Abbreviations of Archival Sources

ACM TR	American Ceylon Mission Triennial Report
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
DO	Demi-Official Letter
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
FR	Fortnightly Reports
GO	Government Order
GOI	Government of India
HFM	History of the Freedom Movement volumes in the Tamil Nadu Archives
TNA	Tamil Nadu Archives

Foreword

1. Bernard Bate, "Arumuga Navalar, Saivite Sermons and the Delimitation of Religion," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 42, no. 4 (2005): 469–84.

2. Bernard Bate, "Nārpatu Vayatu Matikkattakka Vēḷālap Peṇ—Tamiḻaga Cutēci Iyakkac Corpoḻivāḷarkaḷ Kuṟitta Kurippukaḷ" [A Vellala woman about forty years old—notes on orators in the Swadeshi movement in Tamilagam], *Matruveli* (Tamil Nadu) 2 (2009): 49–53. http://www.keetru.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=457:2009–09–13-%15–38–47&catid=918:09&Itemid=166.

3. Bernard Bate, *Tamil Oratory and the Dravidian Aesthetic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

4. Published originally in *Thamarai Jeeva Sirappu Malar*, April 1963. Since then it has been included in a number of Sundara Ramaswamy's collections of essays but especially a volume of the same title, *Kattril Kalantha Perosai* (Nagercoil: Kalchuvadu Pathippagam, 1998). Jeeva, as he was popularly known, was a forceful orator who fashioned a distinct style markedly different from the Dravidian style that was becoming hegemonic. His style, too, had its imitators. See D. Jayakanthan, *Oru Ilakkiyavathiyin Arasiyal Ninaivugal* (Madurai: Meenakshi Puthaka Nilaiyam, 1974).

5. Also see Bernard Bate, "Swadeshi Oratory and the Development of Tamil Shorthand," in "Swadeshi in the Time of Nations: Reflections on Sumit Sarkar's *The*

Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, India and Elsewhere," ed. B. Bate and Dilip Menon, special section of *Economic and Political Weekly* 47, no. 42 (2012): 70–75.

6. However, I was struck to find archival confirmation of some legendary oral history. Va. Ra. (V. Ramaswami Iyengar), the famed biographer of Subramania Bharati, recalled Ethiraj Surendranath Arya ridiculing cowardly Indian men in a public meeting: "O, Indians why do you sport a moustache? Even prawns have them?" A CID policeman reported Arya's speech at Moore Market on 5 June 1908 in the following words: "Even prawns had long moustaches and that a man's courage could not be judged merely by the length of his moustache."

7. Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar, *Tamil Thendral allathu Thalamai Pozhivu* (1928; repr., Chennai: Poompuhar Pathippagam, 1997), 13–14. This book was first published in 1928 and had seen four reprints by 1947.

8. *Kudi Arasu*, 5 November 1933.

9. Mudaliar, *Tamil Tendral allathu Thalamai Pozhivu*.

10. S. Satyamurthy, *Satyamurthy Pesugirar* (1945; repr., Chennai: Tamil Pannai, 1946), v–vi.

11. Ranajit Guha, "The Prose of Counter-insurgency," in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Spivak (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 46.

12. A. Madhaviah, *Padmavathi Charithiram* (Chennai: People's Printing and Publishing House, 1928), 3:121. This chapter was written sometime in 1925.

13. Kalki, *Palattril Oru Pagarkanavu* (Chennai: Vanathi Pathippagam, 2007), 33.

14. See Amanda Weidman, *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 59–60, 86–93. As late as in the late 1950s police reports of political speeches indicated the use of loudspeakers. See, for instance, the bulky file on Periyar's speeches in the Tamil Nadu Archives: GO 73, Public, Gen-B, 8-1-1958.

15. Soda water bottles also doubled as missiles and weaponry in political street fights. By the turn of the millennium packaged drinking water in plastic bottles had displaced soda water.

16. T. M. Deivasigamani Achari, *Medai Tamil* (Chennai: Sadhu Acchukoodam, 1949).

17. For its influence on singing in Carnatic music, see T. M. Krishna, *A Southern Music: The Karnatik Story* (Noida: HarperCollins, 2013), 408–12.

18. See P. Saravanan's magisterial compilation of the polemical tracts, *Arutpa Marutpa Kandana Thirattu* (Nagercoil: Kalchuvadu Pathippagam, 2010), and my extended introduction to the volume. For an incisive new study of Ramalinga Swamigal, see Richard Weiss, *The Emergence of Modern Hinduism: Religion on the Margins of Colonialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019).

19. Maraimalai Adigal commanded high speaking fees, as much as five hundred

rupees or more, and made demands—such as a separate house to lodge, hot-water baths, freshly clarified ghee, unbroken raw rice—in keeping with his star status. Despite having a squeaky voice, he more than made up for it with his erudition. (Indicative of his popularity were invitations for two long speaking tours of Sri Lanka.)

20. Extant Tamil historiography tends to have a strong Saivite bias. The "pravachana" tradition in Vaishnavism would also need to be kept in mind, though this tradition does not seem to have taken a political inflection. The unrivaled commentator and polemicist Prativadi Bhayankaram Annangaracharia (1891–1983) is known to have delivered a weekly discourse at Chennai from 1931 to 1964 without a break. For the collected lectures, see Annangaracharia, *Bhaktamrutham* (Chennai: Oriental Press, 1947). See his autobiography for descriptions of his discourses: P. B. Annangaracharia, *Thansarithai Churukkam* (Kanchipuram: Sri Ramanujan Veliyeedu, 1970).

21. Kalki's "Prasangangalum Prasangigalum" was published in two parts and appeared originally in *Ananda Vikatan*, 12 February and 14 March 1931. It is now included in Kalki, *Palattril Oru Pagarkanavu*, 1–38; and Thodarban [Ma. Su. Sambandan], *Sirantha Pechalargal* (Chennai: Tamilar Pathippagam, 1947 [shoddily reprinted by Manivasagar Pathippagam in 1997].

22. The Dravidian style of oratory was both lauded and derided for using excessive alliteration. A prominent critic was none other than Periyar himself. See *Viduthalai*, 16 October 1958. Periyar, as we know, used a colloquial register in his speeches.

23. A prominent exception to the trend was K. Kamaraj, Congress leader and chief minister, who relied on his organizational skills. On the platform, he was known to be brief and brusque, often responding with the words "*ākaṭṭum pākkalām*!" (Okay, let's see!), which could be interpreted in any number of ways.

24. Not incidentally, Deivasigamani Achari was the son of T. M. Mookan Achari, the first delegate to move a resolution in a vernacular language (Tamil) on the occasion of the Indian National Congress's third session in Chennai in 1887.

25. This exchange was immediately transcribed and published in 1943 as *Thee Paravattum*.

26. A textile dealer by profession, Anbu Pazhamnee was a bibliophile, dealer in secondhand books, and officiating priest in Tamil/Saiva marriages. I used to meet him regularly in the 1980s. He said that he wrote out Anna's speeches in longhand and had the text approved by him before sending it for printing.

27. Anbu Pazhamnee and K. V. Veeraraghavan, *Anna Pechu: Vettri Ragasiyam* (Chennai: Arivu Pannai, 1949).

28. Anbu Pazhamnee and K. V. Veeraraghavan, *Pecchu Kalai* (Chennai: Tamil Puthakalayam, 1950).

29. A. K. Parandamanar, *Pechalaraka* (Chennai: Malar Nilayam, 1955). This book still remains in print.

30. Parandamanar, 4.

31. Parandamanar, 7.

Introduction

1. DO no. 1190 W-1, 21 Apr. 1919 (FR), TNA, "History of the Freedom Movement" 71, 14–17; Kalyanasundaram (1944) 2003, 236–37.

2. A sub-inspector wrote: "The messages of Messrs. Gandhi and Subrahmanya Ayyar [*sic*] were read and translated into the vernacular." DO no. 306-c, 7 Apr. 1919, TNA, GO 222, Public, 24 Apr. 1919; also reproduced in "History of the Freedom Movement" 63, Home Rule.

3. DO no. 306-c, 7 Apr. 1919, TNA, GO 222, Public, 24 Apr. 1919.

4. DO no. 306-c.

5. DO no. 306-c.

6. [Editorial note: This opening section was taken, and redacted, from Bate 2013, 142–45.]

7. [Editorial note: The previous two sentences and the title of this section are from "SPS Fragment_the-press-and-the-platform.docx," with additions from Bate 2013, 160–61.]

8. [Editorial note: This paragraph is from Bate 2013, 161.]

9. [Editorial note: One anonymous reviewer of the manuscript points out that there was, however, a long tradition of premodern religious discourses that predated homiletic oratory in South India and would have addressed the laity in some public way. As Srilata Raman notes (pers. comm. with Francis Cody, 9 September 2020), for example, Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiographies called *guruparamparas* composed from the twelfth century onward are explicit about how the teachers of the community gave public discourses to the laity that explained theology and the sacred texts of the community; similarly, there are the *harikathā* traditions of South India, particularly recorded from the seventeenth century onward, which combined dancing, singing, and public performance of purāṇic tales through multilingualism to inspire an ethical devotionalism (Soneji 2013). Bate's point here, however, is the distinctness and newness of homiletic sermon vis-à-vis such examples, both in its imagination of its address and composition of its audiences, as well as its aims, rhetorical strategies, and language ideologies.]

10. Universal interpellation was a practice associated only with the lowest-status people—indeed, the drum (*paṟai*), an instrument of the lowest caste (*paṟaiyar*) due to its polluting leather (Sherinian 2014), stands as emblem of what was considered a vulgar act: the calling out to all indiscriminately. Its voice or "roar" (*murasu*)

spoke to all without distinction, a feature that led *murasu* to become the name of some early Tamil newspapers, texts printed to be broadcast to the world. To be a leader, on the other hand, such as a king or even a district- or village-level official, was to be relatively taciturn in speech, even silent (Bate 2009b); it certainly did not involve anything as vulgar as directly addressing a crowd. [Editorial note: This note is from Bate 2014, 551; and Bate 2013, 162.]

11. [Editorial note: This paragraph is from "Bate_2016-03-01_Swadeshi-Bharati_Berkeley_FINAL.docx," 10.]

12. [Editorial note: The previous two sentences are from "SPS_Fragment_the-press-and-the-platform.docx."]

13. [Editorial note: The previous two sentences are from "SPS_Fragment_the-press-and-the-platform.docx."]

14. [Editorial note: This is not to say that texts did not address audiences across communities prior to missionization. For example, seventeenth-century South Indian theological debates "addressed—and indeed spoke on behalf of—a religious public unconstrained by the walls of a monastery, the vows of asceticism, the hierarchies of lineage (*paramparā*), or the boundaries of any single religious institution" (Fisher 2017, 20). But there is little evidence to suggest that such address was universal in the sense Bate argues, for later Protestant textuality and speech meant to move audiences of lower-status people as political actors regardless of their religious background.]

15. [Editorial note: The previous three sentences are from "Bate_2016-03-01_Swadeshi-Bharati_Berkeley_FINAL.doc," 12.]

16. [Editorial note: This sentence is from "Bate_2016-03-01_Swadeshi-Bharati_Berkeley_FINAL," 12.]

17. "Poeticity is present when the word is felt as a word and not a mere representation of the object being named or an outburst of emotion, when words and their composition, their meaning, their external and inner form, acquire a weight and value of their own instead of referring indifferently to reality" (Jakobson 1987, 378).

18. In the anthropology of language, the poetic function has been described under terms such as "framing" (Goffman 1974) or "metapragmatics" (Silverstein 1976, 1993), a regimenting function of language that, in practice, draws a relationship between words and actions, denotationality and interaction. More broadly, poetic functions of language stipulate the emergence of social structural being-in-time through the regimentation of actors, agency, space, and time—what we call, following Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), "chronotopes." Such regimentation occurs constantly throughout any communicative process. Consider the chronotopic phase shifts in social order that occur before and at the onset of an oratorical event of some kind, say, a lecture (Goffman 1981) or a sermon. The lecturer or organizer

calls the event to "order" and quite abruptly who speaks, who attends, shifts suddenly and dramatically into a new mode of becoming, the sociotemporal qualities of which are well understood by all involved. It is the poetic function of language that provides that stipulating, framing effect between one sociochronotope and another.

19. [Editorial note: The previous three paragraphs are from "Bate_2016-03-01_Swadeshi-Bharati_Berkeley_FINAL," 10–12.]

20. [Editorial note: This sentence is from "Bate_2015-06-15_Swadeshi-Bharati_WRKG.docx," 23, with references supplied by Bate 2014.]

21. [Editorial note: This sentence is emended by language from "Bate_2016-03-03_Swadeshi-Bharati_WRKG.docx," 1.]

22. Even in 1836, when the missionary pioneer Daniel Poore wrote of his work in the American Ceylon Mission in Jaffna, it was commonplace to call science the "handmaid of religion" (ACM TR 1839, 9).

23. Robert Frykenberg, following Christopher Bayly (1996), writes of the Halle Pietist contribution to the formation of the "public":

> By "information revolution" I mean that enormous process by which information in India was transformed from something almost entirely and exclusively "private" into something increasingly "public." What, from ancient times, had been something held strictly within the bounds of those "sacred and secret" ties of birth and blood, something to be guarded and treasured as each family's most precious heritage, was gradually "revolutionized" and transformed into something open, something inclusive and common to all people, regardless of birth, gender, age or condition. Not until this process had reached a certain stage of broadening, intercultural social communication—not until a social mobilization of what, in previous works, I have called the "small hard pieces" (of birth groups and communities) had reached a certain continent-wide reach and density—could ideology, in any modern sense, begin to play a stronger role in "public" life. Only then, with the increase of "social communication" and "social mobilization" across caste and communal and regional barriers, could increasing numbers of people take part in a gradually developing political system which was constitutional, representative, and democratic. (1999, 7–8)

Frykenberg's insight, built over forty years of inquiry, is tentative in its use of terms such as "social communication," "social mobilization," or, importantly, "public," for reasons that are unclear. Regardless, as we discuss later in the book, the claim that things moved from the "private" to the "public" needs to be troubled to the extent that the Indic phenomenology of sociospatial order and action did not oppose the public to the private but rather opposed the interior (*akam*, *ghare*) to

the exterior (*puram*, *baire*). See Chapter 1 for more discussion. [Editorial note: This note is from "Bate_2016-03-01_Swadeshi-Bharati_Berkeley_FINAL.docx," 11.]

24. [Editorial note: This is not to say that denotation or rational argumentation was completely unimportant, especially in didactic works such as the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* or Cittar poetry, but to emphasize the degree to which the performative traditions to which these texts belong struck Protestants as tainted by their reliance on the authority and aesthetics of sonic power.]

25. [Editorial note: The previous three sentences are from Bate 2013, 162, emended by language from "Bate_2010-09-27_Political Tamil and the Tamil Political_WORKING.doc," 20.]

26. [Editorial note: The second half of this sentence is taken from Bate 2013, 147, 158, as well as from "SPS_Four Moments.docx."]

27. [Editorial note: The discussion in this and the next section has been heavily redacted from the original draft of the Introduction, given redundancy with materials covered in Chapter 1.]

28. A longer account of the events surrounding its teaching begins with—and focuses on—the restrictions of the social relations and handling of the text:

> The Scanda Purana is in the hands of but few persons in the Country excepting those immediately connected with the Hindoo Temples, as it is generally thought unsafe to have the book in the house, lest it should be in some way defiled. . . . Nearly two years ago, it was thought expedient to indroduce [*sic*] the reading of this Purana in the Seminary. As soon as our intention was made known, the principal Tamul teacher who has been connected with the institution from its commencement, respectfully remonstrated against the measure. He urged that the Scanda Purana is one of the most sacred books used in the Country—that it should be taught only in sacred places—that the Mission premises are, in the estimation of the people, very far from sacred—that it would not be possible to perform on them those ceremonies which ought ever to precede, accompany, and follow, the reading of that book—that the members of the Seminary were not fit persons to be instructed in the Purana, and finally, that he could not subject himself to the odium that would be cast upon him by the people, for thus teaching it.

The teacher apparently relented to teaching the text to one student after a portion of the *Kantapurāṇam* was secured from Nellore, the site of the Kandaswamy (Murugan) Temple and a major Saivite center.

29. "Letter from Dr. Anderson, No. 3," *Missionary Herald* 51, no. 9 (September 1855): 257–60.

30. Examples of this sort are copious in any of the major Dravidianist speakers, such as Ariñar C. N. Annadurai or Kalaiñar Mu. Karunanidhi (Bate 2009b). Even

the embodiment of knowledge through the memorization and recitation of text was resurrected by Dravidianist politicians, who combined the precolonial textual emblematization—indexing and iconically instantiating consubstantiality of person and text—with the sermonic form in oratorical discourse. Memorization and poesy became key elements of the very character of the interpellation of the Tamil public sphere, of its leaders and its people. In short, both textualities came to inhere at once.

31. [Editorial note: This paragraph was moved from earlier in the original draft of the Introduction.]

32. R. Suntharalingam claims that the towns visited were Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Tirichinopoly, Tanjore, Kumbaconam, Mayavaram, Negapatam, Madura, Tinnevelly, and Tuticorin (1974, 181). He cites the "Proceedings of the MNA on the Resolution of the GOI on Local Self-Government," 1–26.

33. Roja Muthia Research Library (RMRL), *Kāṅgiras Vinā Viḍai allatu Ittēsattil Varuṣa Varuṣam Kūḍivarum Kāṅgiras Janasabaiyin Sarittiram*, 3rd ed., composed by Mu. Veeraragavachariyar (Chennai: National Press, 1888. Pe. Cu. Mani claims that this was an expanded version of G. Subramania Iyer's *Suya Arasaṭci Vinā Viḍai* of 1883 (2005, 19). A. R. Venkatachalapathy (pers. comm.) suggests that Pe. Cu. Mani read of this tour in Gurumalai Sundaram Pillai's 1907 biography of G. Subramania Iyer.

34. See GO 923, 4 July 1908, Judicial, Confidential, cf. "Enclosure I" (CID No. 563, 24-6-08), in which G. Subramania Iyer insists on addressing a crowd on the beach on 9 March 1908 in Tamil despite the crowd's call for him to speak in English. Cf. Viswanathan 1998, vol. 3.

35. [Editorial note: This paragraph is from "SPS_Four Moments.docx"; and Bate 2013, 148.]

Chapter 1

1. [Editorial note: Bate here is emphasizing the Protestant perspective. As one anonymous reviewer notes, there were strands of religious Indic thought that emphasized the denotational function of the word rather than the sonic sacrality of the Vedas or mantric-based ritualism that characterized Protestant encounters with Indic religious thought. In Hindu ethics, for example, the long history of the interpretation and influence of the *Bhagavad Gita*, starting from the eighth century commentary of Śaṅkara, and the concern with how to understand *niṣkāma karma* (disinterested action) demonstrate the importance given to denotational meaning (similarly, on how the Jātaka tales were meant to be heard, read, and understood as ethical fables for cultivation of a moral life; see Hallisey and Hansen 1996).]

2. Whereas high-status textual practice did not appear to deploy sermonic forms, lower classes/castes engaged in a number of different genres of generalized interpellation. See, for instance, Clarke-Decès 2005.

3. It is actually the third most prominent Indic text: the *Tirukkuraḷ* is by far the first with thirty-two citations; the Telugu *Vemanar* is the second with twenty-three citations; and the *Nālaḍiyār* is third with sixteen.

4. [Editorial note: *Trivarga* refers to the ethical doctrine of the three goals, or ends, of life: right conduct (*dharma*), material gain and rule (*artha*), and romantic or sexual love (*kāmā*).]

5. For a startling example of the vitriol with which the Christians attacked Indic religiosity, see Winslow and Vedanayaka Sastri's notorious tract *Kuruṭṭuvaḻi* [The blind way] (Jaffna: Jaffna Tract Society, ca. 1845).

6. The following three verses are taken from Pope 1893, 181, 125, 18. [Editorial note: References in the main text of the *Nālaḍiyār* are to the chapter number and quatrain number in that chapter in Pope's text.]

7. That it was famous even in the mid-nineteenth century is suggested by the fact that it is the only *nālaḍi* left unnumbered in the original Tamil edition as well as in the English translation of 1869.

8. For a more complete discussion of the Dravidianist paradigm of political oratory, see Bate 2009b.

Chapter 2

1. Today, an inscription within the Vannarpannai Sivan Temple marks the spot where Arumugam first gave his sermon.

2. For alternative views that inform this chapter, see Warner 1990; Hall 1996; Silverstein 2000.

3. The earliest Tamil homiletic I have found is James Duthie's *Homiletics* (1885). Also see the Introduction and Chapter 1 for discussion of the 1865 text published by the American Mission Press in Madras, H. M. Scudder's *The Bazaar Book, or, Vernacular Preacher's Companion*, which provides models of Tamil sermons for use by catechists, or "native assistants," in the marketplace or street.

4. For outlines of Navalar's life and Saivite reformation, I rely heavily on Dennis Hudson's (1992a, 1992b, 1994) work, especially the 1992 works. One of the best biographies available of Navalar was written by his grandnephew, T. Kailasapillai ([1918] 1955). For a more hagiographic biography, see Muttucumaraswamy 1965. A 1979 death centenary volume lists some 267 works in Tamil and English regarding Arumuga Navalar's life and works. See Kailasapathy 1979.

5. That Bible is now known as the "Tentative" or "Percival Version" among Christians, but it is more commonly known in Tamil as the "Navalar Version." See Kulendran 1958.

6. Karthigesaiyer—Robinson's "faithful moonshee"—was, in fact, one of the key members of Navalar's group and went on to become an important Saivite intellectual and activist in his own right.

7. [Editorial note: As noted in Chapter 1, it is the Protestant textual ethic that insists on this distinction and the priority of *logos* over the sonic qualities of language.]

8. [Editorial note: The article by T. P. Meenakshisundaran cited by Muttucumaraswamy ("Ceylon Tamil Poets") was included in a collection of Meenakshisundaran's articles in Meenakshisundaran (1954) 1978, in which it was retitled "Ārumugam Nāvalar." Thanks to V. Govindarajan for help locating this reference.]

9. For a longer discussion of the history of oratory in Tamil literature, see Bate 2000, 2009b.

10. Cited as "Mr. S. Sivapadasundaram" in his brochure titled "Arumuga Navalar," in V. Muttucumaraswamy 1965, 49.

Chapter 3

1. [Editorial note: The phrase *vantē mātaram* comes from the eponymous Swadeshi-era Bengali poem written by Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay in his 1882 novel *Anandamath* and taken up by the Swadeshi movement by the end of the nineteenth century.]

2. [Editorial note: The previous two sentences are taken, in redacted form, from "Bate_2009-11-01_SpeakingSwadeshi_WORKING.doc," 1.]

3. [Editorial note: This sentence is from Bate 2012b, 70.]

4. [Editorial note: The previous three sentences are from "Bate_2009-11-01_SpeakingSwadeshi_WORKING.doc," 1–2; and "Bate_2009-05-29_Notes on Speaking_RMRL.doc," 1.]

5. GO 923, 4 July 1908, Judicial, Confidential, cf. "Enclosure I" (CID No. 563, 24-6-08), in which G. Subramania Iyer insists on addressing a crowd on the beach on 9 March 1908 in Tamil despite the crowd's call for him to speak in English. Cf. Viswanathan 1998, vol. 3. Also see discussion in Chapter 4.

6. [Editorial note: Marina Beach has continued to be a major site of protest and the manifestation of "the people" into the twenty-first century, as witnessed in the 2017 "Jallikattu" protests.]

7. "History Sheet" of Ethiraj Surendranath Arya," CID Madras, 21.5.09.

8. "Copy of a report on Madura made by a C.I.D. inspector, dt. 9th November 1908," in TNA, CID Report, November 1908–December 1908, vol. 4. This report is typical of many during this period for its contempt for the Swadeshi movement. The British police and government officials disdained the Swadeshists for their successes—and for their failures. The *vakil*s of Madurai, the inspector wrote, were no trouble to officials as their "sole aim and object was to please the collector and District Judge and thus to get some more practice." There were about five Swadeshi shops, indicating that some people were supporting their ideology with real money. But the Swadeshi shops were operating with only a few hundred rupees of

capital, says the inspector, so they are really more pathetic than any threat to British commerce. And perhaps the surest sign of how "dull" Madurai was in terms of Swadeshism was the stature of its lecturers. See? A mere woman gave an oration last April. In including her in the report to index just how uninteresting Swadeshism in Madurai was at that time, the inspector provided a startling fragment that indicated not only how women might be written into history but out of it as well. [Editorial note: This note was taken, in emended form, from an English-language version of Bate 2009a; "Bate_2009-06-04_A Vellala Woman in Madurai.doc," 1, 2].

9. [Editorial note: The second half of this sentence is taken from "Bate_2009-06-04_A Vellala Woman in Madurai.doc," 2.]

10. The Vellala woman may have been a Jaffna Vellala, as Jaffna Women's Sangam had been formed in 1906.

11. "History Sheet on Ethiraj Surendranath Arya," in TNA, GO 1473, Public-Confidential, 21-07-1913.

12. [Editorial note: The previous two paragraphs are emended with excerpts from "Bate_2009-05-29_Notes on Speaking_RMRL.doc," 5. Also see Bate 2012b.]

13. M. No. 655, dt. 25-6-07, in GO 1407–1408, 10-8-1907, Judicial, Confidential. [Editorial note: The second half of this quote is provided in "Bate_2009-11-01_Speaking-Swadeshi_WORKING.doc," 8.]

14. "History Sheet on Ethiraj Surendranath Arya," in TNA, GO 1473, Public-Confidential, 21-07-1913.

15. See "History Sheet of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai," CID Madras, 19 June 1909, prepared by J. T. W. Filson, personal assistant to DIG of Police, CID, and Railways. In TNA, CID Reports 1908–9, vol. 5.

16. F. B. M. Cardozo letter, dt. 25 June 1907, CID 1907, Unrest File No. I, 114–15.

17. F. B. M. Cardozo letter, 117.

18. Krishnamachari, TNA, GO 2000, 29.11.1907, Judicial.

19. [Editorial note: This paragraph is taken from "Bate_2009-11-01_Speaking-Swadeshi_WORKING.doc," 1–2; and "Bate_2009-05-29_Notes on Speaking_RMRL.doc," 3.]

20. In their minds, these were not audiences composed of discerning men capable of engaging in rational-critical discourse (one assumes). Perhaps here, too, the imaginary of the public sphere was entirely as Habermas ([1962] 1991) originally imagined it. Elite men in the beginning formation of the bourgeois public sphere saw themselves as engaging in precisely such discourse, unaware that their rationality was already deeply compromised by the blindness to their own privileged position.

21. See Subramania Bharati's article, "Sober Madras," published in *India*, 2 March 1907 (Viswanathan 1998, 2:458–60), for a discussion of the *Madras Times*'s charge

that the speakers in a recent public meeting lacked the "appropriate status" (*takka antaṣtu*) necessary to carry on an august discussion of the political matters of the day. The *Madras Times*, Bharati reported, also wrote that the audience was composed of "little boys" (*siru kulantaikaḷ*). Bharati disagreed with that characterization and suggested that the reporter, Rao Bhahadur N. S. Rajagopalachariyar, get his eyes checked as soon as possible.

22. [Editorial note: The *Maturai Jillā Tiyākikaḷ Malar* is also discussed and cited in Pe. Cu. Mani 2004, 149.]

23. [Editorial note: The previous two paragraphs are taken from "Bate_2009-06-04_A Vellala Woman in Madurai.doc," 1–2, with emendations from an earlier version of Chapter 4.]

24. "For the DIG," letter dated 5 October 1907, TNA, CID Reports, vol. 1, pt. 2, September 1907–August 1908.

25. M. No. 3463, Judicial Current, n.d. (probably June 1907), in TNA, CID 1907, Unrest File, vol. 1, pt. 1.

26. [Editorial note: The previous two paragraphs are from Bate 2012b, 72, with some emendation from "Bate_2009-11-01_SpeakingSwadeshi_WORKING.doc," 10.]

27. [Editorial note: This sentence is from "Bate_2009-11-01_SpeakingSwadeshi_WORKING.doc," 10.]

28. V. Ramaswami Iyengar described some of them in *Makākavi Bāratiyār* (1944, 49); V. Ramalingam Pillai's ([1944] 1955) *En Katai* has some mention of Bharati's speeches.

29. [Editorial note: This paragraph is from "Bate_2009-11-01_SpeakingSwadeshi_WORKING.doc," 13.]

30. [Editorial note: The most recent draft of Chapter 3, based on a 2011 talk delivered to the Department of Anthropology, Stanford University, 28 October 2011 ("SPS-Ch03_2011-10-28_SpeakingSwadeshi_Stanford.pdf"), ends with a bullet-point list of "Notes and Thoughts." Similarly, a 2009 version ("Bate_2009-11-01_SpeakingSwadeshi_WORKING.doc," 10) has a penultimate section with a list of "Problems and Opportunities for This Research," which the 2011 version refers back to but does not include. Given their interest to scholars working on this topic, we have included both here, though certain aspects of each were also integrated into the body of the text in the 2011 draft and in the main text of this chapter.]

Problems and Opportunities for This Research:

1. The archives are deteriorating. Materials seen ten years ago are now gone. I don't know what anyone will do about that.

2. We do not have the original speeches in Tamil for most of the speeches. There are some in the *Swadesamitran* and in the *India*, but the vast majority

of these speeches are only portions of the speeches made by the police and translated to English.

a. This is a major problem for obvious reasons.

b. But not so obvious is that the English translation might sound a great deal different than the original, even indexing entirely different semiotics (cf. Viswanathan 1998, 120–32).

3. There is little thick description of the events. Police focused on what was said, the denotationality of the speeches, for that was what enabled prosecution.

a. I want to know what they looked like: How did they begin and end? What were the speaking orders of the orators? What kind of space did they occupy?

4. Similar question: How did people project their voices so that they could speak to thousands of people?

a. What did a meeting on the beach look like if it had no public-address system?

b. Beaches, for instance, have very bad acoustics, especially if the wind is blowing in the wrong direction.

c. The meetings I have seen on the beach without P.A. systems seem to be very small, circular, and tightly packed groups of people standing or sitting.

5. There appears to be little secondary writing on these events in Tamil by contemporaries.

a. Thiru. Vi. Ka's *Vāḻkkai Kuṟippukaḷ* stands out as the single most important of these.

b. V. Ramaswami Iyengar described some of them.

c. Namakkal Kaviñar's *En Katai* has some of the Bharatiyar speeches.

d. Who else wrote of these things? Who else described them?

Notes and Thoughts:

I would propose that some of the problems above can be solved by looking beyond the actual speeches themselves and attempting to gain clues about them via an exploration of the communicative ecosystem:

1. Theatre (*Harikathā*?)

2. Bhajanas: They appeared to be connected with the Swadeshi meetings; several such were reported in Triplicane.

3. Songs/poems: I am lucky in this project that Bharatiyar was associated with the Swadeshi movement as he laid down a great deal of material during those years that was directly related to this project.

4. E.g., the speech on the beach on 9 March 1908 to celebrate the release of Bipin Chandra Pal from prison. According to the CID report of this meeting, Bharati began it with an invocation that could almost come right out of some Hebrew lamentation in the Old Testament:

a. "When will this thirst for freedom be quenched. When will these fetters of ignorance be removed. O, Lord that caused the great war of Mahabharatha. Are plague and Famine intended only to your devoted. Are strangers to prosper while we suffer. O, Lord of the universe and the protector of the good. Is it not your principle to shield the innocent and the suffering! Have you forgotten about the patient suffering?"

b. Of course, it is not an Old Testament lament, even though it is rendered thus in English.

c. Rather, I'm sure most of you recognize it is the very familiar "Enṟu taṇiyum inta sutantira tākam" (When will my thirst for freedom be quenched?) to which Bharati gave the title "Sri Krishna Stottiram," probably first sung that very night.

5. Processions:

a. The routes of political processions followed the routes of religious ones. (Tirunelveli Nellaiyappa procession to Tai Poosa Mandabam; the processions around Meenakshi Amman Koyil began on the north side of the temple in front of the Mottai Gopuram and processed along the Masi streets; the processions from different points in Madras to the [Marina] Beach; Bharati and Ethiraj's meetings were, I think, almost always associated with Bhajanas.)

What did they do? (The music, bhajanas, etc.)

Chapter 4

[Editorial note: This chapter is based on a combination of a draft version, "Bharathi and the Tamil Modern" ("SPS-Ch05_Bharati-and-the-Tamil-Modern_2011-01-12.pdf") and a version of a 1 March 2016 talk, "Bate_2016-03-03_

Swadeshi-Bharati_WRKG.docx," with additions and emendations from other versions, as noted.]

1. An index of his youthful passion, talent, and democratic impulses comes from a memory passed through the family of the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai and recorded in a transcribed interview of his father, S. Appadurai Aiyar, by Carol Breckenridge. Arjun Appadurai's paternal grandfather was a court Brahmin at Ettiyapuram, where his reputation did no honor to the family. His dissolute life ended early, and his wife and son were left destitute in the Brahmin neighborhood (*agrahāram*) of Sivalaperi, a dry, dusty town near Tirunelveli with few charms and fewer prospects. S. A. Aiyar remembers as a small boy, sometime in the first decade of the twentieth century, that he met Bharati, his father's first cousin, while he and his mother were visiting Tirunelveli. He had hitched a ride with Bharati back to Sivalaperi on an oxcart. The driver asked the poet to sing a song, and Bharati improvised a new song on the spot, singing of driving in an oxcart to the town of Sivalaperi: "Sivalaperi kaṇḍēnē!" (I beheld Sivalaperi!). When reflecting on this story with me, two elements struck Professor Appadurai about the character and life of Bharati as told by his father. First, there is something remarkable about this young quasi-aristocrat willing to sing a song at the request of a humble oxcart driver. Likewise, he had no aristocracy of topic for his poem; he was willing to thematize as "humble and trivial and dusty a place as Sivalaperi" in the same tones, even the same words, as those *pirabantam* singers who sang of great gods such as the lord Parthasarathy of Tiruvallikeni (or Triplicane), where Bharati lived during his days in Madras: "Tiruvallikeni kaṇḍēnē!" The story speaks not only of Bharati's gifts as a poet but also of his inherent democracy, egalitarianism, and goodwill. These traits are very much apparent in his later work, in his songs, and in his overall dealings with his fellow beings.

2. [Editorial note: The previous two sentences are from "Bate_2013-11-03_Swadeshi-Bharati_NMML.pdf," 1.]

3. Cf. Qur'an 5:32: "If any one killed a person, it would be as if he killed the whole of mankind; and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole of mankind."

4. See P. Mahadevan 1957, 17, though there is debate about this date. Go. Kesavan (1995), among others, suggests it was in 1894. [Editorial note: The editors were not able to fill out the references by Bate to Go. Kesavan.]

5. GO 923, 4 July 1908, Judicial, Confidential, cf. "Enclosure I" (CID No. 563, 24-6-08), 5.

6. "History Sheet of Ethiraj Surendranath Arya," CID Madras, 21.5.09.

7. DO, dt. 12.3.08, Atkinson to Bradley, TNA, GO 1729, 29.12.08, Jud.Confl.

8. DO, dt. 12.3.08, Atkinson to Bradley, TNA, GO 1729, 29.12.08, Jud.Confl.

9. "Enclosure I" [CID No. 563, 24-06-08], GO 923, Jud.Confl., 4.7.08.

10. It is unclear whether G. Subramania Iyer immediately followed Bharati or whether the latter's speech was followed by Ethiraj Surendranath Arya (as stated in "History Sheet of Ethiraj Surendranath Arya," CID Reports 1908–1909, vol. 5). Iyer, as the highest-status person in attendance, was probably the final speaker of the evening.

11. See Viswanathan 1998, 3:301–3, for a complete transcript of this speech.

12. DO, dt. 16.3.08, TNA, GO 1729, 29.12.08, Jud.Confl.

13. DO, dt. 14.3.08, TNA, GO 1729, 29.12.08, Jud.Confl.

14. DO, dt. 12.3.08, Wilkieson to Atkinson, TNA, GO 1729, 29.12.08, Jud.Confl.

15. DO, dt. 12.3.08, TNA, GO 1729, 29.12.08, Jud.Confl.

16. [Editor's note: Also see Bate 2012b on the development of Tamil shorthand in relation to these events.]

17. And, of course, oratory was but one of the major forms of communicative practice that was being radically transformed during this period, in addition to music and dance. [Editorial note: This note is sourced from an oral-talk version of this chapter, "Bate_2016-03-03_Swadeshi-Bharati_WRKG.docx."]

18. The independence and, later, labor activist Madurai Mayandi Bharati (1917–2015) recalls singing the song in the late 1920s and early 1930s (see Chapter 3).

19. Viswanathan (1998, 3:123–26) believes that V. Ramaswami Iyengar (Va. Ra.) and Namakkal Kaviñar V. Ramalingam Pillai's memories are at fault and that there were no other verses.

20. This is a strange thing to say, but this particular form of *bhajan* was introduced as another form of cultural modernity in the early twentieth century and has been traced back to Maratha King Serfoji II's court in Thanjavur (late eighteenth, early nineteenth century) along with a whole host of other early-modern communicative forms—not least being the *kathakalakshebam* textual discourses and *Harikathā* theater (Peterson 2011).

21. [Editorial note: A. R. Venkatachalapathy (2008), however, in *Bharati Karuvūlam* has shown that Bharati was giving a talk in Chennai just ten days after this.]

22. [Editor's note: The previous two sentences were taken from "Bate_2016-03-03_Swadeshi Bharati_WRKG.docx," 3.]

Chapter 5

1. The claim is somewhat misleading as strikes were occurring from the very first years of the establishment of large industrial operations in Madras in the 1870s, in particular at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Perambur and other major sites. Sivasubramanian's (1986) claim that these are the first organized and planned labor stoppages is perhaps more accurate. Also see Veeraraghavan 2013.

2. "History Sheet on Ethiraj Surendranath Arya," in TNA, GO 1542, 3 October 1911, Judicial-Confidential.

3. Here, we might also consider shifts in addressivity and audience composition in arts such as Bharatnatyam.

4. While District Magistrate L. M. Wynch reports that English notes of the speeches were made by various officers and filed in his court, in addition to being furnished to the CID through reports made from them, both the court and the district magistrate's office were burned down on 13 March 1908. No account of any notes has been reported since then. See L. M. Wynch, DO, dt. 17 March 1908, TNA, GO 478, 24-03-1908, Judicial Confidential; Venkatachalapathy 1987, 18–20.

5. Paragraph 4, Exhibit S, Criminal Appeals Nos. 491 (V. O. C., 2nd Prisoner) and 503 (Subramania Siva, 1st Prisoner) of 1908, High Court of Judicature at Madras, Wednesday, the fourth day of November, 1908.

6. "History Sheet of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai."

7. The record is contradictory. The court records claim that speeches occurred nearly daily from 3 February; however, the "History Sheet" claims that Siva presided over meetings at the Thoothukudi Beach "on the 11th, 16th, and 19th February." Regardless, we do not have a record of anything he said prior to a few excerpts of a speech he gave on 19 February, recorded in the "History Sheet."

8. L. M. Wynch, DO, dt. 17 March 1908, TNA, GO 478, 24-03-1908, Judicial Confidential.

9. "History Sheet on Subrahmanya Siva."

10. TNA, GO No. 1542, 3.10.1911, Jud.Confl.; see also "History Sheet on Subrahmanya Siva" and "History Sheet of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai," CID Madras, 19 June 1909, prepared by J. T. W. Filson, personal assistant to the DIG of Police, CID, and Railways, TNA, CID Reports 1908–9, vol. 5.

11. Cf. Hansen 1996 on the wrestler's body and his masculinity; and Van der Veer 2001 on masculinity and "muscular Hinduism."

12. Professor A. Sivasubramanian accompanied me on a tour of the port and mill areas of Thoothukudi in January 2009, where we thought about where these events may have taken place.

13. The beach opposite that church today was narrowed with the construction of a large jetty to the south that altered the currents and pushed the shoreline inland. But in 1908 it would have been a broad, open space free of the thornbushes and plastic flotsam that clogs it today.

14. Unless otherwise indicated, all speeches are drawn from TNA, GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Jud.Confl.

15. TNA, GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Jud.Confl.

16. Chidambara Bharati's claim noted in the main text that Siva's third meeting drew fifty thousand, one suspects, is quite understandable hyperbole appropriate

to the jubilation of the years immediately following independence. There are no reports of meetings exceeding five thousand participants.

17. The first working public-address system was unveiled in 1915 in San Francisco by Magnavox; A. R. Venkatachalapathy reports that specifying "mic sets" in announcements of public meetings became common only in the 1930s (pers. comm., April 2014).

18. As in Bharati's song analyzed in the previous chapter, here, too, the notion of thirty crores acts as an index of a novel numerical imagination—indeed, epistemization—of society (see Kaviraj 2010).

19. In the written statement Siva issued prior to his first trial he wrote:

> I am a Sanyasi. My mission is to propagate the principles of Mukthi and also the ways to attain it. Mukthi for a soul is freedom from all foreign bondages. Mukthi for a nation is freedom from all foreign control, that is, Absolute Swaraj. Accordingly I preached to my countrymen the gospel of Swaraj and also the ways to attain it viz., Boycott—boycott of all that stands in the way of my nation's attaining Swaraj—, Passive Resistance and National Education. (Paragraph 2, Exhibit S, Criminal Appeals Nos. 491 [V. O. C., 2nd Prisoner] and 503 [Subramania Siva, 1st Prisoner] of 1908, High Court of Judicature at Madras, Wednesday the fourth day of November, 1908)

20. Cf. Benedict Anderson's ([1983] 2006) notion of "unbound seriality," the evocation of a homogeneous space and time in which different moments in history were linked and in which we might see parallel social systems, parallel cosmologies, and a shared human condition based on an abstraction of ourselves in a *social* world. For a critique and complication of this concept, see Chatterjee 2004, 3–8.

21. "History Sheet of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai."

22. "History Sheet of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai."

23. "Tuticorin Inspectors Reports, Meeting on the Beach on the 4th March 1908," TNA, GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Jud.Confl. See also "History Sheet on Subrahmanya Siva" and "History Sheet of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai."

24. L. M. Wynch, DO, dt. 17 March 1908, TNA, GO No 478, 24-03-1908, Judicial Confidential.

25. [Editorial note: In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim writes, "It is by this trait that we are able to recognize what has often been called the demon of oratorical inspiration," indicating that the phrase was a common one (in French at least), or at least not particular to Durkheim ([1912] 1995, 212).]

26. M. No. 3463, Judicial Current, n.d. (probably June 1907), in TNA, CID 1907, Unrest File, vol. 1, pt. 1.

27. TNA, GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Jud.Confl.

28. TNA, GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Jud.Confl.

29. [Editorial note: In the Madras Presidency, a second-grade pleader is a kind of lawyer in the middle of the colonial legal hierarchy.]

30. "History Sheet of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai."

31. [Editorial note: This paragraph is emended with excerpts from "Bate_2008-2009_Misc Writing 2008-09.doc," 30.]

32. Similar events occurred across the Presidency. In Chingleput, a group of men associated with the Satya Vratha Sangam of Kanchipuram petitioned the inspector of police and were given permission to "process through the streets with music." As the leaders of the Sangam, including Venkata Aryan, were leading men of the town, the police had no reason to deny them permission. But the event was noteworthy to the police for it involved a procession similar to that described in Tirunelveli, which also forefronted the performance of worship to Bharatmata:

> In an empty chair was placed a picture of India, executed by the artist Ravi Varma and below this picture as a likeness of Bipin Chandra Pal. These two pictures were decorated with flowers. The meeting began at 5 P.M. and ended at 7:20 P.M. In the picture of India was a representation of the goddess Kali.

Venkata Aryan offered prayers in Sanskrit for India and worshipped the picture with flowers and fire. Flowers also were distributed to the people, who threw them on the picture. Venkata Aryan then pointed out Kali and said: "The name of this goddess is Buru Devi. The country of India is her body. We are all living in her womb. We should therefore consider her body, i.e. India as our mother and should say 'Vande Mataram' meaning that we bow to our mother." On saying this, he repeated the words "*vantē mātaram*" in a loud voice and the assembly took up the cry. Then he pointed to Pal's picture and cried out "Bipin Chandra Pal Ji," meaning "success to &c." (Written report of DSP Chingleput, 21-03-08, TNA, CID Reports, vol. 1, pt. 2, September 1907–August 1908, 78–83) [Editorial note: This note was taken from "SPS_Fragment_events of 9 March throughout the Presidency.docx," 1.]

33. GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Judicial Confidential, 423. [Editorial note: This section (The Uprising and Official Murders on 13 March) was only skeletally sketched in Bate's various drafts of the chapter and is composed by the editors based on these sketches, supplemented with primary and secondary sources that Bate would have had access to (e.g., GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Judicial Confidential; Asha 2009, 154–81; Venkatachalapathy 1987, 2010). Specific passages are taken from "Bate_2013-05-02_Tutukudi-oratorical-incandescence.docx"; "Bate_2013-11-01_Tutukudi-oratorical-incandescence.docx"; and "Bate_2014-05-29_Elocutionary-incandescence_Chicago.docx."]

34. GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Judicial Confidential, 423.

35. The fallout for Robert Ashe was considerable as well (Venkatachalapathy 2010). Within a month of the riots, Ashe was transferred to Godavari District, though he returned in August 1910 as acting collector of Tirunelveli. In the interim,

and in response to the events of 1908, a group of militant nationalists had organized, their efforts culminating in Ashe's assassination by R. Vanchi Aiyar on 17 June 1911 at the Maniyachi train junction. Fourteen were arrested and charged with conspiracy (nine of whom were convicted and sentenced), while two others who were part of the conspiracy committed suicide (in addition to Vanchi Aiyar, who shot himself immediately after the murder) and one escaped, never to be found. Following the murder, the colonial government put increased pressure on nationalists they felt to have supported the conspiracy, including Subramania Bharati, who had already fled to Pondicherry, as discussed in Chapter 4. The murder was determined by government authorities to have had "a direct causal link with the political events in the district [of Tirunelveli] in 1908" (Venkatachalapathy 2010, 40), including the imprisonment of V. O. C. and Subramania Siva and the ensuing riots, but also the blame that Ashe later took for crushing V. O. C.'s SSNC. Venkatachalapathy (2010) argues that while Wynch was ultimately in charge of the events that transpired in 1908 and was a major target of local critique, despite his complicity in the events, Ashe's death was the result, in part, from being in the wrong place at the wrong time; Wynch was furloughed, and Ashe was posted as the acting collector at the time.

36. L. M. Wynch, DO, dt. 17 March 1908, TNA, GO 478, 24-03-1908, Judicial Confidential, 11–12.

37. "The Tinnevelly Sedition Trial: Amazing Summing Up by the Judge," *Swadesamitran*, 6 June 1908 (translation), CID Report cited in TNA, HFM 79, 136–43.

38. "The Tinnevelly Sedition Trial."

39. L. M. Wynch, DO, dt. 17 March 1908, TNA, GO 478, 24-03-1908, Judicial Confidential.

40. L. M. Wynch, DO, dt. 17 March 1908. Of course, those notes and any other evidence of the speeches would have been lost when the district magistrate's office and court burned down on 13 March 1908.

41. Criminal Appeals Nos. 491 (V. O. C., 2nd Prisoner) and 503 (Subramania Siva, 1st Prisoner) of 1908, High Court of Judicature at Madras, Wednesday the fourth day of November, 1908.

42. Judgment by Arthur F. Pinhey, Esq., Additional Sessions Judge, Tinnevelly District, 7 July 1908, in the case against V. O. C. and Subramania Siva, GO 1542, 3.10.1911, Judicial (Confidential), in Government of Tamil Nadu 1982, 414–15.

43. Of course, the judge's imagination of what constituted "newspaper reading" had very little to do with the ways that newspapers were (and are being) read in the Tamil country—and perhaps across India. Newspaper reading, far from being a solitary, individual affair, was more likely carried out both silently and out loud amid others in places of gatherings, such as tea stalls. See Bate 2009b; Cody 2009.

44. "The Tinnevelly Sedition Trial."

45. "The Tinnevelly Sedition Trial."

46. "The Tinnevelly Sedition Trial."

47. For a clear discussion of the proximal (versus distal) and tenseless quality of ritual language, see Silverstein 2004, 36–39.

48. "History Sheet on Ethiraj Surendranath Arya," in TNA, GO 1473, 21 July 1913, Public-Confidential. The very first notice of him by police, in fact, was a speech he delivered in Perambur, 14 April 1907, for the Fellow Workers Society. For discussions on the Perambur labor union, see Bate 2013; Veeraraghavan 2013.

49. A police inspector and several deputies took at least two tours of the delta regions of Kistna (or Krishna) and Godavari Districts in 1907. "Proceedings of a Swadeshi Meeting," in CID Report, 1907, Unrest File, vol. 1, pt. 1, 179–90; "Letter, Confidential," dt. 18.7.1907, CID Report, 1907, Unrest File, vol. 1, pt. 1, 204–14; "Report," 5.12.1907, CID Report, 1907, Unrest File, vol. 1, pt. 1, 567–73; DO dt. 10.11.1907, CID Report, 1907, Unrest File, vol. 1, pt. 1, 577.

50. See Amin 1988, 304–5, for a discussion of nationalist understandings of the correct role between elites, masses, and the figure of Mohandas Gandhi in North India, ca. 1921–22; cf. Chatterjee 2004 on the distinction between civil and political society.

Epilogue

1. David Washbrook writes: "As the president of the Theosophical Society, she controlled an organization with several thousand members, which linked the presidency capital to every large mofussil town. When she converted this to political purposes, she was able to inaugurate her movement with prepared support and a sophisticated structure of command in as many as thirty-four separate localities" (1976, 290). See also DO 105 W-1, 17 Jan. 1917, TNA, FR 1917.

2. DO no. 4788 W-1, 18 Dec. 1916, TNA, FR 1916.

3. DO no. 846 W-1, 1 Mar. 1917, TNA, FR 1917.

4. DO no. 1051 W-1, 17 Mar. 1917, TNA, FR 1917.

5. K. Krishnaswami Sarma, who had been jailed for three years of rigorous imprisonment, was found again to be "delivering Sunday lectures in Tamil on the Beach at Madras in which he has contrasted the past glories of India with its degradation in recent times" (DO no. 1250 W-1, 2 April 1917, TNA, FR 1917). Other prominent members of the Swadeshi movement generation, such as V. O. C., Subramania Siva, and G. Harisarvathama Rao, would also begin to attend labor meetings.

6. [Editorial note: The *maa-baap* (mother-father, from Hindi) system refers to a mode of governance metaphorically based on absolute, paternal authority.]

7. A particularly ugly story about one of these humiliations involved a man de-

nied permission by a superior to answer a call of nature. The worker soiled himself at the gate, was beaten by white managers, and was forced to clean up after himself. Chelvapathi Chettiar worked to publicize the story in the *Indian Patriot* and other local newspapers, provoking the outrage of the reading public. See Souvenir 1963.

8. Though we have no reports of the content of those lectures, see Kalyanasundaram [1944] 2003, 352; and Souvenir 1963, 36.

9. We have an unusually rich variety of sources for this meeting: the City Police, who had stationed a sub-inspector in Perambur to report on the situation (TNA, GO 342, 18 Apr. 1919, Public [Confidential]); Chelvapathi Chettiar's manuscript account cited by Veeraraghavan 1987; Chelvapathi's published account (Chettiar 1961, 3–4); Eamon Murphy's (1981) interview with Chelvapathi; Souvenir 1963; and Kalyanasundaram [1944] 2003.

10. Report 162-C, 4 Mar. 1918, TNA, GO 342, 18 Apr. 1918, Public (Confidential).

11. Interestingly, the police report makes no mention of this tension at the time, though notes among the officers in the Secretariat over the next month or so express pleasure at reports of dismay among SVGS members at their descent into politics.

12. Wadia's account of the meeting betrays a rather embarrassing, albeit wholly well-intentioned philanthropic liberalism utterly detached from the lives of the vast majority of people then living in Madras:

> How well I remember the forenoon when two men, unknown to me, whom I had never seen before, came and told me something about the "suffering labourers." They referred to the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, of which I had vaguely heard, but of which I knew less than little. They referred to "a few minutes for food," "swallowing a few morsels," "running lest they be shut out." It was at New India office, where I was then working under my beloved and respected Chief, Mrs. Besant. She was not in office that day, and I was loath to leave it in her absence even for a couple of hours. But my Theosophical spirit got the better of my political duties. I immediately ordered my car, took the two strangers, and went to Perambur and watched outside the Mills where I saw the poor labourers at their noon-day meal. It was quick work. They came, they gobbled, they returned. (1921, xv)

13. No. 257-c, dt. 17 Apr. 1918, TNA, GO 342, 18 Apr. 1918, Public (Confidential).

14. Wadia and Thiru. Vi. Ka. both saw their positions as articulating the words of a single person, a point Wadia acknowledges in the dedication of his 1921 book of the speeches to Thiru. Vi. Ka.: "This is your book as much as mine. If the speeches delivered here achieved any good among our friends at Perambur it is due to your excellent translations of them. What could I have done in the Labour work in this city without you? You translated my speeches not my words merely but their very spirit" (1921, v).

15. Thiru. Vi. Ka. names V. Chakkarai Chetti, E. L. Iyer, N. Dandapani Pillai, Harisarvothama Rao, C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji), Adhinarayana Chettiar, M. S. Subramania Iyer, V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, A. S. Ramulu, M. C. Raja, Dr. Natesa Mudaliar, S. Kasturiranga Ayangar, V. P. Pakkiriswami Pillai, M. S. Ramaswamy Iyengar in Coimbatore, and George Joseph in Madurai.

16. TNA, GO 566, 7 Sept. 1920, Public (Confidential).

17. Add to this list the union of motorcar drivers; the cutters of army clothing; government clerks; Public Works Department employees; workmen of the Madras Port; workmen of the Reliance Foundry; workmen of all the major oil companies such as the Burmah Oil Company, Asiatic Petroleum, and Standard Oil; and, of course, workmen of all the printing establishments that the administrative and political hub that was Madras could support.

18. For these reports, see the collection of CID Reports covering the period in TNA, GO 566, 7 Sept. 1920, Public (Confidential).

19. CID Report on a meeting of the Madras Labour Union (B&C Mills), Perambore, 18 Feb. 1920, TNA, GO 566, 7 Sept. 1920, Public (Confidential).

20. Yet, in contrast to descriptions of the public sphere, this public was perhaps less an empirical reality as such than an empirically consequential illusion (resulting in such expansions). Indeed, less a universal, homogeneous space of communicative rationality, the bourgeois public sphere was produced through the production and circulation of text-artifacts among a limited social network of men who represented themselves as the universal human subject. It was a utopia of homogeneity, a homogeneity of time, space, and social order built on a series of exclusions based on gender, race, and class (and caste, in the South Asian case). The notion of the universalization of the public sphere was never more than the universalization of a normative model based on particularistic positions within the society represented as neutral. All of these productions, however, were effects of new communicative modalities entering into and transforming fields of social praxis, as we have seen from the examples of vernacular oratorical models and their roles in the production of regional modernities in South India. In short, what we find actually unfolding in the Tamil world—and elsewhere—does not quite match up with such descriptions. To this day, the notion of the (monoglot) public remains somewhat difficult to pin down in (heteroglot) Madras. Given all this, one wonders if there has ever been anything that actually matches up to the notion of the public sphere at all. As we might say, to paraphrase Bruno Latour, "We have never been public." [Editorial note: This note was taken and redacted from the fragments "Bate_2011-11-28_we-have-never-been-public_nanterre-abstract.rtf"; and "Bate_2014-04-09_AAA_we-have-never-been-public.docx"; earlier drafts of the book's outline (titled *Speaking the Public Sphere: Protestant Textuality and the Tamil*

Modern; see "Bate_2010-11-16_Speaking the Public Sphere_OUTLINE.docx," 2) include plans for a conclusion that would provide a "speculative/theoretical piece on the nature of the public sphere, in theory and as we actually find it unfolding in the Tamil world. Wonders if there has ever been anything that actually matches up to the notion of the public sphere at all. A consequential illusion."]

Afterword

1. It is comforting to use the present tense; it registers the fact that Bate's ideas have presence.

2. Although there is no scope to discuss this theme in this afterword, we should note the sophistication of Bate's notion of modernity. It is not an overwhelming single process that flattens all diversity of the preexisting world but one that enters into particular histories to get modified and inflected. In South India, we should not simply describe the triumphal march of modernity but attend to the slow construction of the Indian and Tamil modern. See the main text for more discussion of how this modernity for Bate was truly Indic and Tamil.

3. Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).

4. Walzer.

5. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962; repr., Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).

6. Rabindranath Tagore, "Hing Ting Chat," in *Rabindra Rachanabali*, vol. 3 (Calcutta: Visvabharati, 1904).

7. E. Valentine Daniel, *Charred Lullabies: Chapters in an Anthropography of Violence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

8. Interestingly, the term *mahajana* is used in the Vanaparva of the *Mahabharata* in a famous *śloka*. Yudhisthira says in answer to a question by Dharma disguised as the stork:

> *Veda bibhinnah smrtayo bibhinnah*
> *Nasau muniryasya matam na bhinnam*
> *Dharmasya tattvam nihitam guhayam*
> *Mahajano yena gatah sa panthah.*
>
> The Vedas are different, the smritis are different, a man is not called a sage if his views are not different from all others. The truth of dharma is hidden in a cave. The path is the one taken by the *mahajana*.

Here, *mahajana* can mean great men or the great number of men.

9. Henry W. Nevinson, "On the Beach," in *The New Spirit in India*, by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Harper and Brothers, 1908), 125–33.

10. Nevinson, 125.

11. Nevinson, 128–29.

12. In Sanskrit there are analyses of speech perfection that indicate two types of values: sonic effects and semantic effects. The possessor of perfect speech is called a *vavaduka*. Sonic features are the selection of pleasing word combinations, their clear enunciation, in a voice that sounds sweet. The four semantic features are *upanyasa-paripati* (skilled at persuading those who hold a different view); *yukti-paripati* (skilled at using arguments that surmount objections); *yatharthtya-paripati* (skilled at marshaling incontrovertible evidence); and *pratibha-paripati* (skilled at presenting his side with a winning combination of tropes.) See Goswami Rupa, *Bhakti-Rasamrta-Sindhu* [Ocean of the nectar of rasa], ed. Haridas Das (Haribol Kutir: Nabadwip, 1946).

13. Krishna famously says to Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gita* before the apocalyptic battle: "*yada yada hi dhramasya glanir bhabati bharata / abhyutthanam adharmasya tadatmanam srjamyaham / paritranay sadhunam vinasaya ca duskrtam / dharmasamsthapanarthaya sambhavami yuge yuge*" (Whenever there is a decay of religion, O Bharata, and there is a rise of irreligion, then I manifest Myself).

14. A large number of modern Indian thinkers invoke the message of the *Bhagavad Gita*, though interpreted in very divergent ways.

15. Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Indian Nationalist Discourse* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995).

16. Benedict Anderson recognized this fact in his *Imagined Communities* (1983; London: Verso, 2006); and it has been widely chronicled in the history of Indian nationalism.

17. Sudipta Kaviraj, "Writing, Speaking, Being: Language and the Historical Formation of Identities in India," in *Nationalstaat und Sprachkonflickt in Sud—und Sudostasien*, ed. Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam and Dietmar Rothermund (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 25–65.

18. Bernard Bate, *Tamil Oratory and the Dravidian Aesthetic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

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