Pushpalata Das, Sarala Saxena, Jyotishna Mazumdar associated with this organization. On 26th January, 1930, celebrated as the India's first Independence Day by the request of pandit Jawaharlal

Nehru across the country. The women of Assam, especially the women of Kaliabar, Nowgong, Sivasagar participated and celebrated the Independence Day. During this period Chandraprava Saikiani collected funds and created both boys and girls for the volunteer of India. Saikiani also attend the Indian National Congress session at Karachi on 29th March, 1931. During this era thousands of women participated in Rayatsabha, women's conference, women force, Assam association, Assam Chatra Sanmilan etc, they were also trained on physical and martial activities. The women of Assam also participate in protest against Cunningham circular. In the 7th annual conference of the Assam Mahila Samiti, they demanded 5 seats reserved for the women in the legislative of Assam in 1933.

Dariki Das, Snehalata Baruah, Guneswari Devi, Hemprava Majumdar, Nurjahan, Basantalata Hazarika, Kamala Devi, Anna Baruah, Swarnalata Saikia, Pusalata Das, Darbai Mech, Mukyaprava Agarwala, Sumitrabala Bhattacharya, Kamala Devi, Ratnabala Bora, Durgapova Bora, Mohini Gohain, Ghanakanti Devi, Kiranbala Bora and many other important figures of women actively participated in the movement. They held meetings, boycott foreign goods, picketing in front of the school and college. They also sing patriotic songs and popularized the khadi and women education during this period.

The Quit India movement and the Women of Assam: In 1940, the Congress working committee was formed and increasing the number of women in the freedom struggle of India. In 1940, the women's working wing was established in Assam. Pushpalata Das and Anuprava were joint secretaries. During this era a large number of women of Assam came out and participated the movement. During this period women formed Mrityu Bahini and Santi Bahini. Gandhi's "Do or die" slogan was much inspired by the people Assam. Much be mentioned some of our brave women of Assam, who sacrificed their life and became known as a martyr. Kanaklata Baruah died along with Mukunda Kakati during the flag hosting in Gohpur district. In Dhekiajuli Pushpalata Das hosting the flag. Kukumali Devi, Jaluki Kacharian, Tileswari Baruah (Dhekiajuli), Malti or Mungri Mam (Darang), Bhogeswari Phukanani, Abeli Kuchini Mahanta (Nowgong), Khahili Devi, Golapi Chutiani, Podumi Gogoi, Kon Chutiani (Darang), Lila Neogoni (Lakhimpur),

Reboti Lahon (Sivasagar) etc, sacrificed their life in the 1942 Quit India movement. A large number of women physically and mentally harassed by the police. During this era some destructive work done by the women of Assam like destroyed the railway lines, bridge, burned the government office and buildings etc. They also boycott foreign goods, picketing in front of the government school and college, burned foreign cloths, etc.

During this period, some women of Assam also engaged in underground activities. Namely Sudhalata Das, Reboti Lahon, Aikon Bhuyan (Teok), Gunavati Devi, Rakshada Devi, Ratnabala Phukan, Budheswari Hazarika, Jaymoti Saikia (Nowgong), Akani Baruah (Sivasagar), Annaprava Baruah Padmavati (Golaghat) etc. They were active member of underground activities. They were also engaged with destroyed the road, burning the bridge, carrying military goods by the cargo boats, transforming important news, information from one place to another, collected weapons, cutting telegraph and telephone etc. During this era women of Assam came out and hold meetings against the British Raj at various site of Assam. They collected fund for “Swaraj”. They opposed purdah tradition. They also opposed to go government school, college. At their active initiative “Anti – Imperialist Day” was observed at Pathsala on 4th, 5th 6th January, 1943.

Conclusion: The contribution of women of Assam in the freedom struggle of India was immense. A large number of women came out and participated three major movements of India. The arrival of Gandhi to Assam was major impact of the women of Assam. They broke out their social boundary and participated these movements. During this period, it was not easy for women to fight as a freedom fighter in the patriarchal society. Their contribution helped us to attain “swaraj”.

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Bama's Sangati: The Changing Trend from Subjugation to Celebration

Manasri Hazarika

The early Indian society was constructed around Varnasrama Dharma, a labour based division of castes in India that inevitably brought racial prejudices. The Brahmins were the topmost in the pecking order. The Sudras were destined to serve the three upper ladders, namely Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. They remain the “untouchables” in society. Gandhiji and Ambedkar used two different terms to name them- harijan and Dalit. Their efforts have brought about an upliftment in their social status. After centuries of suppression, the Dalits are in the struggle for emancipation under the liberation movement headed by Babasaheb B. R. Ambedkar. After the independence, they also became aware of their self-respect and equality it is because of the movement of Dr. Ambedkar. A common man become the real hero. He revolts against inhumane oppression and wins in his struggle of self-respect. Dr. Ambedkar believed that only education could bring about a change in the oppressed lives of the Dalits. He opened many schools and colleges exclusively for Dalits in Maharashtra. Realizing the importance of education, hundreds of Dalits sent their children to study. Education gave Dalits a lot of self-confidence and propelled them to fight against their oppressors. In the words of M. F. Jilthe (1984: 16), “The voiceless found a voice here; the wordless found a word here”.

After centuries of silence, when the Dalit writers felt the need to express themselves, they could only turn inward and talk about their own experiences and this way Indian Dalit literature began as a concerted movement in the 1960s. They initiated a

realistic experience in literary field which threatened the upper class hegemony in society and in literature. The writers of different states in India share a collective relationship to a common cause, a common identity and a common political stance. Many writers, thinkers, social reformers and political figures gave their contribution in the dalit literary movement. Among them the name of B.R. Ambedkar, M.K. Gandhi, Rettaimalai Srinivasan etc are prominent. Dalit literature is always marked by revolt and a great struggle of lower caste, against the high class people commonly known as savarna.

Dalit issues are recorded in a variety of genres likes— autobiographies, novels, poetry and essays. Among these, Autobiography became a fitting vehicle for the expression of the revolt and struggle of the lower caste. In South India there are many Dalit feminist writers who express their thoughts strongly. Among them Bama, Sivakami, Poomani explored subalternity and gender discrimination in their works. Their female protagonists are double victimized as condition is analogous to the situation of black women in America. Bama is a representative novelist of Dalit feminism. Dalit fiction and its literary movement are based on the common ground of social oppression. It is a study of marginal and colonized. Dalit literature is about the sufferings of oppressed class, it is always marked by revolt and a great struggle of lower caste against the high class. Dalit writings emphasize on the struggle that they undergo due to oppression and suppression by the upper class people. A Dalit woman undergoes two types of suffering, one that she is a women and the other that she belongs to a lowest community. In *Sangati*, Bama focuses on these sufferings. *Sangati* is a series of events that narrates the lives of Dalit women who face the double disadvantage of caste and gender discrimination. Dalit women are marginalised, discriminated, humiliated and harassed both by their men folk and by the society. Bama portrays the realistic picture of Dalit women who hardly retards irrespective of her being treated violently by their fathers, brothers or husbands. Bama's *Sangati* highlights the gender discrimination and the situation of women in a subaltern community by narrating the life of various dalit women such as Maikanni, Muukkama, Irulaayi and Peechiamma. In *Sangati* Bama narrates the life of a Dalit women right from the child birth to old age. Bama realistically portrays the

physical violence like lynching, whipping and canning that dalit women suffers by their fathers, brothers and husbands. She explores the psychological stress and strains of them. Bama cleverly ropes in the prevailing subordinate condition of women through the ages as a girl, woman, a bread winner for the family and her place in the church. All of these proved claustrophobic to the women folk of the dalit community. The two stories that Bama reminds is that of Mariamma and Thaiy whose marital disharmonies are revealed in an attempt to stereotype the dalit predicament. They are ill-treated and beaten up daily by their husbands. The novel highlights on issues varying from Christian conversion, caste and sexual discrimination, economic inequality, physical violence, disproportionate labour between men and women, rituals of puberty, panchayat system, superstitious beliefs and oppression of women.

Bama's *Sangati* has no plot. It portrays the life of not just one individual but of the whole paraiya community. In a word we can say *Sangati* is an autobiography of her community, which highlights the struggle of Paraiya women. The word *Sangati* means 'events' and thus the novel through individual stories, anecdotes and memories portrays the event, that takes place in the life of a woman in Paraiya community. In *Sangati* Bama chooses only woman protagonist for every story in her novel. The book is filled with interconnected events of day to day happenings of Dalit community. Bama exposes caste and gender problems both outside and inside the community. Bama has never heard people speak openly of untouchability until her third standard in school. And when she first time realises her community's pathetic state it was ironically tinged with humour. One day she was coming back from school, she finds an elder from her street holding out a small packet of snacks, in a string without touching it and giving it to a Naicker in the village. Bama first couldn't understand and looking at that funny sight she laughing out. When she went home, she again fell in about of laughter while relating that incident to her elder brother. But Annan (elder brother) did not laugh. He explained to her that the elder from the street was carrying the parcel like that because he was a parayan, an untouchable; and the Naickers were the upper caste men and hence wouldn't touch anything brought by the parayas. That incident sowed the first seeds of fury and revolt in

Bama. The very thought that an important elder of her community should be put to such humiliation infuriated her. The self-questioning had begun. Bama began to wonder, “what did it mean when they call us ‘paraiya’? Had the name become obscene? But we too are human beings.” (Bama 2000: 13). Bama started to look out for means to uplift herself and her community from this trampled existence. Her Annan shows her the right path and tells her that education is the only way to attain equality.

Sangati appeared in 1994; two years after Bama’s *karukku*. The book is a revelation of the inner strength and vigour of Dalit women as represented by Bama. Bama’s experiences open up new perspectives for Dalit women. While *Karukku* depicts the sufferings of a Dalit woman, *Sangati* moves away from the individual to the community, if *Karukku* exploded with the realistic description of the subjugated existence of the Dalits, *Sangati* celebrates with pride the resilience and dauntless spirit of the Dalit women. *Sangati* itself is a statement of pride underlining the inherent liveliness and indomitable spirit of Dalit women against oppression. As Bama herself writes in the Preface to the book, “in *Sangati*, many strong dalit women who had the courage to break the shackles of authority, to propel themselves upwards, to roar (their defiance) changed their difficult, problem—filled lives and quickly stanching their tears. *Sangati* is a look at a part of the lives of those women who dared to make fun of the class in power that oppressed them. And through this, they found the courage to revolt.” (Bama 2005: vi)

The whole narrative of *Sangati* divided into twelve chapters having more than thirty-five characters. The word *Sangati* means events. It carries an autobiographical element in its narrative. *Sangati* examines the difference between women and their different ways in which they are subject to apportion and their coping strategies. Bama focuses the protests against all forms of oppression and sufferings faced by Dalit women in the first half of *Sangati*. But later part of *Sangati* moves away from the state of depression and frustration. Instead, it presents a positive identity to Dalit women focusing their inner strength and vigor. The writer attracts our mind towards the education system about Dalit community. She gives the example of Pecchiamma belonging to Chakkili community studied up to fifth class. The girls of that community don’t go to school that much. *Sangati* upholds that Dalit women have exceptional capacity

to withstand the oppression of patriarchy. Their energy and indomitable spirit despite the adversities of everyday life are remarkable. Mariamma, narrator Vellaiyamma Kizhavi's granddaughter, puts up with the humiliations heaped on her in front of the panchayat for no fault of hers; Maikkanni sustains her family, in spite of her age, whenever her mother gives birth; SammugaKizhavi is daring enough to bathe in the upper caste men's well.

In *Sangati* Bama becomes the voice of the Dalit women. She candidly narrates the harassment meted out to the Dalit women by the upper caste men. Bama articulates the harsh reality of the Dalits she assumes a Dalit feminist position by espousing a positive sense for the Dalit women. *Sangati* depicts both—the state of depression and also reveals the vigor, courage and the resilience of Dalit women even in the midst of all misery. In the end of this novel, the dalit women celebrate their newly found identity and inner strength. *Sangati* is not just a tale of the pain of the oppressed women however a lot of significantly, celebrates their labour, identity, strength, and resilience. In this novel, Bama elucidates the brave Dalit women community, who are dare enough to mock the power structure within the society.

In a word we can say *sangati* is a celebration of women hood. Apart from the suppression, misery and from the gloomy world Bama creates a new path through her writings. She started to look out for means to uplift herself and the whole paraiya community. She follows the path of Ambedkar—who says Education is the only way to attain equality. In *Sangati* Bama express the feeling—from subjugation to celebration. She shows the actual path and holds the mirror up to the heart of Dalit women ,she makes an appeal to them for a change and betterment of their life, Bama as a torch bearer requesting all the women of their community to speak up for their rights, equality and respect in different fields including sex, gender discrimination, equal opportunity in work force, education etc.

In *Sangati* we hear the voices of many women, some in pain, some in anger, some in frustration and some out of courage. Sometimes the language is full of expletive with sexual undertones. Bama suggests that it is the sharp tongue of a woman that can

protect her against her oppressors and through all these Bama sketching a positive identity for the Dalit women, and above all in *Sangati*, she clarifying the fact that from now onwards the Dalit women cannot be suppressed in any field. They started to raise their voice against all the exploitation and suppression in a strong approach.

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Women as a Fighting Force in India's Freedom Struggle

Prerana Boruah

Introduction

The bravery, self-sacrifice, and political rationalism of thousands of Indian women are replete throughout the history of the freedom struggle. Independence movement of India against British rule was appreciably aided by women freedom fighters. Their participation in India's struggle for independence started in 1817. Bhima Bai Holkar courageously battled against the English colonel Malcolm and defeated him in guerilla fighting. Women including Rani Begam Hazrat Mahal of Avadh, Rani Channama of Kittur fought against British East India company in the early 19th century, 30 years before the "First War of Independence 1857". These women revolt against patriarchal norms and joined the fight for freedom despite being subjected to discrimination and constraints from society. Even women who took part in the movement were well literate and belonged from wealthy families, they realised the need to fight for their nation's independence. On the account of their literacy and resources, they supported the freedom movement and spread consciousness of it. Women freedom fighter took exception from traditional societal norms by shattering gender boundaries and taking part in exercises that were generally viewed as blessings for men. They took part in in demonstrations, processions, and other civil disobedience in defiance of patriarchal norms. Also, they played a vital role in facilitating assistance and support to other freedom fighters that were detained and imprisoned. Many women proved out to be leaders during this struggle, including Hansa Mehta, Mithuben Petit, Kanaklata Barua, Rani Gaidinliu and many

others. Thus, women proved to have an important role in India's freedom movement and their commitments should not be unnoticed. Despite of resisting to various difficulties like custody, aggression, and social barriers, these women established themselves for the privileges and opportunities, motivating people in the prospect to give voice for their independence. These women represent the bravery, tenacity, and perseverance that were essential to India's struggle for independence. Their involvement is a vital part of India's rich history and their legacy continues to inspire today.

Turning points in the participation of women in the freedom struggle

Here those things will be focused from where the significant role of women started, in shorts the turning points. It may seem arbitrary to set a date, a year, to mark a turning point in the long and complex history of the struggle for freedom and women's participation in it. After all, we know that women have been part of the freedom struggle from the very beginning. During freedom struggle lots of women organization were formed which increases the participation of women in freedom struggle. In 1910 Sarala Devi Ghosal formed the Bharat Stri Mandal in Calcutta. In 1913, Kumudini Maitra represent Indian women in International Women's Suffrage Union conference. In 1917 the Women's India Association was founded by Annie Besant, Dorothy Jinarajadasa, Malati Patwardhan, Ammu Saminathan and Mrs Ambujamal. Annie Besant who played active role in Home Rule Movement, 1916. She was elected Speaker of the Calcutta in 1917. In the same year, Sarojini Naidu led a women's delegation to the Monteg Chelmsford Commission and called for various reforms to address the plight of women in India.

Mahatma Gandhi influenced women at the time of Non cooperation movement 1920-21, groups of women participated in different parts of the country, picketing liquor shops and holding dharnas. In 1921 CR Das started Nari Karma Mandir aiming to train women in national service. The Bengal provincial congress committee presided by Basanti Devi in Chittagong, 1922. In 1925 Sarojini Naidu was elected as a president of India National Congress and she was first lady who served this post. Non

cooperation was like a mantra at that time; but equally at the same time different revolutionary group also emerged where women were leader. When Anushilan samiti or Jugantar group was not even formed, many violent activities had already started by women. Sarala Devi Ghosh a patron of revolutionary group. She patronized 'Akhars' where young boys were taught judo, karate, swordplay and wrestling. Madam Bhikaji Cama another revolutionary activist. She was a part of the group, who started the publication of a journal called Vande Mataram in 1909 from Geneva, advocating the winning of independence through armed struggle. Gandhiji had great faith in women and that is why women got independence during the time of freedom struggle. He believed that women were by nature peace loving, non violent and capable of immense suffering and sacrifice. Women were also actively took part in Civil disobedience movement. The another aspect is that women were more concerned with being treated as equal as per their male comrades. The concept of equality slowly emerged. Women increasingly like to celebrate their difference and there is talk of quotas and reservation. These were the major turning points, which leads women from domestic life to freedom struggle. But, in the decades after independence, many of these women return to a life of domesticity. That is another story. These are the milestones of Indian freedom struggle-

- The first war of Independence (1857-58)
- Partition of Bengal, Swadeshi Movement (1905)
- Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (1919)
- Non-cooperation movement (1920)
- Poorna Swaraj declaration by the congress; Meerut conspiracy case (1929)
- Civil disobedience: The Dandi March (1930)
- The Quit India Movement (1942)

Women heroes of Indian freedom struggle

Jhansi Rani Lakshmi Bai who protested against the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. She refused to give up on Jhansi and fought valiantly during the rebellion of 1857. Her bravery inspired many Indians to oppose foreign rule. Hazarat Mahal Begum another brave woman who took an active part in the campaign against the doctrine of lapse in 1857. Mahatma Gandhi's wife, Kasturba, was one

of main supporters of Gandhi's program. One of the first women imprisoned in the Transvaal, she participated in the Quit India Movement (1942) and was arrested. She died during her confinement in Pune. Kasturba Gandhi, Kamla Nehru, Vijaylakshmi Pandit and Sarojini Naidu are women whose backgrounds are clearly associated with freedom fighters and their role in the fight for freedom is irreplaceable. Madam Bikaji Kama was an inspiration to British Indian youth, influenced by Dadabai Naoroji. She unfurled the first flag at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, Germany. In December 1929, Kamala Devi Chatpadhyay was elected president of the Youth Congress and appealed to the National Congress leaders to target Poorna Swaraj. She has made the All India Women's Conference a dynamic movement. Along with the hundreds and thousands of Indian women who gave their lives for the freedom of India, there were many foreign women who saw hope in India for the salvation of the world. Kanaklata Baruah, was Assam's chief freedom fighter. She played a key role in the 1942 Quit India Movement by sacrificing her life for the cause of the country. The state of Assam regarded the figure of Kanaklata Barua as a symbol of strength. The Indian National Congress, held in Mumbai on August 9, 1942, decided to act or rise for the country's independence. Under the leadership of revolutionary Jyoti Prasad Agarwala, decided to raise a flag over the courthouse and police station, which was considered a symbol of the British Empire. Barua was included in the volunteer force organized for the purpose of raising the flag. Sucheta Kripalani was an ardent nationalist with socialist tendencies. She was a close associate of Jai Prakash Narayana who was actively involved in the Quit India movement. She was a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1946. Annie Besant came to India in 1893 to preach the ideals of the Theosophical Society. After reaching India she decided to contribute for freedom struggle in India. In 1916, she co-founded Home Rule League along with Bal Gangadhar Tilak, continuing this historic movement with the goal of gaining control of India. For her contributions, she was elected the first female president of the Indian National Congress in 1917. She died in India on September 20, 1933. She was a brave and strong woman all her life. Savitribai Jyoti Rao Phule, she was one of the prominent reformers, educators and poets belonging to Maharashtra. She has played an

important role in improving women's rights in India. Savitribai and her husband founded the first modern Indian school for girls in Pune. She is also believed to be India's first female teacher. Usha Mehta was born on 25th March 1920 in a very small village in Saras, Gujarat. From her early childhood she was considered one of the active participants in the fight against England. When she was eight years old, she participated in her first protest against the Simon Commission. She is remembered as the host of her radio show Secret congress radio. She also joined the Quit India Movement.

Conclusion

The history of India's struggle for freedom would be incomplete without mention of women's contributions. Indian women's sacrifice will take first place. They fought with true spirit and indomitable courage all kinds of torture, exploitation and hardships have been endured in order to obtain our freedom. Most of the time among male freedom fighters in prison, women stepped forward and took the lead of battle. A list of great women who will go down in history for their dedication and tireless devotion to the service of India has been long-lasting. Thousands of Indian women gave their lives for the freedom of their homeland. Indian women who participated in the national movement were educated liberal families, people from rural areas, people from various fields, caste, religion, community. There have number of personalities to remember due to their unique contributions both on the battlefield and in the political arena, they still exist today.

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Interrogating Territoriality in the Colonial Northeast Frontier of Assam

Udeпта Phukan

Introduction

The British presence in its Northeast frontier was marked by a continuous attempt to fix the boundaries of the region, upending the spatial dynamics of the people inhabiting it. The urgency emerged from the need to establish complete authority of the British over the land and its people, especially the hill dwellers who actively resisted their incorporation into state formations. The British were indeed faced with a *terra incognita*— a territory that was geographically unexplored. With the advent of colonialism in Assam, the outer fringes of the region marked by a hilly topography underwent significant changes. What was once an continental crossroad transformed into a colonial frontier which caused trans-boundary movements to become severely restricted. Earlier, in pre-colonial Assam, identities rather than being fixed onto a defined geographical territory were mobile (Saikia and Baishya 16). Movement of people was such that the hill populations exhibited “an anarchy of identity” (Scott18). Communities were linked through a network of social relations that transcended borders. But communities of hill tribes were also distinct from one another in terms of their spatial domains. These spatial domains were formations wherein the affinities, the distinctiveness and the differences between communities were articulated (Sharma and Baruah, xii). A notion of territory that was much more expansive than what the colonial state would have imagined was built into the existence of these formations. Social organisation was kinship and place-bound. But these relations were always in flux. The colonial

administration found themselves compelled to replace these spatial domains with an institutionalised notion of territory. Hence, they sent out survey expeditions to delimit the boundaries of the frontier through a series of cartographic exercises. In the process of delimitation, a scheme of approximate boundaries was put in place through a combination of strategies that were at once military, diplomatic and mercantilist. The British were of the view that a multi-pronged approach has to be adopted in order to contain the ‘savage hill tribes’ and no one particular course of policy could be relied upon (Jilangamba 187). Furthermore, to the colonial mind, civilisation could only be realised through bounded territories (Jilangamba 185). This paper explores how the British instituted a system of territorial governance to carve out a frontier by classifying both people and geography into administrative categories. In doing so, it argues that the drawing up of boundaries was arbitrary and failed to account for the nature of space-use by the communities. Not only was it not scientific, as believed by the British, but was predicated on moralising tendencies aimed at taming the natives.

The Hill-Valley Divide

James C. Scott argues that hill and valley were deeply connected spaces (27). The practice of space was such that at times different spatial domains cut across one another. At the interstices of these spatial domains, conflicts would break out every now and then. But rather than overly reading antagonism into the equation between the hill and valley people, it needs to be highlighted that indigenous communities had developed their own workaround solutions to manage hostilities. Two of these solutions were the practice of *posa* and *khat* in the foothills (Sharma and Baruah, xi). The Ahoms would pay these kind payments to the hill people so that they do not attack the valley for procuring necessary resources and their sufficiency is maintained. The British thought of the *posa* as a sort of tribute that the valley would pay the hills. Similarly, *khats* were spaces formalised by the Ahom state but which were not in their direct control (Sharma and Baruah, xi). *Khats* were sites of exchanges between hill and the valley populations. The nature of the movements of the hill people were such that they were the more dispersed lot with a far greater cultural variability in comparison to their valley counterparts and also within themselves. Agrarian

practices were also different since the hills had far more land and resources to offer for subsistence. Shifting cultivation was practiced in the hills as opposed to the valley's mono-cropping patterns because of the fluidity of movements of the hill tribes. The hills were thus politically autonomous regions. Their cultivation patterns rejected state appropriation and their societies guaranteed them autonomy and prevented their political subordination (Scott, 23). Such arrangements irked the British as the hill people were recalcitrant in opening themselves up to the state-making process and becoming state subjects. The British were at odds with the 'hill tribes' in trying to authoritatively lay down the boundaries of the 'frontier' (Jilangamba, 192). The British were of the general opinion that the savageness of the hill tribes had to be taken care of through a set of punitive military measures. The making of a territorialised colonial frontier rested on the control and containment of those 'primitive' and 'warlike' communities that were to be found along the 'trans-frontier'. The trans-frontier communities were those that spread across diverse topographical domains— hills, foothills and valley— between British India and British Burma (Sharma and Baruah, vi). When they viewed the settlement practices of these tribes through the prism of their own moral compass, they saw a failure of the tribes to move closer to civilisation. Also, the interstices of the spatial domains were avenues of contestation, where 'inter-tribal' conflicts would break out. As the Assam valley was surrounded by such tribal spaces, the British thought it imperative to demarcate borders both within and outside the frontier. The Abors, the Daflas, the Mishimis, the Khamptis, etc. were sandwiched in a geo-region where their idea of a home was put to test as they were brought within the administrative ambit of the British frontier. The territorial delimitation was a necessity so as to prevent other powers such as China from encroaching upon the frontier. The frontier would then function as a natural buffer to thwart other powers from making inroads.

Mapping Boundaries, Making Frontiers

The concept of the 'frontier' dates back to 14th century Europe, derived from the French word *frontière* which means facade (Cons and Eilenberg, 6). However, its articulation in English suggests that the word has come to be associated with those

geographical recesses outside of state formations, where empires have not been able to penetrate. Frontiers are testing grounds for new forms of governance, attested by the colonial administration's need to transform the hill tribes into political subjects. Loyalties of these tribes are seen as ambiguous, as evidenced by their trans-frontier movement. The colonial political agents posted in these peripheries were indeed troubled and confused to find that ethnic identities "sometimes shifted within a single generation" (Scott, 18). The frontiers were unruly, exotic spaces devoid of order, and by extension, civilisation, existing in a messy state that required fixing through territorial incorporation. It is this moralising attitude that informed much of colonial thinking. This naturally led to the deployment of governance mechanisms that kept continuously evolving and which were in stark contrast to those modes of governance existing in more geographically well-defined areas (Cons and Eilenberg, 8). To enforce a new notion of territoriality in the frontier, its earlier, more natural existence had to be dismantled and replaced with that of the 'scientific frontier' (Jilangamba, 181). The scientific frontier embodied into its meaning a social evolutionary motif, which sought the transformation of previously non-bounded regions to those having concrete boundaries. To this end, the British political agents were entrusted with the job of carrying out scientific surveys, enumerating the characteristics of the people, and understanding the topographical specificities of the region's geography. These exercises were coupled with military incursions into the land of the tribal populations resulting in deadly skirmishes. The situation turned so violent at times that around 1870s the British brought in the Line System to isolate the hills from the valleys. This classificatory scheme divided territories along the 'inner line' and the 'outer line'. The inner line was the territory up to which the British had its administrative jurisdiction whereas the outer line was the territory that lay outside of British political control (Sharma and Baruah, viii). Beyond the outer line lay the trans-frontier and between the inner line and the outer line was a transitional zone called the 'zone of influence' (Sharma and Baruah, viii). But these were not neat divisions. The distinction between the categories of inner/outer and frontier/trans-frontier were ambiguous. Some believed that a single line should demarcate the Colonial Northeast Frontier from the neighbouring countries. Others with a more perceptive knowledge of the specificities of the

region were rather in favour of having approximate boundaries (Sharma and Baruah, ix). It was the latter view that eventually gained currency in the British administration and this system of approximate boundaries was functionally applied.

Foothills as Mercantilist Spaces

The foothills occupied spaces along the north and south bank of the Brahmaputra, the North Cachar Hills and at the edges of the Imphal Valley (Sharma and Baruah, xiv). Because bureaucratic forms of governance was so hard to impose on the frontier, control over the foothills was strategically significant for the colonial administration. It was this rationale that transformed a sizeable number of these foothills into plantation zones. Through the conversion of these spaces into industrial economic zones, British authority could be entrenched in the frontier. The tea plantations were pivotal to the negotiation of approximate boundaries, marking the limits of the inner line. (Sharma and Baruah, xv). Setting up of plantations in the foothills was also a clever ploy by the British to exercise power up to the zone of influence. Since the extent of the plantations in the foothills was loosely defined, the colonial administration could charge the hill tribes of trespassing into the territory and scramble military expeditions and appropriate more land. The planters also lobbied to push further into the hills with the military assistance provided by the political agents. However, the British government was also concerned by the fact that pushing further into the hills would mean pushing the boundaries of the inner line. This would in turn necessitate further expenses on maintenance of the appropriated spatial domains. Military expeditions came with its share of financial and human costs that worried the government. Lord Curzon was especially critical of expeditions. He showed his disapproval of the Mishimi expedition because he felt that it did not help in gathering useful cartographic and ethnographic information of value. Curzon's critique was in direct contradiction to Francis J. Needham's letters to the Chief Commissioner of Assam where he justified the expedition as necessary for cartographic mapping and ethnographic detailing of the primitive tribes (Sharma and Baruah, xviii). Thus, the colonial administration had to walk a tightrope in trying to engage beyond the foothills that was situated in the zone of influence. There were colonial officers who actively supported

the opening up of the foothills up to Tibet and China to fulfil mercantilist aspirations. Noel Williamson, who was in charge of the Adi expedition, believed that foothills could be made into launching pads to establish contact with Rima, a trade centre in Tibet and then to Sichuan Province in China (Sharma and Baruah, xix). However, such tall claims could not be materialised on the ground. The restriction on movements in the traditional routes within the spatial domains angered the indigenous communities and made them hostile. Furthermore, their movements were put under increased surveillance and the military bureaucratic designs of the colonial state suppressed the expression of their pre-colonial practices. For e.g., the Akas in the Balipara Frontier Tract were given designated routes to come down the hills into the valley and payment of *posa* to them was made in cash, thus forcefully integrating the Akas with the cash economy existing in the valley (Sharma and Baruah, xxi). The antagonism that it engendered between the hill tribes and the British administration led to a tussle of opinions that resulted in the adoption of a policy of non-interference. Later on, the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873, enacted a prohibition through which within the inner line the tribal population would manage their own affairs without colonial interference as military expeditions began to weigh heavy on (Goswami, 72). Conciliation was seen to be a far more effective measure than aggressive military expeditions to keep the channels of intercourse open with the friendly hill tribes (Jilangamba, 188).

Conclusion

The colonial mind ran into difficulties in framing social life in its Northeast Frontier of Assam. The drawing up of boundaries was based on temporal functionality rather than crude delineation even when the agenda was otherwise. This is evidenced by the fact that the British saw the deployment of the system of approximate boundaries through the Line System to be most well-suited to the spatial dynamics of the frontier territory. However, colonial policies had its own ramifications on the practice of spatial domains by the indigenous communities. Their cultural lifeworlds were hindered by the arbitrary implementation of boundaries. Failure to capture the local dialectic of space and territory by the British led to a reordering of spatial relations that led to the drifting apart of kinship ties between communities.

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Role of Rani Gaidinliu in India's Freedom Struggle Movement

Amrita Bora

Introduction

India was under the British regime almost for 200 years. Within these period many rebellions, protests, revolutionary activities occurred against the British Government. Revolt of 1857 is considered as the First war of Independence in India. After this revolt, people of India experienced Swadeshi movement, Non Co-operation movement, Civil disobedience movement and Quit India movement against the British regime. People from all over India participated in freedom movements. As an integral part of India, North –East Region of the country also took active part in the freedom movement. Within freedom fighters of North- East India, Rani Gaidinliu is one of the prominent freedom fighters. At a very young age she participated in India's Freedom Movement and she is considered as the first woman freedom fighter from Manipur. The British arrested her for anti -British activities and she was kept in jail for 14 years. In this paper an attempt has been made to study about the role of Rani Gaidinliu in India's freedom struggle movement.

Objectives

The main objectives of this paper are-

1. To study why Rani Gaidinliu associated with anti-British activities.
2. To analyse role of Rani Gaidinliu in India's freedom movement.

Methodology of the paper

The present paper is based on data analytical method. For this paper the secondary sources or data are used which are collected from various books, journal, internet, newspapers etc.

Discussion

Initially the British East India Company entered into India for business purpose. But gradually they tried to establish their own political power in entire India. As a result one by one region was annexed to the British India. Assam was incorporated to the British Empire in 1826, after the treaty of Yandaboo. At that time Colonial Assam included present states of Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram, besides two valley of Assam- Brahmaputra and Barak along with the surrounding mountain ranges. Thus Colonial Assam included most of the parts of present North-East India. On the other hand Manipur entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British Empire and remained as a princely state. British regime created disappointment within most of the people of India. Same thing occurred within the people of North-East India also. The British Government imposed various taxes on native people. Their main motive was to earn as much revenue as they could from India.

As a result many rebellions started against the British. Rani Gaidinliu was a prominent Naga Nationalist women leader from Manipur who took leadership against the oppressive rule of the British. She was born on 26th January, 1915 to parents who were from the Rongmei naga tribe in Nungkoa village, Tousem subdivision of Tamenglong district, Manipur. At the age of 13, Gaidinliu joined in the Heraka religious movement. This movement was started by Gaidinliu's cousin Haipou Jadonang. "Heraka" means pure which is formed from impure. Heraka movement stood against the British missionaries who aimed to convert the Naga tribes to Christianity. Gradually Jadonang became a prominent local leader. He focused on the freedom of his people and challenged the oppressive British regime. He slowly organized and trained a youth armed force called "Riphen" with strength of about 500 men to fight against the British. From 1926 to the early 1930's, Jadonang attempted to preserve the identity and culture of his community. In 1931 the British officials received the report that Jadonang was planning to declare a war against them. So the British officers of that area decided to suppress the Jadonang's movement.¹

Gaidinliu became a trusted disciple of Jadonang. Both followed principles of Gandhiji. Gandhiji who is also known as the “Father of the Nation” adopted the policy of non violence in freedom struggle movements against the British. Jadonang even composed a song in honour of Gandhiji. The British hanged Jadonang on 29th August, 1931 at Imphal, Manipur on charges of treason against four Meiti (Manipuri) traders who were killed in Nungkao for violation of an important social taboo in which he had no role. The taboo and genna were observed by the villagers where people were prohibited from lighting a fire or cooking food inside or outside the village on certain days. However, these four Meiti traders violated the prohibition. Jadonang was considered as the culprit and the British hanged him giving a little chance to prove his innocence.²

After the death of Jadonang, Gaidinliu undertook the responsibilities of Jadonang. During childhood Gaidinliu did not attend any formal school like other girls since there was no school in her village or area. Yet she was keen to write. Her inspiration to write a script came from her master Jadonang. From her childhood, Gaidinliu was gifted with natural leadership and good communication skill. Many followers of Jadonang ceased to practice Heraka after arrest and execution of Jadonang. But Rani Gaidinliu emerged as Heraka’s spiritual head. For her “loss of religion in loss of culture, loss of culture is loss of identity”³. She attempted to preserve the identity and culture of her people namely Rongmei, Zeme, Liangmai, Naga tribes spread across Assam, Manipur and Nagaland. These three tribes together formed Zeliangrong ethnic group. It was during the time of Rani Gaidinliu socio- religious reformations within the Zeliangrong community took more concrete shape⁴. She tried to revive indigenous cultural practices such as traditional dance and folk songs and she tried to bring about various reforms and unity among the community. Heraka became an influential tool to reach out to various cognate tribes and it thrived among the Zeme and Rongmei Nagas. However, Liangmai and Npui naga tribes were not strongly influenced by the process of Sanskritization but rather more by western education and Christianity. The mantra of Heraka, a tool of cultural revivalism attempted to act as a charm to unite these cognate tribes but could not achieve its goal as the majority had been converted into Christianity.⁵

Gaidinliu opposed the patriarchal and oppressive methods of the British of using forced labour, collecting revenue taxes per house in every village, bungalows made for the Britishers to stay for a single night in the village free of cost etc. Before the advent of the British the tribal Nagas had complete authority over forests. But the British deprived them from their hereditary rights by declaring the forest areas as reserved forests. She urged the native people not to pay taxes and not to work for the British. She waged multiple attacks against the British using guerilla warfare. The British organized a manhunt and even declared a monetary reward as well as 10 years tax break in exchange for information on her. Later a special contingent of the Assam Rifles under Captain MacDonald was also sent to capture her⁶.

On 16th March, 1932, the followers of Gaidinliu led by Mr. Heungchang attacked the Assam rifles outpost at Hangrum, N.C Hills. To avenge them the British carried out intensive military operation and Rani Gaidinliu was arrested on October 17, 1932 from Pulwa village, Puren district, Nagaland. She was put to trial and sentenced to life imprisonment on 7th March 1933. Till 1940, her followers continued the movement. The British burnt and destroyed properties of her followers and some of them were tortured and killed. In jail she was tortured and harassed by the British rulers. Jawaharlal Nehru met her in 1937 in Tura jail and Nehru gave her the title “Rani”. He attempted to release her, but the Secretary of State refused to release her as she would pose a danger to the British. Finally she was released in 1947 after India’s independence. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote a piece, in the Hindustan Times in 1937, about Gaidinliu’s story and her bravery. He wrote, “*...and now she lies in some prison in Assam, wasting her bright young womanhood in dark cells and solitude. Six years she has been there. What suppression of spirit they have brought to her who in pride of her youth dared to challenge the empire.. And India does not even know of this brave child of her hills. But her own people remember their ‘Rani Gaidinliu...and a day will come when India will also remember her’*”⁷

Participation of women in India’s freedom struggle is very significant. Because contemporary society prohibited women to stay away from their home and household duties. Yet many women participated in freedom struggle movements. But there is only a few women who abled to take leadership in freedom movements. In North-East India, number of woman leader in freedom movement

is very few. One can mention name of Kanaklata, Chandraprava Saikiani, Puspalata Das etc. in this regard. Rani Gaidinliu is one of the most prominent woman leaders from North-East India who fought against the British. She sacrificed her whole youth in the name of her community as well as country.

Conclusion

Under her influence, the Zeliangrong community was strengthened. After India's independence, she was again associated with political activities. She was unpopular among many Naga groups especially the Naga National Council (MNC). Gaidinliu disagreed with the MNC insurgents who advocated separation from India. Instead she campaigned for a separate zeliangrong district. Rani Gaidinliu passed away in 1993 at her village in Manipur. Her contribution to the Indian Independence Movement was recognized by the Indian Government. She was conferred with Padma Bhushan (1982), Vivekananda Sewa Summan (1983) and Bhagwan Birsa Munda Puraskar (posthumously) in 1996. The Government of India issued a postal stamp in her honour in 1996. Additionally, in 2015, the Government of India also issued a commemorative coin in her honour. Rani Gaidinliu is considered as one of the unsung hero of India's independent movement as she is not known to all parts of India. Though she belongs to North-East India, yet only a few information is found about her bravery in textbooks of school going students of Assam. So, Government should take special steps to transform this unsung freedom fighter into a well known freedom fighter of India.

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The Freedom Struggle and Assamese Women: A Study of Chandraprava Saikiani as an Advocate of Women's Rights

Dr. Babori Mahanta

The freedom struggle of India can be said to be an epitome of courage, bravery, selflessness, burning determination, and sacrifice of millions of lives for attaining independence for the nation. The Nationalist Movement had also been a powerful force in changing the position and attitude towards women in Assam. Mahatma Gandhi's emergence as a political leader brought a major change in the lives of women. One daring woman freedom fighter and leader who worked tirelessly for bringing about a sense of consciousness in Assamese women and fought for equality of women in the society is Chandraprava Saikiani. The paper makes an attempt to portray the role of Assamese women in the nationalist movement with special emphasis to Chandraprava Saikiani. It tries to underline the relevance of this dynamic social activist in shaping the social milieu of Assam at a time when women were victims of child marriage, lack of education, household drudgery and were confined within the four walls of the house. The research methodology used in the study is historical and analytical. Data is collected from the writings of freedom fighter, edited books, journals and from the internet.

During the period of struggle for independence, Indian women showed admirable spirit of patriotism. The Nationalist Movement generated strength and confidence and helped them to

organize and fight for their own cause. Mass participation took place in the Non-cooperation Movement of 1921 and the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930. The formation of the Women's Indian Association in 1927 had been an important event in their march towards equality. This common platform had been used to air their grievances and demand their rights. Further, the National Council of Indian Women in 1926 and the All India Women's Conference in 1927 also played active roles in condemning the evil customs of the society that denied equal status to women. The so-called first feminist movement in India geared up in the 1920s and 1930s. Awareness about the plight of women was created through debates, discussions and by writing articles in journals and newspapers. In fact, the spirit of feminism and nationalism were fused into one.

Women from Assam too valiantly fought alongside men for the freedom of the country. Kanaklata Boruah, Bhugeswari Phukanani, Pushpalata Das, Dariki Dasi Baruah, Tileswari Baruah, Rebati Lahon, Khahuli Devi, Kumali Devi, Padumi Gogoi and many more took active part in the freedom struggle. According to Puspallata Das, the number of women Satyagrahis by the end of 1940 rose to 1192. Hemantakumari Devi Bordoloi, Nalinibala Devi, Bijuli Phukan, Sumitra Bhattacharyya, Kiranmayee Agarwalla, Snehalata Devi Baruah, Chandraprava Devi Saikiani and Rajbala Das were notable women leaders who tried their best to make the rural women conscious of their rights. They went to different villages to educate the women and instill a sense of patriotism in them (146). Regarding the participation of the women of Assam in the freedom movement, the British Prime Minister declared in 1930 that they were not scared of Gandhiji, "but of the innumerable illiterate women of India who became the mouthpiece of the message of revolt in every household." (Das 150). The spirit of nationalism generated in these women a search for the definition of the self. They started to realize the presence of a separate mindset in them. Chandraprava Saikiani (1901-1972) the freedom fighter, writer and social reformer, was a feminist in the true sense being much ahead of her time. She pioneered the concept of gender equality in Assam. Chandraprabha Saikiani articulated, created and represented a space of empowerment for women hitherto unseen in the public life of women in Assam. She always fought for the rights

of women while simultaneously overcoming the social ostracization faced on account of her tumultuous personal life (Baruah and Lal 12). She was strictly against child-marriage, polygamy, discrimination of women in the temples. Deka considered this most remarkable women writer to be an instrument of social change. She states:

Chandraprava Saikia...broke all social norms to become the torchbearer of women's emancipation. Her lived experiences of sorrow, humiliation and betrayal found expression in her writings... She had been engaged to an older man as a child, as was the case in child marriages of this region, and when she came of age, she refused to marry him. This was the first defiance to social norms and many were yet to follow (66).

She was a distinguished prolific writer and contributed significantly expressing her rebellious mindset and her ideals in a grand manner.

Education had played the greatest role in bringing about a change in women during the colonial period. Saikiani was a champion of girls' education. She realized that education is the equal right of both sexes. It was the time when the society valued child marriage and restricted women solely to domestic chores. The recognition of education as a means of development of women was a significant march towards progress during the pre-independence period in Assam. According to the University Education Commission, "There cannot be educated people without educated women. If general education has to be limited to men or women, that opportunity should be given to women, for then it would most surely be passed on to the next generation" (136). Though conditioned by tradition, custom, public opinion and religious beliefs, women in Assam showed a remarkable change as a result of education. It was the growth of female education which has prepared the ground for social reforms in the country. The mental horizon of educated women widened and they began to understand what is right or wrong for them. The social traditions of the time in Assam posed difficulty in the way of female education, but Chandraprava Saikiani's parents were eager to impart education to their daughters along with their son. Chandraprava and her sister Rajaniprabha were admitted to a boys' school as there was no girls'

school nearby. They were too keen to study and would wade through waist-deep leech infested mud water every day confronting every struggle that came their way. At the age of 13, Saikiani established a school for girls and imparted whatever knowledge she assembled from her school education. At that time her dedication and interest in learning was noticed by a school sub-inspector Neelkanta Baruah. He awarded both the sisters with scholarships to facilitate their further study at Nagaon Mission School. Saikian clearly understood that education would empower her to pursue her intense desire to work for uplifting the position of women in the society.

Building on the nineteenth century social reform movement, the women's movement in India progressed during the period of high nationalism and the freedom struggle. "Saikiani's life too was one in which struggle was accompanied by a passion to learn and to serve. The beginnings of nationalism acted as a major catalyst in the awareness of women like Saikiani" (Das 187). In the twentieth century, women of Assam under the influence of leaders as Chandraprava Saikiani, not only participated in the national movement, but also joined women's movement for ensuring complete liberty and equality. With the advent of new ideologies and personalities like Mahatma Gandhi and others, a drastic change in the lives of woman was manifest:

Emergence of Gandhi in national politics and his subsequent visit to Assam in 1921 was a major event and that alone drew a large number of people including women into the struggle for India's independence. Gandhiji's tremendous confidence in women's capability and his tremendous impression on the women of Assam, in particular, had drawn them to national political life with enough of self-confidence and strength of mind" (Sarma 110).

Moreover, Gandhi's message offered to the women an opportunity to break away from the past with all its frustrations. He considered both man and woman to be responsible for the low position of woman in society and strongly protested against the custom of child marriage, prohibition of widow remarriage, temple prostitution and purdah. One of the main objectives of his political program had been equality of women. Showing great faith in their inner strength, he urged them to step out of their homes and join

him in the freedom struggle. Gandhi's interest in various reforms pertaining to women created a very powerful impact on the womenfolk of Assam. During the first part of the twentieth century Gandhi started the non-cooperation movement in which the women from Assam participated wholeheartedly. Saikiani met Gandhi in 1921 during his visit to Assam and was greatly influenced by him:

Saikiani followed up on Gandhi's advice in letter and spirit – the Mahila Samity was to become her passion and life-long dedication and she dreamed of a provincial organization dedicated for and by women... What is remarkable is Saikiani's understanding and leadership in this quest for women's rights and her recognition that women's emancipation is entwined with women's education and unity among themselves (Baruah and Lal 5).

She actively participated in the non-cooperation movement in 1921 and mobilized women from every corner of Assam to join the movement. She courted arrest and broke law on many occasions. She eventually formed the Assam Pradeshik Mahila Samity, the first organized women's movement and a non-governmental organization, working for the welfare of women. It led to the participation of women in the freedom movement in an organized manner. It worked for issues related to women's education, prevention of child marriage, employment of women and emphasized on handloom and handicrafts along with boycott of foreign goods. Das recorded that during 1930-31, a mass uprising had occurred under the leadership of Saikiani at Nowgong and this led to her arrest. She was sent to Barpeta and was jailed for one and half year. Again, in 1940 she was arrested for raising her voice against co-operating with the British regime in its war efforts (147-148). Under her leadership, women in Assam started organizing and mobilizing on matters of social reform and civil and political rights. The region witnessed fearless women coming out of their homes to join the independence movement.

Saikiani's intolerance towards discrimination becomes evident when she was quite young as a student and boarder at the Mission School in Nagaon. She raised her voice against the differences set between Hindu and Christian students. She also protested when she learnt about the prevalent rule that girls would be allowed to get admission in the hostel only if they get converted

into Christianity. Consequently, her relentless struggle bore fruit and the authorities had to grant admission to the girls without forcing conversion. Throughout her life, she rebelled against injustice in the name of caste and gender inequality. Later on, she got appointed as the headmistress of Tezpur Girls' M.E. School and tried her best to impart education and uplift the status of women in the society. During the time, she developed a relationship with poet and author Dandinath Kalita. He refused to marry her as she belonged to a non-dominant caste and he was not bold enough to defy the societal norms of the time. Saikiani decided to bring up their child as a single mother and dared to crumble the conventions valued by the society. She accepted every challenge in life and bravely carried on her mission with full endeavor and zeal.

Saikiani had great oratory skills. She was the only female delegate at the Tezpur session of Asom Chhatra Sanmilian in 1918 and addressed the gathering on consumption of opium, its harmful effects and made a clarion-call for its ban. It was for the first time that an Assamese woman addressed such a large gathering. In the year 1925, the Assam Sahitya Sabha Session was held at Nagaon district and she was about to speak on the importance of education of women. Both men and women were present at the conference, but the seats of women were separated by a barrier made of bamboo so that they can remain out-of-sight from the men's eyes. She noticed the distinction made in the seating arrangement, went up to the microphone and called upon the women to break down the barrier. Her assertion convinced the women that they deserve equal opportunities as men and soon the physical as well as symbolic obstacle was shattered into pieces with the breaking of the barricade. Saikiani had the power to move the public with the persuasive power of her speech.

To sum up, Saikiani's patriotic and leadership spirit asserts the need of gender equality in all aspects of life. The protest towards the denial of rights of the women of her time along with the relentless struggle to develop a sense of a consciousness in Assamese women regarding their inferior status places her as a crusader of feminism. Throughout her life, Chandraprava Saikiani not only fought for her own self-esteem, she also emphasized the need to elevate the position of the women in her society. Her task as an advocate of women's education and rights attains greater

importance because she did not belong to an elite class or upper caste. Saikiani nurtures the strength required to fight for equal rights and kindles the hope of women empowerment in India. She affirms the importance of female rights for restoring the dignity of women and for a better future. The revolutionary works she had carried out at a period when Assamese women were behind the veil of ignorance claim admiration and wonder at the same time. She has undoubtedly pioneered the feminist movement in Assam and given a shape to it with her iron-will and strong determination.

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Trauma, Memory and Identity: A Postcolonial Study of Amitav Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines*

Jyotiraj Mahanta

Published in 1988, *The Shadow Lines* is a Sahitya Akademi Award winning novel by eminent Indian writer Amitav Ghosh. The novel is famous for its ingenious structure and challenging style. Dealing with the partition of Indian subcontinent into two nations – India and Pakistan, the novelist skillfully depicts three generations of two different families of different race, culture and background – the Dutta Chaudhari family of India and the Price family of England. Set against the backdrop of the post partition period, the novelist outstandingly incorporates the communal riots occurring in Calcutta and Dhaka and its memories that ultimately leads to a persistent search for one’s own identity. Ghosh vividly portrays the historical facts with personal memories by interrogating about the existence of imaginary borderlines which divides people in different ways. The novel also delineates how this never-ending enmity can bring tragedy in the life of individual’s and give traumatic experience that will haunt them in future. Ghosh tries to convey how traumatic partition was and that trauma did not stop when India and Pakistan became independent nations.

In *the Shadow Lines*, Ghosh demonstrates the temporal and spatial dimensions into a personal texture on which the anonymous narrator builds his identity. The unnamed narrator or the “I” the central voice powerfully controls the meaning and understanding of the novel. The novel is divided into two parts – “Going away” and “Coming home” that preoccupy the entire part of the novel. The

novel presents imaginary lines between nations, land and families as well as within one's own self-identity. Here, each character of the novel is the representation of some cultural impact. Tha'mma is the representative of Dhaka culture, Ila is the ardent follower of Western culture, and the unknown narrator is a true Indian. The narrator recounts in flashback the people and places Tridib had described to him twenty years before and the heady life of modern London that signified the Centre of the universe.

Amitav Ghosh tries to depict how traumatic partition was and that the trauma did not stop when India and Pakistan became independent nations. The narrator tells how this was more difficult for his grandmother Tha'mma than for her younger sister Mayadebi because Tha'mma had memories of a time when they lived all together. According to Suvir Kaul in his *Separation Anxiety: Growing Up Inter/ National in the Shadow Lines*" (145). While looking back, Tha'mma notes that "the strange thing was that as we grew older even, I almost came to believe in our story" (Ghosh 155). This in many ways echoes the way people felt across the newly lined borders after partition. Kaul states that- "borders and frontiers, shadow lines etch on maps, sustain political separation, but even more strongly, teach the inevitability, and even absoluteness, of socio-cultural difference across nations" (138). The novelist demonstrates this inevitability and absoluteness by the character of Tha'mma who vehemently believes in a fundamental socio-cultural difference between India and Pakistan.

Thamma, narrator's grandmother, stands for courage and hard work in this novel. She wants to give all these qualities to the narrator. But the narrator follows the footsteps of his uncle Tridib and takes him as his role model or idol whom Tha'mma does not like. From the very beginning of the novel, the reader can observe that the grandmother does not allow the narrator to spend time with Tridib. Tha'mma regards Tridib as 'loafer' and a 'wastrel' who doesn't do any work and lives off his father's money. According to Tha'mma "time was like a toothbrush: it went mouldy if it wasn't used" (Ghosh4). Anjali Gera Roy explains the character of Thamma in her book "Memories and Post-memories of the Partition of India" as

“Survivors’ own explanation of their inability to perform the work of mourning oscillates between the three tropes of dahshat [horror], himmat [courage] and mehnat [hard work]. Whether they were unable to articulate their suffering because of their petrification by the horrifying violence of Partition, repetitive invocations of proverbial resilience or exhortations to the ethic of hard work ascribed to the ethnic communities, survivors undoubtedly indulged in both willing forgetfulness and selective remembering” (6).

Anjali Roy also says while referring to partition refugees how “their struggle to get on with the business of living deprived them of mourning and postponed the work of mourning.” (180). This is true for the character Tha’mma, who moves from Dhaka to Kolkata where many refugees are re-settled after partition. The tropes of Himmat (courage) and Dahshat (horror) are vividly described by the novelist through the character of the grandmother. The narrator recalls how his grandmother insisted on the importance of physical activity alongside his homework. She believes in how “[you] can’t build a strong country, [...], without building a strong body” (Ghosh 9). Tha’mma values strong courageous men who can stand tall in the face of horror and violence and protect their homeland when it is in danger.

Trauma is a term that can be defined as a type of psychological and emotional damage that approaches because of a severely distressing event. It can lead to serious and long-term psychological effects. The word ‘trauma’ derives from a Greek word which means “wound”, a separation of bodily tissues. In case of Indian sub-continent, trauma can be described very appropriately during the time of its partition. In *the Shadow Lines*, the character Tridib is the representative of the modern man who does not believe in geographical borders. He generally tries to cross all lines through his imaginative power. But the journey of his life ended in a riot in Dhaka on January 1964 that was held in response to the riot in Kolkata. The partition of India gives a private and collective memory of violence to everyone except freedom. May Price, Tha’mma, Tridib and Robi went to Dhaka from Kolkata to bring back Jethamoshai, the uncle of Tha’mma. A violent mob attacked them when they returned from Dhaka, May Price got out of the car to save them, and Tridib also followed her and was killed.

Tridib's death shows the shadowiness of the lines and the melting away of differences. The novelist demonstrates the limitations of boundary and distance through the experiences of the narrator. For the narrator, distance always separates and there is always another side of the border. He tries to give a vivid description of national boundaries by drawing circles with a compass on a map.

Tha'mma is a victim of partition who experiences the trauma of identity crisis. As a traumatic character, she is "..... unable to separate the traumatic situation from the normal environment" (Hunt 61). Again, in Freudian psychology, the individual has little control over the contents of the unconscious and uses defence mechanisms to deal with information contained therein" (Hunt 77). While experiencing trauma, she tries to recollect her memories of the past and terms nostalgia as weakness. Freud also argued that-

".....repression was an ego defence that suppressed traumatic memories. Once these memories were in the unconscious, neurotic symptoms might arise because of active forces being applied in the unconscious. Modern theory generally uses the concept of avoidance in place of repression, where the individual may actively avoid reminding situations. But once the traumatic memories are repressed, they do not change, but are retained in an inactive conscious (implicit memory) and emerge via the activation of situational reminding cues" (Hunt 77).

After the death of Tridib, Tha'mma realizes that borders do not create separation, these are only shadow lines that killed Tridib. Once she declares- "For your sake; for your freedom. We must kill them before they kill us; we must wipe them out" (Ghosh 237). But this perception of her about freedom is completely changed now that there is nothing for glory in war, riot, bloodshed and killing. Her repression reacts as an ego defence against her traumatic memories emerging into consciousness. Tridib's death acts so unexpectedly to Tha'mma's psyche that she cannot react to it properly. She carries the memory of trauma and realizes the truth about Tridib's death unconsciously. Tha'mma tries to repress the traumatic experience, but repressed memories are not changed and emerge via the activation of situational reminding cues. For her, nostalgia is a kind of weakness, and everyone's duty is to forget

about the past and go ahead to build the future. But when they take a large house after her son's promotion, the new house brings back the memories of her old house in Dhaka. The separation from her own people gives her pain and she desires to go back to her past to bring her uncle back. When she goes to Dhaka, she notices that everything is changed now and says, "Where is Dhaka?" (Ghosh 194). She becomes emotional when she notices her old house which is now occupied by the refugees. Her old house is a source of reminiscent for her and she memorizes the times with Mayadebi in its garden, balconies, terraces etc. She now realizes the harsh reality that dislocated people like her have no home but only have memory, a traumatic memory which will haunt her always.

The narrator of the novel also experiences some traumatic situations in this novel. His trauma emerges from the gap between knowing and unknowing, silence and absence. His silence is about his inability to speak about the traumatic impact of partition and the riot of 1964. He is struggling with this silence to discover the reality of the events of 1964. He tries to discover the truth, but he always gets a border between words and the world, between what is known and what is unknown as he does not know the meaning of reality. There is always a border between the historical records and individual memory. When he goes to Teen Murti House Library in New Delhi to get information about the riot, he finds nothing but gets a small report in a newspaper that twenty-nine people were killed in a riot. After knowing about the death of Tridib, it seems to him that an individual story was not important enough to find place in any newspaper. There were many like Tridib who were killed in riots during the time of partition, they were the victim of silence.

In *the Shadow Lines*, characters like May Price and Robi also experience trauma in different situations. ".....the term trauma is understood as a wound inflicted not upon the body but upon the mind" (Caruth 3). Freud further argues that the wound of the mind is not simple like the wound of the body. According to Cathy Caruth "... Trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual's past, but rather in the way that its very unassimilated nature- the way it was precisely not known in its first instance – returns to haunt the survivor later" (Caruth 4). In this novel, May Price, the daughter of Tresawsen, a very simple girl, horribly experiences the unflinching trauma of Tridib's death. They

loved each other and the sweet memories of their relationship had faded away forever. Tridib was killed very brutally in front of May which became an unforgettable traumatic memory for her. If the incident had not happened, they would have been happily married. For seventeen years the traumatic memory haunted her like a nightmare. She gives a vivid description of her traumatic experience of how they had killed Tridib by cutting his throat from ear to ear. The incident continually haunts her while she remembers it as it is not a simple and healable wound like the wound of physical body. She experienced the death of her beloved so unexpectedly that she did not realize it consciously. She encounters the trauma of Tridib's death from where she cannot escape anymore, and she must live with the traumatic reality of his death.

In the case of Robi, the younger brother of Tridib and son of Mayadebi also experiences the impact of trauma in this novel. For him, the concept of border is an illusion, and nobody can change it. Robi encounters the traumatic incident where his brother Tribid was killed. He sometimes tries to be free from the memories, but he cannot get free from it. According to Freud, "For what returns to haunt the trauma victim..... is not just any event but, significantly, the shocking and unexpected occurrence of an accident" (Caruth 6). Freud states it as the traumatizing shock of violence that occurs commonly. In this way, Robi wants to be free from the trauma of Tridib's death, but he can never be able to rid himself of that dream. He realizes it that nobody can understand the meaning of freedom, for him, "if freedom was possible, surely Tridib's death would have set me free" (Ghosh 247). His memory also incorporates him with the trauma of other people who were affected by these partition related riots on the other side of the borderline from where nobody can escape.

In *the Shadow Lines*, all the characters are suffering from identity crisis. The loss of self-identity in the postcolonial era gives rise to the crisis to the individual's psychological and territorial identity. For example, the unnamed narrator of the novel whose name remains untold till the end of the story seems interesting and thought provoking. Ghosh depicts an ideal world not limited by familiar shadowy boundaries and which has its existence on a new realm beyond the construction walls of nation states. The novel vividly displays the process through which national identity is

shaped and depicts the invalidity of geographical borders that are generally imaginary manufactured. Here, Tha'mma was an unabashed nationalist that had lived the nationalist dream and experienced the success it gave to people as well as suffered much as it was not benevolent for their lives. The national identity for Jethamoshai who lives in the old house in Dhaka is divided by a borderline between two different countries. Tha'mma, the most ardent nationalist, seems to oscillate between two different identities: whether she belongs to Dhaka or is a citizen of Kolkata. Like Tha'mma, there is no natural home for Ila. She feels very uncomfortable in Kolkata and thinks to create a space or identity of her own. She leaves Kolkata because she is in a quest for freedom and goes to London where she marries Nike Price. In this way, the narrator of the novel, Tha'mma, Jethamoshai and Ila are creating a space of their own identity.

Amitav Ghosh, with his outstanding craftsmanship, portrays the illogical nature of partition that can never denotes social or cultural disparities among common masses residing across the borders. *The Shadow Lines* which separate people are based on a political system but are not visible to the eyes of the people. Partition is an unexpected event in the history of Indian sub-continent. The year 1947 marks the end of colonial rule, but people had to experience division, migration and loss of their life. The novel is evidence of how partition ruined the hope of freedom of the people granting them never ending trauma and identity crisis with some unforgettable reminiscent.

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Tribal Uprising: The Story of Phulaguri Dhawa

Kasturi Kalita

Exploitation of tribal people is not a new issue in India. It has always been there, during the British era, before and after the British era and even at present time. Exploitation of the tribal people is either done by the native " civilized " people or by alien power or the government itself. They have always been neglected by the rest of the society and hence they are continuously struggling for their equal rights. Tribal people are by nature freedom loving people, when they are being suppressed and exploited at extreme level their patience breaks and there occurs an emotional outbreak of their sentiments and they try to resist the hostile power through revolt. In India there has been numerous tribal revolts against the colonial power or the native ruler or act of government or sometimes even against other tribes too. It is said that almost 86 tribal revolts have occurred in India out of which 37 took place in the Northeast Indian region itself (Bordoloi, Patar, Hazarika, 7633). Phulaguri Dhawa is one of the most significant Tribal Anti-British Uprisings that aimed at freedom for the peasantry class. The sole reason of the revolt was prevention of local opium cultivation, increasing land revenue and imposing tax on Tamul-Pan.

Opium in Assam

The issue of opium consumption has played a very significant role in colonial era and hence we cannot skip it while discussing colonial strategy to spread their rule in Assam as well as India. Opium i.e., known as Kani in Assam is made out of Poppy latex and used as a drug. It was not the colonizer who introduced opium to the Assamese people, but of course they made it a

commodity for universal consumption so that they can smoothly run their governance in Assam. It is believed that Arabs and Persian introduced opium in India (Nath,7). The Assamese people knew about Poppy cultivation and its use since the Moghal era and in Ahom Raj also people used to cultivate it in their own. Opium used to be a popular luxury product consumed by a specific class of people far before the arrival of the British. It was limited to only the rich people, the people from upper class but latter it became a popular drug consumed by each and every classes people. Opium was also used as a medicine for diseases such as typhoid and dysentery and sometimes even the doctors used to prescribe it to the patients (Nath,7-8). The dreadful fever, Kala-Azar also made it popular as the Assamese people used to take Kani as a cure for that disease. We often hear the term & ‘Kania Oxomiya’ to refer to the Assamese people as they used to consume Kani so much which made them lazy and inactive and this helped the British to smoothly run their trade and business and to rule their governance without any serious issues caused by the native people. Kani is a depressant narcotic drug and if it is consumed in a regular basis, it can reduce the consumer’s memory power, thinking capacity along with both physical and mental strength, it becomes an addiction and the addict can do anything to get it. The Assamese people used to consume Kani in two ways i.e., KaniKhowa (consuming it mixing with water) and KanipanKhowa (smoking kani with betel leaf) {Nath,8}. All the Kania people want is to consume Kani and take rest and do nothing. British after knowing the weakness of Assamese people towards Kani took advantage of the situation and made it universal (Chetry,41). British made sure each and every Assamese people can have access to Kani so that they become weak in body and mind so that they cannot even think of preventing the gradual spreading of colonial power. It was presumed rightly that within 28 years of British rule (1826-53) the use of opium became most universal. A. J. Moffat Mills through official inquiry in 1853 found that 75% of the people of Assam were opium eater (Chetry, 41-42). “According to Gunabhiram Boruah the consumers of Kani are weak in body and mind, slow, lazy, forgetful, with willingness to swear and tell lies and commit petty thefts (Chetry, 42).”

Ban on Opium

In 1853 Mills visited the region to enquire into the local condition, he was convinced that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total population are

opium eaters (Chetry, 41). Mills for the first time introduced the concept of government opium by preventing local opium production. This decision was not made out of concern for the health of the people and for the economy or any kind of social welfare but to gain more revenue and labour at the same time. Mills wanted the people to consume opium, but the opium must be government opium and not locally produced opium so that the Kania people had to pay labour force to purchase Kan, In May 1860 Poppy cultivation was banned in Assam. The prohibition of Poppy cultivation made the local cultivators upset, specially the Lalung people of Nowgong as their economy was largely based on Poppy cultivation and it caused huge loss to them. As most of the peasants from Nowgong District were economically dependent on poppy cultivation, the prohibition made their life terrific.

Increase in Revenue

By 1859 the alien government intended to increase land revenue so that to pay the high revenue the peasants had no other options instead of working in the tea estates as wage labours. In 1861 itself the government increased land revenue by 15-30 % on the dry crop lands particularly of four districts. Lakhimpur, Darrang, Sibsagar Nowgong (Chetry,43). Only from Nowgong district itself the government used to collect a huge amount of revenue and tax. For the peasantry class land is not just a mere resource to cultivate crops it also signifies their social status, they worship land. Therefore, each time the British impose a new tax or increase revenue in land the peasants take it as an attack to their social status. The increasing tax on land also made the peasants furious.

Tax on Tamul-Pan

Again, there were rumours that soon tax on Tamul-pan, licence tax, tax on houses- bari will be imposed. Though it was a rumour it was not completely baseless (Chamsal,13689). Imposition of tax on Tamul-Pan was a serious matter Tamul-Pan is a very significant part of our Assamese culture Tumul-Pan is not only used as mouth fresher after taking meal but also it has other usage too. It is used in several socio-religious occasions such as marriage, Puja, Naam- Xokam, it is used to invite people for auspicious occasions and many more. All these issues together made the tribal Lalung people very upset about the coloniser, and

they decided to file a petition against it. Already the addition of Kani led to a situation where the peasants were not producing enough agricultural crops and then the increasing tax was another serious burden for them. The geographical location of the Phulaguri region was not so sound. The Phulaguri region is situated on the bank of the river Kalang (Pathak, 2021). Along with Kalang, Kapili and Haria rivers too inundated Phulaguri during the flood season so it was not a secured land for agriculture. In such a situation, increasing tax and revenue made the peasants furious and angry at the same time. The matter was equally about their culture and economy, which made the people feel like it was an attack on their culture, economy and social status by the Administration and to save their culture they need to resist the Administration.

Phulaguri Dhawa

The tribal people, for the sake of securing their culture, economy and most importantly their freedom, decided to raise their voice against the autocratic rule of the British. About 1500 peasants of Nowgong and neighboring areas gathered and peacefully marched towards the District Magistrate Office (Chetry, 1944). Their peaceful protest did not get adequate amount of importance by the Administration. The DC Herbert Sconce mistreated the protesters and even did not allow them to enter in the Office. Sconce's disdain towards the protesters, however, did not just end there. He even accused the protesters of disturbing the peace on the office premises. This incident rendered an agency to ignite the fire against the British administration that was already inherent in them for ages, due to the constant exploitation and suppression by them. As a protest against the British, they organized a Rajmel at Phulaguri in Nowgong district in October 1861 and the leaders decided to hold the Mel for five days so that peasants from far-off villages could also attend it (Pathak, 201). By 15th October approximately 1000 people gathered and by 17th October the number of participants in the Rajmel increased to 3000 (approximately). Some of the protesters were armed with Lathis (Bamboo Stick). To settle the issue the DC sent police force and the ADC Lieutenant Singer to the spot. The leader of the movement Jati Kalita tried to grab the attention of the ADC towards their problems, but it would not help at all, rather Singer ordered the peasants to drop their weapon and disperse and tried to control the situation by arresting the leaders of the movement (Pathak, 2024). This made the situation worse and led

to a hostile situation and ultimately a clash occurred between the peasants and the police force. During the clash Lt. Singer was beaten to death by the peasants using their lathis and then the body was thrown to Kalang river (Boruah, 502). Along with Lt. Singer several peasants died and seriously get injured in the incident. It was neither a premeditated, organized peasant uprising nor an ordinary riot caused by the tribal people, rather it was the culmination of a large number of deep-rooted grievances accentuated by several acts of omission and commission on the part of the deputy commissioner (Goswami, 223). After the tragic incident DC Sconce came to the spot and controlled the situation by firing and arresting several leaders. About forty-one persons were arrested on charge of their alleged implication in the murder-case and about 8 or nine leaders, mostly tribal were punished with death and deportation (Boruah, 502).

The uprising was not completely successful due to some loopholes and the primary reasons behind the failure of the movement are- lack of proper leadership and guidance, lack of adequate and standard arms and technology, lack of communication and organized actions, lack of mass population and economic support, no participation of the intellectual middle-class people. The upper middle class and educated middle class people, intellectuals and even missionaries too were okay with the situation of the peasant. They did not bother to raise their voice for the peasants, against the British as their own interests were safe. They were not participating in this revolution because they were no way affected by the newly imposed tax and revenue systems, so the movement was completely led and organized by the neglected peasantry class of the society. Due to this there were no proper instruction, communication, funds in the movement and it failed to appear in all over India and to achieve its desired outcomes. But the movement was not a complete failure, the precedent was not lost upon the people; it was followed up soon after (Bordoloi, Patar, Hazarika. 7636). It surely influenced the other section of people and created awareness about their freedom and rights which led to their active participation in the freedom movement.

Conclusion

As the first tribal peasant movement in the history of Indian freedom movement, against the British desiring freedom from the

alien rule the movement has a special place among the locals till now. For the volatile situation of Phulaguri of 1861, Sir Cesil Beadon, the Lieutenant General of Bengal also pointed his finger to Herbert Sconce and held him responsible for that (Pathak, 2021, 466-467). Other officials and even some scholars too said that it was Sconce who failed to control the situation and hence such a tragic incident took place in Phuloguri. If the administration smoothly handled the peasants and pay attention towards their issues it would have never happened. At present time also we can see neglecting behavior towards the tribal people by the government and the rest of the society and those issues are yet to be resolved. Though the British administration identified the Phulaguri incident as a riot, but the people of Assam still remember it as Phulaguri dhawa or the Phulaguri battle (Dutta, 217).

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The Role of Women in India's Freedom Struggle Movement a Special Reference to Assam

**Eli Kumari Das
Sadhana Kalita**

Introduction

The movement which is mainly against the British rule and through which people of India wants freedom from British slavery is known as freedom struggle movement. Indian National movement is one of the awesome mass movements in world history. Specially after 1918, the freedom movement gradually strong due to self sacrificing spirit of the Indian peoples. The Nation wise patriotism was fast time introduced when Mahatma Gandhi in his leadership called Satyagrah against the Rowlatt Act in March 1919. It was a movement that brought unity and brotherhood among people inspite of different caste, culture, language, creed and religion. Between 1919 -1942 several Satyagraha campaign was taken under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi where all classes of people including rural, urban, rich and poor, farmers, landlords, women, workers were actively participated. The Non cooperation Movement was an important event in Assam and other parts of India. The people of Assam involved actively in India's freedom struggle movement along with the other counterparts of the country to attain freedom from British rule. After visit of Mahatma Gandhi to the state in 1921 Assam made a remarkable involvement in the independence movement against British wholeheartedly. Assam was not left behind to fight in this movement; both men and women were participated fearlessly for the love of the country. In the history of independence movement Assam came in to existence

under direct the British rule after the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826. Since then few brave hearted assamese people like Gomdhar Konwar along with Kandura Deka Phukan, Dharmadhar, Haranath, and others fought against British rule to regain freedom for their motherland. The founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and the Swadeshi Andolan had great impact on the patriotic people of Assam. In 1921 when Mahatma Gandhi visited Assam the freedom struggle also gained the momentum along with the rest of India. Along with the other Indian states, Assam also played an important role in the Independence movement. The great scarified by some women in Assam occupied the foremost place. Amongst the women of Assam some noted women activist were Chandra prabha Saikia, kanaklata Baruah, Puspa lata Das, Tileswari Mahanta, Gunawati Devi, Rakshada Devi, Joymati Saikia and more whose identity were not found. When most of the men freedom fighters were in prison the women came forward to the limelight and took charge of the freedom struggle valiantly. They faced various tortures and had to pass tough hurdles during this period. The womenfolk of Assam involved in mass jail going programme, Satyagraha, Picketing, strike and Hartals organized by National Congress. They also helped in fund generating programme for the freedom fighters and provide shelter to Congress agitators. However, without women freedom fighters achieving independence all over the country would never be happened. Women's participation in the movement began as early as in 1817. Bhima Bhai Holkar bravely fought against the British colonial Malcolm and defeated him in guerillal war fare. The role played by women in the war of independence of 1857 was creditable. Rani of Ramghar, Rani Jindan kaur, Rani Tace Bai, Tapaswini vini maharani fought against British leading their troops. Rani Laksmi Bai was an outstanding example of real patriotism. Sarojini Naidu, Kasturba Gandhi, Bijoylaksmi Pandit and Anne Besant in the 19 centuries were the names of brave lady which contribution in the freedom struggle movement was awesome.

Objectives of the study

1. To study the freedom movement in India in general.
2. To study women freedom fighters role in general.
3. In this paper we try to study the sacrifices and involvement of women of Assam in India's freedom struggle.

Methodology

The Methodology followed in this study is historical and analytical. Secondary data is collected through contemporary literature, biographical works, internet, Books, articles etc.

About prominent women freedom fighters who were sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country including Assam:-

Rani Laksmi Bai- Rani Laksmi was the queen of Maratha province who ruled the state of Jhansi. She participated in the first freedom movement in 1857 and also the first prominent women freedom fighter in India.

Kasturba Gandhi: She was wife of Mahatma Gandhi and one of the active participants of freedom struggle movement of India. She continued to actively involve in various civil disobedient movement and took part in campaigns, marches, picketing etc. for which many times she was arrested by British government and suffered lots of tortures in jail. Due to her poor health conditions she died in the detention camp in Pune.

Sarojini Naidu- She was the president of Indian National Congress and popularly known as Nightingale of India, the title was offered by Mahatma Gandhi. She was a Nationalist women leader travelled across India and empowered women by delivering speech of nationalism.

Bijoy Lakshmi Pandit: She was the sister of first Prime minister of India who actively involved in the Gandhiji's Non cooperation movement to fight against the British rule. She was arrested in 1932, 1940 and in 1942 due to her participation in freedom movement.

Usha Mehta: Another brave hearted women freedom fighter in India was Usha Mehta. **Kanaklata Barua-** Kanaklata Barua was one of the youngest freedom fighter of Assam who leads in the Quit India movement from Assam. She was a member of Mrityu Bahini and accordingly actively opposed the British rule as a part of Gandhiji's Quit India movement. During the movement she went to hoist the India's National flag in Gohpur (Tezpur) police station where the British police fired on the procession and she died on that day dated September 20/09/1942 and sacrificed her life for the country.

Chandraprava Saikiani- Chandra Prava Saikiani Chandra Prave Saikiani was one of the famous Assamese freedom fighter. She actively participated in non-cooperation movement and always inspired the women about the freedom movement. She was a teacher, writer and a pioneer of the feminist movement in Assam and a social activist. In 1921 she was an active participant of non-cooperation movement. In 1926 she established the All Assam Pradeshi Mahila Samity and worked for the women community. She took active part in India's freedom movement and spread the message amongst the women to boycott foreign clothes and removal of untouchability. Large numbers of women participated in meetings, processions and boycotting schools, offices, irrespective of caste, creed and religion and followed the footprint of Chandra prava saikiani. Chandra prava saikiani was in jail for several times due to her involvement in freedom struggle movement.

Bhogeswari Phukanani was born in 1885. She was a housewife and a mother of eight childrens who inspired by the leaders of freedom movement at that time and jumped into the movement whole heartedly near the age of sixty years. She always protested the British colonial rule and organized the women community to cooperate the freedom movement. On September 18, 1942 British police fired her while she proceeds with the National Flag at Barhampur. She died three days later.

Similarly Lila Neogoni, Thunuki Das, Kon chutiyani, Golapi chutiani were actively involved in the 1942 revolt and all were injured in the lathi charged by the British police and later died because of heavy injury.

Kiran Bala Bora also was another renowned freedom fighter from Assam. She was also a social worker. She awakened the nationalist sentiments among the women and made awareness against the injustice activities like child marriage, sati Dah etc. and encouraged women for education. She was an active participant of Gandhiji's civil disobedient movement and also inspired the common people to boycott the foreign goods. As a member of Congress she was in prison for several times. The role of Indian Women in Non co-operation movement was praiseworthy although the number is few. They followed the footprint of Gandhiji and jumped in the freedom movement and became volunteer of all the programme of Satyagraha and Swadeshi movement. As a symbol

of boycotting foreign goods they started hand spinning and hand weaving. As a result 'Khadi' was famous amongst the people of Assam and all over India.

Reboti Lahon: Reboti Lahon from Tiyok, Assam was another brave lady who took part in the movement against British Raj. She was involved in quit India movement and arrested by British police and remained in jail several time. Due to poor living condition of jail she died early.

Bidyawati Gogoi: Bidyawati Gogoi was a freedom fighter from Lakhimpur district of Assam. She was an active activist of the freedom struggle movement who never afraid to shout the slogan against British like, 'Up Up National flag, down down England jack' and 'Bharat Mata ki Jai'. She encouraged women from backward places of Assam to take participate in the movement with courage and faith.

Review of Literature

In this paper the authors study some articles and papers to find out the women activists role engaged in the freedom struggle movement for authenticity. An article written by Rekha Rani Sarma Puzari and Kazumi Mazane, 'Role of Assamese women in the freedom struggle of India' has beautifully stated about some Assamese women role in the freedom struggle movement where they took active participation with responsibility specially in Non-cooperation movement, Dandi Yatra etc. against British rule by boycotting foreign goods and services.

'Role of women in Indian freedom struggle' (1905-1927) by Dr. Rina Paul had mentioned that Indian women were brave and proved that they were not a weaker section in the society. They jumped into the freedom struggle movement along with their male counterpart by breaking the barriers of gender inequalities. They scarified their lives for the country and managed their family and freedom struggle movement at an equal pace.

The Book India's struggle for Independence (1857-1947) by Bipon Chandra, Mridula Mukharjee, Aditya Mukhjee, K.N. Panikkar and Sucheta Mahajan, explained about the role of men and women in the freedom struggle of India during the period 1857-1947.

An review article, 'Impactful role of women for freedom struggle in India and their contribution' by Dr Sumanta Bhattacharya and Bhavneet Sachdev had focused on the role of women in India in freedom struggle movement which was very impactful and stated that without women India's Independence will be a dream.

A research paper 'Role of women in Indian freedom movement' by Shally Rani mentioned about the sacrifices and bravery of women in India's freedom struggle and explained how women of India got out of their traditional home-oriented roles.

Conclusion

From the discussion of the above write-up it is found that women from different corners of Assam were came together to fight against British rule since the very beginning of the independence movement. The Non-cooperation movement, the quit India movement, Satyagrah, swadeshi movement changed the minds of women towards the India's freedom struggle movement and created immense faith to make sacrifices their life for the country. In Assam the women leader like Kanaklata Barua, Chandraprava Saikiani and others became successful to motivate the mass womenfolk towards the freedom struggle movement. On the other hand the Non co-operation movement prepared the ground for protesting against the British rule in an organized way in India as well as in Assam. Women got knowledge about the freedom struggle movement after Gandhiji's call and jumped in the movement irrespective of rural, urban, illiterate and affluent womenfolk. But most of the women freedom fighters from Assam were not in the limelight although they sacrificed their life for their mother land.

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Role of Women in Indian Freedom Struggle Movement

**Ms Hemlata Taid
Dr. Akash Ranjan**

Introduction

According to Indira Gandhi, she state on women that, “I am in no sense a feminist, but I believe in women being able to do everything, given the opportunity to develop, capable Indian women have come to the top at once.” Women are capable of each opportunity to cultivate peace and development in the country. Women are the precious creature by nature. Women are superior in handling any circumstance; they are emotionally stronger than men. Women are psychologically, economically very strong than men. According to Mahatma Gandhi, “To call women the weaker sex is a libel, it is men’s injustice to women. If by strength is meant moral power, then women are immeasurably man’s superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self sacrificing ...has she not greater powers of endurance, has she got greater courage? Without her man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman. I have nursed this thought now for years.” Women play an important role in freedom struggle movement, they fought against British law same as men does. Now we can assume that women and men have a same strength to deal any circumstance. The status of women in Pre-independence periods was very deprived. The position of women was undermined. The reason was prevalence of male dominance. Women are not allowed to participate in any activities nor did they allow expressing their ideas and viewpoints. But a woman has played an equal role in every activity to free India from British Government. The sacrifices made

by Indian Women will surely find the most prominent place in it. Chanakya says that many types of serious diseases are cured by the crying and shouting of women and that crying relieves the mind and relieves stress. According to him, weeping women never hurt anyone's heart. These women always respect the feelings of others. Here it concluded that women are superior in the whole thing even though she weep and cry.

Objective of the Study

To study the role of women in Indian freedom movement.

Research question

1. Why it is necessary to explore the role of women in freedom struggle of India?
2. What type of role women played in Indian freedom movement

Delimitations

1. This study was restricted to study the “Role of Women in Indian Freedom Struggle Movement” only.
2. This study was delimited to analysis, evaluation and comparison of the content of communication of documents, newspapers, diaries, directories, photographs, books on women, paintings, stamps, handbills and journal only.
3. The study was limited to analysis of contents at two levels only i.e. (i) Manifest level (ii) Interpretation level.

Methodology of the Study

The Methodology for this study described here under following heads:-

Research Design:- This study had been employed “Content Analysis Method” under Documentary Survey Research.

Sampling Design & Size:- Researcher had selected some documents related to women and current newspapers, diaries, directories, photographs, books on women, paintings, stamps, hand bills and journals.

Sampling Technique of the Study:- For this study Purposive Sampling Technique had been used to select the samples.

Data Collection Procedure:- Here the researcher had used to collect the data about the Role of Women in Indian Freedom Struggle Movement from secondary source of data like, journals books, articles and visited some websites for getting information about some photographs and watched some movies on Indian freedom movement.

Discussion

Objective 1: To study the role of women in Indian freedom movement.

Research Question 1: Why it is necessary to explore the role of women in freedom struggle movement in India?

Discussion

Women freedom fighters of India: Following are the women leaders or fighter for India during pre-independence periods

Kanaklata Barua

She was also known as Birbala and Shaheed, an Indian Independence activist and AISF leader who was shot dead by the Indian Imperial Police of the British Raj while leading a procession bearing the National Flag during the quit India Movement of 1942.

Rani Lakshmi Bai

Rani of Jhansi or Rani Lakshmi Bai a superb leadership a fearless fighter set an outstanding example in the history of India. She was the Maharani of Maratha ruled state of Jhansi in the year 1843 to 1853. She was the first prominent women freedom fighter, who participated in the first freedom rebellion of 1857.

Sarojini Naidu

Sarojini Naidu popularly known as the nightingale of India, whose played an important role in the Indian independence movement against British Raj and was an Indian political activist and poet. She was president of the Indian national congress and was an outstanding leader campaigning and leading role during civil disobedience. She works on women's empowerment and nationalist. During those times, she campaigned for the Montagu Chelmsford, the Khilafat issue, the draconian Rowlatt Act and the Satyagrah. In 1917 she even helped to launch women's Indian Association.

Annie Besent

She was the first women president of congress and gave the powerful lead to women's movement in India. She also became involved in Indian nationalism in 1916 established the Indian Home rule league of which she became president. She started a newspaper "new India" criticized British rule and was jailed for sedition. She got involved in political and educational activities and set up a number of schools and colleges, the most important of which was central Hindu college in Banaras which she started in 1913.

Madam Cama

Madam Cama is an eminent personality of the Indian nationalist movement. She emphasized on equality between men and women. As an Indian ambassador, she also travelled to Germany in 1907 to hoist the Indian national flag.

Begum Hazrat Mahal

She was also known as the Begum of Awadh. She played a major role during India's first war of independence (1857-1858). She worked with Nana Saheb, Tantia tope in the Revolt. In 1984, the Government of India issued a stamp to commemorate Begum Hazrat Mahal.

Aruna Asaf Ali

She was an active member of the Congress party. She had participated in public marches during the salt satyagrah. She edited "In-qilab" a monthly journal of the Indian national congress.

Bhima Bai Holkar

Women's participation in the freedom struggle began as early as 1817 when Bhima Bai Holkar fought the British colonel nalcoin and defeated him in Guerrilla war. Bhima Bai Holkar fought against the mighty British army and scored initial success.

Vijay Lakshmi Pandit

She entered the non-cooperation movement to fight against the British rule. She was a great fighter. She was arrested in 1932 and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. She was arrested in 1940 and yet again during the quit India movement in 1942.

Kamala Kaul Nehru

Kaul Nehru is a colossal name in the cliave of women freedom fighters of our country. The noncooperation movement 1921, she organized groups of women in Allahabad and picketed shops selling foreign cloth and liquor. Therefore, she was arrested on two occasions for involvement in independence struggle activities, along with Sarojini Naidu, Nehru's mother and other women in the Indian Freedom struggle.

Kasturba Gandhi

Kasturba Gandhi played a role as a political activist who was fighting for civil rights as well as Indian independence. She played the role of teaching Indians basic lesson of health, hygiene, discipline, reading and writing due to lack of proper education to all.

Sucheta Kripalani

She was a freedom fighter and worked closely with Mahatma Gandhi during the pre-partition riots in India. She also played a major role in politics by joining Indian National Congress. During the formation of the Constitution of India, She was elected as a member of drafting committee of constituent assembly. She also sang "Vande Mataram" in the constituent assembly.

Women's role in Non-cooperation movement (1920)

Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa in 1915 and took up the demand for self rule and noncooperation movement. Sarla Devi Nethu Lakshmi Reddy, Susheela Nair, Rajkumari, Amritkaur, Susheetakriplani, and Aruna Asat Alit are some of the women who participated in the non-violent movement. Kasturba Gandhi, the wife of Mahatma Gandhi, and the women of the Nehru family, Kamala Nehru, Uijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Swarup Rani, also participated in the national movement. Lado Rani Zusti and her daughters Nanmonnini, Shyrani and Janak led the movement in Lahore.

Women role in Civil Disobedience and the Dandi Salt March (1930)

Large scale participation of women was an important feature of the civil disobedience movement. During the salt march, thousands of women came out of their homes to listen to the

speeches of Gandhi. Women participated in the protest marches, manufactured salt, and picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops. Many went to jail. While women of high caste families participated from urban areas, in rural areas they came from rich peasant households.

Women's role in the quit India movement (1942)

In August 1942, the quit India movement began. The August Revolution of 1942 was the most popular and powerful mass movement in the series of Agitations led by Gandhi in the course of freedom struggle. The participation of women in the Quit India movement of 1942 was significant from several aspects. The women in India, at large were endowed with a new spirit on the call of Mahatma's "do or die". A "leaderless movement and with majority of the men behind bars, women took to the streets, raising slogans, holding public demonstrations and even making and transporting explosives. The struggle for Indian independence introduces Indian women to a new kind of liberation movement. The role played by the women folk in the Quit India movement of 1942 is a story of devotion, sacrifice and patriotism and it will go down in history as the most remarkable contribution towards the attainment of Swaraj. The Quit India resolution taken against British, directly addressed women "as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom struggle required to sustain the flame of war. Usha Mehta, a committed patriot set up a radio transmitter called the 'voice of Freedom' to disseminate the Mantra of freedom war. News of protest and arrests, deeds of young nationalists and Gandhi's famous "Do or die message for the quit India movement were circulated amongst the masses. Usha Mehta and her brother continued their task of broad casting until their arrest on November 12, 1942. Aruna Asaf Ali was one of the most important figures of the movement of 1942. She became a leader of the underground movement of 1942 and was forced to remain in hiding until 1946. During her three and half years in hiding, Aruna was constantly in motion, urging people to liberate the land from foreign rule. Mahatma Gandhi later demanded poorna swaraj through non-violent methods. His call to join the satyagraha movement witnessed women getting involved in all his programs. Some of the important women who played a very active role in the swadeshi movement were Dr. Sarojini Naidu, Smt. Urmila Devi, the widowed sister of the congress leader CR Das, wife of C.R Das, Smt Basanti

Devi, Bismma, the mother of shokat Ali and mohamad Ali, leader of all India Khilafat committee, Durgabai Deshmukh, and so on. Madam Camma encouraged the Indian youth to fight for the cause of their nation and spread her revolutionary thoughts. Some other women who participated in revolutionary activities were Nanibala Devi, Razia Khatun, Pritilata Waddedar, Bina Das, Kalpana Dutta, Shanti Ghosh and Suniti Chauduri. Pritilata, Bina and Kalpana were the members of Indian Republic Army founded by Surya Sen. They were also involved in the Chittagong armoury Raid (1930). After this raid revolutionary activity increased manifold in Bengal and the two school girls Shanti and Suniti assassinated Stevens, the district magistrate of Comilla.

Role of women organization

The three major women organizations, the national council for women in India (NCWI). The women's Indian Association (WIA), and the All India Women's Conference (AIWC) played a major role in articulating women's issues. The women's Indian Association represented women of all races, cultures and religions. Their primary focus was education and to set up adult classes for literacy, sewing and first aid. The national council for women in India 1925, a national branch of the International Council of women, was limited to collection of information on women, preparing memoranda and presenting them to the proper authorities. It advocated them to improve women's status and so was interested in petition politics. The council kept its distance from the struggle for independence, and made efforts to maintain connections with the British. The women in this organization included Herabai Tata, Dowager Begum Saheb of Bhopal and Tarabai. The All India Women's Conference (1927) declared that women's education was foremost on its agenda. Nurtured by women like Margaret Cousins and Maharani Chimnibai of Gaekwad it enlarged its scope to cover issues pertaining to the progress of women and children, social reforms and a united India. It published *Roshni*, a monthly in Hindi and English. In pre-independence days it was the main vehicle for articulation of women's issues, and its message of liberal feminism reached various regions of the country through its branches. The three women's organizations produced a joint memorandum objecting to schemes of separate electorates and reservation of seats after 1932, and to reiterate their demand for adult Franchise.

Data Analysis

The collected data from samples had been analyzed at two different levels. (i) Manifest level of contents (ii) Interpretation level of contents. The data had been handled scientifically with a view to maintain the authenticity, credibility and representativeness derived from the documents. The collected data were analyzed scientifically by using internal criticism like- validity, truthfulness and credibility of the content of the documents. Textual criticism had been used to check competency, accuracy and honesty of the authors of above books, magazines, and newspaper.

Conclusion

Women played an important role in Indian freedom struggle. In pre-independence periods only a few women were educated but still so many uneducated women participated in various activities and supported male leaders. They were courageous enough to face any circumstance such as war. A lot of women participated, many went to jail, many sacrificed their lives selflessly. Women are stone filler in development economically, socially, psychologically, emotionally in their family, society and nation.

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Status and Role of Assamese Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle

Papori Sarmah

The British cemented their hold on Assam in 1826 with the signing of the Yandaboo Treaty between Burmese and the East India Company. With this, the erstwhile six century-long Ahom monarchy came to an end, and the entire North-East India became a part of Bengal province under the British rule. This event also led to another interesting development – that of forging wider link of the region to the rest of the country.

That time also saw the rise of issues of language and identity. Far away from the elites and the growing middle class, however, the bulk of Assamese population belonging to peasantry class were only concerned with their livelihood. The progressively increasing land revenue and other taxes, along with vicious cycles of debt-trap, bore heavily on them and lead to increased marginalisation. Phulaguri Uprising (1861) in present-day Nagaon district was the first Agrarian revolt in British Assam. The Lalung and Kachari dominated area with opium eaters were discontent with increased price and ban on private cultivation of opium. The charged atmosphere increased manifold despite numerous petitions, as agitated crowd often clashed with the police. Despite the riots being crushed with a heavy hand, these uprising laid a ground for public expression.

As an extension of this, a commonality of purpose was established among the masses based on which the exploitative nature of colonialism was realised. It is in this backdrop that we try

and understand the role and status of another marginalised group during the colonial times – that of the womenfolk of the state.

Status of Women and their reforms

Despite the condition of women of Assam being somewhat better than that of mainland India, they were still entrapped in the patriarchal setup. The status of women in Assam varied with class, caste and religion; the common denomination being the strict adherence to public v/s private distinction made for men and women respectively. Education was a portal to better life-chances for women and the society as a whole, which was but a herculean task to achieve in a society riddled with outdated beliefs.

The seeds of Renaissance spread from Bengal to a handful of educated Assamese. Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, Gunabhiram Barua, Hem Chandra Barua were a few handfuls who spoke up in favour of social reform of women (Goswami). Most of the reformers were however, strongly tied to their tradition and preferred no more than gradual changes in the society. Even while the Assamese middle-class began to establish hegemony, women were not given any place as an individual entity. While the few voices for reform were largely male-engineered based on caste-Hindu norms, ultimately subduing women's voices, majority of the society was yet to open up to the idea of bringing reform of any kind at all. Even print media of that time, *Jonaki* and *Amar Bandhu*, had writings questioning the emancipation of women up until the end of 19th century (Goswami).

The influence of missionaries on the education of women of all classes was substantial. Gradually, much of the earlier negative idea regarding female education had given way to positive attitudes. However, women could hardly make use of their intellectual talents and number of women declined at successive rungs of academic ladder. Primary education became well-sought after in the early 20th century, while high schools for further studies started coming up in 1930s (all-girls, since most were wary of the concept of co-education) (Phukan). Higher education, which had been confined mostly to elite women, gradually began encompassing women from other social strata, all exclusive colleges for girls started to be founded.

Although the practice of Sati, infanticide and dowry were not prevalent in the Assamese society owing to the predominantly tribal population of the region, women in Assam had to suffer from the evils of widowhood, child-marriage and polygamy as elsewhere in the country (Goswami). Early marriage of girl child was seen as a common and normal phenomenon, especially for upper-caste girls who were married off, often even before hitting puberty.

A rare instance of an educated Assamese woman voicing against the serious issue of early marriage was seen in Chandraprova Saikiani's article '*Balya Bibahar Apakarita*' (Ills of Early Marriage) in periodical *Chetana*, where she argued against early marriage by appealing to its lack of suggestions found in Manusmriti. According to Saikiani, early marriage in Assam was prevalent only among the four high castes: the Brahmins, Gossanis, Ganaks and the Kayasthas(Mahanta). Not much changed despite passing of the Child Marriage Restraint Act in 1929 which set the minimum age of marriage for females at fourteen and for males eighteen.

Plight of Hindu widows was the most pathetic of all. Passing of the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act of 1856 was a major intervention by colonial government, which however was not a success. Nevertheless, paired with Native marriage Act III of 1872 and the Age of Consent Act, 1891 – managed to awaken a large section of people. The typical socialisation among women were such that even well-educated women of the time, refused any true advocacy for widow-remarriage. For instance, Padmavati Devi Phukanani's article '*Vidhaba*' (Widow), glorified husband as God and justified spending the life of a widow in misery in memory of her late husband(Mahanta). A large section of population on whom strict Brahmanical rules did not apply, included both tribals and non-tribals. They remained well-outside the discourse on widowhood, as various forms of widow remarriages existed among large section of people.

The customs and practices of the society had normalised Purdah or the seclusion and restriction of women, particularly in public spaces. To sit behind bamboo curtain in public meetings was all too common, though not many believed this to be a widespread problem outside upper caste families. Issue of purdah was tackled

in a radical manner when Chandraprova Saikiani in 1925 meeting of Assam Sahitya Sabha addressed the womenfolk sitting behind a screen, to come out of “the cage”(Goswami).

Role in of Women in Freedom Struggle

Assamese women began to be organized for freedom struggle, only with the formation of the Dibrugarh Mahila Samiti in 1915. This was followed by Assam Chatra Sanmilan (Assam Student Association) formed in 1916 and the Assam Sahitya Sabha (Assam Literary Society) formed in 1917. However, Assam lacked a provincial women’s organization until Assam Mahila Samiti was formed in 1926, with Chandraprova Saikiani as its president(Nath, Deka and Gogoi). It was an apolitical socio-cultural organization devoted primarily to the cause of women and children. Campaigns were set afoot for the removal of disabilities afflicting women of Assam. Through the Committee, women not only expressed their opinions, but also defined their individual and collective interests, proposed solutions and took actions.

On 4th September 1920, Mahatma Gandhi launched the Non-Cooperation Movement, protesting against Rowlatt Act and the horrific Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. The aim was to have Indians revoke their cooperation from the British government, and be self-reliant for the larger goal of *Swaraj*. Assam was noticeably drawn to the mainstream national struggle in 1921 with the formation of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee. Gandhi’s 1921 visit to the state was instrumental in putting a large number of women on the map of India’s freedom struggle. Apart from boosting confidence by appealing to their courage, intelligence and perseverance, the absence of any material weapon for the struggle made women equal or even better than their male counterparts.

Women joined the movement in large numbers by participating in meetings, organising processions and boycotting schools, courts and offices. They also picketed in front of shops dealing with liquor, opium and foreign goods. A small section of women, mostly belonging to urban upper class and having influential male kins from Congress background, publicised the message of non-cooperation to grassroot rural areas. Bidyutprova Devi, Hemanta Kumari Devi, Girija Devi, Dharmlanta Devi, Nalinibala Devi among others, were some notable names.

Gandhi was equally successful in appealing to womenfolk of the marginalised section. Women from tribal communities actively participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement, whereby eradication of opium consumption became one of their major agenda. Mongri alias '*Malati Mem*' – a tea-garden labourer who gave up drinking and actively participated in anti-liquor drive – became the first ever woman martyr in 1921. Bhanumati Talukdar of a remote village enrolled herself as a full-time worker of the Congress, earning her the title "*Volunteerani Bai*", and "*Sarojini of Assam*" from Gandhi himself. Pramila Medak of Mising community was another instance of persisting the resistance despite being excommunicated by her community (Nath, Deka and Gogoi).

Promotion of spinning and weaving in Non-cooperation movement was successful in involving women of Assam irrespective of caste, creed and status. Boycott of foreign goods was of utmost success due to large-scale production of Khadi. While spinning and weaving for themselves, women also decided to discard the orani (veil which partially covered the face) as a step for their upliftment.

Gandhi's call for the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930) was also enthusiastically answered by the womenfolk; so much so that it was rightly called the 'Period of Women's Awakening' by Jawaharlal Nehru. "*Mukti Sangha*" was organised by Pushpalata Das, Sarla Saxena, Punyaprava Barua and Jyotsna Majumdar where young students pledged to fight for *Poorna Swaraj*. In retaliation, the British government issued notice of their suspension from education institutions, but Pushpalata and her parents' indifference helped add fuel to the fire: several more student jumped headfirst into the freedom struggle. Several more committees were formed and joined by people of different strata and age. Civil Disobedience Movement also saw large participation of rural women along with their urban counterparts. That is why the British observers wrote that if the civil disobedience movement had not accomplished anything else, it had contributed greatly to the social emancipation of Indian women.

Formation of Women's Wing of Congress by Congress Working Committee (CWC) in 1940 with Pushpalata and Amolprova as joint secretaries, was an important step in bringing

women to the organisational forefront of the national movement(Mahanta). The Quit India Movement of 1942 was the call for immediate withdrawal of British power from India. Gandhi's 'Do or Die' was met with enthusiastic response from all walks of life. Women came forward in huge number to take part not in not only constructive activities, but also in destructive or obstructive ones. Women were an active part of underground activities that disrupted communication by cutting telegraph and telephone lines, destroying bridges, burning government buildings; as well as a base for holding secret meetings. The satyagrahis were divided into two groups: *Santi Bahini* (Peace Squad, 18-60 years), and *Mrityu Bahini* (Death Squad, 18-50 years)(Mazane and Sarma Puzari). The latter carried subversive activities in more organised manner; its members were ready to lay their lives if needs be. Kanaklata, Ratnabala Phukan, Buddheswari Hazarika, Khahuli Nath and Damayanti Bora were notable active members of *Mrityu Bahini*, of which numerous received martyrdoms.

The unique feature of Quit India Movement was that women became the face of the struggle, in a revolutionary and radical manner. For this, there were ruthlessly attacked and assaulted by Police. Additionally, hundreds of ordinary women operated from behind the scenes, by acting as spies, informants, volunteers and conspirators.

Gandhi called for constructive programs within the struggle, like removal of untouchability. Although not a major issue in Assam, women – individually or under the umbrella of the Assam Mahila Samiti and other social organizations – worked for the upliftment of the *Harijans*. Many orthodox Brahmins opened their private family temple to the *Harijans*, and elementary and high schools were established in the *Harijan's* area with noteworthy contributions from the women. Popularisation of Hindi was another constructive program of Gandhi, for which women like Swarnalata Barua worked tirelessly. Women also actively participated in fund collection for the Congress and contributed in both cash and kind, especially with their jewelleries, for Tilak Swaraj Fund(Nath, Deka and Gogoi).

The limited participation of women in the 1921 phase, later turned into massive in scale. It was for this reason that the British

Prime Minister said in 1930 that what scared them was not Gandhi but “the innumerable illiterate women of India who became the mouthpiece of the message of revolt in every household”. The instances of Assamese women in the Indian freedom struggle presented here are only the tip of the iceberg. Apart from the direct contributions made by women, their relentless indirect support towards the male counterparts on their path to achieving *Swaraj*, prove the point that the project of nation-building would’ve been incomplete without the support of its womenfolk. The emerging national consciousness of the colonial times helped shaping both national and sexual identities. Women were crucial in shaping the freedom struggle, and in turn, their own lives were reshaped by nationalist needs.

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Nature of Indian Political Party Culture in Indian Freedom Struggle

Priyankar Datta

Introduction

Rise of the Indian Middle Class

British administrative and economic innovations gave rise to a new urban middle class in the towns of India. The new middle class was a well-integrated all-India class with varied background but a common foreground of knowledge, ideas and values, it was a minority of the Indian society, but a dynamic minority, with a unified sense of purpose and hope.

It was in the nineteenth century, under the patronage of British colonial rule that the middle classes began to emerge in India. Though they emerged under the patronage of the British rule, the middle classes played an important role in India's struggle for independence.

In fact, middle class in India emerged because British rulers in India had no adequate economic and political system and wanted to transplant their own systems and principles of governance as well economic organisation with such modifications which suited to their own interests.

Reactionary Politics and Racial Arrogance of the British Rulers

Racial myth of white superiority was sought to be perpetuated by a deliberate policy of discrimination and segregation against the Indians, who were treated with contempt. Indians were forbidden entry into the clubs and railway coaches meant for the

Europeans. The repressive policies and deeds of Lord Lytton, who was the Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880 intensified discontentment among the Indians. The Indians felt deeply hurt by Lytton's reactionary policies such as reduction of maximum age limit for the I.C.S examination from 21 years to 19 years, the holding of the Imperial Durbar in Delhi in 1877 at a time when the country was in a severe grip of famine and the Vernacular Press Act[1878]1, and the Arms Act [1878]2 provoked a great storm of opposition in the country. Then came Ilbert Bill3 controversy. Ripon4 who succeeded Lytton had sought to abolish "judicial disqualification based on racial distinctions" and the Ilbert Bill sought to give the Indian members of the Covenanted Civil Service the same powers and rights as their European colleagues enjoyed.

Because of stiff opposition from the European community, Ripon had to modify the Bill, which almost defeated the original purpose of the bill. It became clear to the Indian nationalists that justice and fair play could not be expected from the British rulers where interests of the European Community were involved. However, the organised agitation by the Europeans to revoke the Ilbert Bill also taught the nationalist leaders the urgency to agitate for certain rights and demands. The Indians began to organise themselves into various political associations.

Political Associations before Indian National Congress

The political associations of India in the early half of the nineteenth century were dominated by the wealthy and aristocratic elements, both local or national in character, and through long petitions to the British parliament demanding-

Administrative reforms.

Association of Indians with the administration.

Spread of education.

The Bengal British India society was founded in 1843, which in 1851 merged with the land holders' society and the two together formed the British Indian Association. The East India Association was organised by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 in London to discuss the Indian problems, to influence the British public and to promote Indian welfare. The Indian Association of Calcutta was founded in 1876 by Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan

Bose to unite the Indians upon the basis of common political interests.

Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was founded in 1867 by M.G Ranade and others, with the object of serving as a bridge between the government and the people. The Bombay Presidency Association was started by Baduruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta and K.T. Telang in 1885, and the Madras Mahajan Sabha was founded in 1884 by M. Viraraghavachari, B. Subramaniya Aiyer and P. Anand Charlu.

Emergence of the Indian National Congress

Solid ground had been prepared during our freedom struggle for the establishment of an all India organisation. The final shape to this idea was given by a retired English Civil Servant, A.O. Hume⁵, who mobilised leading intellectuals of the time and with their cooperation organised the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in December 1885. As a prelude to this, two sessions of the Indian National Conference had been held in 1883 and 1885. Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose were the main architects of the Indian National Conference.

The first session of the Indian National Congress was attended by 72 delegates and presided over by Umesh Chandra Banerjee. Hereafter, the congress met every year in December in different parts of the India each time.

In 1890, Kadambini Ganguly, the first woman graduate of Calcutta University, addressed the congress session, which symbolised the commitment of the freedom struggle of India to give the women of India their due status in national life.

Apart from the Indian National Congress, nationalist activity was carried out through provincial conferences and socio-political associations, newspapers and literature.

One theory propounds that Hume formed the Congress with the idea that it would prove to be a "Safety Valve" for releasing the growing discontent of the Indians. To this end he convinced Lord Dufferin⁶ not to obstruct the formation of the Congress.

Aims and Objectives of the Indian National Congress

These were to

1. Start democratic and nationalist movements.
2. Educate the people political.
3. Establish headquarters for a movement and organise leadership for such a movement.
4. Promote friendly relations among nationalist political workers from different parts of the country.
5. Develop and propagate an anti-colonial nationalist ideology.
6. Formulate and present popular demands before the Government with a view to unifying the people over a common economic and political programme.

With the foundation of the Congress the Indian national movement gathered strength. At first the leaders wanted only Swaraj and some constitutional reforms. Later they wanted absolute Swaraj.

Rise of Extremism

Remarkable progress made by Japan after 1868 and its emergence as an industrial power opened the eyes of the Indians to the fact that economic progress was possible even by an Asian country without any external help. Defeat of the Italian army by the Ethiopians [1896], the Boer Wars [1899-1902] where the British faced reverses and Japan's victory over Russia [1905] demolished the myths of European invincibility. The nationalists were also inspired by the nationalist movements in different parts of the world - in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, and China. The Indians realised that a united people willing to make sacrifices could take on the mightiest of Empires.

A sharp reaction was created in the Indian minds during Curzon's⁷ seven year rule in India which was full of missions, commissions and omissions. He refused to recognise the Indians as a nation and insulted Indian nationalists and the intelligentsia by describing their activities as "Letting off of gas". He spoke derogatorily of Indian character in general. Administrative measures adopted during his ruler -- the Official Secrets Act, the Indian University Act, the Calcutta Corporation Act and above all

the Partition of Bengal [1905]-- left no doubts in Indian minds about the basically reactionary nature of British rule in India.

As a result, a radical trend of militant nationalist approach to political activity started emerging in the 1890s and it took a concrete shape by 1905. As an adjunct to this trend, a revolutionary terrorist wing also took shape. Having seen that the government was not conceding any of their important demands, the more militant and those politically conscious got disillusioned and started looking for a more effective mode of political action.

By the dawn of the twentieth century, a band of nationalist thinkers had emerged who advocated a more militant approach to their political work. These included Raj Nariain Bose, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Arobindo Ghosh, and Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar and Tilak in Maharashtra and Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab.

Emergence of New Forces during 1910-1947

During the 1910-1947 the national political structure to India saw the emergence of a number of new forces.

Gadar Party

The Gadar Party was a revolutionary group organised around a weekly newspaper the Gadar with its headquarters at San Francisco and branches along the US coast and in the Far East. The party had been established in 1913. The moving spirits behind the Gadar Party were Lala Hardayal, Ramchandra, Bhagwan Singh, Kartar Singh Saraba, Barkatullah, Bhai

Parmanand. The Gadarites intended to bring about a revolt in India and to overthrow the British government by force.

Champaran Satyagraha [1917]

Gandhi was requested by Rajkumar Shukla to look into the problems of indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar. The European planters had been forcing the peasants to grow indigo on 3/20 of total land [called Tinkathia system]. When towards the end of the nineteenth century German synthetic dyes replaced indigo, the European planters demanded high rents and illegal dues from the peasants in order to maximise their profits before the peasants could shift to other crops.

When Gandhi reached Champaran to probe into the matter, joined now by Rajendra Prasad, Mazhar-ul-Haq, Mahadeo Desai, Narhari Parekh, J.B Kripalini etc, the authorities ordered him to leave the area at once. Gandhi defied the order and preferred to face the punishment. This passive resistance or civil disobedience against an unjust order was a novel method at that time. Finally, the authorities retreated and permitted Gandhi to make an enquiry. Now the Government appointed a committee to go into the matter and nominated Gandhi as a member. Gandhi was able to convince the authorities that the Tinkathia system should be abolished, and that the peasants should be compensated for the illegal dues extracted from them. As a compromise with the planters, he agreed that only 25% of the money taken should be compensated.

Home Rule League

The Home Rule movement was the Indian response to the British torture and misrule in a less charged but a more effective way than the response of the Indians living abroad which took the form of the romantic Gadar adventure. The Indian Home Rule Leagues were organised on the lines of the Irish Home Rule Leagues and they represented a new trend, which emerged in the freedom struggle of aggressive politics. Annie Besant ⁸ and Tilak⁹ proved to be the pioneers of this new trend. By early 1915, Annie Besant launched a campaign to demand self-government for India after the war on the lines of white colonies. She campaigned through her newspapers *New India* and *Commonweal* ¹⁰ and also through public meetings and conferences. The Home Rule League was formally inaugurated by Mrs Besant in September, 1916 in Madras.

The Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League [popularised as the Muslim League] was a political party established in British India. Its strong advocacy for the establishment of a separate Muslim majority nation-state called Pakistan successfully led to the partition of India in 1947 by the British Empire. Its presiding leaders were Muhammad Ali Jinnah, A.K. Fazlul Haque, Aga Khan, Nawab Waqar-Ul-Mulk etc. It was founded on December 30, 1906 at Dacca in British India [now Dhaka, Bangladesh]. The constitution of the league was framed in Karachi in 1907.

The party arose out of a literary movement that began at the Aligarh Muslim University and was formed in Dhaka many years after the death of Syed Ahmad Khan who was the central figure for the formation of the University. It remained an elitist organization until 1937 when its leadership began mobilising the Muslim masses and the league then became a popular organization.

Objectives of the league were- (1) to promote among Indian Muslims feelings of loyalty towards the British government (2) to protect political and other rights of the Muslims. The British rulers sowed successfully the seeds of conflict between the Muslim and the Hindus and offered support to the Muslim league communal jealousy continued to increase.

In the 1930s, the idea of a separate nation-state of Pakistan became strong. The vision of the influential philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal of uniting the four provinces in North-West British India further supported the rationale of the two-nation theory. The same ideas were proposed by Syed Ahmad Khan, who in 1888 at Meerut said- ‘‘ After this long preface I wish to explain what method my nation- nay, rather treat in regular sequence of the political questions of India so that they may have full opportunity of getting your attention towards them. The first of all is this – in whose hands shall the administration and the empire of India rest? Now, suppose that all English people and the whole English army were to leave India, taking with them all their cannons and their splendid weapons and everything, then who would be the ruler of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations-- the Muslims and the Hindus-- could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable’’. With global events leading up to World War 2 and the congress party’s effective protest against the United Kingdom for unilaterally involving India in the war without consulting the Indian people, the Muslim League went on to support the British war efforts. The Muslim League played a decisive role in the 1940s. It became a driving force behind the division of India along religious lines and also behind the creation of Pakistan as a Muslim state in 1947.

1. Commonweal was a British socialist newspaper founded in 1885 by the new born Socialist League. Its aims were to spread socialist views and to win over the new recruits.
2. Manabendra Nath Roy, was an Indian revolutionary, a radical and an activist a political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher in the 20th century. Roy was a founder of the Maxician communist party and the communist party of India.
3. The Kanpur Conspiracy case was a controversial court case initiated in British India in 1924. After Peshawar in 1922, two more conspiracy cases were instituted by the British government. The accused in the cases included among others some important communist organisers who worked in India.
4. The Meerut Conspiracy case was a controversial court case that was initiated in British India in March 1929 and decided in 1933. Several trade unionist, including three Englishman, were arrested for organizing an Indian railway strike.
5. The most important work on these lines has been done by Paul Brass, especially in his collection of essays in Caste, Faction and Party in Indian Politics, 2vols [Delhi: Chanakya, 1985] and his Language, Religion and Politics in North India [Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1974]
6. Narendra Subramanian, Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens and Democracy in South India [Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999] P¹ .
7. Zoya Hasan, Politics and Party Politics India [New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2010]. P²⁰.

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<https://egyankosh.ac.in>



A Forgotten Revolutionary Nationalist: The Case of M. N. Roy

Prosenjit Shil

Introduction

Manabendra Nath Roy or M. N. Roy was born in 1887 in the village of Arbalia in South 24 Pargana district, 30 miles North-East of Kolkata. Even though, his father, Dinabandhu Bhattacharya was a resident of kheput village in Ghatal subdivision of Paschim Mednipur. He was one of the most learned personalities during the freedom struggle and one of the few philosophers of modern India. He is also one of India's more colorful and unusual international revolutionaries. He started his life as a revolutionary nationalist but gradually moved towards Radical Humanism which is considered to be his biggest contribution. Among the noted freedom fighters of India, Roy was a bold revolutionary freedom fighter of Bengal. M. N. Roy, who raised himself to a great level in the world of knowledge, not only knew 14 languages but also wrote about 200 books in those languages. He was one of the first leaders who injected Marxism into practical politics of India. Roy was the founder of the Mexican Communist and the Communist Party of India (Tashkent group). We have forgotten the man whom Comrade Lenin called 'the best representative of the colonial revolutionaries' for his greater contribution to 'the Colonial Thesis'.

Politico Historical Context of M. N. Roy

The golden history of India's freedom struggle, the names of heroic sons of that history float in our memories like Netaji Subhash Chandara Bose, Mahatma Gandhi, Khudiram Bose, Masterda Surya Sen, Chittaranjan Das and many others. Behind

these names, the name that has almost gone into oblivion is M. N. Roy. His real name is Narendar Nath Bhattacharya. It was his childhood name that was given by his parents. We know that if we want to judge any historical character or event, we have to analyze and evaluate a person or event as a whole in a dialectical and scientific manner, taking into consideration the actual situation of that time, the political position, economic position, cultural environment and the scope of the world of knowledge. In the course of life, we forget many events, people and various things that happen in social life. There is no shame in this forgetting but when the question arises of building our lives, the question of beautifying the society, the question of liberating countless helpless oppressed people, then we need motivation. And the wonderful characters of India's past act as this inspiration. The characters who took a significant position in the social life through their life struggle. Through their roles, they have pulled the society from darkness to light. Rammohan, Vidyasagar, Subhas Chandra, Rabindranath, Vivekananda are their names. M. N. Roy, though not in line with the unforgettable names in the history of India, was an incredible and rare revolutionary leader.

M. N. Roy as a Revolutionary Nationalist

M. N. Roy was senior to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose by 10 years when India was under the shackles of British rule. While the masses of India are uneducated superstitious medieval religious orthodoxy, it was a dark environment. Apart from this, there is another shining trend in public life, the originator of which is Rammohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Vivekananda. Following which the patriotism, desire for education and the mentality of protest emerged among some Indians. M. N. Roy adopted that trend in his life. Barrister Pramathnath Mitra founded a revolutionary underground organization in 1902 under the ideology of Rishi Bankim Chandra, whose name was 'Anusilan Samiti'. At the age of 14, Roy became a member of that group with the dream of overthrowing the British rule from India. In 1905, he was expelled from the school for felicitating Rashtra Guru Surendranath Bandhopadhyay. He never returned to Harinavi School. Later, in 1906, after passing the entrance examination the National Vidyapith, He took admission at the Bengal Technical Institution because he wanted to know the formula of making bombs. In 1907,

under his leadership, the first political dacoity in Bengal took place at Chingri Pota railway station.. Later, he was caught for another railway robbery. He was imprisoned for 20 months. M. N. Roy spent about 9 months in solitary jail. At that time, inspired by teachings of Swami Vivekananda, he increased his powers of concentration by practicing yoga. In 1905, Bagha Jatin, Atul Ghosh and himself collected a lot of arms and took up a plan to declare a rebellion in India with the help of Germany against the British rule. M. N. Roy was sent to Batavia under the pseudonym C. Martin to communicate with Germany. The revolutionary Bagha Jatin's adventure on the bank of Buribalam River where arms were sent in a ship called 'Maravik', M. N. Roy influenced the German Consul Theodore to send a ship full of weapons to the bank of Buribalam River. That heroic struggle made Bagha Jatin a memorable character in the history of India, but the role of M. N. Roy remains unheard of. After receiving the news of defeat of the revolutionaries in the battle of Buribalam, M. N. Roy prepared to go to America. On August 11, 1908, Khudiram, the fire teenager martyr of mother India, laughingly held the gallows around his neck and instilled the spirit of freedom, the courage to fight and fearless thinking among the students and youth of whole India. That touch inevitably felt in M. N. Roy's heart. M. N. Roy rejected the British government job despite being meritorious in his studies. He accepted the perilous life of India's freedom struggle with true humanity.

M. N. Roy travelled through the Philippines and left for Japan. On the way, Hari Singh landed in Nagasaki City under the pseudonym Mr. White, changing his name. There, he secretly met with Rashbihari Bose. As Bose could not give any assurance about the right path of India's freedom struggle, Roy met the great Chinese freedom fighter Sun Yat-Sen and conquered Sun Yat-Sen by his personality. Sun Yat-Sen was secretly living as a fugitive in Japan after his defeat in the Nanking Rebellion of 1913. M. N. Roy proposed him that if some weapons were handed over to the Indian revolutionaries, a contact would be established between the freedom fighters of China and the Indian revolutionaries, which would complement the liberation movement of both the countries. Sun Yat-Sen proposed M. N. Roy that if Roy gives him 50 million dollars from the German ambassador, then he assured him of all cooperation. Meanwhile, the Japanese police got information about

M. N. Roy. Then he secretly came to Peking with dust in the eyes of the Japanese police. He met the German ambassador there but did not get the desired result. Then he decided to reach America safely. After travelling to Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China, Philippines, Japan, Korea, China, Germany for a long year and a half, M. N. Roy finally reached San Francisco in 1916 adopting the pseudonym Father Martin. At that time the First World War was going on. There lived Dhanaban Mukherjee, brother of his revolutionary colleague Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee. M. N. Roy took shelter at Palo Alto, city of Stanford University. There he started introducing himself under the pseudonym Manabendra Nath Roy or M. N. Roy from his ancestral name Narendranath Bhattacharjee. At that time, 'Punjab Keshari' Lala Lajpat Roy was in America. M. N. Roy met him. Lalaji was impressed by the personality of Roy. Then there was a storm of practicing of Marxism all over the world. He began to study Marxism extensively in the Public Library of New York. He found new light in Marxism.

M. N. Roy was charged with violating US immigration laws. As a result, he was arrested. When he was brought before the Attorney General of New York, impressed by his personality and manner of speech, he arranged him bail. M. N. Roy had heard from his socialist friends in America that a socialist revolution was underway in Mexico. At that time, he married Evelyn Trent and both fled to Mexico. Coming to Mexico, he joined the Socialist Party and soon became the secretary of that party. By that time, he met Michael Borodin, one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution. Various discussions were held with Borodin on Marxism. On the advice of Borodin, Roy formed the first 'Communist Party of Mexico' outside the Soviet Union in Mexico. Then he adopted the Pseudonym Manual Bandage. M. N. Roy was very close and trusted of the Mexican Socialist President Dr. Carranza. He organized the all Latin American Socialist Conference in Mexico. The Second Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow from 21 July to 7 August, 1919. He was invited to attend the conference. Gellerse, spokesman of the Communist Party of Mexico and the great thinker Comrade Lenin, authority of Marxism were impressed by the writings of M. N. Roy after Marx. In the Second Communist International, M. N. Roy's 'Colonial Theory' was adopted at the Congress through a doctrinal clash with Comrade Lenin. On the

other hand, M. N. Roy formed Communist Party of India in Tashkent on 17 October 1920.

In 1927, he was sent to China as a delegate of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party. There was an ideological debate between M. N. Roy and Mao Tse-Tung, another authority of Marxist Movement over the nature of the revolution. Mao Tse-Tung disobeyed the orders of M. N. Roy. M. N. Roy got back to Moscow in July 1927. He introduced the famous “Theory of De colonization” in the Six Congress of the Comintern. M. N. Roy and Borodin were embroiled in a controversy over their activities in the Chinese Commission. He was not in Moscow during the Seventh Congress. He was in Berlin at that time. At that time, in the entire Europe there was a gigantic wave of fascism. M. N. Roy proposed to raise international forum against the spreading of greater fascism. The Communist International refused to accept this proposal. He exchanged his theoretical views with Brandler and Thelheimer who were the members of the Communist Party of Germany and also wrote a preface in their essay. He was regarded as a renegade for his anti-party activities and later he was dismissed from the membership of the Communist Party.

M. N. Roy returned to India in 1930 as Dr. Mahmud. He was captured in July 1931 in Bombay, tried in Kanpur Jail on the charge of sedition and sentenced to transportation for 12 years, which, on appeal, was reduced to 6 years hard labour in jail. During the period from 1932 to 1936, he compiled a monumental volume under the title Philosophical Consequences of Modern Science in several volumes.

Significance of M. N. Roy’s Nationalist Activity

The life of M. N. Roy is a painful rare instance of that. It’s truly a wonderful life of his. From the events of his life we can understand that he took himself to a better position through a difficult life struggle. He was expelled by the Communist Party of Russia. Stalin the great identified him as ‘renegade’. We know the truth that the liberation of India as well as the liberation of the whole world depends on the unerring practice of Marxism. We know that Marxism is the only way to change the social system and to accept the truth. But eventually M. N. Roy lost his faith in Marxism. Later on he expressed himself as a radical humanist. For his this turn, the

Communist Party of India still refuses to accept him as a great communist and a revolutionary nationalist. Even though, M. N. Roy was the founder of the Communist Party of India and he played a pioneering role in spreading Marxist ideas the role of a Communist Party amongst the fledgling communist groups which emerged in India from 1921 onwards.

Whatever he did in his entire life were all for the sake of bringing the freedom for India. In spite of this, M. N. Roy has not been presently valued to be a veteran freedom fighter and a revolutionary nationalist in the history of India.

Concluding Remarks

M. N. Roy has been criticized by many for his all activities. Sudipta Kaviraj, a scholar of South Asian Politics and Intellectual History, who remarked that “M. N. Roy was a most remarkable failure in the history of the Indian national movement”. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that M. N. Roy devoted his entire life to the Indian national movement. He wanted to make India independent through the three phases of his life which are revolutionary nationalist, Marxist and radical humanist phase. He played simultaneously many important roles such as organizing the independence movement, writing books, Pamphlets, articles and journals, exercising, making people aware of the world and thinking about philosophy. Thus, M. N. Roy is a revolutionary nationalist, Marxist, communist, radical activist, political theorist, humanist and a noted philosopher.

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Role of Women's Property Rights in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement: A Legal Study on Personal Laws in India

Roshan Kumar Gupta

Introduction

In terms of tradition, religion, culture, and race, India is a varied country. Each religious group is governed by personal law.³¹ Like women's rights elsewhere, property rights for women in India have developed as a result of a protracted conflict between progressive and conservative forces. Like to many other personal rights, women's property rights in India are exceptional in that they are sharply divided among themselves. India has been unable to enact a unified civil code despite its multireligious population. Because of this, every religious organization continues to be controlled in many ways by its own unique system of personal rules, including property rights. Even within religious organizations, there exist subgroups and regional customs and practices with separate property rights.³² The results show that women's property rights are not governed by a single entity in India. An Indian woman's property rights may be impacted by her place of origin, whether she is tribal or non-tribal, whether she is married or not, her religion or

³¹ Jain, P. (2005). *Gender justice and minority rights in harmony: How safeguarding multiculturalism affects women's rights in India*. *Berkeley J. Int'l L.*, 25, 202.

³² GUPTA, A, & MAZUMDAR, S. (2012). *Hindu Personal Law in India and Women Problems and Land Rights*. Ahmedabad Center for Social Justice, India.

attendance at a religious school, her marital status, and other variables.

Caste as a Method for Denial of Property Rights

According to sociological and anthropological studies, gender inequality has been at the centre of all political, cultural, and social identities.³³ The "moral" and "ideological" pedestal for the duties and status of women in Indian society is provided by religious literature. The core of Hinduism is the caste system, which is based on the concepts of corrupted and pure thought. The rights of women over immovable or moveable property, such as land were denied in such a patriarchal structure-based caste system where property might be passed to someone else after marriage. Thus, gender bias is a core value in "Indian society".³⁴

Women during the Ancient Era

Women have had limited legal inheritance rights ever since the beginning of time. Under ancient law, women were given Stridhan property, but only when their husbands were not present and solely to maintain themselves, their sons, and their daughters-in-law.³⁵ So, in ancient times, a woman's maintenance rights were limited.

The History of Women's Property Rights in India

➤ Property Rights for Women and the Vedic Era

Throughout the Vedic era, women were revered and treated as deities. The widow was not given an inherited right in her husband's property, but she was still eligible to receive his wealth because she was childless.³⁶

³³ Lindisfarne, N., & Cornwall, A. (2016). *Dislocating Gender, power, and anthropology of masculinity* (pp. 28-62). Routledge.

³⁴ Rege, S. (2014). *Against the lunacy of Manu: B. R. Ambedkar's works against the Brahmanical patriarchy*. Indian city of New Delhi: Navayana Publications Pvt. Ltd.

³⁵ Shamsastry, R. (1916). *The Arthshastra of Kautilya*. Retrieved from <http://192.168.0.32:8080/jspui/123456789/80>

³⁶ Carroll, L. (1984). *The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856 combines law, custom, and statutory social change*. *Review of Indian Economic and Social History*, 20(5), 364-389.

➤ **Medieval Era & Women's Property Rights**

The Medieval Ages saw a deterioration in the status of Indian women as a result of Sati, child marriages, and laws prohibiting widow remarriage. Particularly among Hindu Kashatriya monarchs, many spouses were a common practice. Property rights were not available to women at this time.

➤ **Smriti Period & Women's Property Rights**

The mother, widow, and daughter were specifically named as heirs during the smriti period. If there were no male heirs, they could only take control of a man's property.

Women's Property in Hindu Law

- i. Stridhan
- ii. Non-Stridhan

Two schools of thought and laws existed within Hinduism:

- a) Mitakshara
- b) Dayabhaga³⁷

➤ **The Mitakshara Law**

This law grants the boy a claim to and an interest in the family's property from birth. According to this school, a class of coparceners is made up of a son, a grandson, and a great-grandson depending on where they were born in the family. According to Mitakshara legislation, no woman is allowed to be a coparcenary. Under the Mitakshara system, the coparcenary's property is transferred by the surviving member of a joint family. According to this, depending on whether a man is born or dies, the percentage of each guy in the family who is still alive either grows or lowers.³⁸

➤ **The Dayabhaga Law**

As neither sons nor daughters are coparceners at birth, they are not eligible to inherit the family estate while the father is still alive. But, after his demise, they become his common tenants. The

³⁷ Pal, A. (2017). *The Development and Change of Women's Rights in India*. SSRN 3516474 is accessible.

³⁸ Rankin, G. (1946). *Hindu Law in Modern Times*. *J. Comp. Law & International Law*, 3d ser., 27, 1.

Dayabhaga school is distinctive in that females receive an equal portion of the property as do their male counterparts, and they are unable to compel the father to divide the land during his lifetime, give it away, or sell it in the future without his permission.³⁹

Property Rights for Women

In principle, a woman might possess property in antiquity, but in practise, her capacity to dispose of it was limited in contrast to a man's; the patriarchal system saw this as vital to keep her from becoming unduly independent and disregarding her marital obligations and homemaking.

- a) **The 1937 Hindu Women's Right to Property Act** Due to growing unhappiness with the situation of women's property rights in India, implemented. By the aforementioned Act, a widow was granted a restricted stake in her husband's inheritance, also known as the Hindu widow's estate.⁴⁰
- b) **The Act was Modified in 1938** to bar the widow from possessing any ownership stake in land used for farming.
- c) **The Hindu Succession Act, 1956**

The 1956 Hindu Succession Act was the first to establish a thorough succession system for Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, and Sikhs as well as to eliminate gender discrepancies in property rights. There are two exceptions: intestate succession and Hindu converts and their progeny.

Amendments

- **Section 6 of the Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act of 2005**

In a key decision made in September 2005, the Supreme Court of India determined that Indian women have the same right to property as men, allowing daughters to inherit family property alongside male relatives.

³⁹ Carroll, L. (1992). *Indian daughters' inheritance rights: A viewpoint on the dowry issue. Contemporary Asian Studies*, 26(5), 792-810.

⁴⁰ BASU, M. (1997). *Hindu law's effects on Indian women. Journal of International Problems, Global Affairs*, 6(1), 47-63.

➤ **Section 6 of the Aforementioned Amendment Act (2005)**

It ensures that each Hindu household's members have equitable access to communal resources. As she is a co-owner, the girl has the same right to a portion of the family's assets as a boy would.⁴¹ The revised Section 6 is not applicable in the following two circumstances

- a. whereby, together with any partition, the disposition or alienation took place before December 20, 2004.
- b. an earlier-than-December-20, 2004, testamentary conveyance of the property.

Women's Property Rights in Muslim Law

Women have substantially more property rights than is often acknowledged, according to a literal interpretation of the Quran. The four fundamental values emphasized in the Quran are Insaaf, Ehsaan, Rehem, and Ilma.

➤ **Dowry**

The Muslim lady is the rightful owner of the dowry and any interest that is paid in cash. Women who invest using dowry money keep all profits and are not required by law to split them with their partners.

Rights to Property for Muslim Women⁴²

Islam's gender roles favour males more than anything. The spouse is solely accountable for all duties. The home, kids, and any ageing parents are all legally the spouse's responsibilities. A wife or a lady does not need to do any of these things. She alone owns the money. The man's extended family actually ends up with the money, never really the man.

⁴¹Gakul, K. (2014). *Hindu Succession Law's Property Rights for Women: Historical and Contemporary*. *International Interdisciplinary Journal of The Clarion*, 2 (2), 148-157.

⁴² Kazmi, S. & Aslam, A. (2010). *Islamic Women's Property Rights, Economic Issues*, 28 (2), 27(2), 11-16.

➤ **Under Muslim Law, Shares of Property**

"Allah commands you regarding your children. For the male a share equivalent to that of two females."

- A complete brother (Germane) has the potential to receive twice as much as the sister, and a son can inherit an amount equal to the shares of two daughters. A son's son can also inherit twice as much as his daughter.
- "Two thirds of the inheritance will go to the women (daughters) if there are more than two; if there is only one, then half will go to the woman (daughter)."

Christian Women's Property Rights in India

- According to the "Indian Succession Act of 1925", a Christian widow woman is entitled to receive two thirds of her deceased husband's estate.
- The children each receive an equal share of the surplus property.
- Children of a predeceased daughter and son get a share of their parents' assets.

➤ **The Laws Governing Christian Women's Property Rights in India**

- In Goa, Christians are subject to Portuguese civil law.
- Travancore & Cochin are governed by the "Christian Succession Act of 1921" and the "Travancore Christian Act of 1916".
- The "Indian Succession Act".

Objectives

- The aim of the study is to have a better understanding of the "Role of Women's Property Rights in the Indian Freedom Struggle Movement".
- To ascertain the extent to which diverse religious groups in India employ legal actions to safeguard women's property rights, a legal research on personal laws is conducted.

- To urge the amendment of laws as necessary in order to eradicate discrimination against women who inherit property due to their gender.

Methodology

The present researcher completed the entire study task by only using doctrinal research procedures. An exhaustive and comprehensive analysis of the pertinent literature, legislation, and case law has been conducted.

Analysis

Generally recognized societal norms and values, as well as family decision-making and distribution procedures, regulate women's rights to own, manage, and inherit property (Rutherford, 1996).⁴³ There are a great deal of women who work informally in rural regions due to the persistence of traditional labor divides, which require women to do heavy tasks like fetching water and firewood (Cheryl & Doss, 2011).⁴⁴ While the exclusion of women from land ownership, transfer, and decision-making has decreased sustainable development, increased susceptibility, and lowered dignity (Bina & Agarwal, 2002)²². Women must be made to participate in the formation and implementation of policies, and their rights must be clearly taken into account throughout planning and development.⁴⁵

Men and women's roles in homes were compared together with the distribution of property resources. The inclusion of women's property rights in this study was demonstrated to be at odds with the idea of "perceived benefit" response. (1990, Papanek).⁴⁶ In reality, primogeniture and patrilineal conventions,

⁴³Malcolm, Rutherford, (1996): *Economic Institutions The Old and the New Institutionalism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (Paperback).

⁴⁴Meinzen-Dick, R., Bomuhangi, A., & Doss, C., (2011). *Who Owns the Land? : Rural Ugandans' viewpoints and the consequences for land acquisition* (No. 1136). Global Institute for Food Policy Research (IFPRI).

⁴⁵L. R., Feldstein, H. S., & Quisumbing, A. R. Meinzen-Dick, & R. S., Brown, (1997). *Natural resources, gender, and property rights. Development of the World*, 26 (8), 1302–1316.

⁴⁶Papanek, H. (1990). *Allocations, entitlements, and value: To each more than she can give, from each less than she can receive. From I. Tinker (Ed.), Continuing*

which outline guidelines for how men and women should fulfill their financial and non-financial commitments, are characteristics of patriarchy, which has its roots in interpersonal and intergroup allocations. Family bonds and deeply ingrained ideas that force women to sacrifice their interests and contribute to the welfare of their family mediate women's rights.

Findings

The study's findings indicate that India's social security programs need to be gender-sensitive and take into account the rights of women who own property. The study also sheds light on the influence of many historical, economic, and social factors on the association between domestic and family violence and land ownership and issues a cautionary note against the employment of a general approach to lessen domestic abuse.

Conclusion

So, rather than a dearth of effective regulation, discrimination is a result of cultural attitudinal prejudices. Although this is the case, there is still disparity in many areas, including property rights, and women still only own 1% of all real estate in their own names. As a result, they must struggle for all of their rights in order to succeed in the freedom movement.

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जनजातियों का राष्ट्र निर्माण में योगदान

डॉ. लखिमा देओरी

भूमिका

राष्ट्र निर्माण का सामान्य अर्थ है- राज्य की शक्ति का उपयोग करके एक राष्ट्रीय पहचान की संरचना करने की प्रक्रिया। अंग्रेजी में जिसे Nation Building कहते हैं। इसका उद्देश्य राष्ट्र के नागरिकों को एकजुट करना है ताकि यह राजनीतिक रूप से स्थिर और व्यवहार्य रहे। राष्ट्र निर्माण से तात्पर्य राष्ट्र के विकास में सभी नागरिकों को शामिल करने की प्रक्रिया। इसलिए, राष्ट्र की संरचना में मुख्यधारा के अलावा आदिवासियों के योगदान पर विचार-विमर्श करना भी उतना ही ज़रूरी है।

आदिवासी राष्ट्रीय आबादी का एक छोटा सा हिस्सा ही सही, परन्तु राष्ट्र के विकास में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाता आया है और इसे नजरअंदाज नहीं किया जा सकता है। राष्ट्र निर्माण में आदिवासी समाज की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही है। इस बात को नकारा नहीं जा सकता कि देशभर में आक्रांताओं और साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों का दृढ़ता से सामना करने में आदिवासी समाज ने बहुत योगदान दिया है।

रामायण काल से लेकर ब्रिटिश हुकूमत तक राष्ट्र की अस्मिता के लिए संघर्ष करने वाले आदिवासी शहीद बिरसा मुंडा, महाराणा प्रताप और शिवाजी के सहयोगी भील और अन्य ,आदिवासी समाज से रहे।

कार्यप्रणाली

अध्ययन प्रकृति में विश्लेषणात्मक और व्याख्यात्मक है। निर्धारित उद्देश्यों के आधार पर द्वितीयक स्रोतों से प्रासंगिक जानकारी एकत्र की है। शोध पत्र, समाचार पत्र , इंटरनेट, शोध पत्रिकाओं का उपयोग किया गया है।

राष्ट्र-निर्माण में आदिवासी सेनानियों का योगदान

ईस्ट' इंडिया कंपनी पूरी तरह देश पर कब्जा कर चुकी थी। मुगल दरबार का अंत हो रहा था। उसी दौर में 1840 के आसपास मध्यप्रदेश के खंडवा में एक आदिवासी भील परिवार में एक बच्चे का जन्म हुआ, जिसका नाम 'टण्डू भील' रखा गया था। वह बचपन से ही सामाजिक कार्यों में रूचि लेता था। उसे हर एक असामनता से नफरत थी, इसी लिए वह जल्द ही आक्रोशित भी हो जाता। इन्हीं लक्षणों के कारण विरोधियों ने उसका नाम टंट्या रख दिया था, जिसका का अर्थ है झगडालू।

अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध आदिवासी संघर्ष 1757

1757, प्लासी युद्ध के ठीक बाद ही आदिवासियों के विद्रोहों की शुरुआत हो गई थी। वहीं झारखंड में अंग्रेजी शासकों के विरुद्ध आदिवासी संघर्ष 1855 में शुरू हुआ था। उसी दौर मेंसिदो-कान्हा और फूलो-झानू के नाम अग्रणी हैं। सन 1857 से लेकर 1889 तक टंट्या भील ने अंग्रेजों के नाक में दम कर रखा था। उनको पकड़ना अंग्रेजों के लिए नामुमकिन सा हो गया था। आजादी के इस जननायक के साहस और वीरता के किस्से आम होने लगे थे। टंट्या गुरिल्ला युद्ध कला में माहिर था। अंग्रेज अधिकारियों ने टंट्या के लोगों को पकड़ना शुरू कर दिया। आखिर एक दिन इसमें अंग्रेजों को कामयाबी मिल गई और इस तरह भील जनजाति का हीरो अंग्रेजी पुलिस के हाथों पकड़ लिया गया। 4 दिसम्बर 1889 को उन्हें फांसी दे दी गई। अंग्रेजों ने शव को खंडवा रेल मार्ग पर स्थित पातालपानी (कालापानी) रेलवे स्टेशन के पास ले जाकर फेंक दिया। आज जहाँ उस समाधि स्थल पर रेल भी सम्मान में थोड़ी देर के लिए रुक जाती है।

वास्तव में आदिवासी समुदाय की संस्कृति ही अनूठी है। भारत में सबसे पहले आदिवासियों ने स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन सन् 1780 में संथाल परगना में प्रारम्भ किया। तिलका और मांडी, ये दो आदिवासी वीरों ने आन्दोलन का नेतृत्व किया। यह आन्दोलन सन् 1790 तक चला। इसे 'दामिन विद्रोह' कहते हैं। तिलका और मांडी की गतिविधियों से अंग्रेजी सेना परेशान हो चुकी थी। इन्हें पकड़ने के लिए सेना भेजी गई। तिलका को इसकी भनक लग चुकी थी। अंग्रेज सेना कहा तक पहुंची है यह देखने के लिए तिलका ताड़ के ऊँचे पेड़ पर चढ़ गया। उसी समय अंग्रेजी सेना झाड़ियों में छुपकर सब कुछ देख रहे थे। अंग्रेजों ने उसे चारों ओर से घेर लिया, क्लीवलैण्ड जो उस सेना का नेतृत्व कर रहा था उसने तिलका को ललकारा और पेड़ के नीचे उतर कर आत्म समर्पण के लिए कहा। तिलका ने क्लीवलैण्ड पर एक तीर चलाया जो उसकी छाती में जाकर लगा। क्लीवलैण्ड नीचे गिर पड़ा। यह देख सेना क्लीवलैण्ड को संभालने के लिए भागी। इसी का फायदा ले कर तिलका जंगल में गायब हो गया। अंग्रेजी सेना ने तिलका को पकड़ने के लिए छापामार युद्ध का सहारा किया। अंत में अंग्रेजी सेना ने तिलका को गिरफ्तार कर लिया। अंग्रेजों ने अपनी हार का बदला लेने के लिए तिलका को पेड़ से

लटकाकर फांसी दे दी। अपने प्रदेश की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई लड़ते हुए तिलका शहीद हो गया। तिलका स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन का पहला शहीद माना जाना चाहिए। लेकिन भारतीय इतिहासकारों ने सन् 1857 की क्रान्ति में शहीद हुए मंगल पाण्डे को स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का पहला शहीद घोषित कर दिया। सच्चाई यह है कि मंगल पाण्डे से 70 साल पहले स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन में तिलका शहीद हुआ था।

भारत का सही इतिहास कभी लिखा ही नहीं गया। सवर्ण इतिहासकारों ने जो भी लिखा वह पक्षपातपूर्ण और एक तरफा लिखा और दलितों-आदिवासियों को सदैव इतिहास से बाहर रखा गया। उनके बड़े से बड़े त्याग, बलिदान और शौर्य गाथाओं का इतिहास में उल्लेख तक नहीं किया गया। सन् 1780 से सन् 1857 तक आदिवासियों ने अनेकों स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन किए। सन् 1780 का “दामिन विद्रोह” जो तिलका मांड़ी ने चलाया, सन् 1855 का “सिंहू कान्हू विद्रोह”, सन् 1828 से 1832 तक बुधू भगत द्वारा चलाया गया “लरका आन्दोलन” बहुत प्रसिद्ध आदिवासी आन्दोलन हैं। इन आन्दोलनों की चर्चा इतिहास में न के समान है। इसी तरह आदिवासी क्रान्तिवीरों जिन्होंने अंग्रेजों से लड़ते हुए प्राण गंवाए उनका भी इतिहास में कहीं स्थान नहीं मिला है। छत्तीसगढ़ का प्रथम शहीद वीर नारायण सिंह 1857 में शहीद हुआ। मध्य प्रदेश के नीमाड़ का पहला विद्रोही भील तातिया उर्फ टंटिया मामा सन् 1888 में शहीद हुआ। और कैसे भूल सकते हैं आदिवासी युग पुरुष बिरसा मुण्डा जो सन् 1900 में शहीद हुआ। सन् 1913 में हुए मानगढ़ आन्दोलन के नायक गोविन्द गुरू का भी इतिहास में कहीं उल्लेख तक नहीं है। इतिहासकारों ने दलितों और आदिवासियों को इतिहास में कहीं स्थान नहीं दिया निस्संदेह इनके इतिहास को विकृत और विलुप्त करने में अपनी अहम भूमिका निभाई। कुछ ऐसे इतिहासकार भी हैं जिन्होंने आदिवासी आन्दोलनकारियों की छवि खराब करने के लिए वीर नारायणसिंह, टंटिया मामा और बिरसा मुण्डा को डकैत और लुटेरा बताया, जबकि वे आदिवासियों में बहुत लोकप्रिय रहे हैं।

जिस प्रकार स्वतंत्रता योद्धाओं ने युद्ध कर देश को स्वतंत्रता दिलाई है, उसी प्रकार नीति निर्माताओं के चलते ही इस राष्ट्र की नींव खड़ी की है अर्थात् भारत राष्ट्र के निर्माण में सहायक हुए हैं। पूर्वोत्तर के एक ऐसे ही स्वतंत्रता सेनानी का नाम यहाँ लेना आवश्यक है, भीमबोर देओरी। भीमबोर देओरी एक स्वतंत्रता सेनानी और भारत में असम राज्य के एक प्रसिद्ध वकील थे। इनका जन्म 6 मई, 1903 में हुआ। भीमबोर देओरी को यह अंदाज़ा लग चुका था कि असम को भी ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में शामिल करने की योजना बनायीं जा रही थी, तभी उन्होंने अपने राजनीतिक कौशल का प्रदर्शन करते हुए ब्रिटिश सत्ता को चुनौती दी और कूटनीति-रणनीतियों के माध्यम से यह सुनिश्चित किया कि असम भारत का हिस्सा बना रहे। 1933 में उन्होंने Assam Backward Plains Tribal league की स्थापना की। 9 से 13 मार्च 1943 को असम विधान परिषद बजट सत्र के दौरान अनुचित जन साक्षरता अभियानों की आलोचना करते हुए, ब्रिटिश वायसरॉय असम प्रान्त को ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में शामिल करने

की योजना कर रहे थे। जिसको भीमबोर देओरी के दल के सख्ती से ठुकरा दिया। उन्हीं के प्रयास से असम प्रांत को भारत गणराज्य में शामिल किया गया था।

इन्होंने एक और महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया वह था, 21-23 मार्च 1945 Khasi Darbar Hall Resolutions की स्थापना। वे Khasi Darbar Hall Resolutions के मुख्य वास्तुकारों में से एक थे, जहाँ विभिन्न जनजातीय पहचान के स्वदेशी नेताओं ने भारतीय कब्जे के खिलाफ अपने स्वतंत्र घरानों को बहाल करने के प्रस्तावों का निवारण किया था, जो अभी भी हमें उनकी राजनीतिक दूरदर्शिता की याद दिलाता है। स्वतंत्रता के लिए उसकी आकांक्षा। उन्होंने यह सुनिश्चित करने के लिए कड़ी मेहनत की कि राज्य के मूल निवासियों को भूमि का पट्टा मुहैया कराया जाए।

कांग्रेस नेताओं ने 1946 के पूर्व-स्वतंत्रता चुनाव लड़ा और भीमबोर देओरी बहुमत के साथ सफल हुए। असम में सरकार चुनाव में जीत के बाद अखिल असम के प्रतिनिधि भीमबोर देओरी ने कांग्रेस सरकार के साथ भागीदारी की। उनकी पहल के तहत असम भूमि के कुछ प्रावधान और राजस्व विनियमन अधिनियम, 1886में संशोधन किया गया और "आदिवासी बेल्ट और ब्लॉक" का विनियमन अधिनियमित किया गया।

अप्रैल 1946 में जब ब्रिटिश कैबिनेट मिशन ने भारत का दौरा किया, भीमबोर देओरी और भी कई प्रमुख असम के आदिवासि नेताओं ने प्रस्तुत ज्ञापन देकर निम्न मांगे रखी, जिसकी महत्ता आज भी है :

- i) असम विधान सभा में 4 सीटों का आरक्षण
- ii) असम विधान परिषद में 16 सीटों का आरक्षण,
- iii) वायसराय की कार्यकारी परिषद में एक प्रतिनिधि,
- iv) केंद्रीय विधान सभा में तीन सीटें
- v) केंद्रीय विधान परिषद में एक सीट
- vi) पृथक निर्वाचन मंडल के साथ पृथक सीटें ताकि वे अपनी ओर से योग्य प्रतिनिधियों को भेज सकें
- vii) असम को पाकिस्तान जोन में शामिल होने से रोकना
- viii) उत्तर-औपनिवेशिक भारत में आदिवासियों और अल्पसंख्यक समुदायों के हितों की रक्षा करना
- ix) प्रस्तावित संविधान सभा में कम-से-कम एक या एक से अधिक जनजातीय सदस्यों को शामिल करना ,जिससे भारत के संविधान का भविष्य बनाने की जिम्मेदारी सौंपी जा सके।

भीमबोर देओरी की दूरदृष्टि के कारण ही आज पूर्वोत्तर के जनजातियों कई विशेषाधिकार प्राप्त है।

जनजातियों के विकास के लिए भारत सरकार की पहल

हालाँकि भारत के पूरे राज्यों में ही आदिवासी दिवस आदि मनाया गया, परन्तु पूर्वोत्तर में भी काफी जोरशोर से इसका आयोजन किया गया। यह ज़रूरी भी है क्योंकि आदिवासी की नई पीढ़ी यह जाने की उनके पूर्वज ने भी राष्ट्र निर्माण में अपना योगदान दिया है। क्योंकि पुस्तकों में पूर्वोत्तर के सेनानियों तथा आदिवासियों के योगदान पर निम्न मात्र इन्हें स्थान मिला है। आज़ादी का अमृत महोत्सव के तहत भारत सरकार भी कई नए कार्यक्रम तथा आदिवासी दिवस का आयोजन करने लगे हैं। इन आयोजनों का मूल उद्देश्य पारंपरिक जनजातीय कला और शिल्प को बढ़ावा देना, संरक्षित करना और लोकप्रिय बनाना है ताकि आदिवासी कारीगरों को दूसरे संस्कृति वाले लोगों से बातचीत के माध्यम से बेहतर अवसरों की तलाश में मदद मिल सके। और भी ऐसे कार्यक्रम शामिल है जैसे पारंपरिक जातीय शिल्प, भोजन, हर्बल बिक्री और प्रदर्शनी मेलों का आयोजन आदि। इन आयोजनों का उद्देश्य आदिवासी समाज के लोगों को ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा रोजगार के अवसर खोजने और अपनी प्रतिभा का प्रदर्शन करने में सहायता के लिए पारंपरिक आदिवासी कला और शिल्प, उनके जैविक खाद्य पदार्थों, पारंपरिक आदिवासी जड़ी-बूटियों और उनके पारंपरिक लोकनृत्यों का प्रदर्शन करना है।

पूर्वोत्तर में भी ऐसे कार्यक्रम काफी धूमधाम से मनाया जाता है। देश के अन्य राज्यों की तरह मेघालय ने 16 अगस्त 2022 में आदिवासी गौरव सप्ताह के जारी समारोहों के हिस्से के रूप में गांव की अनूठी सांस्कृतिक प्रथाओं को स्वीकार करने के लिए सप्ताहांत में कोंगथोंग (Kongthong) गाँव, जो व्हिसलिंग (Whistling) गाँव के नाम से विश्व विख्यात है, यहाँ एक विशेष कार्यक्रम आयोजित किया। यह आयोजन आदिवासी स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों के बहादुर प्रयासों और राष्ट्र निर्माण में आदिवासी समुदाय द्वारा किए गए समग्र योगदान पर प्रकाश डाला गया।

मिज़ोरम, Aizwal Art Gallery में आदिवासी स्वतंत्र सेनानी बिरसा मुंडा के चित्र पर ऑन-द-स्पॉट पेंटिंग प्रतियोगिता आयोजित करके सप्ताह भर चलने वाले उत्सव की शुरुआत की गयी। इस कार्यक्रम की अध्यक्षता Mizoram Art Development Society के अध्यक्ष श्री लालटनपुइया ने की। कार्यक्रम का मुख्य उद्देश्य बिरसा मुंडा जयंती मनाना तथा ब्रिटिश राज को उखाड़ फेंकने के लिए आदिवासी समुदाय को योगदान और उनकी भूमिका के बारे में जागरूकता बढ़ाना था।

नगालैंड ने गुलेल से निशाना साधने पर एक कार्यक्रम का आयोजन किया। टीआरआई नगालैंड ने 15 नवंबर 2021 को कोहिमा में आज़ादी का अमृत महोत्सव के 75

साल पूरे होने के उपलक्ष्य में इस स्थानीय खेल का आयोजन किया साथ ही विभिन्न नागालैंड के जनजातियों के विभिन्न प्रतिभागियों ने अपने पारंपरिक परिधान में भाग लिया।

निष्कर्ष: आदिवासियों ने स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलनों का सफल नेतृत्व किया है। भारतीय आदिवासी समुदाय की समृद्ध गौरवशाली इतिहास, साहित्य तथा देश की स्वतंत्रता के लिए दिया गया बलिदान एवं योगदान को ध्यान में रखते हुए प्रशासन को उनके सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए प्रयास जारी रख चाहिए। आदिवासी समाज प्रकृति के इतने नजदीक होते हुए भी, एक नागरिक की बुनियादी सुविधाओं से वंचित रह जाते हैं। सरकार द्वारा हितकारी नीतियाँ बनाये जाने के बावजूद भी किन कारणों से आदिवासियों तक नहीं पहुँच पाता इसका ब्यौरा करना अतिआवश्यक है। भारत सरकार की पहल 'आजादी का अमृत महोत्सव' के द्वारा स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन के अनेक आदिवासी स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों के नाम सामने आने लगे हैं। स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में आदिवासियों की भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण रही है। आज आवश्यकता सही इतिहास लेखन की है।

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स्वाधीनता संग्राम में हिन्दी पत्र-पत्रिकाओं की भूमिका

भारती आपुम

अगर हम भारत के इतिहास के पन्नों को फिर से पलटें तो हमें ज्ञात होंगे कि किस प्रकार अंग्रेजों के गुलामी में रहकर तकलीफों का सामना करना पड़ा। हम अपने ही देश में पराए हो गए थे, इससे अधिक दुख और पीड़ा क्या हो सकती है। इसकी कल्पना भी हम नहीं कर सकते। यद्यपि इससे पूर्व भी भारत देश कई प्रादेशिक राज्यों में बटें हुए थे। कब, कहाँ, किससे कोई युद्ध करें इसका कोई भरोसा नहीं था। आस-पड़ोस के राजा अपना साम्राज्य को बढ़ाने हेतु कभी भी युद्ध का ऐलान कर देते थे। फलस्वरूप जनता की स्थिति बहुत खराब हो गई। अब उन्हें अपने आश्रयदाताओं के प्रति कोई भरोसा नहीं रहा। न जाने कब कहाँ उनकी आश्रयदाता कई बार बदल भी जाते थे। युद्ध में जो जीता वहीं उस क्षेत्र का राजा या स्वामी हो जाते थे। इसके बाद मुगल सल्तनत का भारत में स्थापना सोलहवीं शताब्दी और सत्रहवीं शताब्दी के अंत से शुरू हुई। बाबर से लेकर हुमायूँ, शेर शाह सूरी, इस्लाम शाह सूरी, हुमायूँ, अकबर-ए-आजम, जहांगीर, शाहजहाँ-ए-आजम, औरंगजेब, बहादुर शाह, जहांदार शाह आदि सभी मुगल राजाओं ने यहाँ अपना साम्राज्य स्थापित किए। यहाँ भी भारतवासियों को कम तकलीफ नहीं मिली। नए राजा, नया जनराज्य, नयी स्थापना इनके लिए हमेशा एक नई चुनौती के रूप में सामने आते गए। जनता को इसे समझने तथा स्वीकार और आत्मसात करने में समय लग जाते थे। दिन-प्रतिदिन नई योजनाएँ विभिन्न साम्राज्यों में आते रहते थे। कर से लेकर जमींदारी प्रथा आदि सभी इनके परेशानियों को और अधिक बढ़ा दिए थे। ऐसे में जनता की स्थिति और खराब होती गई। इन्हीं मुगल सम्राटों में कुछ लोग बुद्धिमान एवं नम्र व्यक्तित्व वाले भी आए जिनमें सम्राट अकबर का नाम भी आते है। सम्राट अकबर ने अपनी नेक एवं बुद्धि से ऐसे कई नियम बनाएँ जो भारत की जनता के कल्याण के लिए बनाए गए। उनके द्वारा 'जजिया' जैसे कर को हटाना, आपसी प्रेम तथा मित्रता हेतु अन्य जनजातियों के साथ या फिर हिन्दू-मुसलमान के बीच शादी-ब्याह वगैरह कराना आदि का अभ्यास और मान्यता इसी के समय में हुई। फलस्वरूप आपसी बैर थोड़ी बहुत कम होने लगी।

भारत में ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की स्थापना सन् 1757 में 'पलासी युद्ध' के पश्चात् मानी जाती है जिसमें बंगाल के नवाब द्वारा अपना साम्राज्य अंग्रेजों को दे दिए गए थे। इसके पश्चात् धीरे-धीरे अंग्रेजों का व्यापारिक कम्पनी राजनीतिक सत्ता के रूप में सामने उभरकर आए। शुरुआती दौर में वे केवल एक व्यापारिक कम्पनी के रूप में ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी के तहत केवल व्यापार हेतु भारत में आए थे। जब उन्हें लगा की यहाँ के लोग बहुत ही भोले है और आपस में लड़ते रहते है। इनकी कमजोरियों को देखते हुए वे उन्हें अपने वश में करते गए और जनता को होश भी नहीं आए की कब और कैसे वे इनके आजीवन गुलाम भी बन गए। चूंकि भारत देश बहुत बड़ा था, यहाँ कई लोग रहा करते थे। हिन्दू, मुसलमान, ईसाई, सिख आदि सभी भारत देश के ही संतान है। इनके बीच भेदभाव अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य से शुरू हुई और शायद आज भी इस मसले पर हल नहीं मिल पाई है। अंग्रेजों द्वारा प्रतिपादित 'बांटो और राज करो' की योजना से भारत देश कई टुकड़ों में बंट गए। अगर हम भारत देश की नक्शा देखे तो इसमें पहले-पहल पाकिस्तान भी शामिल थे, नेपाल, म्यानमार जो अब बर्मा के नाम से जानते है, ये सभी भारत के ही अंग रहे हैं। हालांकि आज ये अलग रूप में है। अंग्रेजों के लिए 'बांटो और राज करो' योजना कारगर सिद्ध हुए। उन्हें पता चल गया की अगर वे भारतवासियों को टुकड़ों में बाँट दे तो इनकी सत्ता ढीली पड़ जाएगी और वे आसानी से इन्हें मूर्ख बना सकते है। वाकई में कुछ ऐसा ही हुआ। धीरे-धीरे अंग्रेजों का साम्राज्य पूरे भारत में फैल गए। देखते-ही-देखते समूचे भारत इनके अधीन हो गए। बस फिर क्या था, उनके द्वारा किए गए जुल्म का कहर चारों ओर फैलने लगे। जनता की हालत पहले से ही खराब थे, अब और अधिक हो गए। अंग्रेज लोग भारत देश की कच्चे मालों को विदेश ले जाकर उन्हें वस्तुओं में तब्दील करके यहाँ बहुत ज्यादा दामों में बेचा करते थे। उनके द्वारा प्रतिपादित 'धन की निकासी' इसी का जीता-जागता नमूना है। यहाँ का कच्चा माल बहुत ही कम दामों में निपटाकर उन्हें यहाँ भारत में बहुत ज्यादा दाम लगाकर बेचा करते थे। कविवर भारतेन्दु जी ने इसे इस प्रकार बताया है-

“अंग्रेज राज सुख साज, सजे सब भारी।

पै धन विदेश चलि जात, इहै अति खवारी।”

अर्थात् अंग्रेजों का राज, दिखने में सुखी-सम्पन्न लेकिन लोगों पर भारी पड़ा, वहीं यहाँ के धन विदेश जाता रहा और लोगों को इसकी भनक तक नहीं लगी। यही स्थिति रह गई है।

यहीं वह स्वर्णिम काल रहा जिस समय भारत माँ के वीर सुपुत्र महात्मा गांधी, सुभाष चन्द्र बोस, चन्द्र शेखर आजाद, लाला लाजपत राय, बाल गंगाधर तिलक, भगत सिंह, सुखदेव थापर, शिवाराम राजगुरु जैसे लोगों ने भारत माता को अंग्रेजों के चंगुल से बचाने का आजीवन प्रयास किया। इस क्रम में वे मारे भी गए। सबकी अपनी-अपनी विचारधाराएँ थी।

देश को आजाद कराने में लोगों ने अपना रास्ता चुना। कई देशभक्तों ने अहिंसा का मार्ग चुना तो कई लोगों ने बल प्रदर्शन का सहारा लिया। उनके अनुसार धैर्य से अंग्रेजों को भारत से नहीं भगाया जा सकता था। उनके खिलाफ सक्त-से-सक्त पेश आने पर ही वे यहाँ से जा सकते थे। ऐसे में इन देशभक्तों के बीच वे दो हिस्सों में बंट गए—अतिवादी या चरमपंथी तथा उदारवादी। दोनों ही पंथों ने अपने-अपने तरीके से अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ जंग लड़ना शुरू कर दिए।

इसी मध्य जनता के समक्ष हिन्दी के तमाम पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ सामने आने लगे जिसके माध्यम से जनता को अंग्रेजों की कूटनीति से अवगत कराया गया। पत्रकारिता के पिता 'राजा राम मोहन रॉय' को माने जाते हैं तथा हिन्दी पत्रों के जनक पंडित जुगल किशोर शुक्ल को माने जाते हैं। इनके द्वारा संपादित 'उदन्त मार्तण्ड' हिन्दी का पहला साप्ताहिक पत्र है जिसका प्रकाशन 30 मई 1826 में कलकत्ता से हुआ। इसके बाद मानों पत्र-पत्रिकाओं की बौछार सी आ गई जिसमें देश की दुर्दशा को दिखाई गई। ऐसे में अंग्रेजों द्वारा कई पत्रों को छपने से पहले ही बंद भी कराए गए। पत्रकारिता के संदर्भ में मशहूर शायर अकबर इलाहाबादी का यह कथन बहुत ही प्रसिद्ध है—

“खींचो न कमनों को न तलवार निकालो जब तोप मुकाबिल हो तो अखबार निकालो।”

अर्थात् पत्रकारिता के जरिए आप कुछ भी कर सकते हैं। शब्दों के माध्यम से लोगों को नींद से जगा सकते हो। ऐसे में तीर-कमान, तलवार या तोप की क्या आवश्यकता। इसके बिना ही कोई किसी से लड़ सकता है।

पंडित राजा राम मोहन रॉय द्वारा प्रकाशित 'बंगाल गजट' साल 1816 में प्रकाशित हुआ जो भारतीय भाषाओं का पहला समाचार पत्र था। इसका सम्पादन गंगाधर भट्टाचार्य द्वारा हुई। इसके अलावा राजा राम मोहन जी ने 'मिरातुल', 'संवाद', 'कौमुदी', 'बंगाल हेराल्ड' आदि पत्र का भी सम्पादन किए जिसमें देश की वास्तविक छवि का पुट मिलता है। इसके बाद हिन्दी के कई पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ आए जो मुख्य रूप से लोगों की चेतना को जगाने का कार्य किया, अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ उन्हें आवाज उठाने का हौसला दिया। इन पत्रों में शामिल हैं—उदन्त मार्तण्ड, सुधाकर, साम्यदंड, बुद्धि प्रकाश, प्रजाहितैषी, समाचार सुधा वर्षण, कवि वचन सुधा, अभ्युदय, शंखनाद, हलधर, युद्धवीर, क्रातिवीर, स्वदेश, नया हिंदुस्तान, कल्याण, बुंदेलखंड केसरी, मतवाला, सरस्वती, विप्लव, अलंकार, चाँद, हंस, प्रताप, सैनिक, क्रांति, बलिदान आदि हैं। इन पत्रों के माध्यम से लोगों के मन-मस्तिष्क को एक प्रकार से झकजोड़ दिए गए ताकि लोग अपने नींद से जग जाए। लोगों के समक्ष शब्दों के शोले भर-भरकर संदेश भेजे गए। उस समय की मांग कुछ ऐसे ही थी जब लोग अपने ही देश में मजदूरी करने की नौबत आ जाए, किसान की खेती चीन ली जाए, शिक्षा-दिक्षा हेतु कठिन-से-कठिन परीक्षाओं का सामना करना पड़े या शिक्षा पद्धति ही बदल दिया जाए जहाँ कोई साधारण मनुष्य पढ़ाई ही नहीं कर सकते। ऐसे में विरोध नहीं कर पाए तो और कब होंगे। हालांकि इन पत्रों का अपनी

उग्र लेखन के लिए अंग्रेज सत्ता का कोपभाजन भी होना पड़ा। कई पत्रों के ऊपर जुर्माना तथा प्रतिबंध लगाए गए जिनमें प्रमुख रूप से स्वदेश, अभ्युदय, प्रताप, नया हिंदुस्तान, क्रांति, विप्लव आदि आते हैं। यहीं वह युग है जहाँ कई बड़े-बड़े हस्तियों ने अपने वतन को बचाते-बचाते प्राण न्योछावर कर दिए। उनके द्वारा कही गई अनमोल बातें अब भी भारतवासियों को हौसला देते हैं। सुभाष चन्द्र बोस का यह कथन-

“तुम मुझे खून दो, मैं तुम्हें आजादी दूंगा।”

वहीं लोकमान्य तिलक का यह वक्तव्य -

“स्वराज्य मेरा जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार है।”

भगत सिंह का यह कथन-

“जिन्दा रहने की हसरत मेरी भी है, पर मैं कैद रहकर अपना जीवन नहीं बिताना चाहता।”

उन्हीं के शब्दों में -

“मरकर भी मेरे दिल से वतन की उल्फत नहीं निकलेगी,
मेरी मिट्टी से भी वतन की खुशबू आएगी।”

स्वाधीनता संग्राम की इसी कड़ी में अपने पुण्य भूमि भारत माँ के कई वीर सुपुत्र मारे गए। उनका नाम इतिहास के पन्नों में स्वर्णिम अक्षरों में लिख दिए गए। हालांकि कई ऐसे गुमनाम नायक भी रहें हैं जिनके नाम इतिहास के पन्नों में दर्ज ही नहीं हुआ। इस पर अब शोध चल रही है। इसी क्रम में कई गुमनाम नायकों को शामिल भी कर दिए हैं। इस संग्राम में देश के सभी जनता एकजुट होकर अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ लड़ाई लड़े। पत्र-पत्रिकाओं के माध्यम से लोग अपने कुल, रंग, रूप आदि भुलाकर एकत्व के बंधन में बंध गए। अपनी कमजोरियों को भुलाकर देश को बचाने में लग गए। बड़े-बूढ़े, युवक-युवतियाँ, किसान-मजदूर, राजा-रंक सभी एक हुए और आजादी की पहली लड़ाई सन् 1857 की संग्राम में कूद पड़े। झाँसी की रानी लक्ष्मीबाई, तांतिया टोपे, महात्मा गांधी, सुभाष चन्द्र बोस, लाल बहादुर शास्त्री, भगत सिंह, लाला लाजपत राय, दादा भाई नौरोजी, बाल गंगाधर तिलक, सुखदेव, मंगल पांडे, चन्द्र शेखर आजाद आदि भारत देश के ही वीर सुपुत्र एवं सुपुत्री रहें जो आजादी की लड़ाई में अहम भूमिका निभाई। हालांकि इसमें देशवासियों को सफलता की प्राप्ति तो नहीं हुई परंतु यह अंग्रेजों के प्रति एक जोरदार तमाचा रहा। अब उन्हें एहसास होने लगे की उनका यहाँ टिकना खतरों से खाली नहीं है। धीरे-धीरे अंग्रेजों का रुख भारतियों के प्रति थोड़ी बहुत नरम होने लगी। उनके हित के लिए कुछ परियोजनाएँ तैयार करने लगे। फिर भी वे भारत छोड़ने को तैयार नहीं हुए। उस समय भी हिन्दी पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ अपना काम कर ही रही थी। लोगों को अपने लेखनी से प्रभावित करता रहा, लोगों को अपने मार्ग से भ्रमित होने नहीं दिया। अपने वतन के

प्रति प्रेम सदैव जगने दिया। उस समय भारत के राष्ट्र पिता महात्मा गांधी जी ने देश में 'रामराज्य' की कल्पना की थी। ऐसा देश जिसका भगवान स्वयं मर्यादा पुरुषोत्तम राम होगा, जहाँ किसी भी प्रकार की भेदभाव नहीं होंगे, सब मिलकर रहेंगे। पर अंग्रेजी लोग यहाँ से जाते-जाते 'बांटो और राज करो' की नीति सौंपकर चले गए। परिणामस्वरूप देश को आजादी 15 अगस्त 1947 में मिल तो गई परंतु देश कई टुकड़ों में बंट गए। पाकिस्तान, नेपाल, म्यानमार (अब बर्मा) अलग हो गए। यहीं अलगाव दुश्मनी में परिणत हुए और आज भी इस दुश्मनी का हल नहीं हो पाए। भाई-भाई एक दूसरे से बिछड़ गए और मुल्क को लेकर लड़ने लगे। 'रामराज्य' की कल्पना मात्र कल्पना बनकर रह गई। आज स्थिति ऐसी है की हम एक दूसरे से ही लड़ रहे हैं, भ्रष्टाचार, साम्प्रदायिक तनाव बढ़ते ही जा रहे हैं।

फिर भी हम स्वाधीनता संग्राम में हिन्दी पत्र-पत्रिकाओं की भूमिका को नहीं भूल सकते। यह वह सशक्त हथियार रहा है जिसके जरिए भारतवासियों के मस्तिष्क में देश के प्रति प्रेम भावना और अंग्रेजों के झांसे में नहीं पड़ने की नसीहत देती थी। उनकी कूटनीति को अच्छी तरीके से उभार कर लाती थी। इसी के बदौलत जनता को यह मालूम हुआ की अंग्रेज केवल उन पर जुल्म कर रहे है, उनके लिए कुछ भी अच्छा नहीं है। इसके अभाव में तो शायद ही देश को आजाद कराने में सैंकड़ों वर्ष लग जाते। अतः इसे हम अस्वीकार नहीं कर सकते। जिन आवाजों को दबा दिए गए थे, उसी के आस-पास अन्य कोई आवाज उठाने लगे। ऐसा करते-करते समस्त राष्ट्र जग गए और अंततः अंग्रेजों को अपने मुल्क से बाहर करने में कामयाबी हासिल किए। अतः स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति हेतु हिन्दी पत्र-पत्रिकाओं की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही है तथा इसे भारतीय इतिहास के पन्नों में अंकित भी किए गए हैं।

संदर्भ ग्रंथ

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भारत के राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन में उर्दू सहाफ़त का योगदान

हर्षवर्धन पाण्डे

भारत में उर्दू पत्रकारिता की शुरुआत फारसी पत्रकारिता से हुई। फारसी और उर्दू भाषा की लिपि एक ही थी, इसलिए उर्दू के प्रचार-प्रसार में फ़ारसी का बहुत बड़ा योगदान है। उर्दू, जिसका विकास दिल्ली के आस-पास के क्षेत्रों के साथ-साथ हिंदुस्तान के कुछ हिस्सों में एक साथ हुआ। इसे साधु-संतों और सूफियों ने परवान चढ़ाया। इसमें अरबी, फारसी, हिंदी, संस्कृत और तुर्की भाषा के बेशुमार शब्द शामिल थे। हिन्दी में जिन लोगों को 'पत्रकार' कहा जाता है उर्दू में उन्हें 'सहाफ़ी' कहा जाता है। अठारहवीं शताब्दी के मध्य तक अधिकांश सरकारी कार्य और आधिकारिक विज्ञप्तियां फ़ारसी में लिखी जाती थी। इस दौरान उर्दू भाषा को फ़ारसी भाषा के खिलाफ़ कड़ा संघर्ष करना पड़ा। फ़ोर्ट विलियम कॉलेज, कलकत्ता में लेखकों और कवियों के एक बड़े वर्ग द्वारा उर्दू भाषा के विकास किया गया और बड़ी संख्या में उर्दू की क़िताबों, उर्दू शब्दकोश और गद्य पुस्तकों का संयोजन और संकलन भी किया गया। उस दौर के अंग्रेज़ अधिकारी फ़ारसी भाषा को मुग़ल संप्रभुता का प्रतीक मानते थे इसलिए उन्होंने फ़ारसी भाषा के स्थान पर उर्दू भाषा को आधिकारिक भाषा के रूप में मान्यता देने का निर्णय लिया। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रथम दशक में आते-आते उर्दू का प्रभाव देश में बढ़ने लगा।

उर्दू पत्रकारिता का इतिहास

ऐसा कहा जाता है उर्दू का प्रथम पत्र 'हिन्दुस्तानी' 1910 में कलकत्ता से प्रकाशित हुआ। इसके प्रकाशक इकरामुद्दीन थे। उर्दू पत्रकारिता का प्रारंभ राजा राममोहन राय के प्रगतिशील विचार, राष्ट्रीय चेतना और जनतांत्रिक उद्घोष के साथ ही हुआ। दिल्ली से 1912 में 'नक़ीबे हमदर्द' के नाम से एक अखबार का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। जुलाई 1912 में मौलाना अबुल कलाम आज़ाद ने कलकत्ता से साप्ताहिक पत्रिका 'अल-हिलाल' का भी प्रकाशन हुआ जिसने जनता में आज़ादी की अलख जगाने का काम किया।

कलकत्ता से 21 मार्च, 1822 को उर्दू पत्रकारिता के सफ़र की शुरुआत हरिहर दत्त ने 'जामे जहनुमा' नामक पत्र से की। हरिहर ईस्ट इण्डिया कंपनी में एक कर्मचारी थे। उस दौर में उर्दू-फारसी के बेहतरीन लेख, सरकारी रिपोर्टों के प्रकाशन, खबरों की बेहतरीन ढंग से प्रस्तुति और पाठक के विचार रखने के लिए जगह उपलब्ध करवाई थी। इसने दिल्ली के एक

अंग्रेज अफसर के खिलाफ मुगल बादशाह के दरबार में गुस्ताखी करने पर एक खास रिपोर्ट का प्रकाशन किया, जिससे खफा होकर इस अंग्रेज अफसर ने इसकी शिकायत अपने से बड़े अधिकारियों से कर डाली। तत्कालीन ब्रिटिश के चीफ सेक्रेटरी विलियम बी. बैले ने इस अखबार की खबरों पर निरंतर अपनी नजरें बनाये रखी और उन्होंने कहा कि यह अखबार ब्रिटिश सरकार के खिलाफ बगावती खतरा पैदा कर सकता है। ब्रिटिश सरकार की तरफ से देश के आंतरिक मामलों में जब हस्तक्षेप तेजी से बढ़ने लगा तो मजहबी गुलामी के खतरे भी पैदा होने लगे। इस कसमसाहट के बीच जब लोगों को इस बात की जानकारी मिली कि अंग्रेजी हुकूमत द्वारा गाय और सूअर के मांस एवं हड्डियों का इस्तेमाल रोजमर्रा के काम भारतीय सैनिकों से जुड़ी यह खबर भी आम हो गयी कि सैनिकों द्वारा इस्तेमाल की जा रही बंदूकों की गोलियों में गायों और सूअरों की चर्बी का इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है जिसका इस्तेमाल भारतीय सैनिक गोली चलाते समय अपने मुंह से कारतूस को खोलने किया करते थे। इसे लेकर मुल्क भर के लोगों के साथ भारतीय सिपाहियों में भी एक बैचेनी फैल गयी। सबसे पहले मंगल पांडेय और उनके साथियों ने इसका बहिष्कार किया। अप्रैल, 1957 को मंगल पाण्डेय और उनके साथी को फांसी दे दी गयी और इस घटना के तुरंत बाद मौलाना मोहम्मद बाकर ने साप्ताहिक उर्दू 'देलही अखबार' का एक विशेष अंक इन घटनाओं के विरोध में निकाला जिसके चलते 16 सितंबर, 1857 को अंग्रेजों ने मौलाना मोहम्मद बाकर को मौत की सजा सुनाई गई। मौलवी मोहम्मद बाकर की शहादत के साथ 'देलही उर्दू' अखबार का प्रकाशन भी बंद हो गया। कई लोग इसे उर्दू का पहला अखबार नहीं मानते।

'देलही उर्दू अखबार' को कुछ लोग पहला उर्दू अखबार मानते हैं, जिसकी शुरुआत जून 1936 में हुई थी जबकि सैयद मोहम्मद खां की 'सेयदुल अखबार' उर्दू का पहला अखबार है। जी.डी. चंदन ने अपने किताब 'जामे जहनुमा' को उर्दू का पहला समाचारपत्र मानते हैं। राजा राममोहन राय भी अपने पत्र 'ब्रह्ममेनिकल मैगजीन (अंग्रेजी, 1821), संवाद कौमुदी' (बंगला, 1820) और 'मिरातुल अखबार (फारसी, 1822) के जरिये ब्रिटिश सरकार राजनैतिक नीतियों को आम जनता के सामने रखने का काम किया। 1835 में संयुक्त प्रांत के लखनऊ से रज्जबअली द्वारा प्रकाशित 'सुल्तानुल अखबार' फ़ारसी के प्रमुख समाचार पत्रों में से था। संयुक्त प्रांत से उर्दू के प्रारंभिक पत्र-पत्रिकाओं पर इसका व्यापक प्रभाव था। संयुक्त प्रांत में प्रथम उर्दू अखबार 1833 में आगरा से प्रकाशित हुआ। इसका नाम 'मौफ़सिल अखबार' था। इसके संपादक पीटर सान्डर नामक इसाई मिशनरी थे। 1837 में 'खैरख्वाहे हिंद' नामक उर्दू पत्र का प्रकाशन बनारस से प्रारंभ हुआ। इसके संपादक पादरी सरसान थे। 1842 में हसन अली महशार ने लखनऊ से 'जलाली' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ किया। 1845 में लखनऊ से 'अहमदी' नामक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ किया। 1846 से लखनऊ से 'ख्याली' नामक पत्रिका तथा आगरा से 'सदरूल' अखबार नामक पत्र छपना शुरू हुआ इसका मुख्य उद्देश्य छात्रों में जागृत करना था। कुछ वर्षों बाद इसका नाम बदलकर

‘अखबार-उल-हकायक’ रख दिया गया और इसके संपादक फैलेन नामक एक अंग्रेज बने। 1847 में मेरठ से ‘जाम-ए-जमशेद’ नामक पहला उर्दू का अखबार का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। इसमें राजनीतिक समाचारों को प्रमुखता दी जाती थी। आगरा से ‘जाम-ए-जमशेद’ नाम का अखबार प्रकाशित होने पर मेरठ वाले ‘जाम-ए-जमशेद’ का नाम बदलकर ‘जाम-ए-जहांनुमा’ कर दिया गया। इसी वर्ष बरेली में बरेली स्कूल के अधीक्षक ट्रेगियर ने ‘उमदूत अल अखबार’ का प्रकाशन शुरू किया। मौलवी अब्दुल रहमान इसके प्रथम संपादक थे। बनारस में इसी को ‘बनारस गजट’ नाम से अखबार का प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ हुआ। 1849 में आगरा से ‘बुलबुल’ अखबार तथा ‘अखबार-उन-नवाह’, मेरठ से ‘मिताहुल अखबार’ (समाचार प्रधान) तथा बनारस में ‘बागो बहार’ और 1850 में बनारस से ‘सयूरीने हिंद’, आफ़ताबे हिंद’, आगरा से प्रकाशित ‘नूरूल अवसार’ नामक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1851 में लखनऊ से ‘तिलस्में लखनऊ’ नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। सरकार विरोधी घोषणाओं को प्रकाशित करके यह आम जान में काफी लोकप्रिय हो गया, किंतु विद्रोह की समाप्ति के बाद सरकार ने इसका प्रकाशन बंद कर दिया। 1852 में ‘सिहरे सामरी लखनऊ’ का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ जो सरकार विरोधी समाचारों के छापने के चलते बंद हो गया। 1853 में आगरा से ‘मज़हरूल सरूर’ नामक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। अजीमुल्ला खान ने 8 फरवरी, 1857 को ‘पायामे आजादी’ के नाम से हिंदी और उर्दू भाषा में एक पत्र प्रकाशित किया, जिसने एक अलग ही चिंगारी अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ जलाई। यह एक ऐसा शोला था जिसने अपनी प्रखर एवं तेजस्वी वाणी से लोगों में स्वतंत्रता का प्रदीप्त स्वर फूँका, जिससे अंग्रेजी हुकूमत घबरा उठी और इसे बंद कराने के लिये कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ी। इसने इस पत्र की प्रतियों को जब्त कर लिया और जिनके पास भी इसकी प्रतियां मिल जाती, ब्रिटिश सरकार उन पर राष्ट्रद्रोह का मुकदमा लगाकर जेल में बंद कर देती।

1858 में कानपुर से ‘भोलयेतूर’ नामक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। सन् 1859 में मुकुंद लाल ने आगरा से मासिक पत्रिका ‘तारीखे बगावते हिंद’ प्रकाशित किया जिसमें सिर्फ 1857 की क्रांति में हुए महत्वपूर्ण घटनाओं और उनके नायकों के किस्से प्रकाशित किये जाते थे। 1859 में लखनऊ से ‘अवध अखबार’ नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसके संपादक मुंशी नवल किशोर थे। कुछ वर्ष पश्चात यह दैनिक पत्र भी बन होने को मजबूर हो गया। ‘अवध पंच’ का प्रकाशन ‘अवध अखबार’ के कई वर्ष बाद प्रकाशित होना प्रारंभ हुआ किंतु वह जनसाधारण में अधिक लोकप्रिय था। 1861 में इटावा से ‘मुहब्बायेरियाया’ प्रकाशित हुआ। आगरा से शिवनारायण के संपादन में ‘मुफ़ीदइ खलायिक’ नामक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। ‘आफ़ताबे आलमताब’ आगरा का अन्य प्रमुख पत्र था। जनवरी 1861 में सिकन्दरा (आगरा) से ‘खैरखाहे खलाइक’ नामक उर्दू मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ हुआ। इसका उद्देश्य हिन्दुओं व मुसलमानों में ईसाई धर्म के प्रति विश्वास पैदा करना था। 1865 में आगरा से ही ‘आबेहयात-ए-हिन्द’ नामक मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1866

में अलीगढ़ से सर सैयद अहमद खान ने 'अलीगढ़ इंस्टीट्यूट गजट' के नाम से अंग्रेजी और उर्दू में एक पत्र प्रकाशित किया जिसने खासतौर से प्रेस की आजादी और ब्रिटिश सरकार के राजनीतिक एजेंडे को आम लोगों के समक्ष रखने का कार्य किया। लाहौर से 'अखबारे आम', 'रहबरे-हिंद', 'आगरा अखबार', 'कैसूरुल अखबार', 'अकमलुल-अखबार' भी इस दौर क्ले प्रमुख अखबार थे जिन्होंने उर्दू से ब्रिटिश सरकार के खिलाफ बगावत का झंडा बुलंद किया। 1868 में मेरठ से मिर्जा मुहम्मद बजाइन अली खान के संपादक में 'अखबारे आलम' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ जिसमें राजनीतिक समाचारों के अलावा सामाजिक व धार्मिक लेखों को प्रमुखता दी जाती थी। इसी वर्ष इलाहाबाद से 'मकाजाने मसीही' नामक मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन जो ईसाई धर्म का प्रचार प्रसार करता था। 1869 में इलाहाबाद में 'आइना-ए-इल्म' तथा मेरठ से 'म्योर गजट' का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1870 में 'तहजीब उल अखलाक' में विविध प्रकार की सामग्री होती थी। मुस्लिम समाज में इसका विशेष प्रभाव, 1883 में लखनऊ से 'हिन्दुस्तानी' नामक पत्र का छपना शुरू हुआ। 1871 में लखनऊ से फरहत अली के संपादन में 'कौकाबे हिंद' तथा आगरा से हिन्दी व उर्दू मिश्रित भाषा में 'आगरा अखबार' साप्ताहिक का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1873 में लखनऊ से 'अखबार-ए-अंजुमने-हिंद' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन आरंभ हुआ। लखनऊ से ही 1874 में मुंशी अनवर हुसैन के संपादन में 'मुरक्काये तहजीब', 'अखबारे तमन्नार', 'सरिश्ते तालीम' प्रकाशित हुआ। 1876 में मुहम्मद तेग बहादुर के संपादन में 'अनवारूल अखबार', मथुरा से 'नय्यर अजाम' का भी प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1878 में इलाहाबाद से प्रथम जातिवादी मासिक पत्र 'कायस्थ समाचार' का प्रकाशन हुआ। 1879 में लखनऊ से मुंशी गुलनाम मुहम्मद ताबिश के संपादन में 'मुशीरि कैसर' का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1885 में इलाहाबाद के 'रिफाटे आम कड़ा' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। एक वर्ष बाद इसका नाम 'हामी हिंद कड़ा' हो गया। इसी वर्ष गोरखपुर से 'रियाजुल अखबार' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1888 में 'कड़ा पंच' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र अपना शुरू हुआ। इसी वर्ष मिर्जापुर से 'अखबारे चुनार' का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। दिल्ली व लखनऊ में अमीरों व नवाबों के यहाँ 'तरह का मिसरा' समस्याओं पर गज़ल लिखने की परम्परा थी। 1885 में कलकत्ता से 'गुलस्तये नातीजये सुखून' निकला। लखनऊ में हिन्दुस्तानी प्रेस से 'पयामेयर' नामक 'गुलदस्ता' निकला। इसी परम्परा में 'तोहफये इश्शाक' प्रमुख था। 1889 में कन्नौज से मुंशी रहमत अली के संपादन में 'पयामे आशिक' तथा गोरखपुर से 'इत्रेफितना' का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ।

सुप्रसिद्ध क्रान्तिकारी सूफ़ी अम्बा प्रसाद ने 1890 में मुरादाबाद में सुदर्शन प्रेस से 'सितार-ए-हिंद' नामक मासिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ किया। 'सितार-ए-हिंद' सरकार का कट्टर विरोधी था। 'सितारे हिंद' पर सरकार की कोप दृष्टि होते ही उन्होंने 'जाम्युल-अलूम' तथा उसके बाद 'चारपुंज' नाम से पत्र निकालना शुरू किया। इन्हीं दिनों फिरोजाबाद से सैय्यद

अक्रबर अली के संपादन में 'अदीब' मासिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1890 में ही लखनऊ से शौकत जाफ़री के संपादन 'शौकत जाफ़री अखबार' नामक मासिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1893 में लखनऊ से मौलवी अब्दुल हलीम शरर ने 'दिल गुदाज़' नामक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ किया। 1898 में लखनऊ से ही 'खदगेनजर' नामक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ हुआ। 1895 में इलाहाबाद के जगन्नाथ शर्मा के संपादन में 'आयने तंदुरूस्ती' नामक मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। यह लीथो प्रेस में छपती थी। 1896 में बनारस में 'अदसीर आजम प्रेस' से वली मुहम्मद के संपादन में 'अल रफ़ीक' पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। इसी वर्ष मुरादाबाद से 'रहबर' नामक मासिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ।

1903 में मुरादाबाद से मज़हर 'रिज़वी के संपादन में 'मुखबिरे आलम', नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1903 में 'जर्मीदार पत्र का प्रकाशन लाहौर से हुआ। इसी वर्ष बदायूँ में निज़ामी प्रेस सोथा से जगालुद्दीन मुनीस के संपादन में 'ज़ुल्फकारनेन' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1903 में अलीगढ़ में 'उर्दू-ए-मुअल्ला' नामक मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1907 में इलाहाबाद से 'स्वराज्य' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ हुआ। 1907 में संयुक्त प्रांत से 153 नये पत्रों का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ जिसमें 89 पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ उर्दू की थीं। इसी वर्ष कानपुर से मुंशी दया नारायण निगम के संपादन में 'जमाना' मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1908 में 'अवध अखबार', 'उर्दू-ए-मुअल्ला', 'स्वराज्य' तथा 'अवध पंच' में आपत्तिजनक लेखों को प्रकाशन के आरोप में उनके संपादकों को चेतावनी दी गयी। इसी वर्ष आपत्तिजनक लेखों के प्रकाशन के आरोप में 'स्वराज्य' के संपादक शांति नारायण भटनागर को साढ़े तीन वर्ष के कठोर कारावास का दंड दिया गया। 1911 में इलाहाबाद में इंडियन प्रेस से 'अदीब' नामक बच्चों की मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1912 में मदीना प्रेस बिजनौर से सैय्यद अख्तर के संपादन में 'मदीना' अर्द्ध साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। सन् 1913 में अमेरिका से 'गदर' नामक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन लाला हरदयाल ने किया। भारत से बाहर रहने वाले भारतीयों को स्वतंत्रता संग्राम से जोड़ने में इस अखबार ने एक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। बाद में इस पत्रिका का नाम हिंदुस्तान गदर रख दिया गया। लखनऊ से मौलाना अब्दुल बारी के संपादन में 'हमदम' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र छपना प्रारंभ हुआ था। वहीं 1914 में लखनऊ 'जीव मैनेजिंग ट्रस्ट' की ओर से 'अलवयाज़' नामक मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसमें इस्लाम धर्म के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर खोजपूर्ण लेख प्रकाशित होते थे। 1915 में शिबली अकादमी आजमगढ़ के संरक्षण में आरिफ़ प्रेस से 'मारिफ़' नामक पत्रिका का छपना शुरू हुआ। 1919 में लखनऊ से 'हकीकत' समाचार-पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ हुआ। 1922 में मदीना प्रेस बिजनौर से 'गुन्चा' नामक मासिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1924 में आगरा के दयालबाग प्रेस से बालकृष्ण सक्सेना के संपादन में 'प्रेस प्रचारक' नामक उर्दू साप्ताहिक पत्र छपना शुरू हुआ। 1925 में अखिल भारतीय शिया सम्मेलन में लखनऊ से 'सरफ़राज' और 'जमीयत-उल-उलमाये

हिन्द' ने 'अल ज़मीयत' पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ किया। इसी वर्ष सहारनपुर से 'सदाक़त' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 1926 में अलीगढ़ से 'सुहेल' नामक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। 'सुलहकुल' (गोरखपुर), मशरिक्क (गोरखपुर), 'निजाब' (बिजनौर), 'डेली सहीफ़ा' (कानपुर), 'आइना' (मेरठ), 'आलमगीर' (मेरठ), 'आजाद' (कानपुर) दैनिक समाचार-पत्र इस काल के प्रमुख उर्दू पत्र थे। 1930 में इलाहाबाद से मुंशी कन्हैयालाल के संपादन में 'चाँद' नामक उर्दू मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन हुआ। इसी वर्ष 'हिंदुस्तानी ऐकेडमी' ने 'हिन्दुस्तानी' नामक त्रैमासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ किया। 1931 में कानपुर में कर्नलगंज स्थित इंतजामी प्रेस से 'गरीब' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसके संपादक व प्रकाशक शौकत अली भोपाली थे। यह पत्र प्रारंभ में साम्यवादी विचारधारा से प्रभावित था। इसी वर्ष लखनऊ के सरफ़राज कौमी प्रेस से 'हरीम' नामक पाक्षिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसमें घरेलू कामकाज की सामग्री के अतिरिक्त नारी स्वतंत्रता तथा स्त्री शिक्षा पर उच्च कोटि के लेख प्रकाशित होते थे। इसके संपादक व प्रकाशक एस.एस. नसीम थे। 1932 में सरायनाहा (बदायूँ) के आला प्रेस से 'मोमिन' नामक मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसी वर्ष सहारनपुर के बर्की प्रेस से 'मोहकीक' नामक पाक्षिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन वजीर हसन शमीम के संपादन में प्रारंभ हुआ। 'मोहकीक' में चिकित्सा तथा स्वास्थ्य संबंधी लेख प्रकाशित होते थे। 1933 में बिजनौर में सिविल लाइन्स स्थित भूमि प्रेस से 'ऋषि' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन ईश्वरशरण वेद के संपादन में प्रारंभ हुआ। इसी वर्ष मुरादाबाद में 'जिद्दत' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन मिर्जा तियाब बेग के संपादन में प्रारंभ हुआ। इसमें राजनीतिक समाचारों के अतिरिक्त साहित्य, धर्म, दर्शन तथा कला पर विविध प्रकार की सामग्री प्रकाशित होती थी। 1933 में ही गोरखपुर स्थित मुराद प्रेस से अब्दुल मजीद के संपादन में 'मुराद' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1936 में हरदोई से 'तजन' नामक साहित्यिक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। 1939 में रामपुर स्थित नसरूल्ला बाज़ार के नाजिम प्रेस से एम. अली. खाँ के संपादन में 'नाजिम' नामक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसी वर्ष अलीगढ़ रियाज हिंद प्रेस से 'शबाब' नामक साहित्यिक पत्र का प्रकाशन जमाल साबरी के संपादन में प्रारंभ हुआ। 1940 में बरेली के दर्जी चौक स्थित एलाइट प्रेस से 'रोहिलखंड अखबार' का प्रकाशन तेगबहादुर सिन्हा के संपादन में शुरू हुआ। इसमें राजनीतिक दलों सरकार तथा राष्ट्रीय घटनाओं पर निर्भीकतापूर्वक टिप्पणी की जाती थी। अलीगढ़ से 1941 लीडोकोला प्रिन्टर्स से 'हमारी ज़ुबान' नामक साप्ताहिक-पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इस पत्र का मुख्य उद्देश्य उर्दू भाषा का प्राचर-प्रसार करना था। 1945 में पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने लखनऊ के हेराल्ड प्रेस से 'कौमी आवाज़' नामक दैनिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ किया जिसने आजादी के समय साम्प्रदायिक सौहार्द, हिंदू-मुस्लिम एकता बनाए रखने और स्वतंत्र भारत की लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली तथा स्वशासन के अधिकार के प्रति लोगों को सजग करने में एक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। इसी वर्ष लखनऊ से चौधरी खालिकुज्जमा ने 'तनवीर' नामक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू किया। 1945 में ही कानपुर में हुमायूँ

बांग स्थित पैगाम प्रेस से 'पैगाम' नामक दैनिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसके संपादक व प्रकाशक वजीउद्दीन थे। 1946 में कानपुर में ही चमनगंज स्थित आवाजे वतन प्रेस से अशरफ़ हुसैन के संपादन में 'हमारी आवाज़' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसमें मज़दूर किसान हरिजन तथा स्त्रियों की स्थिति सुधारने के लिए उच्च स्तरीय लेखों का प्रकाशन होता था। 1947 में बदायूँ में परवाना प्रेस से 'हमारी आवाज़' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ। इसी वर्ष रामपुर में 'अनहसनत' नामक मासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ हुआ। इसमें प्रमुख रूप से धर्म एवं दर्शन संबंधी लेखों का प्रकाशन होता था।

आमजन के बीच गूँजे उर्दू शायरियों के तराने

यदि 'वदे मातरम्' युवाओं राष्ट्रीयता की वेदी पर बलिदान होने के लिए प्रेरित कर रहा था तो 'इनकलाब जिंदाबाद' का नारा भी था, जो देश में क्रांति का प्रेरक बल बन गया था। सरफरोशी की तमन्ना अब हमारे दिल में है। देखना है जोर कितना बाजू-ए-कातिल में है

1857 की क्रांति ने अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ जो गजब का माहौल बनाया था, उसे उर्दू शायरी ने अंग्रेज दुश्मनी में बदल दिया। ग़ालिब और मीर ने भी गुलाम भारत का नक्शा अपनी उर्दू शायरी में पेश किया और कुछ ऐसे शेर कहे जिसे लोगों पर गहरा असर डाला। दिल्ली की बदहाली और परेशानियों का जिक्र करते हुए मीर तक़ी मीर ने लिखा:

दिल्ली में आज भीख भी नहीं मिलती उन्हें।
था कल तक दिमाग जिन्हें तख्त-ओ-ताज का।।
दिल्ली जो एक शहर था आलम में इतिखाबा
रहते थे मुंतख़िब ही जहां रोजगार के।।
जिसको फ़लक ने लूट के वीरान कर दिया।
हम रहने वाले हैं उसी उजड़े दयार के।।

स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के समय जिन भारतीय भाषाओं ने देशवासियों को एक धागे में बांधने का कारनामा किया, उनमें उर्दू शीर्ष पर है। यह वही मीठी, दिलकश जुबान थी जिसके लेखन, भाषण और शायरी ने भारतीयों के दिलों को छूने, आजादी के असली मायने समझाने और अंग्रेजों के अत्याचार से आगाह करने के साथ उनकी नयीनयी साजिशों का पर्दाफाश - करने का काम किया और स्वतंत्रता का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया।

वतन की फिक्र कर नादां, क़यामत आने वाली है।
तेरी बरबादियों के मशविरे हैं आसमानों में।।
न समझोगे तो मिट जाओगे, ऐ हिंदोस्ताँ वालों।
तुम्हारी दास्ताँ तक भी, न होगी दास्तानों में।।

स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के समय धार्मिक एकता, भाईचारा, स्वतंत्रता और देशभक्ति की ऐसी झंकार उर्दू शायरी में सुनाई पड़ती थी, जिसने इंकलाब की शमा भारतीयों के दिलों में जला दी। उर्दू साहित्य ने लोगों को वह सलीका दिया जिससे सोए हुए और निराश लोगों में उम्मीद की शमा रोशन हो गई। इकबाल के जरिए देशभक्ति से लबरज और अंग्रेज विरोधी भावनाओं पर शायरी पढ़कर भी लोगों में एक जुनून पैदा हुआ। जब गांधीजी ने असहयोग आंदोलन चलाया तो हसरत मोहानी और अदम लखनवी जैसे राष्ट्रवादियों की शायरी ने भी लोगों को जागरूक करने का काम किया। यह वह दौर था जब उर्दू शायरी में क्रांति की आग दिख रही थी।

'वतन की फिक्र कर नादां, कयामत आने वाली है। तेरी बरबादियों के मशवरे हैं आसमानों में' जैसे आह्वान समाचार-पत्रों में प्रकाशित होते थे। यह रचना किसी भी भारतीय को उत्तेजित करने वाली है और उसको देश की आजादी के लिए संघर्ष की प्रेरणा देने वाली है। प्रेमचंद, सआदत हसन मंटो, अली अब्बास हुसैनी, कृष्ण चन्द्र, इस्मत चुगताई और राजेंद्र सिंह बेदी आदि ऐसे नाम हैं, जिन्होंने उर्दू में अपने अनन्त लेखन से देश की स्वतंत्रता का झंडा बुलंद किया। उन्होंने अपने लेखों से अंग्रेजों की साजिशों के बारे में आगाह किया। उसी दौर में अखबार और पत्रिकाओं ने भी अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभाई और लोगों में स्वतंत्रता की भावना पैदा स्वतंत्रता संग्राम की लड़ाई में उर्दू अखबारों ने हिंदुस्तान की जंग-ए-आजादी में बढ़-चढ़ कर भाग लिया। उस समय उर्दू में लिखने वाले प्रसिद्ध लेखकों पंडित त्रिभुवन नाथ ज़ार देहल्वी, मुंशी सज्जाद हुसैन, नवाब सैयद मुहम्मद आज़ाद, ज्वाला प्रसाद बर्क, मुंशी अहमद अली कस्मण्डवी, अकबर इलाहाबादी, अहमद अली शौक, हिज़्र और मिर्जा मच्छू बेग सितमजरीफ़ आदि को भी अंग्रेजों की ओर से कष्ट झेलना पड़ा। मौलाना हसरत मोहानी का "उर्दू-ए-मुअल्ला", मुंशी सज्जाद हुसैन का "अवध पंज", मौलाना मुहम्मद अली जौहर के "काम्रेड" और "हमदर्द", मौलाना अबुल कलाम आज़ाद के "अल-हिलाल" और "अल-बलाग़", ज़फ़र अली खान का "ज़मीनदार" आदि ऐसे समाचारपत्र थे जिन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई में बढ़-चढ़ कर भाग लिया। इसी प्रकार स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के अन्य कलम के सिपाहियों मौलाना अब्दुल मजीद सालिक, मौलवी नज़ीर अहमद सीमाब, हाफ़िज़ सैयद अहमद, पंडित राम शरण, क़ाज़ी मुहम्मद अदील अब्बासी, मौलवी फ़ज़ल मुहम्मद खां, लाला डोगर अली, लाल शाह, हाफ़िज़ मुहम्मद अहमद खान, अल्लाह दिया आदि को भी अंग्रेजों ने बड़ी कठिन डगर पर चलने को मजबूर किया।

उपसंहार

उर्दू के पत्र-पत्रिकाओं ने भी भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में अपना महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया। उर्दू पत्रकारिता का प्रारंभ हिन्दी पत्रकारिता के पहले तथा फ़ारसी पत्रकारिता के बाद फ़ारसी पत्रकारिता से हुआ। देश की आजादी की लड़ाई में उर्दू के लेखक और कवि अन्य भाषाओं के लेखकों और कवियों से पीछे नहीं रहे। इनमें अक़बर इलाहाबादी, इक़बाल चक वस्त, प्रेमचंद, जोश बाबू, दीनानाथ, हसरत मोहानी, शांति नारायण भटनागर, मौलाना अबुल

कलाम आज़ाद, अली बंधु और ज़फ़र अली ख़ान इत्यादि की पत्रकारिता को विशेष रूप से महत्व है। भारत में राष्ट्रीयता के विकास तथा स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में इन उर्दू पत्रकारों एवं उनकी रचनाओं की बड़ी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही है। इन उर्दू पत्रकारों ने अपनी लेखनी के माध्यम से लोकमत को जाग्रत करके राष्ट्रीयता के विकास को गति प्रदान की थी। उर्दू पत्र-पत्रिकाओं ने राष्ट्र गौरव में विश्वास की भावना जाग्रत की।

भारत में उर्दू पत्रकारिता सदा तेवरी रही है, उसका स्वभाव विद्रोह रहा। भारत की राष्ट्रीयता के विकास में सर्वाधिक त्याग उर्दू पत्रकारिता का रहा है। इसके माध्यम से स्वतंत्रता और राष्ट्रीय एकता का संदेश पूरे भारत में पहुँचाया जाता था। इस कारण से ही इसको साम्राज्यवादी शक्ति का होना पड़ता था। यही कारण है कि पत्रकारिता के क्षेत्र में पहला प्रतिबंध तथा पहला बलिदान उर्दू पत्रकारिता के हिस्से में ही आता है। अंग्रेजी शासनकाल में यह विदेशी शासकों को बहुत बड़ी चुनौती थी। देश की स्वतंत्रता के लिए सबने अपना कुछ-न-कुछ बलिदान दिया, लेकिन उर्दू के तेवर अधिक तीखे रहे। मीठी, दिलकश जुबान का गौरव उर्दू का प्राप्त था, जिसके लेखन, भाषण और शायरी ने भारतीयों के दिलों को छूने, आजादी के असली मायने समझाने और अंग्रेजों के अत्याचार से आगाह करने के साथ उनकी नई-नई साजिशों का परदाफाश करने का काम किया और स्वतंत्रता का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया।

स्वतंत्रता पूर्व की उर्दू पत्रकारिता सामाजिक सरोकारों तथा सार्वजनिक हित से जुड़कर ही पत्रकारिता सार्थक बनती प्रतीक होती है। उसने सामाजिक तथा राष्ट्रीय दायित्वों का परिपालन मनोभाव से किया। उस युग की पत्रकारिता विविध आयामों कार्य कर रही थी।

स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में उर्दू समाचार-पत्र उसके अभिन्न अंग बन गये। राष्ट्रीय विचारधारा के उर्दू पत्र-पत्रिकाओं ने एक ओर स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन को व्यापक बनाने में योगदान दिया और वहीं दूसरी ओर सरकार की दमन नीति का सामना करते हुए अपना अस्तित्व बनाये रखा। उर्दू पत्रकारिता ने अपने 200 साल पूरे कर लिए हैं। इस लम्बे कालखंड के बीच में उर्दू पत्रकारिता ने कई दौर देखे हैं जिसमें संघर्ष करते दौर से लेकर मौजूदा दौर तक शामिल है।

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যুদ্ধ বিদ্বস্ত স্বাধীন নগাভূমিৰ আন্দোলনৰ পটভূমিত ৰচিত ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম উপন্যাসত প্ৰতিফলিত টাংখুল নগা সকলৰ সামাজিক জীৱন

অদিতি দত্ত

০.০০ অৱতৰণিকা

০.০১ বিষয়ৰ পৰিচয় :

ড° বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্য্য অসমীয়া উপন্যাস সাহিত্যৰ জগতখনত এটা পৰিচিত নাম। তেখেতে অসমীয়া উপন্যাস সাহিত্যলৈ বহুতো অৱদান আগবঢ়াই গৈছে। তেখেতে ৰচনা কৰা উপন্যাস সমূহ হ'ল —

১) ৰাজপথে ৰিঙিয়ায় ২) আই ৩) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম ৪) শতশ্ৰী ৫) নষ্ট চৰিত্ৰ ৬) ভাৰতী ৭) প্ৰতিপদ ৮) মৃত্যুঞ্জয় ৯) চিনাকি সুঁতি ১০) অগ্নিগড় ১১) কবৰ আৰু ফুল ১২) পৰিব্ৰাজক ১৩) বল্লৰী ১৪) এটি নিশা ১৫) টব আৰু ইডা ১৬) ডাইনী ১৭) ৰঙামেঘ ১৮) শৰত কোঁৱৰ ১৯) মুনি চুনিৰ পোহৰ ২০) কালৰ হুমুনিয়াহ ২১) চতৰঙ্গ ২২) ফুলকোঁৱৰৰ পখী ঘোঁৰা ২৩) প্ৰেম আৰু মৃত্যু ২৪) বুঢ়ী আইতাৰ পুৰাণ।

১৯৬০ চনত ৰচনা কৰা ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম উপন্যাসৰ বাবে ১৯৬১ চনত ড° বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্য্যই সাহিত্য অকাডেমী বঁটা লাভ কৰে। ভাৰতৰ উত্তৰ পূৰ্বাঞ্চলৰ ভিতৰতে পৰিচিত নগালেণ্ড ৰাজ্যত বসবাস কৰা নগা জনজাতিৰ বিভিন্ন ফৈদৰ মাজত অন্যতম উল্লেখযোগ্য এটা ফৈদ হৈছে টাংখুল নগা সকল। টাংখুল নগা সকলৰ ৰাজনৈতিক চিন্তা ধাৰাৰ লগতে সমাজ জীৱন ধাৰণৰ বিভিন্ন চিত্ৰ কেনেদৰে প্ৰতিফলিত হৈছে তাক ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম উপন্যাসৰ জৰিয়তে দেখুৱাবলৈ এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখন প্ৰস্তুত কৰা হৈছে।

০.০২ উদ্দেশ্য :

দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধৰ পাছত আৰু ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা লাভৰ কালছোৱাত টাংখুল নগাসকলৰ সমাজ জীৱন কেনেকুৱা আছিল তাক প্ৰতিফলিত কৰাৰ উদ্দেশ্যেই এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনি প্ৰস্তুত কৰা হৈছে।

০.০৩ অধ্যয়নৰ পদ্ধতি :

এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনি প্ৰস্তুত কৰোঁতে বৰ্ণনাত্মক আৰু বিশ্লেষণাত্মক পদ্ধতি ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হৈছে।

০.০৪ উৎস :

এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনি প্ৰস্তুত কৰোতে মুখ্য উৎস হিচাপে ড° বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যৰ 'ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম' উপন্যাসখন আৰু গৌণ উৎস হিচাপে বিভিন্ন গ্ৰন্থ, প্ৰবন্ধ আৰু আলোচনী সহায় লোৱা হৈছে।

০.০৫ অধ্যয়নৰ পৰিসৰ :

এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনি প্ৰস্তুত কৰোতে বিষয়বস্তু, পৰিচয়, উদ্দেশ্যে, উৎস, পদ্ধতি, কাহিনীৰ চমু আভাস, টাংখুল নগা সকলৰ সামাজিক, ধৰ্মীয় দিশ, অন্ধবিশ্বাস, ভাগ্যবাদ, শিক্ষা, চিকিৎসা, জীৱিকা, প্ৰেম, বিবাহ, সাধুকথা, উপসংহাৰ আৰু সিদ্ধান্ত এই সকলোবোৰ পৰিসৰত সামৰি লোৱা হৈছে।

১.০০ কাহিনীৰ চমু আভাস :

'ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম' উপন্যাসখন অসমীয়া সাহিত্য জগতৰ সুকীয়া স্থান দখল কৰি থকা এখন উল্লেখযোগ্য উপন্যাস। উপন্যাসিক ড° বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যই দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ আৰু ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা লাভৰ সময়চোৱাৰ আগে পিছে টাংখুল নগা সমাজ জীৱনলৈ অহা বিভিন্ন ঘাট-প্ৰতিঘাতৰ কাহিনী 'ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম' উপন্যাসত প্ৰতিফলিত কৰিছে।

'ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম' উপন্যাসখনত বিংশ শতাব্দীৰ নগাভূমিৰ আৰ্থ-সামাজিক আৰু ৰাজনৈতিক জীৱন ধাৰাৰ চিত্ৰ সজীৱ আৰু সাৱলীল ভাৱে প্ৰতিফলিত হৈছে। দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধৰ টোৱে ভাৰতৰ প্ৰাক্ স্বাধীনতাকালীন সময়ছোৱাত নগাভূমিকো চুই গৈছিল। সেই সময়ছোৱাত টাংখুল নগাভূমি অধিকাৰ কৰি থকা জাপানীৰ লগত ইংৰাজ-মাৰ্কিন মিত্ৰ শক্তিৰ সংঘৰ্ষত অঞ্চলটোৰ বহুতো ক্ষয়-ক্ষতি হৈছিল। মহাযুদ্ধৰ নিষ্ঠুৰতা আৰু বিভীষিকাই বিপন্ন কৰা নগাসকলৰ অধিকাংশই জাপানীসকল গুছি যোৱাৰ পাছত ব্ৰিটিছ চৰকাৰৰ পৰা এটা শক্তিপূৰ্ণ জীৱনধাৰাৰ প্ৰৱৰ্ত্তন হোৱাৰ লগতে যুদ্ধত হোৱা ধ্বংসৰ ক্ষতিপূৰণ বিচাৰিছিল। 'ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম' উপন্যাসখনৰ কাহিনীত টাংখুল নগাসকলক নেতৃত্ব দিবলৈ আগবাঢ়ি আহিছে বিশ্বাং। মিছনেৰীৰ সহায়ত শিক্ষা লাভ কৰা আৰু জাপানী সৈন্যক নগা পাহাৰৰ পৰা খেদোৱাত মিত্ৰ শক্তিক সহায় কৰা টাংখুল যুৱক বিশ্বাঙৰ প্ৰধান উদ্দেশ্য আছিল ব্ৰিটিছৰ কবলৰ পৰা নগা পাহাৰক মুক্ত কৰি ভাৰতৰ অবিচ্ছেদ্য অংগ ৰূপে থাকি স্বাধীন চৰকাৰৰ সহযোগত নগা পাহাৰত স্বাস্থ্য, শিক্ষা আৰু যাতায়তৰ সুব্যৱস্থা কৰি দি নগা সমাজখনক গান্ধী আৰু যীচুখ্ৰীষ্টৰ মহান বাণীৰে নগা পাহাৰৰ বুকুলৈ শান্তিনমাই অনাৰ লগতে আধুনিক জগতৰ লগত চিনাকি কৰি দিয়াটো। আনহাতে সশস্ত্ৰ বিদ্ৰোহৰ যোগেদি নগাভূমিক ভাৰতৰ বুকুৰ পৰা পৃথক কৰি এখন সুকীয়া আৰু সাৰ্বভৌম নগাৰাজ্য গঠন কৰাৰ সপোন দেখিছিল দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধৰ জাপানী সৈন্য তথা নেতাজীৰ আজাদ হিন্দ ফৌজৰ নগা সৈনিক ভিডেশ্যেলীয়ে। বিশ্বাং আৰু ভিডেশ্যেলী দুয়োৰে মতাদৰ্শ ভিন্ন আছিল। বিশ্বাঙৰ মনত দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধৰ ধ্বংসলীলা আৰু ভয়াবহতাই যিদৰে যীচুৰ গভীৰ মানৱ প্ৰেম আৰু শান্তিৰ কামনা জগাই তুলিলে সেইদৰে ভিডেশ্যেলীৰ মনত কিন্তু তাৰ বিপৰীতে জগাই তুলিলে সংকীৰ্ণ স্বাধীন নগা ৰাজ্য স্থাপনৰ বাসনা।

সৰু কালৰে পৰা বিশ্বাং আৰু চাৰেংলাৰ পৰস্পৰৰ আকৰ্ষণ এসময়ত প্ৰণয়লৈ

ৰূপান্তৰিত হয়। কিন্তু চাৰেংলাই বিশ্বাঙৰ ওচৰত আগৰ স্থান হেৰুৱাব লগা হয়। যেতিয়া জাপানী আক্ৰমণৰ পিছত চাৰেংলাই ইশ্বৰৰা নামৰ জাপানী সৈনিক এজনৰ বক্ষিতা হ'ব লগীয়া হৈছিল তেতিয়াই সমাজৰ দৃষ্টিতো তাই পতিতাৰ স্থান পায়। শ্ৰেয় পৰিৱৰ্তে চাৰেংলাই বিশ্বাঙৰ পৰা পায় পুতৌ আৰু সহানুভূতি। বিশ্বাঙৰ ওচৰত চাৰেংলাই অধিকাৰ কৰি থকা আসন ক্ৰমান্বয়ে খুটিঙলাইহে দখল কৰে। বিশ্বাং আৰু খুটিংলাৰ মাজত গভীৰ হৈ অহা শ্ৰেয়ৰ সম্বন্ধত দুয়োটা পৰিয়ালৰ মাজত থকা পাৰিবাৰিক ধৰ্মীয় বিৰোধে হেঙৰ ৰূপে থিয় দিয়ে। “তোৰ দেউতাৰৰ সৈতে ঠাঠিঙখুইৰ বহুত দিনৰ কাজিয়া। মাটি এটুকুৰা লৈ দুয়োপক্ষৰ মাজত প্ৰবল কাজিয়া হৈছিল। মাটিতে বোলে দুই গোষ্ঠীৰ মানুহৰ মাজত মাৰ-পিটো হৈছিল। তোৰ দেউতাৰৰ গাত এটা যাঠিৰ খোচো লাগিছিল।”

গীৰ্জাঘৰ সজা মাটিডোখৰক লৈ হোৱা বিবাদতে দুভাগ হয় গাঁৱৰ সমাজখন। বিশ্বাং আৰু খুটিংলায়ো ইয়াৰ পৰিণাম ভূগিব লগীয়া হয়। শিক্ষাৰ পোহৰ বিলাবলৈ উচ্চ শিক্ষাৰ বাবে মিছনেৰী সকলৰ যোগেদি বিশ্বাঙে মনৰ এনে দুদোল্যমান অৱস্থাতে কলিকতালৈ যাত্ৰা কৰে। খুটিংলাইয়ো বয়ন শিল্পৰ প্ৰশিক্ষণৰ বাবে গুৱাহাটীলৈ যায়। কলিকতাত থকা অৱস্থাতে বিশ্বাঙে জানিব পাৰে যে ব্ৰিটিছ স্বাধীনতাকামী বিপ্লৱীৰ ওপৰত কৰা অত্যাচাৰ আৰু সাম্প্ৰদায়িক সংঘৰ্ষৰ কথা। সেই সময়তে বন্ধু খাটিঙৰ পৰা খবৰ পাই তেওঁ ঘৰলৈ ঘূৰি আহে। ভাৰতে স্বাধীনতা লাভ কৰিলে যদিও নগা লোকসকলৰ সমস্যাবলী সমাধান হোৱাৰ পথ নেদেখি নগা লোকসকলে নগা বিদ্ৰোহী ভিডেশ্যেলীক সমৰ্থন কৰাৰ মন মেলে। বিশ্বাঙে ভৈয়ামৰ ডেকা জীৱন মাষ্টৰক ধৰি কেইজনমান সহকৰ্মীক লগত লৈ গাঁৱে গাঁৱে ঘূৰি ফুৰে যাতে বাইজে ভিডেশ্যেলীৰ কবলৰ পৰা মুক্তি লাভ কৰে। গীৰ্জাঘৰ স্থাপনৰ কাৰণে খ্ৰীষ্টান-অখ্ৰীষ্টিয়ানৰ কাজিয়াত বিশ্বাঙৰ দেউতাকৰ মৃত্যু হয় যদিও বিশ্বাঙে পিতৃৰ হত্যাকাৰী খুটিংলাৰ দেউতাকৰ ওপৰত প্ৰতিশোধ লোৱাতকৈ ক্ষমা কৰি দিয়ে। কিয়নো বিশ্বাঙে মহাত্মা আৰু যীছুৰ আদৰ্শক বিশ্বাস কৰে। বিশ্বাং আৰু জীৱন মাষ্টৰ ভিডেশ্যেলীৰ হাতত বন্দী হয়। গাঁৱে গাঁৱে ঘূৰি ফুৰোতে বিদ্ৰোহীহঁতে তেওঁলোকক এৰি দিছিল যাতে পুনৰ এনে কাৰ্য নকৰে তাৰ বাবে সতৰ্ক কৰি দিছিল। কিন্তু দ্বিতীয়বাৰ এনে কাৰ্য কৰাৰ বাবে বিশ্বাং বিদ্ৰোহীৰ গুলিত আহত হৈছিল আৰু জীৱন মাষ্টৰ নিহত হৈছিল। নিসহায় চাৰেংলাই জীৱন মাষ্টৰৰ মাওৰা ল'ৰা কনচেঙক বুকুত বান্ধি জীয়াই থকাৰ সপোন দেখে। দুয়োটা পৰিয়ালৰ অভিভাৱকৰ মৃত্যুৰ পাছত বিশ্বাং আৰু খুটিংলাৰে বিবাহ সম্পন্ন হয়। বিশ্বাঙে খুটিংলাৰ গৰ্ভত থকা সন্তানৰ যোগেদি ভৱিষ্যতে বাইজৰ শাসন (ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম)ৰ সপোন দেখে।

১.০১ টাংখুল নগাসকলৰ সামাজিক জীৱন :

‘ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম’ উপন্যাসখনৰ প্ৰধান বিষয়বস্তু ৰাজনৈতিক যদিও ইয়াৰ কাহিনীটো লৈ লক্ষ্য কৰিলে দেখা পোৱা যায় টাংখুল নগা সকলৰ সমাজ জীৱনৰ চিত্ৰ। ‘ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম’ উপন্যাসত বৰ্ণিত সামাজিক অৱস্থালৈ লক্ষ্য কৰিলে টাংখুল নগাসকলৰ সমাজ জীৱনৰ বিভিন্ন দিশ প্ৰতিফলিত হোৱা দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায়।

১.০২ ধৰ্মীয় দিশ :

‘ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম’ উপন্যাসখনত ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ স্বাধীনতাৰ আগমুহূৰ্ত্তৰ দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধৰ টোৱে চুই যোৱা নগা ভূমিৰ অৰ্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক আৰু ৰাজনৈতিক জীৱন ধাৰাৰ জীৱন্ত চিত্ৰ অংকিত হৈছে যদিও এই উপন্যাসখনত দেখা পোৱা যায় টাংখুল নগা লোকসকলৰ ধৰ্মীয় দিশ।

টাংখুল নগাসকলৰ কিছুলোক খ্ৰীষ্টান আৰু কিছুলোক অখ্ৰীষ্টিয়ান আছিল আৰু সেয়ে লৈয়ে তেওঁলোকৰ মাজত বিবাদো হোৱা দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায়। দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধৰ ভয়াবহতা আৰু ধ্বংসলীলাৰ পাছত যীচুৰ আদৰ্শৰে বিশ্বাঙে গভীৰ মানৱ প্ৰেম আৰু শান্তি পথৰ সন্ধান দিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰিছে।

উপন্যাসখনত বৰ্ণিত চাৰেংলা বিশ্বাঙৰ প্ৰতি আসক্ত আছিল যদিও তাই জাপানী সৈনিক ঈশ্বৰেৰাৰ ৰক্ষিতা হ’বলগীয়া হোৱাত সমাজৰ দৃষ্টিত পতিতা হোৱাৰ বাবে চাৰেংলাই তাইৰ একালৰ প্ৰেমিক বিশ্বাঙৰ প্ৰতি প্ৰেম নিবেদন কৰাৰ পৰিৱৰ্তে বাইবেলৰ মহৎ প্ৰেমৰ দৃষ্টিৰে চোৱাৰহে চেষ্টা কৰিছে। বাইবেলৰ মতে — “মহত্তম প্ৰেম কি? যি প্ৰেমে প্ৰেমাৰ্থৰ বাবে জীৱন দান দিবলৈ বল দিয়ে, সেই প্ৰেমেই মহত্তৰ।”^{২২}

খ্ৰীষ্টান ধৰ্মৰ উপৰিও টাংখুল নগাসমাজৰ অখ্ৰীষ্টান লোকসকলে বিশ্বাস কৰে কাজাইৰাম বা স্বৰ্গ। তেওঁলোকৰ বিশ্বাস যে মানুহ মৃত্যু হোৱাৰ পাছত আত্মাটো অৰ্থাৎ মৃতকৰ ভূতটো স্বৰ্গ পায়গৈ। সাধাৰণতে শৰীৰৰ পৰা আত্মাটো পখিলা বা মৌ মাখিৰ ৰূপত ওলাই গৈ আত্মাটো কাজিৰাম বা স্বৰ্গ পায়গৈ বুলি এটি ধৰ্মীয় বিশ্বাস। সাধাৰণতে ধৰ্মৰ লগত জড়িত হৈ আছে পূজা-পাতল, বলি-বিধান সেই বিলাক টাংখুল নগাসমাজতো দেখা পোৱা যায়। ৰুগীৰ আৰোগ্যৰ কাৰণে কামিত’ পূজা কৰা গাঁৱৰ উৎসৱ-পাৰ্বন, মহামাৰি আদিত গেনা পালন কৰা, মৃতকৰ শ্ৰাদ্ধত মহ বলি দিয়া আদি ধৰ্মীয় বিশ্বাস টাংখুল নগা সমাজত প্ৰচলিত আছে।

১.০৩ অন্ধ বিশ্বাস :

সমাজ পাতি বাস কৰা একোখন সমাজত কিছুমান অন্ধ বিশ্বাসো প্ৰচলিত হৈ থাকে। ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম উপন্যাসখনত বৰ্ণিত টাংখুল নগা সমাজতো দেখা পোৱা যায় কিছুমান অন্ধবিশ্বাস। পাপ-পুণ্য, ভূত-প্ৰেত আদিৰ বিশ্বাসৰ জৰিয়তে টাংখুল নগা সমাজত প্ৰচলিত অন্ধ বিশ্বাসৰ এটি দিশ প্ৰতিফলিত হোৱা দেখা পোৱা যায়।

মৃত্যুৰ আগে আগে টাংখুল নগা সমাজত মৃতকৰ এজন থিলা কাপো বা আধ্যাত্মিক উত্তৰাধিকাৰী নিৰ্বাচিত কৰা হয়। মৃত্যুৰ পাছত পূজা-পাতল সমূহত মৃতকৰ স্বৰ্গ মুক্তিৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰে বুলিও তেওঁলোকৰ মাজত এক অন্ধ বিশ্বাসৰ প্ৰচলিত।

১.০৪ ভাগ্যবাদ :

‘ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম’ উপন্যাসত নগা লোকসকলে যে ভাগ্যবাদক বিশ্বাস কৰে তাৰো উমান পোৱা যায় চাৰেংলাৰ জৰিয়তে।

“ভাগ্যই মানুহক টানি নিয়ে - এক অজ্ঞাত শক্তিয়ে মানুহক কেতিয়াবা লগ লগায়, কেতিয়াবা ভঙায় তাৰ মাজেদিয়েই সিহঁত নিজৰাৰ দৰে আগলৈ বয় যায়।”^{২৩}

১.০৫ শিক্ষা :

‘ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম’ উপন্যাসত প্ৰতিফলিত হোৱা অন্য এটা দিশ হৈছে শিক্ষা। শিক্ষাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত পিছপৰা আছিল নগাভূমি। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত অ-জনজাতীয় চৰিত্ৰ জীৱন মাষ্টৰে নগাভূমিত শিক্ষাৰ পোহৰ বিলাবলৈ যত্ন কৰিছিল। উপন্যাসখনৰ এটি উজ্বল চৰিত্ৰ বিশ্বাং। ছাত্ৰাৱস্থাবে পৰা সমাজ সংগঠনৰ কাম কৰা বিশ্বাঙে খ্ৰীষ্টান মিছনেৰীৰ সহায়ত শিক্ষা গ্ৰহণ কৰাৰ কথা পোৱা যায়। নগা যুৱক-যুৱতীৰ উচ্চ শিক্ষা আৰু বৃত্তিমুখী শিক্ষা গ্ৰহণ কৰাৰ প্ৰবল ইচ্ছা দেখা পোৱা যায় বিশ্বাং আৰু খুটিংলাৰ চৰিত্ৰৰ জৰিয়তে। উচ্চ শিক্ষা গ্ৰহণ কৰাৰ উদ্দেশ্যে বিশ্বাং মিছনেৰীৰ সহায়ত কলিকতালৈ যোৱাৰ লগতে উইভিং শিক্ষা গ্ৰহণ কৰিবৰ বাবে খুটিংলা গৈছে গুৱাহাটীলৈ।

নগা ভূমিত এখন উইভিং স্কুল স্থাপন কৰাৰ পৰিকল্পনা কৰিছে ‘খাটিঙে’। খাটিঙে ভাৱিছে - “উইভিং স্কুল হ’লে আমাৰ গাঁৱৰ দুই এজনী ছোৱালী আৰু দুই এটা ডেকাই তেওঁ কাম পাব।”^{৪৪}

দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধৰ প্ৰভাৱৰ ফলশ্ৰুতিত বিশ্বাঙহেতে সিহঁতৰ গাঁৱত এখন হাইস্কুল স্থাপন কৰাৰ পৰিকল্পনা কৰাৰ লগতে জীৱন মাষ্টৰৰ জৰিয়তে সেয়া সম্ভৱ হৈ উঠিছে।

১.০৬ চিকিৎসা :

টাংখুল নগা সমাজত পৰম্পৰাগত চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি প্ৰচলিত আছিল। বেমাৰ হ’লে ডাক্তৰৰ ওচৰলৈ যোৱাতকৈ জৰা-ফুকা আৰু পূজা-পাতলহে টাংখুল নগাসকলে অধিক বিশ্বাস কৰিছিল। বসন্ত ওলালে নগাসকলে ‘মেইবাৰ’ (বেজ)ৰ দ্বাৰা জৰা-ফুকা কৰায়। আধুনিক শিক্ষা আৰু চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞান এইবোৰত একোতে তেওঁলোকে বিশ্বাস কৰা নাছিল যদিও সময়ৰ পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ লগে লগে দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধ আৰু ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা লাভৰ পাছত টাংখুল নগা ভূমিত ‘মেইবাৰ’ৰ ঠাই লৈলে ডাঃ ব্ৰুক, ডাঃ পাম আদি মিছনেৰী চিকিৎসক সকলে। এই পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ ধাৰা কিন্তু টাংখুৰ নগা সমাজে মানি লব পৰা নাছিল। সেয়ে নাজেকে খেদ কৰি কৈছিল - “পুৰণি ৰীতি-নীতি অথবা চিকিৎসা শ্ৰদ্ধা কৰা মানুহ গাঁওখনত নাইকীয়া হ’ল।”^{৪৫}

১.০৭ জীৱিকা :

‘ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম’ উপন্যাসত দেখা পোৱা টাংখুল নগা সকলৰ প্ৰধান জীৱিকা আছিল কৃষিভিত্তিক। অৱশ্যে কিছুলোক চৰকাৰী চাকৰিজীৱিও আছিল। তিৰুতাবোৰে পথাৰত ভূঁই ৰুৱা, ধান দোৱা, আলু তুলা আদি কামবোৰো কৰে। তিৰুতাবোৰে পথাৰত ভূঁই ৰুই থাকোতে গীত গোৱা চিত্ৰ দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায়। পথাৰত ভূঁই ৰোৱা তিৰুতাবোৰৰ গীত শুনি খাটিঙৰ সৈনিক মনো কৃষিমুখী হৈছে —

“গাঁৱৰ ছোৱালীবোৰৰ গীত শুনি হঠাতে সেই বাবে তাৰ মন হ’ল পথাৰলৈ যাবলৈ। তাৰ মনত হ’ল যেন জীৱন আচলতে পথাৰৰ সেই খেতি কৰি থকা মানুহবোৰৰ মাজতে লুকাই আছে।”^{৪৬}

টাংখুল নগা ভূমিত ধান খেতিৰ উপৰিও আলু খেতি কৰাৰ কথাও উল্লেখ আছে। ইয়াৰ উপৰিও গাহৰি, কুকুৰা আদি জীৱ জন্তু পুহি নগা সকলে জীৱিকা নিৰ্বাহ

কৰাৰ কথাও 'ইয়াকইঙ্গম' উপন্যাসত পোৱা যায়।

১.০৮ প্ৰেম :

মানৱ জাতিৰ লগত ওতঃপ্ৰোত ভাৱে জড়িত হৈ আছে প্ৰেম ভালপোৱা। ইয়াকইঙ্গম উপন্যাসত দেখা যায় চাৰেংলা আৰু বিশ্বাং সৰু কালৰে পৰা পৰস্পৰৰ আকৰ্ষণ সময়ত প্ৰণয়লৈ ৰূপান্তৰিত হৈছে। কিন্তু চাৰেংলা জাপানী আক্ৰমণৰ সময়ত এজন জাপানী সৈনিক ইশ্ববেৰাৰ ৰক্ষিতা হ'ব লগা হৈছিল। তাৰ ফলশ্ৰুতিত বিশ্বাং আৰু চাৰেংলাৰ মাজত গঢ়ি উঠা প্ৰেমে কিন্তু চাৰেংলাৰ প্ৰতি বিশ্বাঙৰ পুতেহে জন্মাইছিল।

মানৱ প্ৰেমেৰে উদ্বুদ্ধ বিশ্বাঙৰ প্ৰেম হৈছিল খুটিংলাৰ প্ৰতি। কিন্তু দুয়োটা পৰিয়ালৰ মাজত থকা পাৰিবাৰিক ধৰ্মীয় বিৰুদ্ধে দুয়োৰে মাজত হেঙাৰ ৰূপে ধৰা দিছিল।

কলিকতালৈ শিক্ষা গ্ৰহণ কৰিবলৈ যোৱা বিশ্বাঙৰ মনত সদায়ে খুটিংলাৰ খবৰ জানিবলৈ আগ্ৰহী হৈ থাকে। কলিকতা চহৰৰ লেকৰ পাবত বহি এহাল ডেকা-গাভৰুৰ প্ৰেমা-লাপ দেখি বিশ্বাঙৰ মনত পৰিছে খুটিংলালৈ —

“কিন্তু খুটিংলাৰ যে মন কেনেকুৱা তাক সি আজি ডেৰ বছৰে একো ক'ব নোৱাৰে।”^{৭৭}

ঘৰৰ সন্মতি অবিহনেও এহাল ডেকা-গাভৰুৰ মাজত গোপনে গঢ় লৈ উঠে প্ৰেম। বিশ্বাঙ আৰু খুটিংলাৰ মাজত গঢ় লৈ উঠা প্ৰেমে আবেগ চঞ্চল কৰি দুয়োৰে মাজত গোপনে গঢ়ি তোলে এক অনাবিল প্ৰেম ভালপোৱা। কিন্তু সময়ৰ দাসত্ব স্বীকাৰ কৰি বিশ্বাং খুটিংলা দুয়ো ইজনে সিজৰ পৰা আতৰি থাকিব লগা হোৱাত অতীতৰ স্মৃতিয়ে বিশ্বাঙক বৰকৈ আমনি কৰিলে —

“বনৰীয়া গোলাপ, গুলফি আৰু ফুটুকাৰ ফুলবোৰে তাক হঠাতে হাত বাউল দি মাতিলে। নৈ পাৰৰ সেই শিলনি যত সি খুটিংলাক দুহাতে সাৰটি আপোন পাহৰা হৈ চুমা খাইছিল। সেই শিলনিৰ কথা মনত পৰিল তাই বাধা নমনা চুলিৰ সেই পৰশ হাতৰ শিৰায় শিৰায় অনুভৱ কৰিলে। বুকুখন হঠাতে বৰ শ্ৰদ্ধা অনুভৱ হ'ল। প্ৰাণৰ ভিতৰত জাৰকালি হিল দল ভাঙি অহা এজাক প্ৰবল বতাহ বলিল।”^{৭৮}

১.০৯ বিবাহ :

'ইয়াকইঙ্গম' উপন্যাসত দেখা পোৱা যায় যে বিবাহৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত গা-ধন লোৱা প্ৰথা প্ৰচলিত আছিল। কিন্তু সেই প্ৰথা আধুনিক শিক্ষা আৰু খ্ৰীষ্টান ধৰ্মৰ প্ৰসাৰৰ লগে লগে ক্ৰমে শিথিল হৈছে। নগা সমাজত অজাতি ছোৱালী বিবাহ নিষিদ্ধ আছিল। কিন্তু সময়ৰ পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ লগে লগে খাটিঙে খ্ৰীষ্টান ধৰ্ম গ্ৰহণ কৰি অজাতি ছোৱালী বিয়া কৰাইছে। নগা সমাজত বিধবা বিবাহ প্ৰচলিত যদিও কিন্তু বিজাতিৰ দ্বাৰা পতিতা হোৱা ছোৱালীৰ পুনৰ বিবাহ স্বীকৃত নহয়। ভৈয়ামৰ অসমীয়া লোক আৰু পৰ্বতৰ নগা লোকৰ মাজত বৈবাহিক সমন্ধ স্থাপন হোৱাৰ কথাও উপন্যাসখনত দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায় ভৈয়ামৰ জীৱন মাপ্তৰ আৰু পৰ্বতৰ নগা জীয়ৰী খনমা গাঁৱৰ অসমীয়া ভাষা জনা গাভৰু ভিডেশ্যেলীৰ ভনীয়েক ৰণিৰ বিবাহৰ জৰিয়তে।

সাধাৰণতে ভগৱানক সান্ধী কৰি বৈবাহিক জীৱন আৰম্ভ কৰা দেখা যায় প্ৰতিখন সমাজতে। ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম উপন্যাসত দেখা পোৱা নগা সমাজে তাৰ ব্যতিক্ৰম নহয়। বিশ্বাং আৰু খুটিংলাৰ বিবাহ গীৰ্জা ঘৰত অনুষ্ঠিত হোৱা দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায়।

“লাহে লাহে ফাগুন মাহ সোমাল। এদিন চাৰ্চ সিহঁতৰ হিয়াৰ উৎসৱ হ’ল। পেপ্টেৰে সিহঁতক চিৰজীৱনৰ বাবে একেডাল জৰীৰে বান্ধী দিলে। আলটাৰত ঠিয় হৈ যেতিয়া সিহঁতে মানুহবোৰৰ আশীৰ্বাদ আৰু ফুলৰ তোড়া গ্ৰহণ কৰিলে, তেতিয়া সিহঁতৰ মন ফৰকাল হৈ গ’ল। বিশ্বাঙে খস্তুকৰ বাবে ৰাইজৰ কথা পাহৰি খুটিংলাৰ ওচৰত নিজকে সমৰ্পণ কৰিলে। মানুহবোৰে ফুল আৰু আশীৰ্বাদ দি দি লাহে লাহে আলটাৰৰ কাষেদি ওলাই যাবলৈ ধৰিলে।”^{১০}

১.১০ সাধুকথা :

শিশুক নিচুকোৱাৰ এক প্ৰধান মাধ্যম হৈছে সাধুকথা। প্ৰতিখন সমাজতে শিশুক উমলাবলৈ, টোপনি নিয়াবলৈ সাধুকথা কোৱাৰ নিয়ম আছে। টাংখুল নগা সমাজে তাৰ ব্যতিক্ৰম নহয়। জীৱন মাষ্টৰৰ পত্নী ৰণীৰ মৃত্যুৰ পাছত সিহঁতৰ পুতেক কনচেং ঘাট মাওৰা হোৱাত বিশ্বাঙৰ মাকে কনচেঙক চাংমিয়াঙৰ সাধু কৈ নিচুকাইছিল।

কনচেঙক বিশ্বাঙৰ মাকে সাধু কৈ থকা শুনি বিশ্বাঙৰ মন ল’ৰালি কাললৈ ওভতি গ’ল। বিশ্বাঙ সৰু হৈ থাকোতে মাকে তাক জোহালৰ গুৰিত চাংমিয়াঙৰ সাধু কৈছিল — “ঘৰৰ সিয়েই আছিল প্ৰথম কেঁচুৱা, উলিয়াই দিয়া ভনীয়েক দুজনী তেতিয়া নিচেই সৰু সৰু। মাকে কৈছিল সেই চাঙমিয়াঙৰ ভয়লগা ৰূপৰ কথা। দেহটোৱে গোটেই টাংখুল পৰ্বতমালা বুলে জুৰি পৰে। বাওঁহাত থাকে চিন্দুইন নৈত, সোঁহাত নগা পাহাৰৰ সীমান্তত, ভৰি একেবাৰে খোঁৱালত আৰু মূৰ চিৰই পৰ্বতত। প্ৰকাণ্ড দৈত্য সেইটো।”^{১১}

২.০০ উপসংহাৰ :

বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যৰ উপন্যাসবোৰৰ প্ৰায়বোৰেই ৰাজনৈতিক চেতনা সম্পন্ন উপন্যাস। ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম উপন্যাসৰ মাজেদি প্ৰকাশিত হৈছে দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ আৰু ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা লাভৰ কালছোৱাৰ আগে পিছে টাংখুল নগা সমাজৰ জীৱনৰ বিভিন্ন চিত্ৰ। দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ আৰু ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা লাভৰ কালছোৱাত টাংখুল নগা সমাজত ঘটি যোৱা বিভিন্ন দিশৰ প্ৰতিফলনে উত্তৰপূৰ্বাঞ্চলৰ ভিতৰত উল্লেখযোগ্য নগা জাতিৰ বিভিন্ন ফৈদৰ ভিতৰত টাংখুল নগা ফৈদৰ সমাজখনক পৰিচয় কৰাই দিছে।

সিদ্ধান্ত :

‘ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম’ উপন্যাসখন অসমীয়া উপন্যাস সাহিত্যৰ এখনি উচ্চমান বিশিষ্ট উপন্যাস। ইয়াৰুইঙ্গমে উপন্যাসখনি অধ্যয়ন কৰি খোৰতে কেইটামান সিদ্ধান্তত উপনীত হৈছে।

১) টাংখুল নগা সমাজৰ অৰ্থনৈতিক বুনিয়াদ গঢ় লৈ উঠিছে কৃষিক ভিত্তি কৰি যদিও কিন্তু কিছু যুৱক মিলিটেৰীৰ চাকৰি কৰিও জীৱন নিৰ্বাহ কৰা দেখা গৈছে।

২) টাংখুল নগা সমাজে বেমাৰ আজাৰৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত পৰম্পৰাগত জৰা-ফুকা,

বেজ বেজালি মানি চলিছিল যদিও অৱশেষত চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞান মানি চলিবলৈ বাধ্য হৈছিল।

৩) টাংখুল নগা সমাজৰ যুৱতী সকলেও আত্ম নিৰ্ভৰশীল হ'বলৈ বিচৰা দেখা গৈছে খুটিংলাৰ উইভিং শিক্ষা গ্ৰহণ কৰাৰ যোগেদি।

পাদটীকা :

- ১) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ৩৫
- ২) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ১৫৫
- ৩) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ১৩৩
- ৪) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ১৩৪
- ৫) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ১৭
- ৬) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ২৩
- ৭) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ১৫৩
- ৮) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ১৫৩
- ৯) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ২৫৭
- ১০) ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম পৃষ্ঠা - ১৯২

সহায়ক গ্ৰন্থপঞ্জী :

- ১) ভট্টাচাৰ্য ড° বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ - 'ইয়াৰুইঙ্গম'। (প্ৰকাশ বৰ্ষ ১৯৯৮ চন)
- ২) শইকীয়া ড° অজিত - 'জনজাতীয় জীৱন ভিত্তিক অসমীয়া উপন্যাস।
- ৩) শৰ্মা গোবিন্দ্ৰ প্ৰসাদ, বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যৰ উপন্যাস।
- ৪) বৰা দীলিপ এশ বছৰ অসমীয়া উপন্যাস জনজাতীয় জীৱনৰ প্ৰতিফলন।
- ৫) বৰপূজাৰী জীতাঞ্জলী - 'অসমীয়া উপন্যাসৰ জনজাতীয় জীৱন'।
- ৬) খাউণ্ড মলয়া - ড° বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যৰ তেওঁ উপন্যাস।
- ৭) শইকীয়া চন্দ্ৰ প্ৰসাদ (সম্পাদিত) গৰীয়সী, ছেপ্তেম্বৰ-ডিচেম্বৰ সংখ্যা, ১৯৯৭ চন।



বীৰেন্দ্ৰকুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যৰ মৃত্যুঞ্জয় উপন্যাসত ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনৰ চিত্ৰণ

ডঃ বিদিশা বুঢ়াগোহাঁই

ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনৰ পটভূমিত ইতিমধ্যে কেইবাখনো অসমীয়া উপন্যাস
ৰচনা কৰা হৈছে। এই উপন্যাসসমূহৰ ভিতৰত বীৰেন্দ্ৰকুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যৰ মৃত্যুঞ্জয় অন্যতম।
মৃত্যুঞ্জয় উপন্যাসত স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনৰ অংশস্বৰূপ ১৯৪২ চনৰ আন্দোলন আৰু
এই আন্দোলনৰ ফলত অসমত হোৱা জনজাগৰণৰ লগতে অসমৰ ৰাজনৈতিক বাতাবৰণৰ
এক ছবি প্ৰতিফলিত হৈছে। উপন্যাসখনৰ পাতনিত ভট্টাচাৰ্যই এনেদৰে উল্লেখ কৰিছে,

এই উপন্যাসত বৰ্ণোৱা ঘটনাৰ কাল ১৯৪২ চন। চৰিত্ৰসমূহ কাল্পনিক। অৱশ্যে
ইয়াত স্বাধীনতাৰ শেষ আন্দোলনৰ চিৰস্মৰণীয় ঘটনাৱলীৰ আভাস আৰু চিত্ৰণ
আছে। ই ইতিহাস নহয়।

যদিও পাতনিত লেখকে চৰিত্ৰসমূহ কাল্পনিক বুলি উল্লেখ কৰিছে, একেজন
লেখকেই আকৌ ‘মোৰ উপন্যাসঃ নেপথ্যৰ কথা’ত এনেদৰেও কৈছে—

ঈয়াৰুইংগম, মৃত্যুঞ্জয়, প্ৰতিপদৰ চৰিত্ৰবোৰো নিৰ্দিষ্ট ঠাইৰ পৰা লোৱা। নাম
কিছুমানো আছিল মানুহৰ পৰা লোৱা।...মৃত্যুঞ্জয়ৰ চৰিত্ৰ কিছুমানৰ নামো বাস্তৱৰ পৰা
বোটালা। উদাহৰণস্বৰূপে, আহিনা কোঁৱৰ। (শোণিত বিজয় দাস, মুনীন বায়ন, বীৰেন্দ্ৰ
কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্য্য ৰচনাৱলী ১, পৃ.৭৯)

আনহাতে উপন্যাসখনৰ ৰে’ল বগবোৱা অভিযানটোত পোৱা মুখ্য চৰিত্ৰ মহদা
গোসাঁইও আছিল এটা বাস্তৱ চৰিত্ৰ। মায়ঙৰ মহদানন্দ গোস্বামী নামৰ এইজন ব্যক্তি
জাগীৰোডৰ ওচৰৰ ৰে’ল বগবোৱা ঘটনাৰ নায়ক আছিল। উপন্যাসখনত দেখুওৱাৰ
দৰে তেওঁৰ সেই অভিযানটোত মৃত্যু হোৱা নাছিল আৰু তেওঁ শ্বাসৰোগীও নাছিল।
একেদৰে বিয়াল্লিছৰ আন্দোলনৰ সময়ৰ বৃটিছ চৰকাৰৰ অনুগত পুলিচ বিষয়া লস্বোদৰ
শইকীয়া হ’ল উপন্যাসখনত পুলিচ বিষয়াৰ চৰিত্ৰ ৰূপায়ণ কৰা শইকীয়া। উপন্যাসখনত
আভাস দিয়াৰ দৰেই তেওঁ তদানীন্তন সময়ত তেওঁৰ বৃটিছ আনুগত্য আৰু কৰ্তব্যনিষ্ঠাৰ
বাবে স্বাধীনতাকামী জনসাধাৰণৰ মাজত সন্ত্ৰাসৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছিল। একেদৰে লয়ৰাম,
ভিভিৰাম, মাণিক বৰা, দধি বৰদলৈ, মধু কেণ্ট আদিও বাস্তৱ চৰিত্ৰ আৰু উপন্যাসখনত

তেওঁলোকৰ প্ৰকৃত নাম ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হৈছে।(গোৱিন্দ প্ৰসাদ শৰ্মা, *বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যত্ৰৈঔপন্যাসিক*, পৃ.৯২) গতিকে দেখা যায় যে ভালেমান বাস্তৱ চৰিত্ৰৰ যোগেদি উপন্যাসখনৰ বৃত্তান্ত আগবাঢ়িছে।

উপন্যাসখনত বাস্তৱ চৰিত্ৰৰ লগতে ভালেমান ঐতিহাসিক ঘটনাও দেখা যায়। ১৯৪২ চনৰ ২৮ আগষ্টত বাৰপূজীয়াত সামৰিক বাহিনীৰ লোকে শান্তি সেনা বাহিনীৰ কৰ্মী তিলক ডেকাক গুলিয়াই হত্যা কৰে। (S.L. Baruah, *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, p.602) ঔপন্যাসিকে ভিভিৰাম আৰু ধনপুৰৰ এক কথোপকথনৰ জৰিয়তে এই ঘটনা বৰ্ণনা কৰিছে।

সেই সময়তে নগাঁৱৰ বেবেজীয়াত ট্ৰাংক ৰোডৰ ওপৰৰ দলং নষ্ট কৰাৰ সময়ত সামৰিক বাহিনীৰ গুলীত কলাই কোঁচ আৰু আৰু হেমৰাম পাতৰ নিহত হৈছিল আৰু ছজন লোক আহত হৈছিল। (লক্ষ্মীনাথ তামুলী, *ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনত অসমৰ অৱদান*, পৃ.৩২৩) মৃত্যুঞ্জয়ত মাণিক বৰা, ভিভিৰাম আৰু ধনপুৰৰ কথোপকথনৰ সংযোজনেৰে ঔপন্যাসিকে এই ঘটনাৰ পুনৰ্গঠন কৰিছে। কিন্তু উপন্যাসখনত এই ঘটনাত তিনিজন লোকক হত্যা কৰা বুলি উল্লেখ কৰা হৈছে। তদুপৰি কলাই কোচৰ সলনি উপন্যাসখনত কানাই কোচ বুলি উল্লেখ আছে। (পৃ.১৬-১৭) একেদৰে জোঙালবলহ গড়ৰ সমীপত দীঘলীয়াটা দলঙৰ ওচৰত সামৰিক বাহিনীৰ লোকে গুণাভি বৰদলৈক গুলিয়াই হত্যা কৰে। এই কথোপকথনত উপন্যাসখনত পোৱা যায়। (পৃ.১৩)

১৯৪২ চনৰ ১৮ ছেপ্টেম্বৰত নগাঁৱৰ বঢ়মপুৰত বিদ্যোতী জনতাই পুলিচৰ হাতৰ পৰা শান্তিসেনা শিবিৰটো পুনৰ দখল কৰি লোৱাৰ আনন্দত ভোজভাত খাই বিজয়োৎসৱ পালন কৰা সময়তে পুলিচে হস্তক্ষেপ কৰাৰ বাবে জনতা উত্তেজিত হৈ উঠাত পুলিচে গুলী চলায়। ফলত লক্ষ্মীকান্ত হাজৰিকা, বলোৰাম সূত, ঠগীৰাম সূত আৰু ভোগেশ্বৰী ফুকননী নামৰ এগৰাকী বৃদ্ধাৰ মৃত্যু হয়। উপন্যাসখনত ভিভিৰামক এই ঘটনাৰ প্ৰত্যক্ষদৰ্শী ৰূপে দেখুওৱা হৈছে আৰু ভিভিৰামৰ মুখেৰে সেই ঘটনা বৰ্ণনা কৰিছে। (পৃ.৩৬-৩৭)

১৯৪২ চনত ঢেকীয়াজুলিৰ থানাত পতাকা উত্তোলন কৰিবলৈ গৈ মৃত্যুমুখত পৰা তিলেশ্বৰীৰ কথাও উপন্যাসখনত উল্লেখ আছে। (পৃ.৬৫)

১৯৪২ চনৰ ২০ আগষ্টত দৰং জিলাৰ গহপুৰ আৰু ঢেকীয়াজুলিত সত্যাগ্ৰহীৰ নেতৃত্বত শ শ নিৰস্ত্ৰ লোকে থানাৰ চৌহদত প্ৰবেশ কৰি কংগ্ৰেছ পতাকা উত্তোলনৰ চেষ্টা কৰোঁতে পুলিচে গুলীচালনা কৰে। ফলত ঢেকীয়াজুলিত ১৩ জন লোক আৰু গহপুৰত মুকুন্দ কাকতি আৰু কম বয়সীয়া গাভৰু কনকলতা বৰুৱা নিহত হয়। (অমলেন্দু গুহ, *প্লেট্টাৰ ৰাজৰ পৰা স্বৰাজলৈ*, পৃ.৩১৩) ঔপন্যাসিকে মহদা গোসাঁই আৰু গোসাঁনী— এই চৰিত্ৰ দুটাৰ মাজৰ কথোপকথনৰ যোগেদি উপন্যাসখনত এই ঘটনাৰ বৰ্ণনা কৰিছে। (পৃ.৬৪)

১৯৪২ চনৰ ১০ অক্টোবৰত সৰুপথাৰত ৰেল বগৰোৱা হৈছিল। এই ঘটনাত জড়িত আছিল গোলাঘাটৰ ৰাজনৈতিক কৰ্মী সুৰেন ফুকন, ঘনশ্যাম শইকীয়া, বৈকুণ্ঠ সিং আৰু ভাৰতৰ বিপ্লৱী কমিউনিষ্ট পাৰ্টিৰ সদস্য নলবাৰীৰ ধৰ্মকান্ত ডেকা। কিন্তু এই ঘটনাৰ

বাবে সৰুপথাৰ কংগ্ৰেছ কমিটিৰ সম্পাদক নিৰ্দেযী কুশল কোঁৱৰক দোষী সাব্যস্ত কৰি ১৯৪৩ চনৰ ১৫ জুনত তেওঁক ফাঁচী দিয়া হ'ল। (S.L. Baruah, *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, p.602) এই ঘটনাৰ উল্লেখ উপন্যাসখনত এনেদৰে কৰা হৈছে—

গোলাঘাটৰ সৰুপথাৰৰ গন্ধসৰৈ গাঁৱত ভালেমান মানুহ গ্ৰেপ্তাৰ হ'ল। সৰুপথাৰত ৰেল বগৰাওঁতে ছিদ্ৰ থাকি গ'ল। কিন্তু ভাগ্যৰ ফেৰ! অহিংস মানুহ এজনহে গৈ ঘাই দোষী হ'লগৈ। (পৃ.৬৯)

সমসাময়িক ভাৰতৰ ৰাজনৈতিক, লগতে আন্তৰ্জাতিক পৰিস্থিতিৰ আভাসো উপন্যাসখনত পোৱা যায়। এই কথা মহদা গোসাঁইৰ উক্তিৰ জৰিয়তে প্ৰকাশ পাইছে—

...ইংৰাজৰ অৱস্থা বেয়া। জাপানে কাবু কৰি আনিছে। ইহঁতি যেনেকৈ পলাইছে, অসম এৰি যাবলৈ আৰু বেছিদিন নাই। আমি জাপানীৰ তলতো থাকিব নোৱাৰোঁ। গতিকে নিজৰ বাহুবলেৰে স্বাধীন চৰকাৰ পাতিব লাগিব। শুনিছোঁ সুভাস চন্দ্ৰ বসুও আহিছে আই.এন.এলৈ। (পৃ.৩০)

বাৰপূজীয়াত তিলক ডেকাক হত্যা কৰাৰ পাছত নেতাসকল যেতিয়া পলাই গ'ল, তেতিয়া গাঁৱৰ লোকসকলক কেনেদৰে অত্যাচাৰ কৰা হৈছিল তাৰ বৰ্ণনাও উপন্যাসখনত পোৱা যায়। (পৃ.৯)

পূৰ্বে উল্লেখ কৰি অহা হৈছে যে উপন্যাসখনৰ পাতনিত ঔপন্যাসিকে উপন্যাসখনৰ চৰিত্ৰসমূহ কাল্পনিক বুলি উল্লেখ কৰিলেও উপন্যাসখনত কেইবাটাও বাস্তৱ চৰিত্ৰ পোৱা যায়। পূৰ্বে উল্লেখ কৰি অহা বাস্তৱ চৰিত্ৰসমূহৰ উপৰি উপন্যাসখনত নগাঁৱৰ কিছুমান বিশেষ ব্যক্তিৰ উল্লেখ পোৱা যায়। এইবোৰে উপন্যাসখনৰ পৰিস্থিতিত বাস্তৱতা দান কৰিছে। এই লোকসকলৰ নাম পোনে পোনে ব্যৱহাৰ নকৰি তেওঁলোকৰ উপাধি অথবা নামবোৰ সামান্য পৰিৱৰ্তিতভাৱে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰিলেও পাঠকৰ তেওঁলোকক চিনিবলৈ অসুবিধা নহয়। যেনে, ভূঞা মানে হ'ল নগাঁৱৰ বিখ্যাত কংগ্ৰেছী নেতা হৰধৰ ভূঞা, ডাঃ বৰুৱা মানে ভূৱনেশ্বৰ বৰুৱা ইত্যাদি। (গোৱিন্দ প্ৰসাদ শৰ্মা, *বীৰেন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্যঃ ঔপন্যাসিকঃ* পৃ.৯২)

মৃত্যুঞ্জয় উপন্যাসৰ জৰিয়তে ঔপন্যাসিকে কিছুমান বাস্তৱ চৰিত্ৰ আৰু ঘটনাৰ আলমত কিছু কল্পনাৰ বহণ সানি বৰ্ণনাৰ কৌশলেৰে স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনৰ লগত সংপৃক্ত কিছুমান ঘটনাৰ পুনৰ্নিৰ্মাণ কৰিছে বুলি ক'ব পাৰি।



কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰমঃ এটি সমীক্ষাত্মক আলোচনা

চন্দনা দাস

১৯৭৪ চনৰ আঘোণ মাহৰ বাস পূৰ্ণিমা তিথিত কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰম প্ৰতিষ্ঠা হয়। ইয়াৰ জন্মদাতা শ্ৰী শ্ৰী অৰুণদেৱ গোস্বামী। এই সেৱাশ্ৰম প্ৰতিষ্ঠাৰ মূলমন্ত্ৰ হ'ল “কৃষ্ণগুৰু” একনাম ধৰ্ম প্ৰচাৰ আৰু প্ৰসাৰ কৰা। পূণ্যভূমি অসম মুলুকৰ বৰপেটা জিলাৰ এখন অখ্যাত গাওঁ নসত্ৰ। এই নসত্ৰতে ১৯৩৪ চনৰ জেঠ মাহৰ শুক্লাষ্টমী তিথিত এইজনা পৰমপুৰুষে মনুষ্যৰূপ ধাৰণ কৰি আৰিভাব হয়। তেওঁৰ “শুভবাৰ্তা” নামৰ পুথি উল্লেখ কৰা মতে পিতৃ ৰবিদেৱ আৰু মাতৃ মায়দেৱীৰ ভক্তিত সন্তুষ্ট হৈ সৰুৰে পৰা নানান অলৌকিকতাৰ মাজেৰে ইশ্বৰত্ব প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰি, সনাতন ধৰ্ম সংস্কাৰ কৰি সমাজক কু-সংস্কাৰ মুক্ত হোৱাৰ পথ দেখুৱাইছে। কৃষ্ণগুৰু প্ৰভূজনাক মনোহৰ দেৱৰ চতুৰ্দশ (১৪) বংশধৰ বুলি জনা যায়। তেৰাৰ আৰিভাৱৰ ৪০ বছৰৰ পৰাই অক্লান্ত ত্যাগ আৰু কষ্টৰ মাজেৰে “কৃষ্ণগুৰু ধৰ্ম” প্ৰচাৰ কৰে বিশ্ব শান্তি প্ৰতিষ্ঠাৰ অৰ্থে।

“কৃষ্ণগুৰু ধৰ্ম”ৰ মূলতেই হ'ল- একেশ্বৰবাদী শুদ্ধ সনাতন ধৰ্ম। সনাতন শব্দৰ অৰ্থ চিৰস্থায়ী। যাৰ ক্ষয় নাই, বিনাশ নাই, যি সদা নিত্য-শাস্বত। সনাতন ধৰ্মই হ'ল প্ৰত্যেক মানুহৰ স্ব-ধৰ্ম। বিশ্বৰ বিশাল বুকুত যিমান শাস্ত্ৰ, বেদ-বেদান্ত, পুৰাণ আছে সকলোৱেই একে কথাকেই দঢ়াই দঢ়াই কৈছে— ইশ্বৰ এজন, তেওঁ কাৰ্য্য কাৰণৰ হেতুকে বাৰে বাৰে পৃথিৱীত অৱতাৰ ধাৰণ কৰে নানাবিধ লীলাৱতাৰ ৰূপে। সনাতন ধৰ্মৰ মূল গুঢ়াৰ্থে বিষয় হ'ল এক ইশ্বৰক ভক্তি কৰা, ভজনা কৰা। তেওঁকে স্মৰণ কৰি সমস্ত কৰ্ম অপিত কৰা। ইয়াত নাই কোনো কল্পনাবাদী বা জড়বস্তুৰ উপাসনাৰ স্তুতি আদিৰ স্থান। এই ‘কৃষ্ণ গুৰু’ নাম গুৰু জনাই ভক্তসকলৰ মাজত প্ৰদান কৰে নসত্ৰ গাওঁৰ সুবৰ্ণকুড় নামে ঠাইত সুবৰ্ণকুড়ৰ আছে এক ইতিহাস। জলাশয়ৰ মাজত অৱস্থিত সুবৰ্ণকুড়া হাবি জংঘলেৰে আৱৰা মাত্ৰ তিনিকঠা মাটি, য'ত হিংস্ৰ জীৱ-জন্তুৰ বাসস্থান বুলি অঞ্চলবাসীৰ সৰ্বজন বিদিত। তেনে এটুকুৰা ঠাইত সেৱাশ্ৰম পাতি কৃষ্ণগুৰু প্ৰভুৱে ভক্তসকলক কৃষ্ণগুৰু নাম প্ৰদান কৰে। এই সুবৰ্ণকুড়ৰ আছে আন এক কাহিনী। “কৃষ্ণগুৰু

দৰ্শনত উল্লেখিত— “অসমৰ পূৰ্ব সীমান্তৱৰ্তী কুণ্ডিল নগৰৰ ভীষ্মক ৰজাৰ জীয়াৰী ৰুক্মিনীক দ্বাৰকাপতি ভগৱান শ্ৰীকৃষ্ণই বিবাহ কৰিছিল। ৰুক্মিনীক হৰণ কৰি দ্বাৰকালৈ প্ৰস্থান কৰোতে বৰ্তমানৰ “কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰম” এই স্থানতে এখন্তেক জিৰণি লৈ নামৰ বীজ ৰোপন কৰি কলিৰ শেষত এই ভূমিখণ্ডতে কল্কি অৱতাৰ ধৰিব বুলি বাক্য কৰিছিল। এই পূণ্যভূমি অসমক বশিষ্ঠ, বিশ্বামিত্ৰ, আদি তেজস্বী ঋষিমুনি, মহাপুৰুষ শ্ৰীমন্ত শংকৰদেৱ, মাধৱদেৱ জন্ম গ্ৰহণ কৰাৰ দৰে কৃষ্ণগুৰু প্ৰভূৱেওঁ কলিকালত মানবীৰূপে অৱতাৰ ধাৰণ কৰে। তেৰাই প্ৰদান কৰা কৃষ্ণগুৰু নাম লোৱা ভকতৰ সংখ্যা কৌটিৰ ঘৰ অতিক্ৰম কৰিছে। ভকতৰ বিশ্বাস, গুৰুজনাৰ কৃপাত “বোবাই কথা কব পৰিছে, লেঙেৰাই পাহাৰ বগাইছে, অন্ধই দৃষ্টি লাভ কৰিছে।”

বৰ্তমানৰ কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰম ২০০ বিঘাতকৈ অধিক মাটিৰে আৱৰা। যাৰ সৌন্দৰ্য্য অতুলনীয়। লক্ষ লক্ষ দৰ্শনাৰ্থী, ভক্তপ্ৰাণ ৰাইজে তথা দেশ-বিদেশীৰ আকৰ্ষণৰ স্থান। ইয়াৰ কাৰ্য্যৱলী নীতি-নিয়ম, আদৰ্শ, মঠ মন্দিৰ, সাহিত্যৰাজি, অনুষ্ঠান-প্ৰতিষ্ঠান, বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ আঁচনি, প্ৰাকৃতিক সৌন্দৰ্য্যৰে ভৰপূৰ এখনি মনোৰম দৃশ্যৰে সু-শোভিত বৈকুণ্ঠপুৰী সদৃশ্য সেৱাশ্ৰম। এই সেৱাশ্ৰম বা ধৰ্ম গ্ৰহণৰ বাবে গুৰুজনাই লিখা গুৰুবাণীসমূহ হ’ল— “আমি জাতি নহয়, জ্ঞাতি নহয়, গোষ্ঠী নহয়, জড় নহয়, আমি মাথো কৃষ্ণদাস আত্মাহে। দুৰ্বাক্যই পাপ, পাপেই বিঘ্নি। বুভুক্ষুজনক ঘিণ নকৰি খাবলৈ দিবা; আত্মা প্ৰেমেই জগতত শান্তিৰ মূল, একাত্মবোধেই জগতত শান্তিৰ মূল। এই বাণীৰ জৰিয়তে গুৰুজনাই সমগ্ৰ জগতবাসীকে আহ্বান জনাইছে মনুষ্য তনু সামফল কৰাৰ।

নীতি-নিয়মৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত আশ্ৰম পৰিচালনা সমিতি যথেষ্ট কঠোৰ। আশ্ৰম প্ৰৱেশৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত জোতা-চেঙেল খুলি নিজৰ নাম ঠিকনা বা ভকত হ’লে চক্ৰৰ নাম লিখি, হাত-মুখ ধুই প্ৰথম তোৰণ প্ৰৱেশ কৰাৰ অনুমতি। মঠ আকৃতিৰ তোৰণত থিয় দিয়াৰ লগে লগে দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায় এক নান্দনিক পৰিবেশ। এই আশ্ৰমৰ বৰ্ণনা চমুকৈ দিয়াতো সাগৰত মানিক বিচৰাৰ লেখীয়া। যাৰ সৌন্দৰ্য্যই খন্তেকতে দৰ্শনাৰ্থীৰ মন-প্ৰাণ ভৰাই তোলে অন্য এখন পৃথিৱীলৈ। আলকাগংগাৰ সৌন্দৰ্য্যই যেন হাত বাউল দি মাতে প্ৰতিজন দৰ্শনাৰ্থীক। ৰাজহাঁহ বোৰে আনন্দ মনে ঘূৰি ফুৰিছে অলকাগংগাৰ পানীৰ মাজত। দেৱালৰ প্ৰতিছকিবোৰে নিৰ্মল স্বচ্ছ পানীত তিৰবিৰাই ফুৰিছে। অলকাগংগাৰ মধ্যভাগত পানীৰ মাজত ধীৰ স্থিৰ হৈ পদুমফুলত বহি থকা মঠটোৰ বৰ্ণনাই সুকীয়া।

সত্ৰ, ৰজ, তমঃ নামে ধেনু আকৃতিৰ দ্বিতীয় তোৰণ পাৰ হৈ সুউচ্চ মঠৰ তলেৰে গৈ এছিয়া মহাদেশৰ ভিতৰত বৃহৎ কীৰ্তন ঘৰটোৰ মূল প্ৰৱেশদ্বাৰ। কীৰ্তনঘৰৰ পূৰ দিশৰ মধ্যভাগত কৃষ্ণগুৰু প্ৰভূৱে প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰা উচ্চ থাপনাখন। সন্মুখত অহৰ্নিশে জ্বলি থকা বস্তিগাচি। দক্ষিণ দিশত বৃহৎ খুটাত সংস্থাপিত গুৰু আসনখন। কীৰ্তনঘৰত

প্ৰতিদিনে ৰাতিপুৱা, দুপৰীয়া, গধূলি ভাগৱত পাঠ কৰাৰ বাবে এজন ভাগৱতী, নিত্য নৈমিত্তিক কৰ্ম কৰাৰ বাবে এজন দেউৰী মূল দায়িত্বত বাচি দিয়া হয়। হৰি নামেৰে মুখৰিত কীৰ্তনঘৰৰ সৌন্দৰ্য্য সোণত সূৰগা চৰা। কীৰ্তন ঘৰৰ উপৰিওঁ আশ্ৰমত প্ৰতিষ্ঠিত কৰা মঠ মন্দিৰ সমূহ— কৃষ্ণধাম, গুৰুধাম, গোলকধাম, বৈকুণ্ঠধাম, চৰণামৃত মঠ, পদচিহ্ন মঠ, সমাধিক্ষেত্ৰ, সংৰক্ষণ গৃহ, গ্ৰন্থাগাৰ, গুৰুগৃহ, শৰণগৃহ, বাটচৰা, ভাজঘৰ, অতিথিশাল, ৰান্ধনীশাল ইত্যাদি। নিৰ্দিষ্ট কেইটিমান গৃহ যেনে— শৰণগৃহৰ আছে আন এক মাদকতা — এই শৰণগৃহত দুপৰীয়া এক বজাত গুৰুজনাই দৰ্শনাৰ্থীক বা ভক্তসকলক দৰ্শন দিয়ে। ঈশ্বৰ পিতৃস্বৰূপ মহাপ্ৰভুৱে ভকতৰ মনোবাঞ্ছা পূৰণৰ অৰ্থে সমস্যাৰ সমাধান, আলাপ-আলোচনা কৰা দেখা যায়। লগতে এই গৃহতে ইচ্ছাকৃত ব্যক্তিসকলক শৰণ দিয়ে। কৃষ্ণধামত মহাপ্ৰভুৱে ভক্তগণৰ লগত ধৰ্মালোচনা কৰে। অতিথিশালাত পঞ্চাছ হাজাৰ মানুহে থাকিব পৰাকৈ সুন্দৰ ব্যৱস্থাৰ লগতে গাতে লাগি থকা ৰান্ধনিশালটোত হাজাৰ মানুহে একেলগে বহি সিদ্ধ প্ৰসাদ গ্ৰহণ কৰিব পৰা ব্যৱস্থা আছে।

পৰমেশ্বৰ পৰমপিতা কৃষ্ণগুৰু ঈশ্বৰৰ আন এক অনবদ্য অৱদান সাহিত্য ৰাজি। তেওঁৰ শ্ৰীমুখে নিসৃত বাক্যামৃতসমূহ ভকত-ভক্তসকলে অশেষ কষ্ট কৰি ধৰি ৰাখি শতাধিক কিতাপ কৃষ্ণগুৰু প্ৰকাশনৰ জৰিয়তে প্ৰকাশ কৰা হৈছে। কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰমৰ ভিতৰত জিলিকি থকা গ্লাচৰ ঘৰটোত নীলা ৰংৰ মাজত কৃষ্ণধাম মঠটো প্ৰতীক হৈ থকা অসংখ্য কিতাপ গ্ৰন্থাগাৰত উপলব্ধ। এই গ্ৰন্থসমূহৰ ভিতৰত উল্লেখযোগ্য গ্ৰন্থ— শ্ৰীমদ্ভাগৱত সাৰ, শ্ৰীমদ্ভাগৱত সাৰ ৰসামৃত, কৃষ্ণগুৰু তত্ত্বসাৰ, গীতামহন, ভক্তিতত্ত্ব, অমৃতবাণী আৰু প্ৰেমভক্তি, আৰু বহুতো। এই গ্ৰন্থসমূহৰ প্ৰায়বোৰে গ্ৰন্থই ধৰ্মমূলক আৰু নিয়মাৱলী। দৰ্শনাৰ্থী তথা ভকত-ভক্তসকতৰ সুবিধাৰ্থে ভাষাৰ দিশত- অসমীয়া, ইংৰাজী, হিন্দী, বড়ো, মিচিং ভাষা আদিত ছপা কৰা হৈছে গ্ৰন্থসমূহ। ইয়াৰোপৰি তেওঁৰ আন এক মহান অৱদান হ'ল দুখীয়া, মধ্যবিত্ত সমাজৰ লগতে ভকতসকলৰ সুবিধাৰ্থে আগবাঢ়ি যোৱাৰ পথৰ আঁচনি সমূহ—

১. কৃষ্ণগুৰু আন্তৰ্জাতিক আধ্যাত্মিক মহিলা সমিতি।
২. কৃষ্ণগুৰু আন্তৰ্জাতিক আধ্যাত্মিক যুৱসমাজ সমিতি।
৩. কৃষ্ণগুৰু আন্তৰ্জাতিক আধ্যাত্মিক শিশুসমাজ সমিতি।
৪. কৃষ্ণগুৰু বয়নশিল্প।
৫. কৃষ্ণগুৰু প্ৰকাশন।
৬. কৃষ্ণগুৰু চিকিৎসা সেৱা।
৭. কৃষ্ণগুৰু দুগ্ধ প্ৰকল্প।
৮. কৃষ্ণগুৰু বিবাহ-ভৱন।

৯. কৃষ্ণগুৰু দৰিদ্ৰ নাৰায়ণ সেৱা আঁচনি।

১০. কৃষ্ণগুৰু কৃষি সেৱা কেন্দ্ৰ (ইয়াত প্ৰায় ২০০ বিঘা মাটিত বৈজ্ঞানিক পদ্ধতিত কৰ্ম কৰা হয়) ইত্যাদি।

গুৰুজনাই প্ৰকাশ কৰা আন এক তাৎপৰ্য্যপূৰ্ণ গুৰুবাণী স্কুলীয়া শিক্ষাৰ লগতে আধ্যাত্মিক জ্ঞানৰ প্ৰয়োজন। এটি শিশু বা ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীসকল সমাজত সুস্থ-সবল ব্যক্তি হ'বৰ বাবে কিতাপৰ জ্ঞানৰ লগতে আধ্যাত্মিক জ্ঞানৰ বৰ্তমান সময়ত খুবেই প্ৰয়োজন। সেই লক্ষ্যৰেই গুৰুজনাই প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰা শিক্ষানুষ্ঠান সমূহ, য'ত গুৰুকুলীয়া শিক্ষা লাভ কৰি ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীসকল উপকৃত হোৱাৰ লগতে দেশৰ বাহিৰতো লোকহিতাৰ্থে সুন্দৰ কৰ্ম কৰি আছে। সেই শিক্ষানুষ্ঠান সমূহৰ গুণ গৰিমা অটুট। কণ কণ ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীৰ পৰা উচ্চশিক্ষা পৰ্যায়লৈকে যেনে—

১. কৃষ্ণগুৰু বিদ্যাজ্যোতি (অসমীয়া, ইংৰাজী মাধ্যম) স্থাপিত— ১৯৯৪

২. কৃষ্ণগুৰু হাইস্কুল। স্থাপিত— ১৯৮৯

৩. কৃষ্ণগুৰু মহাবিদ্যালয়। স্থাপিত— ১৯৯২

৪. কৃষ্ণগুৰু বিজ্ঞান আৰু প্ৰযুক্তি মহাবিদ্যালয়। স্থাপিত— ২০০৯

৫. কৃষ্ণগুৰু আধ্যাত্মিক বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়। স্থাপিত— ২০১৭

শিক্ষানুষ্ঠানত অধ্যয়নৰত ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীসকলৰ বাবে ছাত্ৰাবাস, ছাত্ৰী নিবাসৰ সুন্দৰ ব্যৱস্থাও আছে। অকল অসমতে যে শিক্ষানুষ্ঠান আছে তেনে নহয়। অসম তথা দেশৰ চাৰিসীমাৰ বাহিৰতো শিক্ষানুষ্ঠান, ভকত, কৃষ্ণগুৰু শাখা সেৱাশ্ৰম (১০৪ খন) প্ৰতিষ্ঠিত। শিক্ষাৰ লগতে মেডিকেল বিভাগো সমানে আগবাঢ়ি গৈছে। মুঠতে ইয়াৰ অনুষ্ঠানবোৰৰ উন্নতিৰ কথা সচাকৈ শলাগিবলগীয়া।

ওপৰোক্ত আলোচনাৰ উপৰিও কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰমৰ আছে আন এক গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ “মহামিলন পালনাম”। বিশ্ব-শান্তিৰ বাবে পালন কৰা “কৃষ্ণগুৰু একনাম অখণ্ড কীৰ্ত্তন (পালনাম) কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰমৰ এক বিশেষ বাৰ্ষিকঅনুষ্ঠান। ৭ দিন জোৰা এই “কৃষ্ণগুৰু একনাম অখণ্ড কীৰ্ত্তনত” বিশ্বৰ বিভিন্ন প্ৰান্তত থকা ভক্ত/ভক্তাই যোগদান কৰাৰ উপৰিও বিভিন্ন দেশী বিদেশী দৰ্শনাৰ্থীৰ সমাগম হয়। উল্লেখযোগ্য যে প্ৰতি ১২ বছৰৰ মূৰে-মূৰে এই সাতদিনীয়া কৃষ্ণগুৰু একনাম অখণ্ড কীৰ্ত্তন এমহীয়াকৈ অনাৰ্ঠিত হয়। (কৃষ্ণগুৰু আন্তঃৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় পৰিচালনা সমিতিৰ দ্বাৰা এনেবোৰ ধৰ্মীয় অনুষ্ঠান পৰিচালনা কৰা অন্যতম কৰ্ত্তব্য)। অকল কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰমত যে পালনাম অনুষ্ঠিত হয় তেনে নহয়। ভকত সকলৰ ঘৰত বা শাখা সেৱাশ্ৰম সমূহতো সাধ্যনুযায়ী বছৰেকত এদিন পালনাম অনুষ্ঠিত কৰা দেখা যায়।

বিশ্ব ব্ৰহ্মাণ্ডৰ পৰা এইজনা পৰম পিতাই এটা যুগৰ সমাপ্তি ঘটায় ২০১৭ চনৰ মাঘ মাহৰ ১৪ তাৰিখে বৈকুণ্ঠগামী হয়। তেৰাই নিজ মুখে স্বীকাৰ কৰি গৈছে—

“মই নিৰাকাৰ ব্ৰহ্মা জগতৰ হৰি।
গুৰু হয়৷ সাকাৰৰূপে থাকো ছদ্ম কৰি।।
গুৰু ৰূপ ধৰি মই শিষ্যক উদ্ধাৰো।
শিষ্যৰূপে হয়৷ মই গুৰু সেৱা কৰো।।

ভক্তগণৰ মাজত একেই বিশ্বাস তেৰাই ইশ্বৰ। গুৰুজনাৰ দৈনন্দিন জীৱনত ব্যৱহৃত সামগ্ৰীসমূহ সংগ্ৰাহলয়ত সংগৃহিত হৈ আছে আজিওঁ। যেনে— তেৰাৰ খৰম, বিচনা, গুৰু আসন, বাচন-বৰ্তন, ধুতি-চেলিং আদি। পদুম পুখুৰীৰ পাৰত তেওঁৰ সমাধিক্ষেত্ৰ। পিঞ্জৰাবদ্ধ চৰাই চিৰিকতিয়েও যেন অপেক্ষাৰত তেৰাৰ সান্নিধ্য। এক অনবদ্য, অক্লান্ত, চিৰযুগমীয়া যুগৰ সমাপ্তি। তেৰাই সৃষ্টি কৰি থৈ যোৱা কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰমক প্ৰতিজন ব্যক্তিয়েই একেমুখে স্বীকাৰ কৰে যে সচাকৈ “কৃষ্ণগুৰু সেৱাশ্ৰম” বৈকুণ্ঠপুৰী সদৃশ। এই সেৱাশ্ৰম চোৱাতো প্ৰতিজন ব্যক্তিয়ে প্ৰয়োজন আছে।



উনবিংশ শতকের শেষ ও বিংশ শতকের দ্বিতীয় দশকে বঙ্কিম ও রবীন্দ্রনাথের উপন্যাসে স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলন

গীতা রায়

উনবিংশ শতকের বাংলা সাহিত্যে নবতর চিন্তাধারার ফসল হল উপন্যাস। প্রাচীন বা মধ্যযুগের সাহিত্যের মধ্যেও কিছু উপন্যাসের বীজ লুকিয়ে ছিল। সাহিত্যে উপন্যাসের বিশাল বিস্তার। উনবিংশ শতকে যারা উপন্যাস রচনায় ব্রতী হয়েছিলেন তারা ইংরেজি বা বিদেশি সাহিত্যের ভাবনাকেই তাদের সাহিত্যে প্রতিফলিত করতে চেষ্টা করেছেন সেই সঙ্গে ছিল পারিপার্শ্বিক সমাজ অর্থনীতি এবং মনস্তত্ত্বের জটিল প্রক্রিয়া। উনবিংশ শতাব্দীর ভারতবর্ষে ব্রিটিশ সরকারের অত্যাচারের স্বরূপ এবং পরাধীনতার মর্মবেদনাকে তুলে ধরে তৎকালীন ভারতীয় সাহিত্য জাতীয়তাবাদ ও দেশপ্রেম সম্পর্কে উদ্বুদ্ধ করে তোলে। সেইসময় মাইকেল মধুসূদন দত্ত, দীনবন্ধু মিত্র, রঙ্গলাল বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায়, রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর তাদের বিভিন্ন রচনায় তৎকালীন ভারতবর্ষের প্রকৃত স্বরূপ ও জাতীয়তাবাদী ভাবধারার প্রকাশ পায়। সেসময়ের সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ জাতীয়তাবাদী রচনা ছিল বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের ‘আনন্দমঠ’। উপন্যাসটির মূল প্রেক্ষাপট ছিল ১১৭৬ খ্রীস্টাব্দ বাংলার মঘন্তর এবং ১৭৭০ খ্রিস্টাব্দের সন্ন্যাসী বিদ্রোহ। এই উপন্যাসটির মধ্যে দিয়ে তৎকালীন সময়ের মানুষের অনাভাব ও হাহাকারকে তুলে ধরেছেন।

‘আনন্দমঠ’ উপন্যাসের মধ্য দিয়ে বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র দেশবাসীকে স্বৈরাচারী শাসনের বিরুদ্ধে আহ্বান জানিয়েছেন। সন্ন্যাসধর্ম প্রচারের মধ্য দিয়ে তিনি একদল নিবেদিত প্রাণ রাজনৈতিক সন্ন্যাসীর কথা বলেছেন। যাঁদের মূল উদ্দেশ্যই ছিল মানব কল্যাণ, মানব মুক্তি এবং দেশমাতার মুক্তি। যাদের এক হাতে মায়ের পায়ে নিবেদনের জন্য পূজার ফুল অন্য হাতে অস্ত্র। অর্থাৎ সন্ন্যাসীরা এক দিকে যেমন মাতৃমুক্তির মাধ্যমে দেশবাসীর কল্যাণ করবেন অন্যদিকে সশস্ত্র বিপ্লবের মধ্য দিয়ে বিদেশি সাম্রাজ্যবাদের পতন করবেন।

বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র চরমপন্থী আন্দোলনে বিশ্বাসী ছিলেন তার রচিত ‘বন্দেমাতরম’ গানটি ভারতবর্ষকে জাগরিত করেছিল—

“বন্দেমাতরম

সুজলাং সুফলাং

মলয়জশীতলাম

শস্যশ্যামলাং

মাতরম।”(১)

‘আনন্দমঠ’ উপন্যাসটির মূল ঘটনা আবর্তিত হয়েছে মহেন্দ্র সিং ও কল্যাণী দেবী নামক এক সম্ভ্রান্ত পরিবারের দম্পতিকে কেন্দ্র করে। যারা মন্বন্তরের ফলে গ্রাম ত্যাগ করেন শহরের উদ্দেশ্যে এবং পথে তারা বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে যান। স্বামী সত্যানন্দ এই উপন্যাসের অন্যতম চরিত্র যে কল্যাণী ও তার মেয়েকে মহেন্দ্রের কাছে পৌঁছে দেন। পরবর্তীতে এই মহেন্দ্র সন্তানদলের সঙ্গে যোগ দেন। স্বামী সত্যানন্দ ও তার প্রমুখ শিষ্যগণ (জীবানন্দ, ভবানন্দ ইত্যাদি) নিয়ে তৎকালীন অত্যাচারী শাসকদের বিরুদ্ধে ঐক্যবদ্ধ হয়ে সন্ন্যাসী দল গঠন করেন। আর এই সন্তানগণ আশ্রমে তৈরি করে, সংগ্রামের অনুশীলন শুরু করেন। এই আশ্রমেই ‘আনন্দমঠ’ নামে পরিচিত। দেশমাতৃকার স্বরূপ হিসেবে মাতৃ মূর্তি স্থাপন করে তার আরাধনা এই সন্তান দল করতে থাকেন। বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র এই উপন্যাসের মধ্য দিয়ে দেখিয়েছেন স্বাধীনতা আসবে ত্যাগ মস্ত্রে দীক্ষিত একনিষ্ঠ সন্ন্যাসী সত্যানন্দের মতো প্রকৃত নেতার হাত ধরে সন্তান দলের আত্ম বলিদান, দেশপ্রেম, রক্তক্ষয়ী সংগ্রামের মধ্য দিয়ে; আবেদন বা অনুনয় বিনয়ের মধ্য দিয়ে নয়। পরবর্তীকালে বঙ্কিম প্রদর্শিত এই পথেই ভারতবর্ষের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের সশস্ত্র বিপ্লবীরা আন্দোলনে शामिल হয়েছিলেন চরমপন্থায় বিশ্বাসী হয়ে।

বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র জন্মভূমিকে নিছক ভৌগোলিক অঞ্চল বলে মনে করেননি। তিনি জন্মভূমিকে মাতৃরূপে বা দেবীরূপে বন্দনা করেছেন। ভবানন্দের জবানবিত্তে বলেছেন—

“আমরা অন্য মা মানি না জননী জন্মভূমিশ্চ স্বর্গাদপি গরীয়সী। আমরা বলি জন্মভূমিই জননী, আমাদের মা নাই, বাপ নাই, ভাই নাই, বন্ধু নাই, স্ত্রী নাই, পুত্র নাই, ঘর নাই, বাড়ি নেই। আমাদের আছে কেবল সেই সুজলা, সুফলা মলয়জশীতলা শস্যশ্যামলা।”(২)

এই উপন্যাসের মধ্য দিয়ে বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র বুঝিয়েছেন সমাজে ধনী-দরিদ্র, উঁচু-নীচ নারী-পুরুষের সকলের মিলিত প্রচেষ্টা ও জাগরণের মধ্য দিয়েই আমাদের দেশমাতৃকার মুক্তি সম্ভব। সত্যানন্দের মধ্য দিয়ে তিনি মায়ের তিনটি রূপের বর্ণনা দিয়েছেন- প্রথমত, জগদ্ধাত্রী মূর্তি; দ্বিতীয়ত কালিমাময়ী অক্ষকারাচ্ছন্ন, নগ্নিকা এবং তৃতীয়ত জ্যোতির্ময়ী দশভূজা মূর্তি। দশভূজার বর্ণনা প্রসঙ্গে বলেছেন—

“এই মা যা হইবেন। দশভূজা দশ দিকে প্রসারিত- তাহাতে নানা আয়ুধরূপে নানা শক্তির শোভিত, পদতলে শত্রু বিমদিত, পদাশ্রিত বীরকেশরী শত্রু নিপীড়নে নিযুক্ত, দিগভূজা।” (৩)

মায়ের পূর্বের ধন ও ঐশ্বর্যের পরিপূর্ণ রূপ পরবর্তীতে বিদেশি শাসনের যে কালিমাময় অবস্থান এবং ভবিষ্যৎ মুক্তি লাভ করে পুনরায় দশভূজা রূপ নেবেন এই দেশ মাতৃকা। ভারতবর্ষে মাতৃমূর্তির এরূপ বর্ণনা স্বদেশী আন্দোলনকারীদের মনে বিভিন্নভাবে অঙ্ঘুৎপাতের সঞ্চার করেছে।

পুরুষ চরিত্রের পাশাপাশি বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের নারী চরিত্রগুলি কল্যাণী, শান্তি, গৌরীদেবী, নিমাই প্রমুখদের জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনে গুরুত্ব অপরিসীম। শান্তি ওরফে নবীনানন্দ তাঁর শাস্ত্র ও অস্ত্রশিক্ষার মধ্য দিয়ে বুঝিয়ে দিয়েছেন একজন নারী হয়েও সন্তান দলে যোগ দেওয়া যায় এবং যাকে সত্যানন্দের মতো গুরু নিজে হাতে শিক্ষা দিয়েছেন। কল্যাণী তার স্বামীর সন্তানদলে যোগ দেওয়ার পথে যাতে কোন অন্তরায় না থাকে তার জন্য নিজের আত্মাখতি পথ বেছে নিয়েছিল। যদিও সে শেষ পর্যন্ত বেঁচে গিয়েছিল। ভারতমাতার প্রতি অবিচল শ্রদ্ধা ও ভক্তি এবং দেশমাতার দুর্দশার প্রতি মানুষকে সচেতন করেছিলেন সেই সঙ্গে স্বদেশ চেতনায় উদ্বুদ্ধ করেছিলেন বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র।

বিংশ শতকে রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর তাঁর সাহিত্যকর্মে সমসাময়িক চিত্রপট সমাজ বাস্তবতাকে তুলে ধরেছেন। বঙ্গভঙ্গের যে বেদনা ও গ্লানি এবং ব্রিটিশ অত্যাচারিত ভারতবাসীকে জাগরুকের প্রচেষ্টা রবীন্দ্রনাথের সাহিত্য চিন্তার ফসল। স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের সঙ্গে রবীন্দ্রনাথ একাত্মভাবে যুক্ত ছিলেন। কারণ এই আন্দোলন ছিল নিপীড়িত জাতির ঐক্যবদ্ধ প্রতিবাদ। এককথায় রবীন্দ্রনাথ ছিলেন স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের অন্যতম পথিকৃত। প্রফুল্ল কুমার সরকার মন্তব্য করেছেন—

“১৯০০ থেকে ১৯০৫ এই পাঁচ বৎসর বাংলার জাতীয় জীবনে মহাসম্মিলন। এই পাঁচ বছরে বাংলাদেশে এক শতাব্দীর পথ অতিক্রম করিয়েছিল। রবীন্দ্রনাথ এই ‘স্বদেশী যুগের উষায়’ জাতীর ভার ও চিন্তার পরিচালনার কার্যে প্রধান অংশগ্রহণ করিয়া তাহাকে বৃহত্তর আন্দোলনের জন্য প্রস্তুত করিয়াছিলেন।” (৪)

রবীন্দ্রনাথের ‘গোরা’ উপন্যাসে ঊনবিংশ শতকের শেষভাগের প্রেক্ষাপট রচনা করেছেন। সেই সময় ভারতবর্ষ তথা বাংলায় ব্রাহ্মসমাজ ও হিন্দু সমাজের আন্দোলন, স্বদেশপ্রেম, নারী মুক্তি, জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলন এবং সামাজিক স্বীকৃতি- এই সমস্ত আন্দোলনের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ‘গোরা’ উপন্যাসে উঠে এসেছে। বঙ্গভঙ্গকে কেন্দ্র করে গড়ে ওঠা স্বদেশী আন্দোলনকে রবীন্দ্রনাথ সমর্থন করেছিলেন। এক বৃহত্তর জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনের প্রেক্ষাপট এবং দেশ মাতৃকার প্রতি ভালোবাসার প্রচণ্ড আবেগ লক্ষ করা যায় এই উপন্যাসে। রবীন্দ্রনাথ ভারতের জাতীয়তাবোধের শক্তি ও দুর্বলতা দুই লক্ষ্য

করেছিলেন স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের ব্যর্থতাকে উন্মোচন করতে গিয়ে তিনি জাতি ও জাতিসত্ত্বার স্বরূপ হিসেবে ‘গোরা’ চরিত্রটি গড়ে তুলেছেন। রবীন্দ্রনাথ স্বদেশ সম্পর্কে বলেছেন—

“আমাদের দেশকে সম্পূর্ণভাবে কেউই কেড়ে নিতে পারে না, এবং সেই দেশকে বাইরে থেকে দয়া করে কেউ আমাদের হাতে তুলে দেবে এমন শক্তি কারো নেই। দেশের পরে নিজের স্বাভাবিক অধিকারকে যে পরিমাণে আমরা ত্যাগ করেছি সেই পরিমাণেই অস্ত্রে তাকে অধিকার করেছে।” (৫)

জাতীয়তাবাদ কোনো নির্দিষ্ট জাতি বা জনগোষ্ঠীর মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ নয়, ভারতবর্ষের প্রত্যেকটি মানুষের ঐক্যবদ্ধতাই জাতিগঠনের মূল উপাদান। হিন্দু ব্রাহ্মণ পরিবারে লালিত-পালিত হওয়ার ফলে গোরার মধ্যে হিন্দু ধর্মের কুসংস্কার গোঁড়ামি অন্যদিকে ব্রাহ্মধর্মের প্রতি বিদ্বেষভাব লক্ষ্য করা যায়। তাঁর বিশ্বাস ছিল হিন্দু ধর্মের চালিত পথেই একদিন সুগঠিত ভারতবর্ষ গঞ্জবে উঠবে। কিন্তু এটাই ছিল গোরার ভ্রুটি, হিন্দুধর্মের সংস্কারের মধ্যে প্রকৃত ভারতবর্ষ নেই। শহরের বাইরে গ্রাম পরিদর্শনে গিয়ে স্বদেশের আসল চেহারা বুঝতে পারে সেখানে ইংরেজের অপশাসন, গ্রামীণ মানুষের দুর্দশা, কুসংস্কার, অজ্ঞতাকে সে উপলব্ধি করে। গোরা বিনয়কে জানায়—

“ভারতবর্ষের সর্বাঙ্গীণ মূর্তিটা সবার কাছে তুলে ধরো তাহলেই লোকে পাগল হয়ে যাবে...প্রাণ দেবার জন্য ঠেলাঠেলি পড়ে যাবে।” (৬)

অর্থাৎ ব্রিটিশ অপশাসন ও অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে সমবেত বিদ্রোহের ফলে গ্রামোন্নয়ন এবং তার মাধ্যমেই দেশের উন্নয়নের কথা বলেছেন। এভাবেই দেশকে শৃঙ্খল মুক্ত করা যাবে। রবীন্দ্রনাথ কখনোই বিকৃত বা বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদী চিন্তাধারাকে গুরুত্ব দেননি।

একসময় গোরা জানতে পারে তার জন্ম পরিচয়, আসলে সে এক আইরিশ দম্পতির সন্তান। সে পরেশ বাবুকে বলে—

“...আমি আজ ভারতবর্ষীয়। আমার মধ্যে হিন্দু, মুসলমান, খ্রিস্টান কোনো সমাজের কোনো বিরোধ নেই। আজ এই ভারতবর্ষের সকলের জাতই আমার জাত, সকলের অন্নই আমার অন্ন।” (৭)

রবীন্দ্রনাথ গোরার মধ্যে শুদ্ধিকরণ করেছেন এককথায় হিন্দুত্বের সংস্কার থেকে বিশ্বমানবতার উত্তরণ ঘটিয়েছেন। আনন্দময়ীর পায়ের কাছে আশ্রয় নিয়ে গোরা বলেছে—

“মা, তুমিই আমার মা। যে মাকে খুঁজে বেড়াচ্ছিলুম তিনিই আমার ঘরের মধ্যে এসে বসেছিলেন। তোমার জাত নেই, বিচার নেই, ঘৃণা নেই—তুমি শুধু কল্যাণের প্রতিমা। তুমিই আমার ভারতবর্ষ।” (৮)

আনন্দময়ী হল ভারতমাতার স্বরূপ। তিনি ব্রাহ্মণী হয়ে আইরিশ সন্তান গোরাকে

পুত্রস্নেহে মানুষ করেছেন তেমনি খ্রিস্টান দাসী লজমিয়ার হাতে জল পান করেছেন। যার কাছে জাত ধর্মের ভেদাভেদ নেই, সেই মানবধর্ম ও মানব কল্যাণের প্রতীক। তিনি বিনয়কে বলেছেন—

“মানুষ বস্তুটি যে কত সত্য, আর মানুষ যা নিয়ে দলাদলি করে, ঝগড়া করে, মরে তা যে কত মিথ্যে সেকথা ভগবান যেদিন গোরােকে দিয়েছেন সেই দিনই বুঝিয়ে দিয়েছেন। ব্রাহ্মণই বা কে, আর হিন্দুই বা কে? মানুষের হৃদয়ের তো কোনো জাত নেই-সেইখানেই ভগবান সকলকে মেলান এবং নিজে এসে মেলেন।” (৯)

গোরার মতো ধর্মের অন্ধ গোঁড়ামি বিনয়ের মধ্যে ছিল না। বিনয় ব্রাহ্মসমাজের সদস্য পরেশ বাবুর বাড়িতে যাতায়াত করতেন। সে আন্দোলনে নারীদের অংশগ্রহণের গুরুত্ব বুঝেছিল। রবীন্দ্রনাথ বিনয়ের মধ্য দিয়ে বুঝিয়েছেন জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনে শিক্ষা, নম্রতা ও উদার মনস্কতা নিয়ে বাঁপিয়ে পড়তে হবে। সেখানে কোন সংকীর্ণ গণ্ডি থাকবে না। আর সুচরিতা ব্রাহ্মসমাজের সদস্য হলেও তার মধ্যে রবীন্দ্রনাথ সংস্কারমুক্ত জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনের নারীবাদী কর্তৃককে তুলে ধরেছেন। এই সুচরিতা যুক্তি ও শিক্ষা দিয়ে সমস্ত কিছুকে গ্রহণ করেন। রবীন্দ্রনাথ জানতেন ইংরেজদের বিরুদ্ধে লড়াই করতে গেলে আমাদের নারী-পুরুষ নির্বিশেষে ঐক্যবদ্ধশক্তি হিসেবে লড়াই করতে হবে যেখানে কোন লিঙ্গ ও জাতিভেদ থাকবে না।

‘ঘরে বাইরে’ উপন্যাসটি বঙ্গভঙ্গ ও সন্ত্রাসবাদী আন্দোলনের পটভূমিকায় রচিত। উপন্যাসে দুই পুরুষ প্রধান চরিত্র সন্দীপ ও নিখিলেশ। এই দুই চরিত্র পরস্পর বিরোধী চিন্তা ধারার প্রতীক; নিখিলেশ চরিত্রে আদর্শবাদের অবিশ্বাস্য প্রেরণা অন্যদিকে সন্দীপ কর্ম স্পৃহায় ভরপুর, জীবন তার গতিশীল। আসলে সন্দীপ চরিত্রের মধ্যে লোভ বিপুল প্রকাশ দেখেছেন রবীন্দ্রনাথ। সন্ত্রাসবাদীদের ত্যাগ ও আত্মোৎসর্গকে সম্মান দিতে রবীন্দ্রনাথ কোনদিন কৃষ্ঠাবোধ করেননি। কিন্তু তাদের আদর্শের কর্ম পথকে কোনদিন স্বীকার করেননি। এক জয়গায় নিখিলেশ সন্দীপকে বলেছেন—

“দেশকে দেবতা বলিয়ে যখন তোমরা অন্যায়কে কর্তব্য, অধর্মকে পুণ্য বলে চালাতে চাও তখন আমার হৃদয়ে লাগে বলেই আমি স্থির থাকতে পারি না।” (১০)

নিখিলেশের মতে আবেগ, উচ্ছাস ও উত্তেজনার মধ্যে স্বদেশকে খুঁজে পাওয়া যায় না। সে সময় বিদেশী জিনিস পরিহার এবং স্বদেশী গ্রহণের যে উত্তাল পরিস্থিতি তাতে রবীন্দ্রনাথ গা ভাসাতে পারেননি। তিনি নিখিলেশের উক্তিতে জানিয়েছেন—

“গড়ে তোলবার কাজে তোমরা সমস্ত শক্তি দাও, অনাবশ্যক ভেঙে ফেলবার উত্তেজনায় তার সিকি পয়সা বাজে খরচ করতে নেই।” (১১)

সন্দীপ স্বদেশী আন্দোলনকে কেন্দ্র করে যে অগ্নিজ্বালা সৃষ্টি করেছিল সে উদ্দীপনা বিমলার মধ্যে সঞ্চারিত হয়েছিল। সন্দীপের স্বদেশী চেউয়ে আন্দোলিত তথা মোহিত

হয়েছিল বিমলা। বিমলাকে নিয়ে সন্দীপের ভাবনা—

“যে ছিল ঘরের প্রদীপ তাকে দেয়ালির উৎসবে বাইরে টেনে আনার উদ্যোগ শুরু করল।” বিমলা সন্দীপের সঙ্গে একাত্ম হয়ে দেশের মঙ্গল সাধনায় বাঁপিয়ে পড়েছিল। নিজেকে দেশমাতৃকার প্রতিভূ ভেবে নিজের ভেতরে অসীম উৎসাহকে অনুভব করেছিল এবং স্বদেশের টানেই অন্দরমহলের গন্ডি পেড়িয়ে বিমলা বাইরে বেরিয়েছেন।

‘ঘরে বাইরে’র দুই পুরুষ চরিত্রের মধ্যে নিখিলেশ গঠনমূলক কাজের প্রতি বিশ্বাসী সে অর্থে দেশবাসীর মঙ্গলসাধনা। অন্যদিকে সন্দীপ দেশের স্বার্থেই ধ্বংসাত্মক মনোভাবাপন্ন। উভয়ের মধ্যে দিয়েই রবীন্দ্রনাথ ব্রিটিশ মুক্ত এবং আত্মনির্ভর ভারতবর্ষ গড়ে তোলার প্রচেষ্টা চালিয়েছেন।

উৎসের সন্ধান :

- ১) বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায়, ‘আনন্দমঠ’, ষষ্ঠ সংস্করণ, শ্রীউমাচরণ ব্যানার্জী (প্রকাশক), (ক্যালকাটা; বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র প্রেস, ১৮৯৭) পৃ. ১৫
- ২) তদেব, পৃ. ৩৩
- ৩) তদেব, পৃ. ৪২
- ৪) জাতীয় আন্দোলনে রবীন্দ্রনাথ-প্রফুল্লকুমার সরকার, পৃ. ৪৮
- ৫) রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, “রবীন্দ্রনাথের রাষ্ট্রনৈতিক মত”, কালাস্তর, (কলকাতা: বিশ্বভারতী, ১৯৯০) পৃ. ৬৬৪
- ৬) রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, ‘গোরা’, রবীন্দ্রনাথ উপন্যাস সমগ্র (অখন্ড), (কলকাতা: বিশ্বভারতী, ১৯৯০) পৃ. ১৮
- ৭) তদেব, পৃ. ৩৭৪
- ৮) তদেব, পৃ. ৩৭৫
- ৯) তদেব, পৃ. ১৮০
- ১০) রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, ‘ঘরে বাইরে’, রবীন্দ্র উপন্যাস সমগ্র (অখন্ড), পৃ. ১৮
- ১১) তদেব, পৃ. ১১



সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের সূচনায় 'দামিন-ই-কোহ'-এর প্রভাব

বাসন্তী মুন্সু

সিধু কানছু কিন ছললেৎ
নাগামখন বন বাড়ায়
ছল গেবায় চেলে কান?
দে বয়হা দেবন পিছায়।।
তিলকা মুরমু বিরসা মুঙা
ছল ছল ক হহলেৎ
ছল গেবায় চেলেকান
দে বয়হা দেবন পিছায়।।^{১ (গান)}

অর্থাৎ ইতিহাস থেকে জানি সিধু কানু শোষণের বিরুদ্ধে বিদ্রোহ করেছিলেন।
তিলকা মুরমু বিরসা মুঙা এরাও বিদ্রোহের পতাকা উড়িয়েছিলেন।

'ছল' অর্থাৎ বিদ্রোহ শুরু হয়েছিল ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাসে ১৮৫৭ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে
মহাবিদ্রোহের বহু পূর্বে ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে। ২০০ বছরের ইংরেজ রাজত্বে যে শাসন ও
জুলুম হয়েছিল তার বিরুদ্ধে ভারতে একাধিক কৃষক বিদ্রোহ হয়েছে। ১৭৬৩ খ্রিষ্টাব্দ
থেকে শুরু করে ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দ পর্যন্ত ভারতবর্ষে কৃষকদের বিদ্রোহ সম্পন্ন হয়েছে—
সন্ন্যাসী বিদ্রোহ থেকে ত্রিপুরার কৃষক বিদ্রোহ পর্যন্ত। তাই অন্যান্য কৃষক বিদ্রোহের
মতোই সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহ বা গণ সংগ্রাম ছিল ভারতীয় ইতিহাসের এক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অধ্যায়।

সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহ ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে সূচিত হয় এবং এটি প্রথম আরম্ভ হয়েছিল
সাঁওতাল পরগনা তথা দামিন-ই-কোহ নামক জায়গা থেকে। যেকোনো বিদ্রোহ শুরু
হওয়ার আগে এর পশ্চাতে থাকে এক দীর্ঘকালীন প্রেক্ষিত। সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের ক্ষেত্রে
জমিদার, মহাজন ও তাদের আমলাদের অত্যাচার এবং ইংরেজ শাসকের দীর্ঘদিনের
সীমাহীন বঞ্চনা, শোষণ ও অত্যাচার যা এ বিদ্রোহের ক্ষেত্রে ইন্ধন যুগিয়েছিল। শোষণ
শ্রেণী তথা জমিদার ও সুদখোর মহাজন সম্প্রদায় এবং ব্রিটিশ সরকার নির্মিত আর্থসামাজিক
শোষণ চক্রের চক্রব্যূহে অবরুদ্ধ হয়ে পড়েছিল তৎকালীন সাঁওতাল সমাজ। এই চক্রের

বিরামহীন অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে সাঁওতাল সমাজ একসময় প্রতিরোধ গড়ে তুলেছিল- সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহ।

এই সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের পূর্বাপর ইতিহাস বর্ণিত করা আবশ্যিক। অষ্টাদশ শতকের মধ্যভাগে মুঘল আমলের ভূমি রাজস্ব ব্যবস্থা ইংলিশ শাসনের সূচনায় ভেঙে দেওয়া হলো। মুঘল আমলে রাজ্য পরিচালনার জন্য সুবাদার ও দেওয়ান নিযুক্ত করা হত। দেওয়ান জমির খাজনা ও জমি সংক্রান্ত বিষয়ে দেখাশোনা করত। মুর্শিদকুলি খাঁর আমলে এ নিয়ম পরিবর্তিত করা হয় অর্থাৎ যিনি দেওয়ান হবেন তিনিই সুবাদার পদাধিকারী হবেন। ১৭৫৭ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে ইংরেজ সরকার শাহ আলমের কাছ থেকে বাংলা বিহার উড়িষ্যার দেওয়ানি লাভ করে। সে সময় নবাব ক্ষমতায় থাকলেও প্রকৃতপক্ষে রাজত্বের প্রকৃত ক্ষমতা ছিল ইংরেজ কোম্পানির হাতে। একেই Dual Government বলা হয়। এভাবেই ভারতবর্ষে ব্রিটিশ ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির রাজত্বের পূর্ণ প্রতিষ্ঠা লাভ হয়। এই সময় কোম্পানির কর্মচারীদের অত্যাচারের সীমা ছাড়িয়ে গেলে সুপারভাইজার নিয়োগ করা হয়। গভর্নর কার্টিয়াসের ১৭৬৯-১৭৭২ আমলেও এই অবস্থার কিছু উন্নতি হয়নি। ফলে কোম্পানির অর্থনৈতিক সুব্যবস্থা পুনরায় ফিরিয়ে আনার জন্য ভারতে গভর্নর হয়ে এলেন ওয়ারেন হেস্টিংস। হেস্টিংস সাহেব দ্বৈত শাসন ব্যবস্থা লোপ করে Committe of circuit গঠন করেন।

ইজারাদারদের চাষযোগ্য জমি নিলামে চাষ করার জন্য জমি ইজারা দিলেন। যে ইজারাদার সবথেকে বেশি খাজনা দেবে তাকে পাঁচ বছর চাষ করতে দেওয়া হবে। এছাড়া খাজনা আদায়ের জন্য হেস্টিংস যে আইন তৈরি করেছিলেন তাতে দুর্দশা আরো বেড়ে গেল। জমিদারদের ওপর খাজনা আদায়ের জন্য ইংরেজ সরকার চাপ সৃষ্টি করলে জমিদাররা চাষীদের ওপর অত্যাচার শুরু করে। খাজনা আদায়ের নামে যে শোষণ ও অত্যাচার চালানো হয়েছিল তাতে নিঃস্ব হলো বাংলার কৃষক সম্প্রদায়। বাংলায় ১১৭৬ সালে দেখা দিল ভয়াবহ দুর্ভিক্ষ যাকে ছিয়ান্তরের মন্বন্তর বলা হয়। এই সময় এক তৃতীয়াংশ মানুষের মৃত্যু হয়েছে তবু সরকার নির্বিকার থেকে গেল।

কোম্পানি রাজত্বের ক্রম বৃদ্ধির জন্য জমিদারদের সাথে প্রথমে পাঁচশালা ও দশশালা বন্দোবস্ত করেছিল। পরবর্তীকালে সেই বন্দোবস্তকে লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিস ১৭৯৩ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত বলে ঘোষণা করলেন বাংলা প্রেসিডেন্সির বাংলা, বিহার, উড়িষ্যা। দামিন-ই-কোহ বাংলা প্রেসিডেন্সির অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল তাই এই বন্দোবস্ত থেকে সেখানকার কৃষক সম্প্রদায় জমিদারদের নির্যাতন থেকে নিষ্কৃতি পায়নি।

১৭৭১- ১৭৭৪ খ্রিষ্টাব্দ পর্যন্ত হেস্টিংসের আমলে ক্যাপ্টেন টমাস ব্রুককে রাজমহল পাহাড়ের পাহাড়িয়া দের দমন করার উদ্দেশ্যে পাঠানো হয়।। কিন্তু তাকে ব্যর্থ হয়ে ফিরে আসতে হয়েছিল। ব্রুক সাহেবের পরে এলেন ক্যাপ্টেন ব্রাউন তিনি খাজনা আদায়ের জন্য সর্দার নির্বাচন করলেন, সর্দারদের অধীনস্থ গ্রামের মাঝি নির্বাচন করলেন। এছাড়া পাহাড়িয়াদেরকে শাস্ত করার জন্য চিরস্থায়ী ব্যবস্থার পরিকল্পনা করেছিলেন। এই পরিকল্পনার বাস্তবায়িতরূপ দেওয়ার পূর্বেই অগাস্টাস ব্লীভল্যাণ্ডের হাতে দায়িত্ব দিয়ে

ভাগলপুরে চলে যান। অগাষ্টাস ক্লিভল্যাণ্ড অত্যন্ত বুদ্ধিমত্তা ও বিচক্ষণতার সাথে পাহাড়ীদেরকে দমন করার চেষ্টা করেন, তবে তা শক্তি প্রয়োগ না করে। পাহাড়িয়াদের সাথে তিনি বন্ধুত্ব স্থাপন করলেন। পাহাড়িয়া সর্দার ও মাঝিদের সাথে বৈঠক করলেন এবং সর্দারদের ১০ টাকা ও মাঝিদের দু'টাকা করে মাসিক বেতন দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা করলেন। পাহাড়িয়াদের তিনি চাষবাসে উৎসাহ দিতেন। এরপর তিনি পাহাড়িয়াদের জন্য উপনিবেশ স্থাপন করার চেষ্টা করলেন, নাম রাখলেন দামিন-ই-কোহ বা 'Skirts of the Rajmahal Hills'। কিন্তু পাহাড়িয়ারা সেখানে যেতে রাজি হল না। অপরদিকে রাজমহলের সাঁওতালরা প্রকৃতির স্বাধীনতা ছেড়ে দিয়ে কোম্পানির শাসনকে গুরুত্ব দিতে চাইল না। তারা কোম্পানিকে খাজনা দিতেও অস্বীকার করল। তখন শুরু হল সাঁওতালদের ওপর ইংরেজ শাসকের অমানুষিক নির্যাতন। শাসকগোষ্ঠীর এ অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে প্রথম প্রতিবাদ জানালেন তিলকা মুরমু। তিনি সাঁওতালদের নিয়ে একটি মুক্তি বাহিনী গঠন করলেন। শুধুমাত্র তীর, ধনুক, টাঙ্গি, বর্শা নিয়ে ইংরেজ বাহিনীর সাথে সংগ্রামে অবতীর্ণ হন। ভাগলপুর এর কাছে সুলতানগঞ্জের প্রান্তরে ইংরেজদের সাথে লড়াইয়ে তিনি ধরা পড়লেন এবং তিলকা মাঝিকে ফাঁসি দিয়ে হত্যা করা হয়। ইতিহাসে কথিত আছে তিলকা মাঝির গুলতির আঘাতেই ক্লিভল্যাণ্ড সাহেব মারা গিয়েছিলেন। যদিও ক্লিভল্যাণ্ড সাহেবের মৃত্যু নিয়ে দ্বিমত আছে। তিলকা মাঝির বিদ্রোহের মধ্য দিয়েই প্রথম সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের আভাস পাওয়া যায়। 'স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনে আদিবাসীদের ভূমিকা' গ্রন্থের উপসংহারে লেখক গোপীনাথ সেন লিখেছেন “ ১৭৮৪ সালে তিলকা মুরমুর নেতৃত্বে ভাগলপুরে আদিবাসীদের অর্থনৈতিক জীবনকে অবলম্বন করে যে বিদ্রোহ হয়েছিল তাতে ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্য কেঁপে উঠেছিল।”^২

বিদ্রোহীদের হাতে অগাষ্টাস ক্লিভল্যাণ্ড সাহেবের মৃত্যুর পর দামিন-ই-কোহ-র ভার পড়লো এদেশীয় এক কর্মচারীর উপর। ক্লিভল্যাণ্ড সাহেবের আমলে পাহাড়িয়ারা যে সমস্ত সুযোগ সুবিধা পেতো তা সমস্ত কিছুই বন্ধ করে দেওয়া হলো। ফলে তাদের মধ্যে অসন্তোষ ক্রমশ বাঙতে থাকলো যা একদিন ইংরেজ শাসন ও জমিদারের বিরুদ্ধে সশস্ত্র সংগ্রামের রূপ নিল। বিদ্রোহ ক্রমশ বীরভূম জেলায় ছড়িয়ে পড়ল। ১৭৮৯ থেকে ১৭৯১ খ্রিষ্টাব্দ পর্যন্ত বীরভূম ও বাংলাদেশের উত্তর-পশ্চিম সীমান্তেও গণবিদ্রোহ দেখা দিয়েছিল। পাহাড়িয়াদের এই বিদ্রোহে সাধারণ কৃষকও তথা সমতল ভূমির জনগণও সমর্থন ও সাহায্য করেছিল। বিদ্রোহীদের বিদ্রোহের প্রকাশ দেখা দিল ইংরেজ, জমিদার, মহাজন ও বণিকদের সম্পত্তি লুঠের মাধ্যমে। এই বিদ্রোহের প্রভাব আশেপাশের জেলাগুলিতে ছড়িয়ে পড়ল। পাহাড়িয়াদের সঙ্গে প্রশাসকের সম্পর্কের অবনতি হতে থাকায় ইংরেজ সরকার বিদ্রোহীদের দমন করার জন্য বীরভূমের বন-জঙ্গল কেটে সমতলভূমিতে চাষ বাস ও বসতি স্থাপনের পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করল, এর ফলে পাহাড়িয়ারা বিদ্রোহ বন্ধ করে গ্রামে ফিরে গেল ফলতঃ বিদ্রোহের অবসান।

১৭৯০ খ্রিষ্টাব্দ থেকে সাঁওতালরা বঙ্গদেশে ও বঙ্গ-বিহার সীমান্তে আসতে শুরু করেছিল। রাজমহলের পাহাড় এলাকায় বসবাসকারী পাহাড়িয়ারা যিহেতু সমতল ভূমি পছন্দ করত না তাই ইংরেজ সরকার সাঁওতালদের দামিন-ই কোহতে গ্রাম প্রতিষ্ঠার অনুমতি

দিল। সাঁওতালরা দামিন-ই-কোহর পূর্ব দিকে সগড়ভাঙ্গায়, পিপড়া, আমগাছিয়াতে গ্রাম প্রতিষ্ঠা করল। ১৮২৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দেজন পেটি ওয়ার্ডকে দামিন-ই-কোহর সীমানা নির্ধারণের দায়িত্ব দেওয়া হয়। তিনি তার সহযোগী সার্ভেয়ার ক্যাপ্টেন টার্নারকে সাথে নিয়ে ১৮৩৩ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে সীমানা নির্ধারণের কাজ শেষ করেন। নির্ধারিত অঞ্চলের মধ্যে পড়ে তখনকার ভাগলপুর মুর্শিদাবাদ বীরভূম জেলা। দামিন ই কোহ-র আয়তন ছিল ১৩৬৬ বর্গমাইল। ৫০০ বর্গমাইল ছাড়া সমস্ত অঞ্চলটি ছিল পাহাড়। ৫০০ বর্গমাইলের অর্ধেক ছিল জঙ্গল ও অর্ধেক ছিল আবাদযোগ্য জমি। সীমা নির্ধারিত হওয়ার পর বড়লাট লর্ড বেণ্টিং সাঁওতালদের রাজমহল পাহাড়ের পশ্চিম দিকে জঙ্গল পরিষ্কার করে বসবাস করার জন্য আহ্বান জানানেন। সাঁওতালরা কটক, ধলভূম, মানভূম, ছোটনাগপুর, পালামৌ, হাজারীবাগ, মেদিনীপুর, বাঁকুড়া, বীরভূম থেকে আসতে শুরু করল। চৈতন্য হেমব্রম কুমারের লেখায় জানা যায় সাঁওতালরা ভেবেছিল এই এলাকায় তারা তাদের জন্মভূমি চাম্পার মত স্বাধীন ভাবে থাকতে পারবে। তাই সন্তানরা তাদের পরিশ্রম দিয়ে অনুর্বর অঞ্চলকে কৃষি ক্ষেত্রে পরিণত করেছিল। বন্যজন্তু পূর্ণ গভীর অরণ্যের মাঝে তারা গড়ে তুলেছিল অসংখ্য গ্রাম। ১৮৩৬ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে গ্রামের সংখ্যা ছিল ৪২৭তা ১৮৫ ১ এর মধ্যে গ্রাম সংখ্যা বেড়ে হয় ১৪৭৩। W.W.Hunter এর লেখাতে এই সম্পর্কিত তথ্য পাওয়া যায়—“Between 1838 and 1851 the population within the pillars increased from 3000 to 82, 795, besides 10 000 on the outskirts.”^৩

বারহাওরা রেলস্টেশনের ১৩ মাইল উত্তর-পশ্চিমে অবস্থিত বারহেট। বারহেট ছিল দামিন-ই কোহর সবথেকে বড় বাজার। বীরভূম মুর্শিদাবাদ বর্ধমান থেকে মহাজন ও ব্যবসায়ীরা দামিন-ই- কোহতে দলে দলে এসে উপস্থিত হয়। ব্যবসায়ীরা সাঁওতালদের কাছ থেকে সস্তায় ফসল কিনে চড়া দামে বাইরে রপ্তানি করতো এবং তার বিনিময়ে সাঁওতালরা পেতো সামান্য অর্থ, নুন, তামাক অথবা কাপড়। কালিকিঙ্কর দত্তের লেখাতে উল্লেখ আছে—“In return for these grains, the Santals were paid in money, salt, tobacco, or cloth. Several Bengali grain dealers, living at kathikund (in the Dumka subdivision), bought mustered-seeds and rice from the santals “but for a price for below its true value”.^৪ ধূর্ত ব্যবসায়ীদের কাছে সাঁওতালরা বিভিন্নভাবে প্রবঞ্চনার শিকার হত। বিশেষ করে কেনা বেচার সময় ওজনে সাঁওতালদেরকে নানা ভাবে ঠকানো হতো। সাঁওতালদের উৎপন্ন শস্যের অধিকাংশই ইংরেজ ও ব্যবসায়ী মহাজনদের গুদামে জমা হতো। সাঁওতালদের উপর এই অত্যাচারের মাত্রা বৃদ্ধি পেতে থাকে। দামিন-ই-কোহ বসতি স্থাপনের সময় সরকার প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছিল যে প্রথম তিন বছর খাজনা দিতে হবে না, পরে খাজনা দিতে হলেও তা সীমিত হারে ধার্য করা হবে। কিন্তু এই আশ্বাস বাণী মিথ্যা বলে প্রমাণিত হলো। সরকার সমস্ত প্রতিশ্রুতি ভুলে খাজনা বাড়িয়ে চলল। ১৮৩৮ সালে যেখানে বাৎসরিক ৬৬৮২ টাকা খাজনা আদায় করত সরকার তা ১৮৫৪ - ১৮৫৫ সালে খাজনা পরিমাণ বৃদ্ধি পেয়ে দাঁড়ায় ৫৮,০৩৩ টাকা। মাত্র আঠারো বছরে বৃদ্ধি প্রায় দশগুণ।

শুধুমাত্র অতিরিক্ত খাজনা দিয়েও সাঁওতালরা রেহাই পেতনা। আদায়কারীরা নায়েব-সুজাওয়ালারা নানারকম সেস দাবি করত। সাঁওতালদের সরলতার সুযোগ নিয়ে ওজনে ঠিকানো, নিরক্ষরতার সুযোগ নিয়ে জাল খত তৈরি করা, প্রতিবাদ জানালে মিথ্যা মামলায় অভিযুক্ত করা এ সমস্ত কিছুই ছিল মহাজনদের শোষণের প্রক্রিয়া। কালিকিঙ্কর দত্তের ‘The santal Insurrection’ বইতে লিখেছেন- ফসল কাটার সময় এলেই মহাজনরা গরুর গাড়ি ও ঘোড়া গাড়ি নিয়ে বাৎসরিক আদায়ের জন্য বের হত। পথে আসবার সময় এক টুকরো পাথরে সিঁদুর লাগিয়ে নিয়ে যেত এবং এই সিঁদুরে রাঙানো পাথরই ঠিক ওজনের প্রতীক বলে জানানো হত। এভাবে মহাজনরা পাথরের টুকরোর সাহায্যে ওজন করে খাতকদের সমস্ত জমির ফসল হস্তগত করত কিন্তু তাতেও খাতকদের জমির ঋণের পরিমাণ কিছু মাত্র কমত না। এছাড়া তারা দুরকম বাটখারা রাখতো। মহাজনরা সাঁওতালদের শস্য কিনত বড় বাটখারা দিয়ে যার নাম কেনারাম আর যখন তারা বিক্রি করতো তখন ব্যবহার করত ছোট বাটখারা বেচারাম, সাঁওতালরা যার নাম দিয়েছিল বড় বউ ও ছোট বউ।

ব্যবসার পাশাপাশি মহাজনরা আর্থিক ঋণদানও করত। খাজনার ত্রমবৃদ্ধি, খাদ্যশস্যের দাম অসম্ভব বৃদ্ধি, অতিবৃষ্টি, অনাবৃষ্টি প্রাকৃতিক দুর্যোগ এই সমস্ত কারণে সাঁওতালদের হাত পাততে বাধ্য হত মহাজনের কাছে। ঋণ দিয়ে অনেক বেশি পরিমাণ লিখিয়ে নেয়া হতো এবং সুদের হারও ছিল অনেক বেশি। ঋণ শোধ করতে গিয়ে মহাজনরা সাঁওতালদের সর্বস্ব কেড়ে নিত কিন্তু তাতেও ঋণ শোধ হতো না। তখন সাঁওতালরা নিজেদেরকে বন্ধক দিত এবং ক্রীতদাসে পরিণত হতো। ঋণ গ্রহণের সময় সাঁওতালদের মহাজনদের দুটি চুক্তি মেনে নিতে হতো। একটি হলো ‘কামিয়াতি’ অন্যটি হলো ‘হারওয়াতি’ বা মহাজনের জমিতে বিনা পারিশ্রমিকে শ্রমদান অপরাটি মহাজনের জমিতে বিনা পারিশ্রমিকে লাঙল দেওয়া। এ প্রসঙ্গে L.S.S. O’Malley, Bengal District Gazetteers-এ বলেছেন –“The santal thus became a Kamiya i.e. the bond servant of his creditor. The effect of this system may be realized from the remarks of Mr. (later sir) William LeFleming Robinson, I.C.S who in 1858 secured its abolition in the santal parganas, “it was called Kamiotee, but it is not peculiar to sonthalia or sonthals. You will find it nearly all over the country, I believe, in one form or another.”^{১৫}

মহাজনদের এই অত্যাচারের হাত থেকে মুক্তি বা পরিত্রাণ পাওয়ার কোন উপায় ছিল না। কেউ যদি কাজে ফাঁকি দিতো তার খাবার বন্ধ করে দেওয়া হত, কেউ যদি জঙ্গলে পালিয়ে গিয়ে পরিত্রাণ পাওয়ার চেষ্টা করত মহাজন পূর্বেই অনুমান করে পয়সার বিনিময়ে কোর্ট থেকে সেই ব্যক্তির সমস্ত স্থাবর, অস্থাবর সম্পত্তি ক্রোক করে নিত। এমনকি স্ত্রীলোকের সম্মানসূচক চিহ্ন লোহার বালা পর্যন্ত কেড়ে নিতেও দ্বিধা করত না।

মহাজনদের অত্যাচারের চক্রব্যূহ থেকে মুক্তি পাওয়ার জন্য ম্যাজিস্ট্রেটের কাছে

যাওয়া তাদের সাধ্য ছিল না। যদি বা ম্যাজিস্ট্রেটের কাছ পর্যন্ত তারা পৌঁছতো কিন্তু গরিব সাঁওতালদের কথা তারা আমল করত না। মহাজন টাকা পয়সার বিনিময়ে সাহেবকে আগে থেকে হাত করে নিতো, ফলে সাজা হতো সাঁওতালদের। এভাবেই সাঁওতালদেরকে ঠকিয়ে তাদের লুণ্ঠ করে নেওয়া সম্পত্তি নিয়ে মহাজন, জমিদার, ব্যবসায়ীরা ধনী হয়ে উঠলো - “Barhait and Hiranpur (situated 4 miles to the west of Pakur) were the two important centres, where thus sprang up a class of rich money-lenders at the cost of the interests of the santals.”^{১৬} (Santal Insurrection, Kalikinkar Datta) সাঁওতালদের মধ্যে অসন্তোষের মাত্রা বেড়ে গিয়েছিল। শ্রীখণ্ডের সহকারী কমিশনার মিষ্টার টেলর ডেপুটি কমিশনার মিষ্টার ফম্পসনকে জানিয়েছিলেন মহেশপুর ও পাকুড়ের রাজারা মহাজনদের কাছে সাঁওতাল গ্রামগুলি ইজারা দিয়েছে। তাই সাঁওতালরা রাজাদের উপর ক্ষিপ্ত হয়ে ওঠে। মহাজনরা এই সুযোগের সদ্ব্যবহার করতে লাগলো। ভালো জমি এইভাবে মহাজনরা দখল করে নিয়েছিল। আর সাঁওতালরা অনুর্বর জমিতে চাষ করেও বছরের খোরাক যোগান দিতে পারছিল না। ফলে মহাজনের কাছে তারা অল্প মজুরিতে পরিশ্রম করতো, কখনো বা নিজস্ব লাগল দিয়ে মহাজনের জমি চাষ করে আসতো। এইভাবে ক্রমে অবস্থা যখন অসহ্য হয়ে উঠলো সাঁওতালদের মনে ক্ষোভ জমতে শুরু করল। তাদের অর্থনৈতিক জীবনে নেমে এল অরাজকতা। শোষণ ও অত্যাচারের ফলে তাদের সাধারণ জীবনযাপন ব্যাহত ও শাস্তি বিঘ্নিত হলো। শোষণের কবল থেকে মুক্তি পাওয়ার জন্য সাঁওতাল কৃষকরা বেছে নিয়েছিল সংগ্রামের পথ। ১৮৫৫ সালে একটি জাতি বিদ্রোহী হয়ে ওঠার পেছনে এই সমস্ত কারণই ছিল যথেষ্ট। এ প্রসঙ্গে কালিকিঙ্কর দত্ত বলেছেন - “The Insurrection of 1855 was not mere spasmodic outburst of the crude instincts of the semi-savage sant...It had its origin in the economic grievances of the santals, due to the oppressions and frauds committed on those simple-minded people by the above-mentioned Bengali and up-, country merchants and money-lenders.”^{১৭}

এক্ষেত্রে বলা যেতে পারে যে আদিবাসীদের এই বিদ্রোহের পশ্চাতে মূল কারণ ইংরেজদের বিরোধিতা করা বা স্বদেশভক্তি নয়, এর পেছনে মূলত কাজ করেছিল আর্থিক ও সামাজিক নিপীড়ন। শোষক শ্রেণীর অমানুষিক অত্যাচার ও পৈশাচিক মনোবৃত্তি দেখে শোষিত সাঁওতালরা বুঝতে পেরেছিল ‘মহাজন ও ব্যাপারীরা তাদের শত্রু, সরকারও শত্রু।’^{১৮} এমনি সময় ইংরেজ কোম্পানি রেলপথের বিস্তার ঘটাতে শুরু করে বাণিজ্য এবং যুদ্ধবিগ্রহের কারণে। এই কাজের জন্য ভাগলপুর, রামপুরহাট প্রভৃতি জায়গায় রেল পাতার কাজে সাঁওতালদের নিয়ে আসা হলো। এতে সাঁওতালরা নগদ মজুরি পায়। গ্রামের মহাজনের গোলামী করে তারা যা পেতো তার থেকে রেললাইনে কাজ করে বেশি মজুরি পেতো কিন্তু সে কাজেও নিস্তার ছিল না। রেলের ইংরেজ কর্মচারীদের কুদৃষ্টি গিয়ে পঞ্জ ছিল সাঁওতাল মেয়েদের উপর। এছাড়া রেলের সাহেবরা তাদের বাড়ি থেকে জোর করে

ছাগল, মুরগি ধরে নিয়ে যেত। এই সমস্ত অত্যাচার তারা প্রায় করে থাকত।

অতঃপর সাঁওতালরা বুঝেছিল আবেদন নিবেদনে কোন লাভ নেই। তারা বুঝতে পারে মহাজন, জমিদার বা ব্যবসায়ীদের অত্যাচার ও শোষণ পীড়নের অবসানের কোন সম্ভাবনা নেই ফলে সাঁওতালদের মধ্যে বিদ্রোহের মনোভাব জেগে ওঠে। ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে বিদ্রোহ পরিপূর্ণ রূপ ধারণ করলেও ১৮৫৪ খ্রিষ্টাব্দেই এর অগ্নিস্ফুলিঙ্গ উঠতে আরম্ভ করেছিল। সাঁওতাল সমাজের উপর জমিদার ও মহাজনদের অত্যাচার সম্পর্কে ইংরেজ সরকার জ্ঞাত ছিল তা সত্ত্বেও কোনরূপ ব্যবস্থা তারা গ্রহণ করেনি। ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে মিস্টার পণ্টেট-এর কাছে সাঁওতালরা ৬৭টি অভিযোগ পেশ করেও সুরাহা হয়নি। সিধু-কানু ইংরেজ সরকারের কাছে সাঁওতালদের দুর্দশার কথা জানালেও কোন লাভ হয়নি। তারা প্রথমে প্রচার করল যে তারা ব্রিটিশ সরকারকে মোষের লাঙ্গল প্রতি বাৎসরিক আট আনা, বলদের লাঙ্গল প্রতি চার আনা দেবে। যদি সরকার বাধা দিতে আসে তাহলে তারা যুদ্ধ করবে।

এই শান্তিপূর্ণ সাঁওতালদের শোষণ পীড়নের হাত থেকে রক্ষা পাওয়ার একমাত্র উপায় ছিল ভগবান, - কিন্তু তিনি থাকেন বহুদূরে, রক্ষা করার কেউ নেই। এই ভগবানের আবির্ভাবকে কেন্দ্র করে দামিন-ই-কোহর প্রতিটি সাঁওতাল গ্রামে গুজব রটেছিল। এই গুজবের বিবরণ সমসাময়িক বিভিন্ন সাঁওতালি সাহিত্যে পাওয়া যায়। ‘হড়করেন মারে হাপডামক বেয়াক্ কাথা’ গ্রন্থে জুগিয়া হাড়াম বলেছেন যে, একটি মহিষ আসছে যার বাড়ির উঠোনে ঘাস দেখতে পাবে সেখানে সে চরে বসবে। সেই বাড়ির লোক মরে শেষ না হওয়া পর্যন্ত সে উঠবে না এই ভয়ে সবাই রাস্তাঘাট পরিষ্কার করল। জুগিয়া হাড়াম ছাড়াও সাঁওতাল সমাজে অন্য দুই লেখক চৈতন্য হেন্দ্রম কুমার এবং ছটরায় দেশ মাজ্জি এই গুজবের কথা উল্লেখ করেছেন। অন্য একটি গুজবে শোনা গেল নিজে একটা জৌক আসছে গ্রামের পর গ্রাম ঘুরবে আর যেখানে গর্ত পাবে সেখানে ডেরা বাঁধবে। তার ফলে মড়ক দেখা দেবে গ্রামে, গ্রামের সবাই মরে গেলে তবে সে গ্রাম ছাড়বে। এই ভয়ে গ্রামের খানাখন্দ ভরাট করে দেওয়া হল, যাতে জৌক বাসা না বাঁধতে পারে। এই গুজব পরিকল্পিত ছিল কিনা তা নিয়ে সন্দেহ রয়েছে তবে ভবিষ্যতে যে অস্বাভাবিক কিছু হতে যাচ্ছে সেটা সবাই জেনে গিয়েছিল। এই গুজবের কথা আশুনের মতো দ্রুত ছড়িয়ে পড়েছিল দামিন-ই-কোহর-র প্রত্যন্ত অঞ্চলে। শান্ত নিরীহ বলে পরিচিত সাঁওতাল সমাজ জোতদার, জমিদার, মহাজনদের অত্যাচার থেকে মুক্তির পথের সন্ধান চাইছিল। তাদের আর থেমে থাকার উপায় ছিল না, তাই শোষণ পীড়নের বিরুদ্ধে তারা গেয়ে উঠলো-

“নুসাসাবোন, নওয়ারাবোন চেলে হঁ বাকো তেঙ্গোন,
খাঁটি গেবোন হলগেয়া হো
খাঁটি গেবোন হলগেয়া হো
দিশম দিশম দেশমাজ্জি পারগানা
নাতো নাতো মাপাঞ্জিকো

দংক'বোন দানাংবোন বাংগেকো তেঙ্গেন,
তবে দোবোন ছলগেয়া হো।”^৯

অর্থাৎ—

“আমরা নিজেরাই বাঁচবো
কেউ আমাদের পাশে দাঁড়াবে না।
আমরা সত্যিই বিদ্রোহ করব,
আমরা সত্যিই বিদ্রোহ করবো,
গ্রামের মাঝি ও পারগানারা,
গ্রামের মোড়লরা,
আমাদের সর্বপ্রকার সাহায্য করবে,
কেউ পাশ দাঁড়াবে না,
তবে আমরা নিশ্চয় বিদ্রোহ করব।”

সাঁওতালদের থামিয়ে রাখা আর সম্ভব নয়, মহাজনরা এর আভাস পেয়েছিল। তাই তারা সাঁওতালদের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবস্থা নেওয়ার জন্য দিঘি খানার দারোগা মহেশ লাল দত্তের কাছে আবেদন জানালো। এ সময় কিছু মহাজনের বাড়িতে ডাকাতি হওয়ায় তারা সন্ত্রস্ত হয়ে যায়। সন্দেহ করা হয় নিরীহ সাঁওতালদের কিন্তু এই ডাকাতির বিষয় কতখানি সত্য তা নিয়েও সংশয় আছে। ১৮৫৪ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে প্রথম দিকে লছিমপুরের পরগণাইং বীর সিং মাঝি গ্রামের সাঁওতালদের নিয়ে একটি দল গঠন করেন। এই দলে পরবর্তীকালে যোগদান করেন বোরিওর বীর সিং মাঝি, সিঙ্গির কাওলে পরামাণিক, হাটবান্দার ডমন মাঝি প্রমুখ। দারোগা মহেশ লাল দত্তের কাছে সাঁওতালদের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযোগ করার পরেও কোন প্রতিকার না পেয়ে পাকুড়ের রানী ক্ষেমাসুন্দরীর কাছে প্রতিকারের আবেদন জানায়। পাকুড়রাজ এষ্টেটের দেওয়ান জগবন্ধু রায় বীরসিং মাঝিকে কাছারি বাড়িতে ডেকে পাঠিয়ে তাকে মোটা টাকা জরিমানা করলেন। কিন্তু বীরসিং মাঝি নিজেকে নির্দোষ বলে দাবি করে ও টাকা দিতে অস্বীকার করে সেই কারণে দেওয়ান নির্দয়ভাবে তাকে জুতোপেটা করে। অপরদিকে মহেশলাল দত্ত কর্তৃপক্ষের নির্দেশে সাঁওতালদের দমন করতে আসেন। গোচ্চো নামে এক ধনী সাঁওতালকে ডাকাতি ও লুণ্ঠনের জন্য মিথ্যা অভিযোগে গ্রেফতার করে চাবুক মারা হলো। এ অপমানিত গোচ্চো চিৎকার করে যা বলে উঠেছিলেন তার উল্লেখ পাওয়া যায় কালিকিঙ্কর দত্তের গ্রন্থে—“we shall see how much twine could the daroga procure, so as to fasten all the peaceful santals whom the wicked Daroga wanted to be sent up.”^{১০} এই দারোগার অত্যাচারে বিজয় মাঝির মৃত্যু হয় ও গর্ভু মাঝি ক্রীতদাসে পরিণত হয়। এই শোষণ অত্যাচার অবিচারের থেকে বিদ্রোহের জন্ম হয়। এই বিদ্রোহের নায়ক হিসেবে পেল সিধু, কানু, চাঁদ এবং ভৈরবকে। সাঁওতাল সমাজকে তারা একত্রিত করতে চেয়েছিলেন। সাঁওতাল সমাজকে ঐক্যবদ্ধ করতে ধর্মই ছিল সবচেয়ে কার্যকরী পদ্ধতি তাই সাঁওতালদেরকে দলবদ্ধ করতে তিনি প্রচার করলেন ঠাকুরের নির্দেশ লাভের কথা।

ঠাকুরের নির্দেশ লাভের কথা ক্যালকাটা রিভিউ পত্রিকাতেও উল্লেখ করা আছে। ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে ১৫ই জুন সিধু-কানু গ্রামে গ্রামে ‘শালগিরা’ পাঠিয়ে বিদ্রোহের জন্য সাঁওতাল সমাজকে বৃহত্তর ক্ষেত্রে জমায়েতের আহ্বান জানালেন, যা ভারতবর্ষের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের ইতিহাসে সর্বপ্রথম গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়।

১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে ৩০শে জুন দেশের বিভিন্ন প্রান্ত থেকে বারহেটের সামান্য দূরে ভগনাডিহির মাঠে সাঁওতাল সমাজ সমবেত হয়েছিল সেই সভায় সিধু ও কানু বক্তব্য রাখে। সমাবেশের পর সিধুর নির্দেশে কির্তা, ভাদু, সুম্নো মাঝি ইংরেজ সরকার ভাগলপুরের কমিশনার, ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট, কালেক্টর, বীরভূমের কালেক্টর ও ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট, দীঘি থানার ও টিকরি থানার দারোগা ও কিছু সংখ্যক জমিদারের কাছে চিঠি পাঠানো হয়েছিল এবং তাদের উত্তর দেওয়ার সময় বেঁধে দেওয়া হয়েছিল ১৫ দিন।

হাণ্টার সাহেবের মত অনুসারে –“A general order went through the encampment to move down upon the Plains towards Calcutta, and on 30th June 1855 the vast expedition set out. The body guard of the leaders alone amounted to 30, 000.”^{১১} অভিযাত্রী বাহিনীদের ধারণা ছিল কলকাতায় গভর্নর জেনারেলের সাথে সাক্ষাৎ করলেই তাদের সমস্ত সমস্যার সুরাহা হবে। এই অভিযানে কেবল সাঁওতালরা শুধু নয় অন্যান্য সম্প্রদায়ের মানুষ, নিম্নবর্নীয় সম্প্রদায়, মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের মানুষ এই অভিযানে যুক্ত ও উৎসাহ দিয়েছিল। ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে ২৮ জুলাই ভাগলপুরের কমিশনারের লেখা চিঠিতেও এই কথাটির উল্লেখ পাওয়া যায়।

কলকাতা অভিমুখে যাত্রা করা বিদ্রোহী দল পাঁচক্ষেতিয়া বাজারে এসে উপস্থিত হয়। সেখানে পাঁচ অত্যাচারী মহাজন মাণিক চৌধুরী, গোরাচাঁদ দাস, সার্থক রক্ষিত, নিমাই দত্ত, হিরু দত্তকে বিদ্রোহীরা হত্যা করে প্রতিশোধ নেয়। এছাড়া ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে ৭ জুলাই দীঘি থানার দারোগা মহেশলাল দত্ত সিধু কানুকে মিথ্যা অভিযোগে গ্রেফতার করতে এলে সিধু মহেশলাল দারোগাকে হত্যা করে। দারোগা হত্যার মধ্য দিয়ে ১৮৫৫ খ্রিষ্টাব্দের ৭ জুলাই তারিখ থেকেই সাঁওতাল হল বা সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের সূচনা হয়।

ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাসে স্বাধীনতা ও শান্তিপ্ৰিয় সাঁওতালদের এক রক্তক্ষয়ী গণ সংগ্রামের পথে যাওয়ার মূল কারণ হিসেবে বলা যেতে পারে তা হল জমির অধিকারের লড়াই ও অস্তিত্ব রক্ষার লড়াই। যা শুরু হয় দামিন –ই –কোহ অঞ্চল থেকে এবং যার বৃহত্তর রূপ পায় ভগনাডিহির সমাবেশের গণ অভ্যুত্থান থেকে।

তথ্যসূত্র

১। কাদাম কিয়ী, গান (হল), শায় সেরমা রেনাঃ অনড়হেঁ (শতবর্ষের সাঁওতালি কবিতা), সুহদ কুমার ভৌমিক, পশ্চিমবঙ্গ আদিবাসী উন্নয়ন সমবায় নিগম, ১২ চৌরঙ্গী স্কোয়ার, কলকাতা ৭০০০৬৯, ১৯৯৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, পৃষ্ঠা-২৬৯।

২। হেন্সম, পরিমল, আদিবাসী স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামীদের কথা, আদিবাসী সাহিত্য প্রকাশনী, নর্থ ঘোষণাড়া, বালি, হাওড় ৭১১২২৭, ২০ ১৮, ৯ই আগস্ট, পৃষ্ঠা- ১৭।

৩। Hunter, William Wilson, The Annals of Rural Bengal, K.R Biswas, I.A.S, State Editor, West Bengal District Gazetteers, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, Bikash Bhavan, Calcutta 70091, 1996, page no- 161.

৪। Datta, Kalikinkar, The Santal Insurrection OF 1855-57, Gyan publishing House, 5, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002, Indian Reprint in 2017, page no-4.

৫। O'Malley L. S.S, Bengal District Gazetteers Santal Parganas, Logos Press, 4788-90/23, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, New Delhi, Second Indian Reprint 1999, page no-47

৬। Datta, Kalikinkar, The Santal Insurrection OF 1855-57, Gyan publishing House, 5, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002, Indian Reprint in 2017, Page no-6

৭। Datta, Kalikinkar, The Santal Insurrection OF 1855-57, Gyan publishing House, 5, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002, Indian Reprint in 2017, Page-5

৮। রসূল, মুহম্মদ আব্দুল্লাহ, সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের অমর কাহিনী, সুখেন্দু দাস, সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের ১৫০ বছর, তথ্য ও সংস্কৃতি বিভাগ, পশ্চিমবঙ্গ, কলকাতা-৭০০০০১, ২০০৫, জুন, পৃষ্ঠা- ৬২

৯। বাস্কে, ধীরেন্দ্রনাথ, সাঁওতাল গনসংগ্রামের ইতিহাস, বাস্কে রিংকি, বাস্কে পাবলিকেশন, ১৮/১, শান্তিনগর, রিজেন্ট পার্ক, কলকাতা-৪০, ২০১৩, মার্চ, পৃষ্ঠা-৫৫

১০। Datta, Kalikinkar, The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57, Gyan publishing House, 5, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002, Indian Reprint in 2017, page no- 12

১১। Hunter, William Wilson the Annals of Rural Bengal, K.R Biswas, I.A.S, State Editor, West Bengal District Gazetteers, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, Bikash Bhavan, Calcutta 70091, 1996, page no- 164

সহায়ক গ্রন্থঃ

১। বাস্কে, ধীরেন্দ্রনাথ, সাঁওতাল গনসংগ্রামের ইতিহাস, বাস্কে রিংকি, বাস্কে পাবলিকেশন, ১৮/১, শান্তিনগর, রিজেন্ট পার্ক, কলকাতা-৪০, ২০১৩।

২। হেম্ব্রম, পরিমল, আদিবাসী স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামীদের কথা, আদিবাসী সাহিত্য প্রকাশনী, নর্থ ঘোষণাড়া, বালি, হাওড়া ৭১১২২৭, ২০১৮, ৯ই আগস্ট।

৩। টুডু, বুদ্ধেশ্বর, সাঁওতাল স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস, নিগমানন্দ মণ্ডল, জ্ঞানসীঠ পাবলিকেশন, সি-৮, কলেজ স্ট্রীট, মার্কেট, কলকাতা, ২০১৯, জানুয়ারী।

৪। রায়, সুপ্রকাশ, সাঁওতাল বিদ্রহ, অরুণকুমার দে, রঞ্জয়জ্যাডিক্যাল ইম্প্রেশন, ৪৩, বেনিয়াটোলা লেন, কলকাতা -৭০০০০৯, ২০০৮, জানুয়ারি।

৫। পাল, শিবানন্দ, সামাজিক প্রেক্ষাপটে সাঁওতাল মহাবিদ্রোহ, হিরামনি মাণ্ডি, কল্যাণী, নদীয়া, ২০২১, ৩১শে অক্টোবর।

৬। হাঁসদা, কানাইলাল, দামিনতে সেনঃ আর অনা তায়ম, স্বপন কুমার দাস, আদিবাসী

সাহিত্য প্রকাশনী, নর্থ ঘোষণা, হাওড়া, ২০ ১৯, অক্টোবর

৭। সুখেন্দু দাস, সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের ১৫০ বছর, তথ্য ও সংস্কৃতি বিভাগ, পশ্চিমবঙ্গ, কলকাতা-৭০০০০১, ২০০৫, জুন

৮। Datta, Kalinkar, The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57, Gyan publishing House, 5, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002, Indian Reprint in 2017

৯। Hunter, William Wilson, The Annals of Rural Bengal, K.R Biswas, I.A.S, State Editor, West Bengal District Gazetteers, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, Bikash Bhavan, Calcutta 70091, 1996.

১০। O'Malley L. S.S, Bengal District Gazetteers Santal Parganas, Logos Press, 4788-90/23, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, New Delhi, Second Indian Reprint 1999.



List of Contributors

1. **Mridul Bordoloi**, Professor, Department of English, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
2. **Dr. Chandrabali Das**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Kidderpore College, Kolkata
3. **Dr. Amit. Y. Kapoor**, Head, Department of English, Shree Jayendrapuri Arts & Science College, Old National Highway No: 8, Bharuch (Gujarat)
4. **Aditi Ghosh**, Student, M.A in English Literature, Department of English, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
5. **Darshana Bordoloi**, Assistant Professor, Department of Education, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
6. **Akash Borchetia**, Research Scholar, Department of English, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
7. **Anansha Borthakur**, Assistant Professor, Department of English, Jagannath Barooah College(Autonomous), Jorhat
8. **Ananya Goswami**, Student, Department of English Literature, Tezpur University, Tezpur
9. **Anchala Duarah**, Research Scholar, Department of History, Gauhati University, Guwahati
10. **Ankita Bhuyan**, M.A 2nd Semester, Department of English, North Lakhimpur College (Autonomous)
11. **Ms. Antareepa Bora**, Assistant Professor, Department of Education, Biswanath College
12. **Anushuya Goswami**, Research Scholar, Department of History, Gauhati University, Guwahati
13. **Ashomi Kalita**, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Biswanath College
14. **Atlanta Goswami**, M.A, 4th Semester, Department of English, University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya
15. **Barasha Barman**, Student, Department of History, Gauhati University, Guwahati
16. **Barnali Thakuria**, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University, Guwahati
17. **Debarati Das**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Raja Peary Mohan College, Uttarpara, Hooghly, West Bengal
18. **Deeksha Bordoloi**, B.Ed 4th Semester, Tezpur Central University, Tezpur
19. **Dr. Dhruvajyoti Das**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Nabajyoti College, Barpeta
20. **Dr. Gagan Kumar Pathak**, Assistant Professor, Department of English, P. K. Roy Memorial College, Dhanbad
21. **Harshajit Kalita**, M A 4th Semester, Department of History, Gauhati University, Guwahati
22. **Himashree Dutta**, Masters of Arts, Tezpur University, Tezpur

23. **Debojit Ghosh**, Masters of Science, Assam University
24. **Hiranya Bora**, M.A, Department of English, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Nagaon
25. **Iypshita Gogoi**, M.A, Department of English, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
26. **Jhuma Das**, Research Scholar, Assam University, Diphu Campus
27. **Swapna Chhetri**, Research Scholar, Raiganj University, West Bengal
28. **Jintu Doimari**, M.A, Department of English, Sibsagar College
29. **Juli Kumari Sah**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Icon Commerce College
30. **Krishna Hazarika**, Research Scholar, Department of History, Gauhati University, Guwahati
31. **Lakshima Gogoi**, Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy (Contractual), D.R College, Golaghat
32. **Dr. Mallika A Nair**, Assistant Professor and Research Supervisor, PG Department of English and Research Centre, Vimala College (Autonomous), Thrissur
33. **Mantrack Saha**, M.A, Department of Political Science, The University of Burdwan (2018-2020)
34. **Dr. Martiz Kurian**, Assistant Professor and Head, Department of History, St. Thomas College, Kozhencherry, Kerala
35. **Mitalee Gogoi**, Assistant Professor, Department of Education, Ledo College
36. **Monsoon Rupam**, M.A in Sociology, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
37. **Munmi Haloi**, 2 years B. Ed Course [Reimalie Academy College (B.Ed), Bijni] under Bodoland University, M.A in Education (Completed 2022 from Tezpur University)
38. **N. Aphaba Singh**, Research Scholar, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Guwahati
39. **Dr. Raksha Rawat**, Assistant Professor, Department of Yogic Science and Naturopathy, Mahapurusha Srimanta Sankaradeva Viswavidyalaya, Guwahati
40. **Naina Rani Basumatary**, Research Scholar, Department of Philosophy and Religion, Faculty of Arts, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
41. **Nangku Das**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Sadiya College
42. **Niharika Das**, Post-Graduated in Education, Tezpur University, Tezpur
43. **Nivedita Dutta**, Alumni, Tezpur University, Tezpur
44. **Nupur Dutta**, (M.A, Department of Political Science) B. Ed 2nd Semester Student, Arunachal University of Studies, Namsai
45. **Nur Samima Begum**, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Royal Global University
46. **Parismita Das**, M.A, 4th Semester Student, Department of Education, Tezpur University, Tezpur
47. **Pranjit Kalita**, Guest Faculty, Narangi Anchalik Mahavidyalaya, Guwahati

48. **Puja Gupta**, Research Scholar, Department of Legal Studies, Arunachal University of Studies, Namsai
49. **Queen Sonowal**, Student, Department of History, Gauhati University, Guwahati
50. **Raja Lohar**, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of North Bengal
51. **Rashmi Rekha Singphow**, Student of Tezpur University, (Completed masters in Political Science from Dibrugarh University)
52. **Dr. Raysul Hoque**, Assistant Professor, Cotton University, Guwahati
53. **Kabir Ahmed Khan**, Assistant Professor, Nilambazar College, Nilambazar
54. **Ritu Devi**, Student, Dr. Anita Baruah Sharmah College of Education, Gauhati University, Guwahati
55. **Dr. Shibani Borah**, Assistant Professor, Department of Management, Assam Down Town University, Guwahati
56. **Suhail Ahmed Hadi**, Research Scholar, Assam University, Silchar
57. **Suman Bhuyan**, Student, Department of History, Gauhati University, Guwahati
58. **Susmita Gogoi**, Student, Department of Political Science, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
59. **Swarup Singha**, B.A, 6th Semester, History(Major), Dispur College, Guwahati
60. **Tasneem Farhat Choudhury**, Faculty of English, Ajmal Super 40, Hojai
61. **Tonmoyee Kashyap**, M.A, Department of English, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
62. **Shristi Mishra**, M.A, Department of English, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
63. **Trishna Boruah**, M.A in History, Department of History, ADP College
64. **Ananya Kashyap**, Cotton University, Guwahati
65. **Bidisha Pator**, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University, Guwahati
66. **Debashree Saikia**, Department of Economics, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
67. **Deepshikha Keot**, Post Graduated in History, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
68. **Manasri Hazarika**, M.A, Department of English, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
69. **Prerana Boruah**, Ex student of Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
70. **Udeapta Phukan**, Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, Tezpur University, Tezpur
71. **Amrita Bora**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, K.R.B Girls' College, Guwahati
72. **Dr. Babori Mahanta**, Senior Faculty in English, Dibrugarh Polytechnic, Lahowal, Dibrugarh

73. **Jyotiraj Mahanta**, M.A in English, Department of English, Sibsagar College
74. **Kasturi Kalita**, M.A, Department of Political Science, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh
75. **Eli Kumari Das**, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Beltola College
76. **Sadhana Kalita**, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Beltola College
77. **Ms Hemlata Taid**, Assistant Professor (Guest), Department of Education, Binini Yanga Govt. Women College, Lekhi, Naharlagun, Arunachal Pradesh
78. **Dr. Akash Ranjan**, Assistant Professor, Department of Education, Rajiv Gandhi University, Arunachal Pradesh
79. **Papori Sarmah**, M.A. in Ecology, Environment and Sustainable Development, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (2018-2020); M.A. in Sociology, IGNOU (pursuing); Educator at Snehabandhan (NGO)
80. **Priyankar Datta**, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Seacom Skills University, West Bengal
81. **Prosenjit Shil**, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Cooch Behar Panchanan Barma University, West Bengal
82. **Roshan Kumar Gupta**, Research Scholar, Department of Legal Studies, Arunachal University of Studies, Namsai
83. **Dr. Lakhima Deori**, Assistant Professor, Department of Hindi, DHSK College, Dibrugarh
84. **Bharti Apum**, Assistant Professor, Department of Hindi, Indira Gandhi Govt. College, Tezu
85. **Harshvardhan Pande**, Research Scholar, Department of Mass Communication, Kumaun University, Uttarakhand
86. **Aditi Dutta**, Assistant Professor, Department of Assamese, G.K.B. College, Tamulichiga
87. **Dr. Bidisha Buragohain**, Assistant Professor, Department of Assamese, Jagannath Barooah College (Autonomous), Jorhat
88. **Chandana Das**, Assistant Professor, Department of Assamese, Harendra Chitra College
89. **Gita Roy**, Research Scholar, Department of Bengali, North Bengal University, West Bengal
90. **Basanti Murmu**, Assistant Professor, Department of, Syamsundar College, Purba Bardhaman