MOVEMENTS AGAINST THE LIQUOR POLICY
Temperance and Prohibition movement, which were started against the liquor policy of the British Government, had far reaching effect on the people. Of all the movements started in Tamil Nadu, none had more vitally affected the moral, the social as well as the economic welfare of the people than temperance and prohibition.

BEGINNING OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the temperance movement was started in Tamil Nadu. This movement had gained momentum in the year 1886. In that year because of the influence of some temperance leaders, the House of Commons passed a resolution condemning the excise administration of India. The resolution charged the Government of India with having established, in defiance of Indian public opinion, a large number of liquor shops and thereby provided increased facilities for drinking – an evil which had steadily led to increased consumption and spread misery and ruin.
among the industrial classes. It called upon the British Government in India to take immediate steps to reduce drunkards in India.¹

It was because of the recommendations of the House of Commons; many changes were introduced in the excise system in 1886. A regular Abkari Department was created. The Government declared that its policy was to get maximum revenue from minimum consumption. Sets of rules were prescribed for toddy, country spirits and foreign liquor. Hence illicit practices were put down. Naturally the consumption was reduced.² The numbers of liquor shops were reduced.³ But the general incidence of taxation was largely increased by raising the duty on spirits, the tree-tax on toddy and the vend rents. Hence the revenue increased.⁴ The Government of India remarked that total prohibition which some of the temperance reforms had urged was out of question. This stand of the government did not give any satisfaction to the temperance reformers.⁵

In 1904, Mr Lely, an Additional Member of the Imperial Legislative Council submitted a memorandum to the Government of India stating that there was a general impression among all people that the Government were deliberately fostering the liquor traffic for the sake of the revenue that it produced. He emphasized that the time had come when something more

⁵ B.S.Baliga, op. cit., pp 2-5.
should be done to minimize the drunken evil. He recommended that the number of foreign as well as country liquor shops should be reduced, that shops in objectionable cities should be removed, that the licences granted to temporary liquor shops during fairs and festivals should be revoked and that those granted for premises, which provided accommodation for private drinking should be refused. The Government of India thereupon constituted a committee for reviewing the entire excise administration of India.\(^6\)

This Excise Committee of 1905 made a series of recommendations, some general for all the Indian provinces and some special for Tamil Nadu.\(^7\) Among them, the committee's special recommendations for Tamil Nadu must be mentioned:

i) That the duty on country spirits should be increased;

ii) that the number of foreign liquor taverns should be reduced;

iii) that the rates of tree-tax should be raised and the number of toddy shops reduced and

iv) that the reduction of liquor and toddy shops in Madras city should be taken in hand by a special committee appointed for the purpose.\(^8\)

After 1905, as a result of the increasing temperance agitation, the Government of India issued some special directions to the local Governments. In 1907 and 1912 temperance delegation waited on the secretary of state pressed for further reforms. They insisted that the licences


\(^{8}\) D.N.Strathie, *op. cit.*, pp 31-35.
for the sale of intoxicants should be reduced to the minimum, that the hours of sale should be restricted, that the system of excise advisory committees should be extended to all municipalities, that those committees should be made more representatives and given power to deal with all licences, that the auction system of licensing should be replaced by a system of fixed licence fees, that the licensing function should be removed from the control of Revenue Department and placed in the hands of local committees or some independent authority and that temperance teaching should be introduced in schools.  

In 1912, the Indian Temperance Association submitted a memorandum to the Viceroy urging similar reforms, as also the provision of a hospital for inebriates and of counter attractions to intemperance like tea and coffee stalls. But the Government of India was not ready to adopt any radical measures in favour of temperance association. The Government decided to adopt the following measures only:

1. Every effort should be made to suppress illicit methods of all kinds and for that purpose, the out still system should be replaced by the contract distillery system.

2. As far as possible, without unduly encouraging illicit trade consumption should be discouraged.

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9 B.S.Baliga, *op. cit.*, p 7.

a. by the levy of a higher rate of duty, taking into account the special conditions obtaining in the locality,
b. by reducing, with due regard to legitimate requirements, the number of retail shops for the sale of liquor and drugs and
c. by regulating and closely supervising the hours of sale, the selection of sites and the general practices adopted in manufacture and vend.

3. Advisory committees should be appointed, where possible and efforts should be given to their recommendations so far as they were consistent with the general principles mentioned above.

4. Temperance teaching should be conducted in schools.¹¹

As a result of the temperance movement, various committees were appointed to look into the working of the matter. The committees made various recommendations for the temperance. One of its recommendations was the reduction in the number of shops. Hence the numbers of arrack and toddy shops were reduced. The following Table shows the reduction of the shops¹².

Reduction of Shops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrack</th>
<th>Toddy</th>
<th>Foreign liquor Taverns, Beer shops and Foreign Liquor shops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1906-07</td>
<td>102339</td>
<td>18684</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>6008</td>
<td>10463</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹ G.O. No. 1254, Revenue, dt. 5-5-1914.
¹² D.N.Strathie, op. cit., pp 46-49.
It might be stated here that shops in the Madras city came in for special investigation. Between 1907 and 1917 four committees were appointed to go into the question of reduction of shops and the number of shops were reduced from 55 taverns, 48 arrack shops and 253 toddy shops in 1906-07 to 10 taverns, 20 arrack shops and 64 toddy shops in 1920-1921.13

Another important change introduced by the recommendations of the Temperance Committees was the reduction of hours of sale. From 1918 onwards limitations were imposed on the hours at which shops might be kept open. The opening hours were fixed at 9.30 a.m. in the case of arrack shops, foreign liquor taverns and beer shops and the sunrise for the remaining shops. The closing hour for all kinds of shops was fixed at 8 p.m. and sales outside the prescribed hours were absolutely prohibited. The collectors were empowered to close shops within 3 furlongs of factories, mills and others large centers of labour and where that was not practicable, to close them on week days from 11.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and on afternoon of pay days and to allow sales on Sundays only between 11.30 a.m. and 4 p.m. The Collectors were empowered to insert special conditions in licences providing for the closure of shops during fairs and festivals and on market days.14

Certain other restrictions were imposed on the conditions of sale. Gaming and entertainment in shops was prohibited. Sale of liquor to drunkards, to children and to persons under 18 years of age was prohibited.

13 Ibid., pp 38-39.
14 G.O. No. 257
The employment of women not being members of the renter’s family was also prohibited.\textsuperscript{15}

In order to save the future generation they introduced temperance teaching in schools from 1915. In that year the inspecting officers were asked to take advantage of their visits to schools and teachers associations to address the teachers on the benefits of temperance and on the importance of instilling into their pupils habits of temperance. Syllabuses were drawn up for schools dealing with temperance not only in connection with alcohol but also in connection with tobacco, opium and other drugs. They were fit to in either with moral and religious instruction or with the teaching of physiology and hygiene and general knowledge. Additional means employed were illustration matter, such as stories from the ancient classics of India, charts and pictures showing diagrammatically the effects of temperance, and lantern slides. A more direct means adopted was the employment of text books in English or Indian languages containing lessons on temperance. Pamphlets and readers in various vernaculars had been and were being published and their use in elementary schools was encouraged.\textsuperscript{16}

Efforts were made to direct the attention to drink to remove drastically in some places the temptation to drink. The experiment of opening tea and coffee shops as counter – attractions to liquor shops was tried. The tea and coffee shops were established generally through the agency of local boards or municipalities, sometimes at their own charges and sometimes by tollgate or market contractors as a term of their contracts.

\textsuperscript{15} G.O. No. 420, Separate Revenue, dated 12\textsuperscript{th} October 1918, p 17.

\textsuperscript{16} ABK Report for 1915-16, p 4.
Collectors had been requested to endeavour, with the help of the advisory committees, to encourage private persons to open such shops and to subsidize private enterprise where necessity by granting suitable public sites for the shops at a favourable rental for a term of years. Over 30 shops were opened, but it was soon reported that they had failed to attract men accustomed to stronger drinks.

Apart from the opening of those temperance shops by private persons and local bodies, Collectors had also been requested to keep in view the possibility of removing or closing shops on roads leading to centers of industrial labour with due regard to local conditions and to bring the subject before the advisory committees whenever the question of the number and location of shops was considered.

In 1919, the Board of Revenue proposed another experiment, that of providing a substitute for a stimulant rather than that of providing a counter attraction along side an existing liquor shops. It was felt that, if the workers could be supplied at proper times with good food near their place of worth, they would not to the stimulant of alcohol and that, even if they did so, it would not do them so much harm. Hence the Board of Revenue decided to open ‘collies canteen’. A ‘Collies canteen’ opened at a Deport in

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17 Ibid., p 5.
20 G.O. No. 1895, Revenue dt. 23-1-1919.
1920.\textsuperscript{21} But it was closed in the very next year, having been declared a failure.\textsuperscript{22} There was, however, a feeling among some officials that neither of these experiments was tried for a sufficiently long time to judge properly of their results.\textsuperscript{23}

These were the temperance measures pursued by the government from 1907 to 1921 for reducing consumption. But the test of the pudding was in the eating, and in spite of all these measures the consumption failed to decrease in any appreciable manner, while the revenue rose to great height.\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{ROLE OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS}

Indian National Congress, which was started in 1885, not only worked for political freedom, but also indulged in various social reforms. By 1900, a greater tempo was given to the temperance reforms by the Indian Nation Congress. It viewed with great concern the growing consumption of liquors and urged the Government to pass acts to curb the consumption.\textsuperscript{25} And in the following years wherever the congress bodies met to demand political reforms, they began to demand temperance reforms as well.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{21} G.O. No.1845, Revenue, dt. 2-8-1920.
\textsuperscript{22} G.O. No.2551, Revenue, dt. 21-11-1921, p 15.
\textsuperscript{23} D.N.Strathie, \textit{op. cit.}, pp 51-53.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Ibid.}, pp 73-74.
\textsuperscript{26} B.S.Baliga, \textit{op. cit.}, p 5.
Side by side with its non-cooperation and civil disobedience movement, the congress also indulged in anti-drunk propaganda. It also resorted to direct action.

The credit for launching for the first time a nation wide agitation against the drink evil in India was organized by the Congress Party. Under the inspiring leadership of Gandhiji, Rajaji and a host of lesser luminaries, that party rapidly came into the time light and carried on everywhere all over the country and did vigorous campaign against the drink.\textsuperscript{27} Some Congress volunteers picketed liquor shops in 1923.\textsuperscript{28}

With the fervour of crusaders the spokesmen of the party attached the drink problem in all its aspects, moral, social and economic. They did not propagate about the evils of drink, which was eating into the very vitals of society and was not sanctioned by any religion or law of our country, nor was it sanctioned by public opinion. In fact all enlightened public opinion all over the world was against it. It was ruining the happiness of homes, destroying the peace and quiet of towns and villages and increasing the incidence of grave crime. They also preached about the evil of drink which undermining the health of millions and reducing the output alike in mills, factories and fields. It was indeed sapping the strength of the nation in every way and making it impossible to raise the general standard of living. It was

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Ibid.}, p 17.

\textsuperscript{28} NNPR, ‘Janavarthamani’, Madras, dt. 25-10-1923.
for reasons such as these that Gandhiji made the eradication of drink evil a primary plank in the congress programme.  

Mahatma’s call had great impact on the people. The people picketed the toddy shops. They also obstructed the Government while auction was conducted for the toddy shops.  

Rajaji supported him with all his might in his well-known pamphlets. ‘Indian Prohibition Manual’ in English and ‘Oru-Kattuppadu’ in Tamil. In Tamil Nadu during the non-cooperation and civil disobedience agitations the Congress workers everywhere restored on a large scale to the social boycott of drinking classes, to the cutting of spathes of coconut trees and to the picketing of liquor shops and liquor shop sales.  

These agitations had great impact. The effects of these agitations were by no means small. Thus in one single year, in 1921-22, the excise revenues of this state suffered a loss of 60 lakhs of rupees and in one single year in 1931-32, a loss of about a crore of rupees.  

Several local bodies pressed for local option. The legislative council became a constant scene of attacks on excise policy. Discussions on that policy were held, questions were asked, resolutions were moved and bills were introduced with a view to securing local option or prohibition. One of the Independent Party Ministers went to the extent of framing a Prohibition
Bill and embarrassing not a little the reserved half of the Government. Under all these storm and stress, the government was compelled to continue the existing temperance measures and to try new methods.\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{ROLE OF PRESS}

The native newspaper played a very important role for implementing prohibition. They created awareness among the masses. They criticized the Government liquor policy and asked the people to rally under the banner of Indian National Congress for waging organized agitation against the British policy.

The newspapers criticised the Indian Ministers for not carrying out the prohibition effectively. The Indian Ministers, who were looking after the Excise Department in the 1930’s, were acting in such a way that the bureaucracy might deem than to be good persons. It was only on account of the fact that persons who gave an assurance at the time of election that they would get rid of drink, performed contrary after the election was over, that no progress was possible in that matter.\textsuperscript{34} The press vehemently critised such ministers. The Swadesmitran had earlier asked such ministers to resign.\textsuperscript{35}

The newspapers criticised the half hearted support of the Government in implementing prohibition. According to press prohibition propaganda

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33} B.S.Baliga, \textit{op. cit.}, pp 17-18.
\item \textsuperscript{34} NNPR, Swadesamitran, Madras, 23-24 March 1929.
\item \textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.}, 15\textsuperscript{th} March 1929.
\end{itemize}
would not carry any permanent effect. They stressed that prohibition should carried out by legislation.  

As long as the Government was not prepared to forego the excise revenue, so long the propaganda carried by them would carry no weight with that. There should be harmony between words and deeds. As per the opinion of 'Swatesamitran', if the government could not carry on the administration without the revenue derived from drink, which spoiled the morality of the people, they had no right to ask the highway robber to give up his profession. Just as the excise revenue was essential to the government, the highway robber might say that what he earned by committing highway robbery was essential for the maintenance of his family.

The newspaper 'Deenabhandu' criticised the Government's halfhearted support for prohibition. It questioned the use of preaching against drunk, if liquor shops were allowed to open. It suggested a scheme of prohibition propaganda for achieving complete prohibition. The propaganda scheme had the following means:

a) The evil consequences of drinking must be preached to the people with the help of magic lanterns,

b) Liquor shops must be removed from near public places and villages and set up elsewhere,

c) The number of shops must be reduced and the facility to drink removed,

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36 NNPR, Andhra Patrika, Madras, 15th March 1929.

37 NNPR, Swadesmitran, 15th March 1929.
d) The shops must be closed in towns and villages on festive occasions.$^{38}$

Following those methods, the newspaper believed that, complete prohibition could be achieved within years.

Mr. Muthia Mudaliyar (the former Excise Minister) had hoped that by propaganda, the drunkards could be stopped. He announced that four lakhs of rupees would be spent for that purpose. He was criticised by Ananda Bodhini. It emphasized that several anti-propaganda societies had been working in the country for many years, but drunken habit had not decreased. It was not at all possible to reduce. What was possible was only total prohibition and the Government could accompany that. But the Government was not responsible one and our interest was not its main concern. Hence drunk could not be got rid of unless the system of foreign rule was done away with.$^{39}$

Lokopakari also advocated the same principles among the people. It wrote that if the Government really wanted to prevent the people of the country from mining themselves by drunks, they should at once stop the importation of liquor from foreign countries, which ruined the people of Tamil Nadu, besides draining their wealth. The Government also put a stop to the manufacture of country liquor. Without doing either of these things the statement of the Government, who were maintaining an excise department and carrying on trade in liquor, that they were going to do propaganda work for getting rid of drunk was not only a meaningless lament

$^{38}$ NNPR, Deenabhandu, 3rd April 1929.

$^{39}$ NNPR, Ananda Bodhini, Madras, 3rd April 1929.
but also was a calculated cheat. Hence, unless independence was attained the drunk evil could not be got rid off.  

The Al Ameen observed that one could not discover much good done by white for the Indians during the hundred and fifty years that they had ruled. But they had on the whole Westernised Inidans and mode India a market for western goods, especially liquor. The newspaper stressed the evils of alcohol and asked the people to fight for total prohibition.

The Mathrubhumi said that the Government policy in allotting four lakhs of ruppes for anti-drink propaganda with a view to bring about complete prohibition within twenty years was like running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. It raised a question, “Will it not be far better instead, to reduce the number of shops to the extent of reducing the revenue by that amount and by reducing the number of shops more and more in succeeding years to eliminate them altogether?” Apart from that, it doubted the sincerity of the Government and questioned, “Is the policy adopted by the Government sincere?”

Krishna Patrika referred to the economic distress of the ryot and the Hindu-Muslim dissension and emphasized the need for closing down the toddy shops and preventing the sale of liquor at last to ensure peace and safety to the people even by promulgating an ordinance.

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40 NNPR, Lokopakari, Madras, 4th April 1929.
41 NNPR, Al Ameen, Calicut, 28th April 1929.
42 NNPR, Mathrubhumi, Calicut, 20th June 1929.
43 NNPR, Krishna Patrika, Masulipatam, 18th July 1931.
According to Deenabandhu, the committees appointed by the Government for the purpose of propaganda had proved to be empty show and failed to do any good. Andhra Patrika also expressed the same opinion. In that way, the newspapers worked for creating awareness among the people, and that was great success.

**Towards Prohibition**

The Congress further went to the extent of saying that total prohibition was the aim of the party. Sri. R.N. Arogyaswami Mudaliar, the Minister for Excise and Public Health in the Ministry of Dr Subbarayan came forward with a bill for the gradual introduction of total prohibition in the state. He made a statement in the Legislative Council on 16th March 1927 that prohibition was the ultimate goal of the excise policy of the Government and that such a goal of the excise policy of the Government could best be reached by definite and progressive stages, namely by adopting prohibition successively in area after area in the State, the district being taken as the unit of area. And he submitted a Bill in May for that purpose. The procedure adopted in the Bill was the repeal of the Madras Abkári Act of 1886 in areas where prohibition was to be brought into force. The Bill contained all the provisions of the Abkári Act, which it was necessary to maintain, and it was in effect an amendment of that Act.

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44 NNPR, Deena Bandu, Masipatam, 18th March 1931.
45 NNPR, Andhra Patrika, 30th July 1931.
Arogyasamy Mudaliar submitted two schemes. According to his first scheme, prohibition, except in the case of beer and foreign liquor, was to be introduced in four years in five districts, according to his second scheme, it was to be introduced with the same exceptions with the same period in six districts. In order to make good the loss of excise revenue on account of these schemes he proposed to levy certain duties and taxes on liquor, opium and ganja and to increase the licence fees for foreign liquor shops. He also proposed that if prohibition were to be introduced in all districts, it would be absolutely necessary to impose fresh taxes. He examined the various sources of taxation such as a surcharge on income tax, a super-tax on land revenue, death and partition duties, export tax on tea and coffee, tax on exported tobacco, tax on exported groundnuts, export duty on articles like raw cotton and hides and skins and tax on betting, but preferred to all these the levy of a poll tax. An entertainment tax was also proposed.

His Bill and his proposals, however, had no chance of success. Members of the reserved half of the Government criticized his bill. They argued that poll tax alone would not be sufficient to make up the actual loss of revenue. Because prohibition was bound to lead to widespread illicit practices and therefore, the employment of a large preventive staff. In that bill he also proposed to cut down expenditure on education, medical relief, agriculture, etc. and that could not be done, without detriment to public welfare. Prohibition being an important question of policy involving the

47 The suggested poll tax was Rs.6 per family.
abandonment of revenue, it could not be introduced without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State.\textsuperscript{48}

The Government showed no disposition to resort to any radical measures; they showed every disposition to try less radical measures of temperance. From 1921 to 1937 they tried several temperance measures.\textsuperscript{49}

In 1929, the Government appointed a Central Propaganda Board and District Propaganda Committee for carrying on propaganda against the use of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs. About four lakhs of rupees were placed at the disposal of the Central Board for distribution to the District Committees and temperance organizations, local bodies etc., who were willing to under the propaganda.\textsuperscript{50}

Referring to the provision of rupees four lakhs in the Madras budget for putting down drink, the Mathrubhumi remarked that, the circumstance might create great expectations in the minds of all who were earnest in this matter. They might be led to think that the government were endeavouring to make a sincere attempt to remedy the great evil of drink. But it was to be surmised that there was no room for such expectation. For, if the intention of government was to bring prohibition of drink into effect instead of considering it as a distant aim, what they should do was not to spend some more money of the people for the purpose. It seemed that the money was intended to be utilized for convincing people of the benefits of giving up

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{48} B.S.Baliga, \textit{op. cit.}, p 25.
\item \textsuperscript{49} \textit{Ibid.}, p 26.
\item \textsuperscript{50} G.O. No.1597, Public Health, dt. 26-7-1929.
\end{itemize}
drink. But it was easy for any one to understand that such expenditure was quite uncalled for and unnecessary. It was indisputable that there was no strong opposition in India to prohibition. While such was the case, there was no room to suspect that prohibition of drink by government would be followed by any revolution. Even if propaganda work was necessary, there was no use of carrying it on with drinking shops open everywhere.\(^5\)

However, the propaganda Board was created. The Central Board consisted of twenty-four members of who only three were officials, the Revenue Secretary, the Commissioner of Excise and the Director of Public Health, the rest were non-officials. It was presided over by the Minister for Public Health and it was authorized to prepare and distribute leaflets, pamphlets, posters, charts and diagrams, to arrange for magic lantern lectures and cinema shows and mass meetings, to supply books and periodicals to schools, colleges and libraries, to hold annual exhibitions, etc.\(^5\) The district Committee consisted of seven to nine members representing local bodies, social service temperance and cooperative organizations and individuals interested in the movement.\(^5\) Health Propaganda Scheme was tried only for a few years. In 1931 it fell under the axe of retrenchment and thereafter health propaganda was left to the Public Health Department.\(^5\)

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\(^5\) NNPR, Mathrubhumi, Calicut, 2\(^{nd}\) March 1929.

\(^5\) G.O. No.799, Public Health, dt. 3-4-1930.

\(^5\) G.O. No.889, Public Health, dt. 5-5-1931.

\(^5\) G.O. No.1583, Public Health, dt. 28-8-1931.
Of the other temperance measures tried during the period, the most important were the closure of arrack shops in certain toddy drinking areas, the prohibition of supply of liquor to the hill tribes, which was recommended by the Special Excise Committee and the introduction of the rationing system of arrack in some places and prohibition in some other places.\footnote{B.S.Baliga, \textit{op. cit.}, p 29.}

Total prohibition of arrack as well as toddy was introduced in 1930-33 in parts of Tiruchengode, Namakkal and Rasipur taluks of the Salem districts under the representation of Sri Rajagopalachari. In order to make the experiment a success, the marking of trees for shops within 5 miles of the areas was restricted to the average of the previous 5 years.\footnote{P.B. No. 828, Abkári, dt. 5-4-1930.} But gradually the enthusiasm faded, illicit distillation increased, harmful drug came into vogue and the government for the reopening of the shops received a number of representations. The government, therefore, abandoned the experiment in 1933.\footnote{G.O. No. 1857, Revenue, dt. 6-9-1932.}

Remarking on the report submitted to the Government by the Commissioner of Excise on the administration of the Excise Department for 1933-34, which showed that the Government was not inclined to carry out the total prohibition, the Swadesamitran observed.

The report of Commissioner of Excise affords sufficient support for the contention that it could not be said that illicit tapping of toddy was
increasing only in areas in which prohibition had been introduced. There was no justification whatever for saying that illicit manufacture of liquor would increase if toddy and liquor shops were closed. That juncture when the people were subjected to much hardship on account of economic depression was opportune for getting rid of the drink evil completely.\textsuperscript{58}

The Jaya Bharati wrote: "It was seen from the report that the Government only desired that the drink habit should increase. Total prohibition would be a daydream till self-government was attained.\textsuperscript{59}

Besides these, the only other temperance measures tried during the period 1921-1937 were the closure of arrack and toddy shops during the festivals and market days, of liquor and drug shops within three miles of polling station on election days, of certain classes of shops in certain areas on Sundays and public holidays.\textsuperscript{60}

**Prohibition**

Gandhiji attached very great importance to the programme of the eradication of the drink evil. He even went to the length of saying; "I would rather have India reduced to a state of pauperism than have thousands of drunkards in our midst. I would rather have India without education if that is the price to be paved for making it dry." It was because of him that the Congress Ministries of 1937 had introduced either total or partial prohibition in their provinces.

\textsuperscript{58} NNPR, Swadesamitran, Madras, 21\textsuperscript{st} October 1934.
\textsuperscript{59} NNPR, Jaya Bharati, Madras, 31\textsuperscript{st} October 1934.
\textsuperscript{60} G.O. No. 1900, Revenue, dt. 7-10-1930, p 18.
In Tamil Nadu also, the dream of prohibition came true as soon as the Congress Ministry assumed office in our state in July 1937 under the premiership of Shri. C. Rajagopalachari within the month of his assumption of office he took up the question of prohibition and within another he placed the Prohibition Act on the Statute Book. This was no wonder, he had for years been the strongest supporter of Gandhiji in his fight against drink. He had realised perhaps more than any one else except Gandhiji, the havoc played by this evil alike in the moral, social and economic life of the people. Now he had come to power with the backing of the Congress Party, which had pledged itself to prohibition.  

He piloted the Bill himself in both the Houses of the Legislative. Even though some opposition was throne, the bill was passed into law on 27th September and on the very next day, it has approved by the Legislative Council.

Tamil Nadu Act of X of 1937, the first of its bind in the whole of India, set a pattern to the other States and inaugurated a new era of tremendous possibilities. It was intended to facilitate a real step towards the removal of the drink evil in this State and it provided statutory authority to introduce prohibition in select areas, with power to extend it to other areas as time and experience enabled such extension to be made.

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61 B.S. Baliga, op. cit., p 33.
62 Ibid., p 34.
63 Ibid., p 35.
The first district in Tamil Nadu in which complete prohibition implemented was Salem. All toddy shops in Salem district were closed with effect from 1\textsuperscript{st} October 1937.\textsuperscript{64}

The Act was to extend the whole State of Tamil Nadu Chapter I of the Act dealt with preliminary matters.\textsuperscript{65} Chapter II of the Act dealt with Prohibition and penalties. It prohibited the manufacture, traffic and consumption of liquor and intoxicating drugs.\textsuperscript{66}

However some exceptions were there. If any member of medical profession considered that any such wine or preparation was genuinely needed for medicinal purpose in any individual case, he would no doubt recommend it to his patient.\textsuperscript{67}

**PROHIBITION AND PENALTIES**

Various rules and regulations were passed against those persons who violated the prohibition rules. Whoever –

a) imported exported transports or possessed liquor or any intoxicating drug; or

b) manufactured liquor or any intoxicating drug; or

c) except in accordance with the rules made by the State Government in that behalf, cultivated the hemp plant; or collectgs any portion of such plant from which an intoxicating drug caused be manufactured; or

\textsuperscript{64} Excise Report for 1937-38, p 4.

\textsuperscript{65} B.S.Baliga, *op. cit.*, p 35.

\textsuperscript{66} Madras Act-X of 1937, p 519.

\textsuperscript{67} G.O. No.2404, dt. 13-9-1938.
d) tapped any toddy-producing tree or permitted or suffered to be tapped any toddy-producing tree belonging to him or in his possession; or
e) drew toddy from any tree or permitted or suffered toddy to be drawn from any tree belonging to him or in his possession; or
f) constructed or worked any distillery or brewery; or
g) used, kept or had in his possession any materials, still, utensil, implement or apparatus whatsoever for the tapping of toddy or the manufacture of liquor or any intoxicating drug, or keeps or had in his possession any materials which had undergone any process towards the manufacture of liquor or any intoxicating drug or from which any liquor or intoxicating drug had been manufactured; or
h) bottled any liquor for purposes of sale; or
i) sold liquor or any intoxicating drug; or
j) consumed or bought liquor or any intoxicating drug; or
k) allowed any of the acts aforesaid upon premises in his immediate possession, should be punished.  

The Act also further dealt with other rules and regulation. A person found in intoxicating stage in a public place would be punished with imprisonment upto six months.  

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68 Ibid., p 520.
69 Ibid., p 521.
human consumption was to be punished with imprisonment, which might extend to six months or with fine which extended to Rs.1000 or with both.\textsuperscript{70}

Advertisement was prohibited wherever printed or published in any newspaper, book, leaflet, booklet or any other single or periodical publication or otherwise displayed or had been distributing and advertisement or other matter solicited the use of, or offered any liquor or intoxicating drug should be punished with imprisonment which might extend to six months or with fine which might extend to Rs.1000 or with both.\textsuperscript{71} The other sections of the Act dealt with punishment for illegal possession of molasses and punishment for conspiracy.\textsuperscript{72}

The Act empowered the Tamil Nadu State Government and the Collector of any district to constitute prohibition committees to assist them or him in carrying out the objects of the Act.\textsuperscript{73} In order to enlist public cooperation in favour of prohibition, Taluk Prohibition Committees and Village Prohibition Committees were constituted.\textsuperscript{74}

It was, however, realised from the very beginning that more enforcement was not enough. What was necessary to effect a real reform was to carry on steadily an intensive but unobtrusive propaganda against drink and at the same time, to do whatever was possible to provide counter attractions and to encourage Rural uplift work. The ex-addicts must be

\textsuperscript{70} B.S.Baliga, \textit{op. cit.}, p 36.
\textsuperscript{71} Madras Act-X of 1937, p 523
\textsuperscript{72} \textit{Ibid.}, pp 524-525.
\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Ibid.}, pp 540-541.
\textsuperscript{74} B.S.Baliga, \textit{op. cit.}, p 46.
provided with amusements, games, sports, tea and coffee and taught to increase their incomes, to clear of f their debts, to save money and generally to raise their standard of living.\textsuperscript{75}

Prohibition was introduced into North Arcot district from 1\textsuperscript{st} October 1939.\textsuperscript{76} As prohibition seems to be difficult to implement, it was cancelled for the time being. However, on 1\textsuperscript{st} October 1946 Prohibition was reintroduced in the districts of Salem, North Arcot and introduced for the first time in Coimbatore.\textsuperscript{77} Various Acts were passed in the successive years to implement the prohibition measures.\textsuperscript{78}

**Effects of the Movement**

Prohibition had proved a real boon to that large class of the population, which lives on the borderline of want. It had beneficial effect on the lives of the former drinkers and their families. Women welcomed the Act. They at least were determined that there should be no question of bringing back the drink shops and no return to the days of insufficient food, domestic quarrels and general uncertainty about the future.\textsuperscript{79}

The most noticeable effects of prohibition on the lives of the people in the villages were the absence of street brawls and family squabbles, improvement in the food supply particularly at the evening meal, increased

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., p 47.
\textsuperscript{76} Administration Report of the Madras Excise Department (herein after referred to as Excise Report) for the year 1939-40, p 19.
\textsuperscript{77} Excise Report for 1946-47, p 16.
\textsuperscript{78} B.S.Baliga, *op. cit.*, pp 55-64.
\textsuperscript{79} Excise Report for 1937-38, p 21.
care for cleanliness and the children’s welfare, reduction in indebtedness and a generally more hopeful outlook.\footnote{Ibid., p 22.}

Salem district had now settled down after the excitement attending the introduction of this great social experiment. The villagers had by now become quite accustomed to the new order of things. Considering the population of the district and the number of former drinkers it was safe to say that the number of persons who then consume illicit liquor in the district was negligible.\footnote{Ibid., p 23.}

Village life was also brightened up by opening public reading rooms and public parks, by installing radios in the parks, by providing music as well as instruction through publicity vans, by setting up temporary as well as permanent cinema houses, by encouraging community singing in which the Ballad Singer took the lead and by organizing a series of entertainments like \textit{bhajana} parties, street dramas and folk dramas.\footnote{B.S.Baliga, \textit{op. cit.}, p 48.}

The government sanctioned a special staff of Rural Recreation officers and village guides at the rate of one for every taluk on the prohibition districts. Those officials visited the villages, organized indigenous games, rural recreation clubs and taluk associations for conducting periodical tournaments.

Though Government sanctioned 77 posts of Rural Recreation Officers for work in the eight districts, it was not possible to fill up the posts as

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\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p 22.} \footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p 23.} \footnote{B.S.Baliga, \textit{op. cit.}, p 48.}
qualified men were not available. Arrangements were, therefore, made for the transfer, as a temporary measure of the Rural Recreation Organizers working in the non-prohibition districts. Twelve organizers were so transferred and together with the eight Rural Recreation Organizers and their seven Assistants already working in the districts, they attended to the organisation of rural recreational activities in the districts. In the meantime, the Board, with the sanction of Government, recruited suitable candidates mostly from ex-servicemen and arranged for their training in the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet, for a period of two months from the middle of January 1947. Sixty-five candidates were recruited and of these, 53 joined the training course. Forty-five of them completed the course successfully and were posted to the districts by the middle of March 1947. The course of instruction for the candidates included besides training in rural games, elementary instruction in rural uplift activities by officers of the various Nation Building Departments of Government. The candidates were also taken on excursions to a few cooperative institutions to enable them to have an idea of their practical working. Government sanctioned a special grant of Rs.1050 to the YMCA College in connection with the conduct of the course, which included the cost of employment of a Chief Physical Instructor. They also sanctioned the post of an Assistant Physical Instructor on a salary of Rs.100 per mensem for the conduct of the course.83

Even after the completion of the training course, all the posts of the Rural Recreation Officers sanctioned could not be filled up. The twelve Rural Recreation Organisers temporarily transferred to the prohibition

districts were retransferred to their original places in the non-Prohibition districts. Government also sanctioned 17 posts of Rural Recreation Officers and 17 ballad singers to provide counter-attraction and rural recreation in the 17 firkas selected for intensive development in the non-Prohibition districts consequent on the order of Government for the closure of the toddy, arrack and other liquor and drug shops in those firkas. To recruit and train the required men for the remaining vacancies of Rural Recreation Officers in the Prohibition districts and for the posts sanctioned for the selected firkas referred to above, Government ordered, after the close of the year under report, the starting of a second training course in the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet.

To conduct training courses for Rural Recreation Officers and also to tour round the prohibition districts and check up the work of the Rural Recreation Officers so as to maintain the standard of efficiency of rural recreation, Government sanctioned the employment of a Chief Physical Instructor on Rs.230-700 for one year, and the continuance of the Assistant Physical Instructor previously sanctioned.

The ballad singers were appointed at the rate of one for every Revenue division. They took the assistance of the Village Betterment Committees or Gramasangams or the local Village Organisations that existed. They organized bhajanas\textsuperscript{84}, folk dramas, street dramas, kathaprasangams\textsuperscript{85}, and the like. The Rural Recreation Officers also helped them in these activities. These balad singers organized bhajana parties in the

\textsuperscript{84} Bhajanas: Group song

\textsuperscript{85} Kathaprasangams: Telling story with songs.
villages, gave performances of harikathas or *kalakshepams*[^6] and organized community singing in villages. The ballad singers were provided with musical instruments at a cost not exceeding Rs.10 for each set of singers. To encourage the ballad singers to organize community songs among the villagers and to create a spirit of enthusiasm and emulation among them Government sanctioned a sum of Rs.1500 for the grant of rewards to deserving ballad singers for commendable work in this direction.[^7]

Drama as a form of counter-attraction to drink had become more and more popular. Reports from Collectors indicate that in various parts of the prohibition districts local people have organized amateur dramatic parties and staged dramas. Street dramas were enacted in a large number of villages. To promote amusements and to encourage local talent, Government have granted in certain cases subsidies to dramatic troupes composed of ex-tappers, ex-addicts or others. One troupe composed of ex-tappers was recommended a subsidy of Rs.500 for enacting ten dramas in the neighbourhood during the year and Government sanctioned the grant to the dramatic troupe since the close of the year.[^8]

Eight Propaganda vans belonging to the defunct war Publicity Department originally transferred to the Board of Revenue (Civil Supplies) were transferred to the Commissioner of Excise and Prohibition with effect from 1[^1] November 1946 together with the staff of one driver, one cleaner and one cinema operator for each van and these vans were placed under the

[^6]: *Kalakshepams*: Telling stories.
control of the Special Development Officers in the Prohibition districts for purposes of propaganda and providing entertainment to the villagers. The vans were provided with a radio, a gramophone, a microphone, etc., and some gramophone records. One of the Studios at Coimbatore produced a film of the inaugural ceremonies connected with the introduction of prohibition in the Coimbatore town and copies of the film with commentaries in Tamil were secured during the year and supplied to each of the Tamil prohibition districts. Arrangements were also made for the purchase and supply of films with commentaries in Telugu to the Telugu districts since the close of the year.

One other effective counter-attraction to drink was the installation of community radio receiving sets. Local boards and private bodies were exhorted to install radios under the Government of India subsidy scheme.

Cinema houses in the prohibition districts attracted large crowds and they were generally packed to capacity as they were frequented by ex-addicts and others, and provided a good counter-attraction to drink in the evening hours. It was reported that 19 permanent and 41 temporary theatres had sprung up in the eight prohibition districts during the year. Some of the cinema houses in the Salem district gave free admissions to a few ex-addicts.

Parks fitted with radios were good centers for providing alternative attractions and recreation to the public. The establishment of parks was therefore encouraged in the prohibition districts. Eight new parks were opened during the year in five districts, two in the district of Coimbatore and one in Salem. The Board had recommended to Government that
financial assistance might be given to municipalities for putting up parks wherever necessary.89

Prohibition as was stated already, was but a means to end, which was the economic, social and moral uplift of the people. Part of the money formerly spent on drunk would no doubt be spent on the purchase of the necessaries of life – food, clothing, etc. A part might also be spent on the purchase of utensils, cattle, jewels, etc., and for the liquidation of debts. Still there would be a surplus left with the villagers for investment. To harness this surplus, a thrift campaign through home safes and hundi boxes has been arranged in the prohibition districts through Cooperative Societies under the direct supervision of Development officers. Thrift days were celebrated by the Cooperative Societies selected for the scheme and the special and Assistant Development Officers and other Revenue officials attend these celebrations and carry on propaganda and exhort the ex-addicts and other to put by their savings in the hundi boxes and accumulate them in the Cooperative Societies.90

To promote rural uplift activities in the villages, village betterment committees or gramasangams91 had been formed in the villages by the ameliorative staff. Paid officials of Government like village officers and other non-officials were associated with these committees. The gramasangams organized rural recreation and village uplift activities like thrift, villages sanitation, street cleaning and lighting, repairing of old roads

89 Ibid., pp 22-23.
90 Ibid., pp 23-24.
91 Gramasangams: Village organisations
and construction of new ones, opening of public schools for children and adult night schools, provisions of protected water-supply, opening of libraries and reading rooms, introduction of better seeds and manure, encouragement of cattle breeding, poultry farming, fostering of cottage industries suited to local conditions, etc. There were on 31st March 1947, 5061 gramasangams in the eight Prohibition districts. In certain districts, firka and taluk associations have also been formed. The ameliorating staff organized and guided the gramasangams, in their activities. Gramasangams had been organized in almost all the big villages of Salem, North Arcot, and Coimbatore districts. These sangams had taken up various kinds of activities for the benefit of the villages. Some gramasangams in the Coimbatore and Salem districts and a few in the North Arcot district had shown commendable progress during the year. The ameliorative staff had been directed to bestow special attention to the organisation and development of gramasangams in all the villages in the Prohibition districts.

These gramsangams strived to organize and promote every amenity required for the village taking the assistance of other village organizations like the village panchayat, the village Cooperative Society, etc. and availing themselves of the resources at their disposal. It was the idea that their activities should be undertaken as far as possible on a self-help basis. Apart from the fact that Government could not finance schemes for rural development on an extensive scale, it was necessary that the villagers must

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93 Firka: A revenue division.
realize that their advancement was primarily their concern and that only if they proceed on the basis of self-help, their advancement would be real and lasting.95

Rural uplift schools were started to train young men with a rural bias in the methods of promoting rural welfare. To make them acquainted with the policy and plans followed by the various nation-building departments of Government engaged in rural development, Government had sanctioned the conduct of rural uplift schools, four annually in each of the eight prohibition districts, one school in each quarter in each revenue division by rotation. Government had sanctioned a grant of Rs.1000 for each school, which included stipends to 50 students at Rs.12 per mensem. Besides training in the organisation of rural games and other counter-attractions, instructions were imparted to the students. In rural uplift work by officers of the various Nation Building departments of Government who delivered a series of lectures to them on the facilities provided by their respective departments for promoting rural welfare. The students were expected to be useful village guides establishing liaison between the villagers on the one hand and the officers of the Government on the other. The best of the students were appointed as whole time village guides as part of the ameliorative staff. It was reported that 37 of the villagers trained in the rural uplift schools had been appointed as village guides in the prohibition department and that 75 others were actively assisting in the organisation and conduct of rural games and rural uplift work.

95 Ibid., pp 24-25.
To create local enthusiasm and carry on propaganda among the villagers, rural exhibitions and tournaments were organized towards the closing days of these schools. The Agricultural, the Veterinary, the Industries, the Cooperative, the Public Health and other development departments took active part in these exhibitions held in the Prohibition districts. Sixty-four rural exhibitions including cattle fairs were held in the prohibition districts during the year.\textsuperscript{96}

Employment opportunities were created for the ex-tappers. In Salem district most of the tappers were employed in the tapping of sweet toddy. Considerable progress was made in connection with the land colonization scheme for tappers in the Salem district. Lands were assigned to them for cultivation. The extent assigned was 436.36 acres. The members cleared a portion of the area and brought it under cultivation and had as a result of favourable rains been able to got a fair return from the land.\textsuperscript{97}

Sale societies and milk supply unions had also been formed. The societies were fast developing and becoming increasingly popular. Societies had been formed for bell-metal work, quilt manufacturing, basket making, fruit-graving, bee-keeping, hand spinning, toy-making, poultry farming, hand loom weaving and betel-leaf growing.\textsuperscript{98}

In the following years, the societies formed for promoting the various kinds of cottage industries generally continued to work satisfactorily. The

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., pp 25-26.
\textsuperscript{97} Excise Report for 1939-40, p 21.
\textsuperscript{98} Excise Report for 1939-40, pp 21-22.
loan and sale cooperative societies and the milk supply unions in all the prohibition districts continued their useful activities.\textsuperscript{99}

For the economic improvement of toddy tappers thrown out of employment on account of prohibition, steps were taken for providing alternating employment.

For that purpose Cooperative society for jaggery manufacturing was established. By far the most effective method of providing alternative work to the ex-tappers was considered to be to organize palm jaggery manufacture. This was because, the tapping of sweet juice and the manufacture of jaggery from the juice were occupations which most of the tappers were already accustomed of or could easily undertake. The Madras Sweet Toddy Rules, 1939 provide for the grant of licences to tappers for the tapping of sweet juice for the manufacture of jaggery. The question whether in the attempt to provide alternative work to the tappers in this manner, opportunity to abuse the concession would arise and thus endanger the enforcement of Prohibition was examined and it was considered that it was not safe to allow the tapping of coconut trees for sweet juice in the prohibition districts. Permission for the tapping of sweet juice from palmyra trees only was, therefore, allowed in the three districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and North Arcot. Cooperative Societies for the manufacture of palmyra jaggery had been formed in these districts. Government were addressed for a special staff of Special Senior Inspectors of Cooperative Societies for the organisation and supervision of these societies at the rate

\textsuperscript{99} Excise Report for 1940-41, p 25.
of one inspector for every 15 societies, and orders of Government sanctioning 13 senior inspectors were received since the close of the year.\textsuperscript{100}

More progress could not be made by these societies, as there was no special staff to organise and direct their activities during the season. The question of permitting the tapping of sweet juice from date trees, which abound in the ceded districts, was also considered. The Collectors of some districts were not in favour of giving this concession for reasons of successful enforcement of Prohibition, while in respect of certain other districts it was held that there was no extreme need for it. Some licences were granted for the production of date palm jaggery on an experimental measure. The results of the experiment are encouraging and the question of permitting sweet juice tapping of date trees in a few centers in that district through cooperative auspices was under consideration.\textsuperscript{101}

Some other cooperative schemes were also implemented. Special schemes on a cooperative basis were drawn up in some cases for providing alternative employment to the tappers. At Ayodyapatanam in the Salem district, the tappers had been organized into a carpet weaving cooperative society. Government had, on the recommendation of the Board, sanctioned the following assistance to the society since the close of the year:

i) a sum of Rs.5000 as subsidy and Rs.5000 as loan for the purchase of machinery and implements,

ii) a sum of Rs.1125 towards stipend to 15 trainees.

\textsuperscript{100} Excise Report for 1946-47, p 26.

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., pp 26-27.
iii) the loan of services of a Senior Inspector of Cooperative Societies for a period of one year free of cost.

As Ambur, in the North Arcot district, the tappers had been organized into six cooperative societies for the supply of milk and milk products. Government had sanctioned a scheme for the formation of a cooperative milk supply union at Ambur with the six feeder societies and had provided financial and other assistance to this society, as shown below:

i) a subsidy of Rs.100 to each of the six feeder societies for a period of six months,

ii) an allotment of Rs.50000 for the sanction of interest free loans to the members for the purchase of milk animals, and

iii) the free services of a Senior Inspector of Cooperative Societies for a period of six months.

This scheme was intended to provide employment for about 200 tappers. At Reddi Naickenpalayam, in the North Arcot district, a cooperative society for mat weaving had been organized to provide employment for twenty-five ex-toddy tappers. The ameliorative staff was exploring the possibilities of organizing cooperative societies for similar cottage industries for the benefit of the tappers in other centers.

While steps were taken as indicated above for the provision of alternative employment to tappers by organizing them on a cooperative basis, the attempts to secure work for them were not confined to the cooperative method only. Collectors were instructed to explore all possibilities of providing works for them in agricultural labour, earthwork, brickwork, road making, etc.
At the instance of the Board, the Chief Engineer, Highways, Madras, had issued instructions to his subordinates in the prohibition districts, to employ ex-tappers on road works giving preference to them in the same way as to ex-servicemen.

The reports of the Collectors generally indicate that the ex-toddy tappers in the eight Prohibition districts had adjusted themselves to the new situation either by migrating to wet districts or neighbouring states or by seeking employment in agricultural or other work and that the problem of unemployment was not keen in these districts.

Steps were taken to improve the economic condition of the ex-addicts generally by increasing their income and utilizing their savings for useful purposes. Cottage industries were organized wherever possible on a cooperative basis with suitable assistance from Government. A cooperative society was organized at the instance of the Deputy Commissioner of Prohibition (Amelioration) for the manufacture of leather goods for about 60 families of cobblers who are all ex-addicts. Government had also sanctioned grants as shown below to this society:

i) a grant of Rs.600 to meet the non-recurring expenditure such as purchase of tools, etc.

ii) a grant of Rs.200 to meet half the recurring cost on the payment of rent, establishment charges and contingencies.

The cart-makers had been organized into a cooperative society for the manufacture of country carts. Government had sanctioned financial help to this society also as shown below:
i) a loan of Rs.2100.

ii) the free services of a Senior Inspector of Cooperative Societies for a period of one year.

Cooperative milk supply societies were organized during the year with a view to increase the income of ex-addicts and ex-tappers. The ex-addicts were enabled to purchase cows and she-buffaloes with the savings effected by Prohibition and supplemented by loans obtained from Government, on easy terms. Incidentally, these schemes helped to solve the milk scarcity in the neighbouring urban areas. The local non-official leaders evinced a keen interest in these schemes.¹⁰²

In the Salem district an iron metal workers cooperative society was organized for the Adi-Dravidas of Attayampatti and a mat weavers cooperative society at Utaamasholapuram for the Adi-Dravidas. Both the societies were intended to promote the well being of a class of people who were ex-addicts.

Some housing schemes were also implemented Select weavers' cooperative societies, which had built up substantial reserves during the last few years have been encouraged to undertake housing schemes for their members. The idea was that the drink money saved by the members might be invested in houses thereby relieving the congestion in their villages and providing them with decent houses to live in. Under the scheme, the societies would acquire suitable sites, construct the required number of houses and allot them to their members on the hire-purchase system. The

¹⁰² Ibid., p 28.
societies would utilize for this purpose the surplus funds at their disposal as well as the initial contributions by the members and they would obtain balance of the money required as long-term loans from Government. Since the close of the year, 24 societies were selected for working the schemes and proposals had been received in respect of ten societies. In the case of the remaining societies the matter was under consideration.

The Gudiyattam Weavers’ Cooperative Society, which was one of the societies selected, decided during the year to construct 50 to 100 houses for the weavers who were mostly ex-addicts and constituted a committee to select a site for the purpose and push through the scheme.

The Rural Housing Scheme for Yeminganur, which was sanctioned by Government prior to the introduction of prohibition, was pushed through so as to provide employment for the ex-tappers on earthwork, brickwork, road building and house construction.

The Cooperative Building Society at Sholingur was started on 2\textsuperscript{nd} March 1947 and a sum of Rs.25110 was collected as share capital and site value. It is proposed to provide for about 300 houses, which would be built with loans from Government given out of funds available with the Registrar of Cooperative Societies. Thirty-three quarry workers, most of whom were addicts, had joined the society paying Rs.100 each as share capital.\textsuperscript{103}

Prohibition involved the changing of the habits of a large section of the public. Government considered making the change over as easy and smooth as possible. Hence it was necessary to undertake and provide

\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., pp 28-29.
ameliorative measures alongside the enforcement of prohibition. Because of the ameliorative measures, prohibition became successful in the districts.

Thus the prohibition movement improved the general economic and social conditions of the people and villages were developed. But unfortunately the prohibition was lifted later. Even though it was implemented again, it was not implemented to the whole of Tamil Nadu.