Edmund Burke 1729 - 97

Edmund Burke was born in Dublin on 12 January 1729. His father, a solicitor, was a Protestant, his mother, a Roman Catholic. He was educated in a School at Ballitore, run by an English Quaker named Shackleton. In 1743 he entered Trinity College, Dublin where he remained till he took his B.A. Degree in 1748. Though he was capable of hard work, he was not systematic in his studies. In 1750 he went to the Middle Temple to study law but did not study methodically. He was not interested in practising law. His interests lay in History and Philosophy. Burke's father who wanted to see his son as a barrister, was very much disappointed at his son's indifference to the study of law and he either withdrew his allowance or made it so low that Burke had to depend solely upon literature for his livelihood. In 1756 he married Dr. Nugent's daughter, a Catholic lady. In the same year, he published A Vindication of Natural Society, in ridicule of Bolingbroke who criticised the revealed religion. Burke's The Origin
of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, which appeared in 1757 gave him some reputation in England and was noticed abroad. Encouraged by the publisher Robert Dodsley, Burke initiated The Annual Register as a yearly survey of world affairs. The first issue which appeared in 1758 was entirely Burke's compilation. To the successive issues, till about 1788, he contributed articles. In 1761, he became Private Secretary to Mr. William Gerard Hamilton, who was at that time Chief Secretary to the Lord of Halifax, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He went to Ireland with Hamilton and served him for three years. But he found that Hamilton's service involved the abandonment of both literature and an independent career, as Hamilton insisted that Burke should bind himself to his service for life, to the exclusion of other interests. So, he left Ireland and returned to London. In 1764, he became a member, with Johnson, Reynolds, Goldsmith and others, of the 'Literary Club'. Rockingham was appointed Prime Minister in 1765 and he made Burke his Private Secretary which post Burke held till Rockingham died in 1782. Burke entered the British Parliament in December 1765, as member for Wendower. Rockingham was dismissed in June 1766. A Coalition Government was formed by Pitt under the Duke of Grafton as nominal chief.
Burke was offered a place in the new ministry but he did not accept it and he decided to join his friends who formed the Opposition. In 1768, he bought an estate at Beconsfield, Buckinghamshire, for which he had to raise money through mortgages. He was financially embarrassed for the rest of his life as his generosity was far greater than his means.

Burke entered Parliament as member for Bristol, in November 1774. During his six years' term, Burke displeased the citizens of Bristol by championing the cause of Irish traders and Irish Catholics in Parliament. So in the 1780 general election, in spite of Burke's speech at Bristol, the citizens refused to support him. He was, however, elected for Malton, a pocket-borough of Lord Rockingham in 1781 and he continued to hold this seat for the rest of his political career. In March 1782, when Lord North resigned, Rockingham formed the ministry and Burke was appointed Paymaster of Forces. When Rockingham died in July 1782 both Fox and Burke resigned. In 1783, Portland formed the Ministry. Burke became paymaster again. When the ministry fell Burke resigned. In 1794, Burke retired from Parliament and accepted pension from
the crown. This was attacked by his political enemies but Burke gave a fitting reply in his *A Letter to a Noble Lord*

From 1765, when Burke entered politics, till he retired from the Parliament in 1794, he championed the causes of the affected people in England, America, Ireland, India and France, through his speeches and writings. The death of his only son hastened Burke's death and he died on 9 July 1797.

The Intellectual and Political Milieu and Background

Burke's intellectual equipment consisted of the various branches of knowledge which the intellectual activities since the days of Renaissance made available

The revival of interest in Classical literature marked the dawn of the Renaissance in the 15th century in Europe. The establishment of a Printing press at Westminster by William Caxton in 1476 paved way for the efflorescence of the Renaissance by making books available in large numbers. Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge also sprang up. Education in the days of the Renaissance signified a thorough grounding in Greek and Latin. The Greek and Roman Classics were the subjects of study during
the hey-day of the Renaissance (15th and 16th centuries). The writers of the Sixteenth century had saturated themselves with the works of the master writers of Greece and Rome. During this period Latin was more popular and works of importance were almost written in that tongue.  

The translation of the New Testament by Tyndale had given a powerful impulse to the study of English. Roger Ascham (1515-1568) who was a Puritan in his tastes and who opposed the new taste for Romance was a pioneer of good, direct English prose. Richard Hooker (1553-1600) a Devonshire man, wrote his famous Laws of Ecclesiastical Policy. The aim of Hooker was to give the English people a prose that should be at once simple and impressive. He is remembered as a writer of fine eloquent prose.  

Contemporary with Hooker was Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618) a remarkable prose writer of the ornate school.  

In the art of criticism Sir Philip Sidney's Apologie for Poetrie stood unique in this period.  

During the age of Shakespeare (1557-1625), imaginative literature flourished in England. The Renaissance of classical learning, the stimulus of maritime discovery, the moral problems raised by the Reformation, and above all, the physical zest for life and the sense of oneness
of beauty and Truth— all these influences had their impact upon the social and intellectual life of the day. Men realised for the first time, the beauty of the English language and became word-intoxicated.

The Age of Shakespeare was followed by the Age of Milton (1608-1674) which witnessed Puritanism. Anyone who wished to purify the practices of the Church was called a Puritan. Puritanism found its greatest poetic exponent in Milton and its greatest prose exponent in Bunyan (1628-88). While Shakespeare interpreted life, Jonson; and after him Milton tried to raise the moral and spiritual quality of it.10

The metaphysical school of poetry was initiated by John Donne (1573-1631) who had a few followers. Their works were packed with affectations and conceits. They indulged in strained metaphors and far-fetched similes and they substituted philosophical subtleties for the natural expression of feeling.11

During the seventeenth century men's thoughts were directed towards the problems of civic and natural life. Naturally, literature itself became involved with the problems of practical politics. The triumph of the classical ideal was a natural result of the Renaissance.
The Romantic spirit had been aroused among other things by a study of Greek and Roman Classics.\textsuperscript{12} The new spirit in the seventeenth century was critical and analytic, not creative and sympathetic; it brought the intellect rather than the poetic imagination into play.\textsuperscript{13}

The prose of the age was better adapted to an age richer in political and philosophical speculation. Dryden's contribution in the domain of prose was even more remarkable than that in the domain of verse. His peculiar gifts - his ease, his force, his clearness, his intellectual vigour, enabled him to give a new dimension to English prose.\textsuperscript{14}

Long after feudalism had perished as a political force, it lingered on as a social and literary influence. The Sentiment of the English at the Restoration favoured the continuance of ancient habits of thought of life. So looking at the life of the period, we can detect two contrary currents of opinion, the one fed by Puritanism and the other by feudalism. At a later period, the trends of thought which were designated as liberalism and conservatism arose representing Puritanism and feudalism.\textsuperscript{15}

Joseph Addison (1672-1719) and Richard Steele (1672-1729) made very valuable contribution to literature through their periodical essays. Both of them were moralists.
at heart. For nearly 50 years after the death of Pope, Johnson (1709-1784) was the dominant figure in the literary life of the day. In what was spoken and written by him there was an expression of a criticism of current social and ethical ideas.\textsuperscript{16}

The famous literary club was established by Johnson in 1764. Burke, Goldsmith, Garrick, Gibbon and Reynolds became members of it.

Though philosophical treatises appeared in England from the days of Bacon, only a few left a lasting influence on the minds of thinking men of later generations. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) wrote his great work \textit{Leviathan} in 1651. The basic idea of Hobbes's political and ethical theories is that man is a purely selfish animal.\textsuperscript{17} The distinction of Hobbes's literary style is its lucidity, terseness and pungency. John Locke's (1632-1704) own moral system is that it is reasonable to obey God's will as revealed in the Scriptures, because to do so will bring reward and happiness, and the failure to do so will entail punishment and misery.\textsuperscript{18}

According to Joseph Butler (1692-1752) man's ethical guide is conscience. Virtue consists in acting according to the
dictates of the conscience. David Hume (1711-1776) affirms the existence of a superhuman being. He said that the adjustment of all the different parts of nature imply the presence of an "Intelligent Author." According to Priestley (1733-1804), the whole universe is a manifestation of one force, the Divine force. Priestley says that there should be a necessary connection between all things past, present and things to come, in the way of proper cause and effect, as much in the intellectual as in the natural world.

Adam Smith's (1723-90) Wealth of Nations, influenced the economic thought of the Eighteenth Century.

The effect of the Reformation in England was to set men's minds free from the "dead hand" of authority.

Scientific inquiry began in the reign of Elizabeth. Francis Bacon proclaimed the necessity for experiment and investigation in order to discuss Truth. The Royal Society (it was named so only later) originated in London in 1645, when a few philosophers met together each week to discuss scientific questions. Afterwards this meeting took place at Oxford. But after the Restoration, the King partly because he was interested in these subjects and partly because he wished to distract attention from the political controversy,
gave the society the name of the Royal Society.²¹

Isaac Newton (1642-1727) as a student of Trinity College, devoted himself to the study of mathematics, discovered the "binomial theorem", and a little later, "the differential calculus". He discovered the force of gravity and invented the first reflecting telescope. He died at the age of eighty five, honoured and respected.²² For poets, philosophers and theologians and also for the scientists the great intellectual hero of the eighteenth century was Isaac Newton. The blaze of new scientific knowledge which glorified Newton's name was generated by a union of empirical observation with mathematical method.²³ Astronomy, mathematics, mechanics and optics developed throughout the eighteenth century along lines indicated by Newton, generally yielding full confirmation of his principles.²⁴ Wider biological speculations began to be put forth, thus preparing the way for Darwin whose work on the origin of the species had a very great impact on men's minds in the nineteenth century.²⁵

During the lifetime of Edmond Burke (1729-1797) George II (1727-1760) and George III (1760-1820) ruled over Great Britain which included England, Wales and Scotland, Ireland, America and India were also under the control of the British Government.
During the reign of George II (1727-1760) the Seven Years' (1756-1763) War started. It was fought between France and England, owing to their colonial rivalry both in America and India. On the British side, Clive was successfully fighting the war in India. In Europe, France joined Austria and England supported Prussia in their war against each other. The war came to an end in 1763, resulting in many gains for England.

When George III came to the throne in 1760, the Pitt-Newcastle ministry continued. In 1761, Pitt advised the king to declare war against Spain but the king refused. So Pitt resigned. In 1762, Newcastle also resigned. The Seven Years' War came to an end and the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763. It was criticised vehemently and so, Bute, the Prime Minister, resigned. George Greenville was appointed as Prime Minister (in 1763) and on account of the Stamp Act which was passed in 1765, he became unpopular and was asked to quit office in July 1765. Marquis of Rockingham became Prime Minister in 1765. Burke became his Private Secretary and he entered Parliament as member for Wendover in December 1765. Lord Rockingham repealed the Stamp Act in 1766 and passed the Declaratory Act affirming the sovereignty of British Parliament over American Colonies. Rockingham was dismissed in June 1766. A coalition
Government was formed by Pitt, the Elder with the Duke of Grafton as nominal chief. Burke was offered a place in the new ministry, but he decided to follow his friends. Pitt was disabled by illness in 1767. At that time Charles Townshend acted as Prime Minister. Townshend invoked the Declaration Act and passed the Revenue Act which levied duties on six commodities, namely glass, paper, red and white lead, painter's colour and Tea. Lord North, who was very much liked by King George III, became Prime Minister in 1770. He was the mouth-piece of the King in Parliament. During this period George III did whatever he pleased. He was able to get his own nominees returned to Parliament. However, soon opposition started against the personal rule of George III. Burke, Fox, Chatham and Shelbourne condemned the personal rule of George III, through their writings and speeches.

Burke wrote his Observations on the Present State of the Nation in 1767, which was an assault upon George Grenville who had written the pamphlet so entitled. The disappointed minister Grenville accused his successors of ruining the Country. Burke gave a fitting reply and in it he showed a grasp of commercial and fiscal details.
Trade and finance are the chief topics. There is little colour, or figured language, in the tract, but there is a sprinkling of Latin quotations and a good deal of Burke's trampling sarcasm. In this work, some of Burke's new ideas emerge, which he was again and again to expound. He never believed in the extension of the franchise; and here he was even willing to reduce it by reducing the members, to add to the weight and independency of the voters. He detested all abstract systems of government. And in his sentence, rejecting the notion of the patriot king under whom all parties would unite, he stated the axiom that 'party divisions, whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government'. This idea was expanded in his next, his far reaching and more mature work, *Thoughts on the cause of the Present Discontents* (1770).  

"The *Present Discontents* may be said to introduce a new kind of political prose. It is in a style unknown to Hobbes, to Halifax, or to Locke. The array of hard facts is held together by a simple argument, and is shown with maxims which rise out of the occasion and also far above it. There is a new resource and volume in the diction,
and plenty of rough and curious metaphor. But this work is a pamphlet, not a speech; and the subject could not give full play to Burke's imagination." 28

Due to the uncompromising attitude of George III towards the problems of the English colonies in America, the colonies had risen in revolt. They had been opposing the levy of taxes on six commodities namely, glass, paper, red and white lead, painter's colour and tea and they boycotted British goods. The revolt became widespread and in 1770, Lord North, the Prime Minister repealed the duties on all the commodities except tea. But the Americans continued to boycott British tea and managed with smuggled tea from the Spanish colonies. In 1773, trouble arose once again. The British authorities in a bid to help the East India Company to sell their tea in America, removed the usual one shilling per pound customs duty in England and imposed a three pence duty to be collected in American ports. The British authorities thought that this would bring down the price of English tea in America and boost its sale. But the Americans would not buy it even then, because they objected to the principle behind the taxation. When the customs official tried to forcibly sell some of the Indian tea at Boston in December, 1773
the Americans became resentful. On the sixteenth of that month some Americans, disguising themselves as Red Indians rowed to British ships laden with tea and threw the bales of tea from three of the vessels into the Boston harbour. This event which came to be known as the Boston Tea Party shocked the British authorities in London. They at once retaliated by introducing several punitive measures to put down the riotous colonists. The Boston harbour was closed. In the process the British merchants suffered heavy losses and tried to move Parliament for a repeal of the tea duty also. It was in this context (19 April 1774) that Burke made his famous speech on American Taxation pleading for the repeal of the tax on tea.29 In the same year (November 1774), Burke contested from Bristol. He also made a speech at Bristol on being elected to the Parliament (1774).

The British authorities ignored his advice and went ahead introducing further coercive methods which made all the colonists unite and send representation to the Congress at Philadelphia in 1775. As many as fifty five representatives, most of them lawyers, attended it and drafted a document known as the Declaration of Rights and
sent it to the British crown demanding the repeal of all repressive laws. The colonies once again started boycotting British goods and resolved to continue the boycott till all their demands were conceded by the British authorities. When the British Ministers were arguing that they had an irrevocable right to tax America, the Americans were emphasising that they had an indefeasible right to freedom. They even ignored the resistance of the British officers in America and started organising their own governments, which were recognised and obeyed by the people. At that stage Lord North tried to placate them by offering to withdraw the Revenue taxes and refrain from further taxation if they evolved a method by which each colony made a contribution to the revenue which in the aggregate would be sufficient, in the opinion of the British Government, to meet the cost of the establishment in America. This plan did not satisfy the Americans. When things were moving towards a political crisis in America, Burke made his famous Speech on Conciliation with America on 22 March 1775. In 1777 Burke also wrote his Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol regarding the affairs of America. 30

But the British government did not listen to the suggestions of Burke. War broke out in 1775. The British
were defeated and American colonies became independent in 1776. Burke spoke previous to the Election in Bristol in 1780, and he also spoke declining the poll in 1780. On the American issue Lord North was criticised and he resigned in 1782. Rockingham formed the ministry in 1782. Burke was appointed Paymaster. On the death of Rockingham in July 1782, Shelburne was asked to form the ministry. Fox and Burke resigned. In 1783 Shelburne also resigned. A coalition ministry of Fox and North was formed and the Duke of Portland was the nominal head of the coalition. Fox's East India Bill was introduced in December 1783. But the House of Lords defeated the bill and so Fox resigned. The coalition ministry also fell. In December 1783 Pitt the Younger was invited to form the ministry and he continued upto 1801 when, owing to the difference of opinion with George III over Irish affairs, he resigned. During his term of office, Pitt did everything necessary for the sanction of a pension to Edmund Burke. Pitt was succeeded by Addington who did not rise up to the occasion and so Pitt was once again invited to form the ministry in 1804 which office he held till he died in 1806.

As far as Ireland was concerned her Parliament
was controlled by the British Parliament. Catholics who had resisted English monarchs in the sixteenth century had been discriminated against by severe laws. By Acts of the English Parliament, Catholics were barred from serving in the Irish Parliament, from bearing arms, and from seeking higher education. Further penal laws excluded Catholics from the practice of law, from buying land, from holding office, from serving in the army, and from voting at elections. Roman Catholic Bishops and dignitaries were banished from Ireland. Irish trade was also controlled by the British Parliament so that the British would get the benefits. Burke as the champion of the Irish cause supported motions in regard to Irish trade and for Catholic relief in 1778. By reason of his support of Irish trade he lost in 1780 the representation of Bristol, which his opposition to the American war had gained for him in 1774.

His speech at Guild Hall in Bristol previous to the election (1780) is a noble record of his courage, independence and wisdom in the hour of defeat. In 1782 he wrote a letter to the Poor of Ireland on the Penal Laws against the Irish Catholics.

In the days of the American War the Irish Parliament had demanded that Ireland should be made completely
independent of English Parliament. Ireland secured the independence of its Parliament in 1782. The leader of the Irish was Grattan and the Irish Parliament was called Grattan's Parliament. The Irish Parliament remained a Protestant Assembly and so it was unfriendly to the Irish Catholics. Burke's deep concern for the sufferings of the Catholics made him write a long letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe in 1792 explaining the difficulties of the Catholics in Ireland.

In India the Indo- Anglo-French rivalry of the early eighteenth century resulted in the three Carnatic wars. The French were totally defeated in the wars by the British. Their success enabled the English to have sway over the Carnatic region. After his victory over the French, Clive was appointed to the Deputy Governorship of Fort St. David in June 1756. He was sent to Bengal to deal with the Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, who according to some English writers, had caused the so called "The Blackhole Tragedy". Clive hatched a plot to dethrone him and finally forced him into the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Clive won the Battle of Plassey easily as Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-chief of Siraj-ud-daula betrayed his master by changing sides soon after the battle began. Siraj-ud-daula fled from the battlefield but was subsequently caught and killed.
Clive rewarded Mir Jafar with the Nawabship of Bengal. The new Nawab learnt to his regret that the company officials were making frequent demands for money, which he found it very difficult to pay. Finding Mir Jafar to be good for nothing, the company officials made his son-in-law Mirkasim take over the Nawabship. Mir Jafar was forced to retire. Mirkasim, the new Nawab discovered that the British company officials were secretly engaged in dubious trade practices by misusing the *dastaks* and causing heavy drain to his treasury. He desired to put a stop to it by catching the culprits. It became the main cause of another war, the battle of Buxar. The Mughal Emperor and the Nawab of Oudh went to the rescue of Nawab Mirkasim, but the British led by Major Munro inflicted a crushing defeat upon the allies at Buxar in October 1764. Mirkasim became a fugitive, the Nawab of Oudh fled to the Rohilla country, and the Mughal Emperor came out to the side of the English. According to the treaty of Allahabad, the Nawab of Oudh was restored to his position on condition that he ceded Kora and Allahabad. These territories were given to his Mughal Emperor Shah Alam to maintain his royal dignity. In August 1765, the Mughal Emperor issued a firm order
granting to the Company the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In return for this favour the Mughal Emperor was promised an annual sum of rupees twenty six lakhs. The Nawab of Bengal was also paid some amount as pension. Thus the English Company became the virtual master of the largest province in India. Lord Clive took up his duties as Governor in 1765 and thus the Company controlled the finances and the Nawab of Bengal was permitted to administer the Justice of the province. This was called the Dual system which was subject to criticism later. Clive returned to England and severe criticism against him drove him to commit suicide in 1774.

Warren Hastings was sent as Governor of Bengal in 1772 to reorganise the British rule in the province as the government of England thought that the administration of the province should not be left in the hands of the Company. 31 Hastings took various measures during his term of office. With a view to cutting down the expenses of the administration, he stopped the allowance paid to the Moghul Emperor in return for the Diwani granted by the Emperor. The allowances given to the Nawab of Bengal were also cut. These actions were severely criticised. In 1773 Hastings, anxious to have a stable frontier against
the Marathas, lent the Nawab of Oudh a brigade of troops in order to annexe Rohilkand where the Rohillas the innocent people were living in peace. The Rohillas were defeated and Rohilkand was annexed to Oudh. This action was considered indefensible on moral grounds.

The Regulating Act of 1773 which was intended to tone up the administration in India, appointed Warren Hastings, the Governor of Bengal as the Governor-General of India with powers to exercise authority over the Government of Bombay and Madras. A council of four members was appointed and the Governor General was to preside over its meetings and be bound by its decisions. But Warren Hastings could not get on well with the council.

During his period of administration Warren Hastings caused a judicial murder. One Rajah Nandakumar of Bengal accused the Governor General of corruption. But Hastings instead of discussing this charge in the council followed some foul means to get rid of the accuser. Hastings and another member of the council prosecuted Nandakumar for conspiracy. While Nandakumar was awaiting trial a private individual charged Nandakumar with forgery. Nandakumar was sentenced to death and was hanged, despite protests.
The Revenues of Benares, a district of Oudh had been assigned to the Company, and were to be used for the maintenance of a military force for the defence of Oudh. The subordinate Rajah of Benares, Chait Singh was not able to pay the sums required from him. Though the Rajah explained the valid reasons for his inability to pay, Warren Hastings did not listen to him. He arrested Chait Singh (though he managed to escape) and made Chait Singh's nephew the Rajah of Benares. 32 Another incident in which the action of the Governor General was strongly criticised, occurred when the Nawab of Oudh pleaded his inability to meet the demands of the Company on the ground that the treasury of the State was under the control of the Begums of Oudh. Hastings, ignoring the plea, seized the treasury of the Begums forcibly. 33 In the war against Hyder Ali of Mysore Hastings also concluded a humiliating treaty with Hyder Ali just to gain some more time for the English.

In December 1783 Fox introduced his East India Bill in the British Parliament introducing certain reforms for the improvement of the East India Company. Burke gave a brilliant speech in support of the Bill in the Parliament. 34 Burke had already been familiar with Indian
affairs as he was an active member of the Committees which investigated the affairs of India on an earlier occasion. But the Bill was defeated in the House of Lords.

Burke also made his speech on the Nawab of Arcot's debts in the Parliament in 1785. Arcot the capital of Carnatic was taken and held by Clive from 1751 but was governed by a Nawab. In 1765 the Nawab Mohamed Ali entered into a contract with certain servants of the Company for money and for the aid of Company's troops. The debts at a monstrous interest grew to more than three million pounds. The Nawab mortgaged his territory to his creditors and granted them assignments on the revenues of districts. An enquiry into the history of these debts was begun by the Directors of the Company. But the Board of Ministers and other officials for the control of India instituted by Pitt in 1784 suddenly decided to admit the amounts to be valid and discharge the debt from the Revenues of the Carnatic. In 1785, on the above subject Burke made his speech in the Parliament condemning the activities of the Company's servants.
The scandal connected with the Nawab's debts was one of the greatest blots on early Anglo-Indian Administration.

In 1785, Hastings resigned and sailed for England. Burke assisted by Fox and Francis levelled a series of charges against Hastings. The most important of the charges against Hastings related to the Rohilla War, the treatment of Chait Singh and the spoliation of the Begums of Oudh. The impeachment of Hastings took place before the House of Lords at the Westminster Hall. The delivery of the opening speech of Burke took four days in February 1788. In summing up the case for the prosecution in 1794, Burke spoke for nine days. In July 1794, Burke retired from the Parliament. The judgement acquitting Hastings was pronounced in 1795.

Hastings was succeeded, after a twenty months interregnum under Sir John Macpherson, by Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793). He brought with him greatly enlarged powers under Pitt's India Act of 1784 which remained in force till the 1858 Act of Queen Victoria. Lord Cornwallis was succeeded by Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) who aimed at establishing British paramountcy over India.
taking all efforts that were within his reach.

In France, Louis XVI who was the victim of the French Revolution was twenty years old when he came to power. His judgement was often influenced by flattering courtiers and his ill-advised Queen Marie Antoinette. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the French Monarch did not have any able minister to guide him.

French society was divided sharply into three Estates or classes. The first Estate was the Church. It owned lands and collected taxes. The second Estate consisted of the Nobles. The common people constituted the third Estate. The bulk of the French population belonged to the third Estate. They were the middle class members, the peasants and artisans.

France also had great intellectuals in the eighteenth century. Voltaire (1694-1780) became internationally famous as a great writer and critic whose style and pungent criticism were inimitable. Through his plays and writings he launched a bitter attack against the existing institutions like the Church and the state. Rousseau in his *Social Contract* explained that the king and his subjects were parties to a contract
and therefore if the king did not rule the people according to their general will he would lose their loyalty. The people had every right to overthrow the monarch under such circumstances. His writings cast such a spell on his admirers that they were ready to revolt against the oppressive monarchy.

In 1788, France witnessed near famine conditions and as a result there was serious food shortage. Coupled with this, there was unusual and severe winter in 1789. It was at this critical juncture that the king was advised by his courtiers to summon the Estate-General (the French Parliament) to get approval for further taxation.

When the Estate General was summoned, the king ignored the importance of the third estate (six hundred representatives elected by the common people) and tried to consult the representatives of the three Estates separately. The representatives of the third Estate advised the king to bring together, the representatives of all the three Estate at one place for discussion of state problems. The king discarded their advice and that led to a quarrel between the king and the representatives of the third Estate. They along with the few representatives from the other two Estates proclaimed themselves as a National Assembly. The National Assembly intended to draft a
new constitution limiting the powers of the king. In the meantime rumour spread that the king might dissolve the National Assembly. It was then that an unruly mob in Paris attacked a medieval fortress-prison of Bastille (on July 4, 1789) standing as a symbol of royal despotism. The guards were killed and a few political prisoners were set free.

These incidents pained Burke very much. In the month of November 1790, Burke wrote his Reflections on the Revolution in France. The book was in the form of a letter to a certain young friend who had previously been in communication with Burke, and who afterwards translated the Reflections into French.

Burke wrote in January 1791 his letter to a member of the National Assembly with reference to some objections to some points raised in the Reflections. Burke wrote his An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs in August 1791, in which he defended himself from the criticisms of Fox. The estrangement from Fox, who had been his close friend, was due to the difference of opinion on the French Revolution.
Burke and Fox met as strangers on the management of the Impeachment of Hastings, which was dragging on for many years. In *Thoughts on French Affairs* written in December 1791, Burke showed his concern stating that the revolution was a fatal seed sown in the midst of the society. In this pamphlet Burke raised the cry for war against the Revolution.

In 1792 the Extremists among the Revolutionists established a Republic in France. It led to the deposition of the King. France witnessed the killing of thousands of nobles and innocent men, who had supported monarchy. In this context Burke wrote his *Heads for the Consideration on the Present State of Affairs* (November 1792). In this Burke emphasized that Europe must stand united under England's leadership against the revolutionary French ideas.

The French King Louis XVI was executed on 21 January, 1793. In February war had been declared between France and England. In October 1793 the Queen was executed. In the same month in 1793 Burke wrote his *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies* in which he supported the war which he had so long called for against France.
Burke retired from Parliament in July 1794 and died on 9 July, 1797. But, till his death, Burke continued to show his concern for the French affairs through his four letters in which he opposed peace with the Directory of France. Burke wrote *A letter to a Noble Lord* (1796) in which he gave a suitable reply with sarcasm to the Duke of Bedford who criticised the granting of pension to Burke, in the House of Lords. In this letter Burke also refers to his services in the Economic reform and the part he played since 1789. In France when the Directory which was looking after the administration of France, was on the verge of collapse, Napoleon Bonaparte, a military hero taking advantage of the situation seized control of the government in 1799. He became the Emperor of France in 1804.
C.N. Annadurai

C.N. Annadurai (1909-69)

Canjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai affectionately called "Anna" (elder brother) by millions of Tamil people was born on September 15, 1909 at Canjeevaram about forty miles South West of Madras City. He was the only son of Natarajan and Bangaru Ammal who belonged to a humble, middle class family. From his childhood he was brought up by his mother's younger sister Rajamani Ammal whom Annadurai affectionately called "Thotha". A major share goes to this lady in moulding Anna into what he was.

Anna was first sent to a Mission school at Canjeevaram. The household bullock-cart was his means of conveyance. He was a very quiet-going industrious and intelligent boy in the class. He helped his classmates with their lessons and they admired his scholarship so much that many boys had high hopes about him even in those days. Later he was sent to Pachiappa's High School at Canjeevaram. In the final S.S.L.C. examination Anna failed twice. But this failure opened Anna's eyes and he took it as a lesson in life and afterwards he was always serious with his studies. After completing High School studies Anna wanted to join a College for
higher studies. But his financial position did not permit him to do so. So he joined as a clerk in the Municipal Office at Canjeevaram. Then utilising the concession available for backward communities Anna joined the Intermediate course in Pachiappa's College at Madras. Anna's family had also moved to Madras to facilitate his studies. During this period he married Rani Ammal, yielding to the pressure of his parents. Anna passed intermediate in first class in 1930. Again Anna found it difficult to continue his higher studies due to financial strain in the family. But the then Principal, Professor Chinnathambi Pillai came forward to help Anna financially. Encouraged by the Principal Anna joined B.A.(Hons). In the Final year B.A.Hons. Examination in 1934 Anna had to withdraw from writing all papers, as his intimate friend who was to write the same examinations along with him fell ill suddenly. Next year Anna appeared for the examination and stood first in the University. Anna studied Economics as main subject and Politics and History as ancillaries in his B.A.(Hons.)Course.

Then Anna joined the Madras Law College. But unfortunately Anna had to give up his
studies after remaining there as a student for only three months, owing to great financial difficulties caused by the death of one M. Manicka Mudaliar who, impressed by Anna's brilliance, was helping him financially in his higher studies. Then Anna joined as a teacher in Govindappa Naicken Secondary School at Peddunaickkanpet at Madras. But he left this post after a few months. Then Anna approached an officer in the High Court at Madras with a recommendation letter got from an influential person at Canjeevaram for securing a job in the High Court. On meeting the officer Anna received a warm reception from him and in the course of the talk the officer himself requested Anna to recommend his name to A.R. Mudaliar for appointment as District Munsif, as the officer possessed all the required qualifications. Anna promised him that he would do his best and returned home without telling the officer for what purpose he had come there to see him. Again to satisfy the wishes of his aunt, Anna made another attempt to secure a job. Anna met Raja Sir Muthaiya Chettiyar and requested him to give him appointment as a Tutor in Annamalai University. But Raja Sir Muthaiya Chettiyar said that Annadurai's services were essentially required for the Justice party and so he
should join him as his private secretary on a monthly salary of Rupees 120/- Anna said that he would consider his suggestion and returned home. Then he wrote a letter to him expressing his inability to take up the job. Anna feared that he would have to lose his self-respect if he accepted that office. 51

Now Anna who had taken much interest in Tamil Nadu politics, having acquired a good knowledge of it through the speeches and writings of the Justice Party leaders and through reading newspapers dealing with the then burning problems, decided to enter politics. In the year 1936, Anna contested the Corporation election as a Justice Party candidate but lost the election. 52 From then onwards he took very active part in politics. He first joined the Justice Party. Then under the leadership of Periyar E.V.Ramasamy caused the Justice Party to be named as Dravida Kazhagam. As a result of difference of opinion between Periyar E.V.Ramasamy and Anna, Anna himself founded in 1949 the Dravida Munnertra Kazagam which came to power in Tamil Nadu in 1967. After becoming Chief Minister Anna went on foreign tour in 1968, visiting France, U.K., Italy, U.S.A., Japan, Honk Kong and Singapore. 53 He was awarded
the honour of Chubb Fellowship at the Yale University in the United States.\textsuperscript{54} From 1967 to 2.2.1969 on which day he died, Anna served as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

The Intellectual and Political Milieu and Background

Anna's intellectual equipment was unique. When he entered Pachiappa's College he had "a stock of reading, a gift for writing and a genius for oratory such as few students of his day possessed."\textsuperscript{55} While studying in College Anna did not confine himself to the study of lessons related to his subjects only. He read books on a wide range of subjects and thus equipped himself.\textsuperscript{56} "Anna haunted the college library more number of times in a day exhausting almost all general books. It is [was] here he read books on Tamil Literature and English master-pieces. In fact the real and useful education he had was here. The knowledge he gained by reading general books helped him to a great extent in his public life. His maxim was to know something of everything and everything of something".\textsuperscript{57}

One of his biographers A. S. Venu who had close contact with him gives a detailed account of Anna's vast reading. He says that Anna loved reading English books so much that he had an ideal library of his own.
He spent most of his time in public libraries. He read the history of various countries and with particular interest in the various historical revolutions for achieving their independence. He read a few books about religious bigots, royal tyrants, social pests. He studied books on the advancement of science, growth of religion and gods and exposed the truths to the masses with statistical figures. He read about great reformers like Socrates, Rousseau, Voltaire, Marx, Kamal Pazha, Luther, Lincoln, Lenin and Tolstoy. He read in detail about the American, the Russian and the French Revolutions. Anna also studied religious books. He read the Gita, the Ramayana, Bharatham, Kavasams, Prabandam, Thiruvasakam, Devaran and works of Pattinathar and Ramalinga Adigal. He devoted more time to Sangam literature. Foreign journals and periodicals published in India and displayed in bookstalls, always arrested the attention of Anna. Of his favourite dailies mention should be made of The Mail, The Hindu, The Times of India and The Statesman. His love for the Dravidians in Singapore and Malaya could be seen from his anxiety for going through Tamil dailies like Tamil Murasu published from Singapore. In Anna's radio talk, "The Books that Attracted Me" Anna makes a special mention of
Tirukkural which according to him makes people wise, capable and virtuous.\(^59\)

Anna had developed his oratorical capacity from his School and College days. "He won innumerable trophies in debates and oratorical contests and was elected Secretary to the College Union and Chairman of Economic Association".\(^60\) The political environment and background of Tamil Nadu influenced very much the young Anna who had been taking keen interest from his early years in politics. The Justice Party which championed the causes of the Non-Brahmins had naturally attracted him towards it as referred to earlier. Originally for championing the cause of the Non-Brahmins, the South Indian People's Federation was founded in November 1916 by Sir Thiyagarayar, Dr. T.M. Nayyar, Dr. C. Natesa Muthaliyar, Panagal Raja, Nagai V. Pakkirisami, Sir A. Ramaswamy Muthaliyar, Salem Elappan, Thanjai Vandaiyar, T.V. Umamaheswaran Pillai and Madurai M.T. Subramanian.\(^61\) The Brahmins had been occupying all important positions in the Congress Party and the entire party looked after the personal interests of Brahmins\(^62\) in this part of India. So the Non-Brahmin leaders formed the above South Indian People's Association.
to safeguard their interests. To propagate the ideals of this party an English Daily called "JUSTICE" was published. The first issue appeared on February 26, 1917. Dr.T.M.Nayar was its editor. The Justice Party was also publishing Tamil Daily Dravidan for which Bakthavathsalam Pillai, was editor. For their Telugu Daily Andra Prakasini A.C.Parthasarathi Naidu was the editor.

Sir P.Theagaraya, the secretary of the South Indian People's Association issued the Non-Brahmin Manifesto surveying the conditions of the Non-Brahmin community and pointing out the directions for advancement. It said

"The Non-Brahmins of Madras Presidency out-numbered the Brahmins. The Brahmins however because of education, religious authority, economic power, political influence and social prestige stood as an exclusive elite in juxtaposition to the illiterate masses, which constituted more than 95 percent of the society... the old and established traditions, the position of the Brahmins as the highest and the most sacred of the Hindu castes... the steady inculcation of the belief both by written texts and oral teachings that they are divinely ordained intermediaries without whose active intervention and blessings the soul can not obtain salvation and their consequent freedom from manual toil—all these helped them to adapt themselves easily to the new conditions under British
Rule, as under previous epochs in large numbers and far more successfully than other castes and communities."

"We are not in favour of any measure which, in operation, designed or tends completely to undermine the influence and authority of the British Rule, who alone in the present circumstances of India, are able to hold the scales even between creed and class." 65

With the proclamation of the Non-Brahmins manifesto it was decided that an association for the political advancement of the Non-Brahmin community should be formed to function alongside the South Indian People's Association. In August 1917, the South Indian Liberal Federation came into existence which later on came to be known as the Justice Party, deriving its name from its English daily JUSTICE.

In the year 1919 the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Act granted a system called dyarchy in the provincial government. Accordingly, the first election took place in 1920 for the formation of the provincial government in the old Madras Presidency. The Justice Party contested in the elections. The 'Home Rule' party led by Annie Besant also took part in the elections. But the Congress...
which was then led by Mahatma Gandhi did not participate in the elections. As the Justice Party won the election, Governor Lord Wellington requested the leader of the party, Sir Thyagarayar to form the ministry. But Sir Thyagarayar declined to assume charge as Chief Minister. So A.Subbarayalu Reddiyar was appointed as Chief Minister. When A.Subbarayalu Reddiyar died in 1921 Panagal Raja was appointed as Chief Minister.

Again in 1923 the Justice Party won the election and formed the Second ministry. The Anti-Brahmin crusade was riding high on a tide of reforms directed towards the betterment of the Non-Brahmin majority of the Madras Presidency. These Reforms included the establishment of Quotas based on caste and Religion for Civil Service posts, ensuring the rights of Non-Brahmins in seeking Government jobs. The Justice Party determined to advance the opportunities of the down-trodden masses and to destroy the yoke of Brahmin power. The Justice movement was organised for the vindication of self-respect, declared Sir A.P.Rao Bahadur Patro, a Justice leader and Minister:

We have begun to discourage if not discard caste and priestly authority. The dream of Indian nationalism will be realised fully with the passing away of caste from our land.
It is a false logic to deny to every group the right to develop itself, to be in position of strength to contribute to the great national life of the country. The principle becomes dangerous only if the interests of the unit or group are placed above those of the nation and national demands. The Non-Brahmin movement is not a negative one, it bears no antagonism to any group or unity in India, it is a movement for self expression.  

In November, 1926 the third general election took place. The Justice Party participated in the election. The Congress Party under the name of Swarajya Party took part in the elections. But the Justice Party could not get majority seats and so Pananakal Raja did not like to form the ministry with the support from outsiders. Then Dr. Subbarayan came forward to form the ministry. In Dr. Subbarayan's ministry, S. Muthaiya Mudaliyar was a Minister. Due to his special efforts Communal Representation Act was passed and this Act benefitted the Non-Brahmins by making them secure jobs in Government service. Hindu Religious Endowment Act was also passed during this period.

During the editorship of Sir A. Ramesamy Muthaliyar the English daily Justice carried his powerful writings, propagating the principles for which the Justice Party
stood. The Tamil daily Dravidan was also very popular among people.

In July 1927, in the Justice Party conference held at Coimbatore, a resolution explaining the impracticability of the Dyarchy system of Government in the province was passed and it demanded that the British Government should grant a system of self-government by the local people to the Madras Presidency. 70

It is appropriate here to mention the activities of Periyar E.V.Ramasamy who started a movement on his own for the benefit of the Non-Brahmins. Periyar E.V.Ramasamy was then one of the important Congress leaders in Tamil Nadu. V.V.S.Iyer a Congress leader was running a Gurukulam (a residential school) at Seranmadevi. There the Brahmin boys were treated with special privileges of being provided with separate food, special dress, separate room for prayer etc. This discrimination between Brahmin and Non-Brahmin boys was very painful to Periyar E.V.Ramasamy. He raised an objection stating that this discrimination was against the basic principles of the Congress Party which under the leadership of Gandhiji stood against any discrimination on the basis of caste. In fact Periyar E.V.Ramasamy
Thiru V. Kalyanasundaram and Dr. Varatharajulu, the Non-Brahmin leaders had taken much efforts for collecting funds for the running of that 'Gurukulam' (residential school). So all these leaders spoke against this discrimination in Congress meetings. From 1920 to 1924 Periyar E.V. Ramasamy spoke in all the Congress meetings pointing out this discrimination. But all his efforts were in vain. So Periyar came out of Congress in 1925. He was fully convinced that unless the Brahmin domination was put an end to in social life, it would be difficult to remove their domination in political field. With these views in mind Periyar E.V. Ramasamy started Suya Mariyathai Kalaqam (Self-respect Federation) in 1926. He also started a Tamil weekly Kudiarasu to propagate his principles. 71

Important people like Raja Sir Muthiya Chettiyar, Sir A.T. Pannarselvam and Vallathar-su came forward to join the Self-respect movement. 72

The State Conference of the Self-respect Federation was convened on 17 and 18 February, 1929 at Chengalpet. After this conference a Young Men Self-Respect Club was started in Madras with the efforts of some young enthusiasts. Anna who was then a student in Pachaiyappa's
College frequently visited the club and took part in debates on Self-Respect movement conducted in the Club.  

In the Fourth General Elections held in November, 1929, Justice Party won the elections with a majority. In 1930, Diwan Bahadur C. Munisamy Naidu formed the fourth Ministry. Sir P.T. Rajan and Kumarasamy Reddiyar were Deputy Ministers. Periyar E.V. Ramasamy who was also already impressed by the Communal Representation Act passed by Muthaiya Muthaliyar in Dr. Subbarayan’s ministry due to the efforts of Justice Party, came forward to work jointly with the Justice Party as the principles of both the Justice Party and his Self-respect party were almost identical having the goal of uplifting the downtrodden. So Periyar was put in charge of running the Tamil daily Dravidan which was propagating the Justice Party principles.

Then in 1932 as Justice Party lost faith in the Chief Minister Munisamy Naidu, Raja Bobbili was chosen as the party leader and he became Chief Minister. Its three-year term was extended upto seven years. Both Raja Sir Muthaiya Chettiyar and Sir A.T. Panneerselvam served as ministers.
During the period of Raja Bobbili the Justice Party leaders did not take much interest in the party activities. So Periyar got disgusted and stood aloof carrying on the activities of propagating his rationalistic views, and taking no interest in the Tamil daily Dravidan. Periyar's lack of interest in the maintenance of Dravidan offended the Justice Party leaders. They filed a suit against Periyar for the recovery of the cost of papers given to him for running the Tamil daily Dravidan. As Periyar did not pay the amount due from him, he was sentenced and put in Vellore prison for fifteen days.76

On the basis of Simon Commission Report, Dyarchy was abolished in the provinces. The provincial administration was entrusted to the Minister responsible to the provincial legislature. The Central Government had control over the reserved subjects.77 As per the Simon Commission report a General Election took place in 1937. Justice Party was completely defeated. The Congress Party which won the election formed the ministry with Rajagopalachari as the Chief Minister of Madras Presidency.78 It was during this time that Anna began to take active part in politics. Anna, even as a student was very sensitive to the political
conditions prevailing in Tamil Nadu as he had been influenced by the speeches and writings of the Justice Party leaders. The founders and trustees of the Pachaiappa's college where Anna was studying were also staunch followers of the Justice Party. Anna was also drawn into it. As most of the leaders in the Justice Party used to address meetings only in English, they wanted somebody to translate their English speeches into Tamil to have good mass contact. As K.L.P. Viswanatham had heard that Anna would do well, he requested Anna to translate the speeches of the Justice Party leaders in Tamil. The leaders were surprised at Anna's talent. Anna was identified as a propagandist of the Justice Party. Though he was given a meagre salary he agreed to do the party work due to his genuine interest in the principles of the Party. He had occasions to move closely with top ranking men of the Justice Party. Mr. C. Basudev who was working for the labour cause trained Anna in the labour field. Anna delivered a number of speeches in the Madras Port-Trust Union and Burma Shell workers Union. This naturally increased his personality in the eyes of the Justice Party leaders, Raja of Panagal, Bobbili, T.M. Nayar and Munisamy Naidu and Basudev. Basudev instilled in Anna the need for a
labour weekly. Anna with very great difficulty started Nava Yugam and championed the cause of the labourer. 80

It was in 1934 in the Youth Conference of Sengunthers held at Tirupur that Anna met Periyar E.V.Ramasamy for the first time. Both Anna and Periyar had been invited to the Conference. Anna's speech in the conference attracted Periyar who enquired about him and appreciated his talents 81 Anna who had heard about Periyar already and who had also read Periyar's articles written in his Kudiarasu decided to take Periyar as his political 'Guru' (Master) from that moment onwards. It was the time that Periyar was keeping aloof from the Justice Party activities and carrying on his propaganda of his rationalistic views.

In the 1936 Corporation Election Anna contested as a Justice Party candidate under the persuasion of his colleagues. But he did not succeed. Anna did not lose heart from his defeat in the election. From then onwards Anna began to take a very active part in Tamil Nadu politics which paved the way for the growth of the Dravidian movement on solid foundations.

C.Rajagopalachariyar, the Chief Minister of Madras Presidency in 1937 made Hindi a compulsory subject for
study in high schools. This was opposed by all Tamil leaders. Periyar E.V.Ramasamy, Thiru Vi.Ka, Maraimalai Adigal, Navalar Somasundara Bharathiyar, K.A.P.Viswanathan and M.P.Sivagnanam gave strong opposition to the imposition of Hindi. Anna took a leading role in this campaign and wrote against the Government policy of imposing Hindi. As a result of it Anna was arrested and put in sub-jail at Saidapet. Anna thus had the first experience of jail life. Again in 1938 Anna had to undergo imprisonment for four months for his agitation against Hindi imposition. Periyar, Anna and other leaders of the Justice Party felt that unless they asked for the formation of a separate Tamil Nadu the danger to Tamil language through the imposition of Hindi and the exploitation of the Tamil people by the privileged class could never be averted. In December 1939 Anna made extensive speeches propagating 'Tamil Nadu for Tamils'. He spoke about the ancient glory of Tamil Nadu, the tradition of Tamils, their cultural values and their language and their great literary works of the Sangam age. Anna's speeches left very deep impression in the minds of the Tamil people. They felt proud to be awakened to their ancient glory. In the state conference of Tamils
held at Vellore on 27.12.1939 a detailed discussion took place on the programme to be chalked out for achieving their goal of Tamil Nadu for Tamils. During this period a conference was held by the Justice Party at Madras. As the difference of opinion arose between Periyar and the Justice Party leaders had disappeared at the time of their united fight against Hindi imposition, the Justice Party leaders in recognition of his invaluable service being rendered to the Tamil people appealed to Periyar that he should preside over the conference. As Periyar was in Bellary jail at that time, his Presidential address was read by Sir A.T. Panneerselvam.

Periyar was released from jail on 22.5.1939 and compulsory study of Hindi was given up on 21.2.1940. On 21.2.1940 the Justice Party convened a conference at Thiruvarur which was presided over by Periyar E.V. Ramasamy. In this conference the fact that the Tamils, Andhras, Keralites and Kannadiyars belonged to the same Dravidian stock was discussed and it was decided that they must ask for a separate Dravida Nadu comprising Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Kerala and Karnataka which would bring good to all. It was resolved that a Dravida Nadu comprising Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala must be separated,
with Madras as its head quarters and administered separately under the direct supervision of a Minister at the Centre. Anna made an eloquent speech explaining details relating to the resolution and justifying the demand for a separate Dravida Nadu. All the leaders were very much impressed by his speech. 88

As Anna was the sub-editor of Viduthalai, a Tamil paper published by the Justice Party twice a week, Anna published his articles explaining the reasons that justified the demand for a separate Dravida Nadu. Both the contents and the manner of presentation made a very effective appeal to the minds of the people in Tamil Nadu. 89

As K.A.P. Viswanathan resigned his post, Anna became the General Secretary of the Justice Party. 90 When Viduthalai, for which Anna was the sub-editor, was given to war front for propaganda Anna had to lose his job. Then Anna with the help of one T.P.S. Ponnappan from Canjeevaram started Dravida Nadu, a Tamil weekly in 1942. Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, the Raja of Bobbili and several others gave some financial support to Anna. Dravida Nadu was sold as hot cakes because of Anna's powerful writings. He propagated his views in lucid and inimitable style. In the beginning
Dravida Nadu was a mouthpiece of the Justice Party. Later on he devoted it more for social problems. He emphasised with historical facts that the Non-Brahmins are the Dravidians. The Non-Brahmins began to know about their ancestors and their distinct culture through his writings.

The Justice Party was slowly losing its popularity after its defeat in 1937 elections in Madras Province. The Justice Party leaders neglected propaganda and mass contact. The Congress was also making a propaganda that the Justice Party was pro-British and they did not have genuine interest in the welfare of the people.

So as the General Secretary of the Justice Party Anna wanted to re-organise the party so that it would grow with new vigour and enthusiasm. When the Justice Party conference was held at Salem, Anna wanted to carry out his plan to strengthen the party and to raise its image in the eyes of the public. He therefore placed the following resolutions before the conference:

1. Members of the party who have titles (Sirs, etc.) conferred on them by His Majesty should renounce them,

2. Members of the party who hold honorary posts as Presidents of District Boards and Presidents
of Panchayats and as Magistrates should resign them.

(3) Members of the party should avoid class and caste distinction after the names and

(4) The name of the party which was till then the Justice Party should be changed to Dravida Kazhaqam (Dravidian Federation). 92

There was strong opposition to these resolutions from some of the Justice Party leaders. But these resolutions were put to vote and passed by a thumping majority. These resolutions were called "Annadurai resolutions". This successful passing of the resolutions marked the beginning of the Dravidian movement for which the full credit went to Anna. Thus a party which was in the hands of a rich few came to be nurtured by the poor and ordinary people. Periyar E.V.Ramasamy and Anna built up the Dravida Kazhaqam and branches sprang up everywhere. Meetings and conferences were conducted. Thousands of people became members of the party. Anna's progressive ideals captured the masses and received support in the nook and corner in Tamil Nadu. 93

A few leaders who refused to accept the "Annadurai resolutions" continued to retain the identity of the Justice Party with a very limited number of followers. 94

At the 1945 conference at Thiruchirapalli the
Dravida Kazhagam adopted a constitution and took as its symbol a black flag with a red circle in the centre. The black representing the mourning for the down-trodden and the red for hope of a Dravidasthan. The organisation of the party was to be based upon units in each village and district. The object of the Dravida Kazhagam was proclaimed to be the achievement of a sovereign Independent Dravidian Republic which would be federal in nature with four units (Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Kerala and Karnataka) corresponding to the linguistic division, each having autonomy in internal administration. Anna played a very significant role in this conference by making an elaborate speech referring to the ideals for which Dravida Kazhagam stood.

Tamil weeklies and books served as the effective medium for propagating the ideals of Dravida Kazhagam. Kudiarasu was published from Erode. Viduthalai became the official organ of the party. Anna was publishing Dravida Nadu from Kanchi. Dravidan and Tamil Ulagam were published from Madras. A lot of books containing Anna’s speeches and writings relating to the ideals of Kazhagam were also published.
The Dravidian Writers' Association and Dravidian Students' Associations were formed, attracted by the ideals of Kazhagam. They learnt the ideals of Kazhagam and nurtured and propagated them to the extent possible.

Periyar declared that members of the Kazhagam should wear Black Shirts whenever possible as a symbol of the present day down-trodden condition of the Dravidians. All the members carried out his desire including Anna.

Though a follower of Periyar in all the major decisions in politics, Anna had to differ from Periyar on the issue of the celebration of Independence Day on August 15, 1947. Periyar declared that the Independence Day must be considered as the mourning day for Dravidians. But Anna did not agree with him, as he felt that the attainment of National Independence should be celebrated by all Indian people. Anna also wrote an article in Dravida Nadu to this effect which offended Periyar very much.

"The rift between Periyar and Anna came to a head in 1949 when the D.K. Founder decided to marry the 26 year old Miss Mani Ammai a party worker. Annadurai and his close colleagues in the
Dravida Kazhagam felt indignant that by this marriage the Septuagenarian leader had brought ridicule on their Party and made it a laughing-stock of the people of Tamil Nadu. They also felt seriously that the marriage was opposed to one of the main social objectives of the Dravida Kazhagam - to prevent unequal marriages, and as a protest, Annadurai seceded from the party with a band of his followers. The D.M.K. was born on September 15, 1949.  

In reaction against the loose structure of the Dravida Kazhagam, Anna sought to weld the D.M.K. into an effective and well knit organisation.

As the first step a Tamil Daily Malaimani with Anna as its editor was started to propagate the ideals of the D.M.K. The first floor of the building in which the office of the Malaimani functioned, was used as the party office. The ideals of the D.M.K. were formulated by Anna. He said that they should make people think rationally and remove blind belief in the name of religion and they should also strive hard to form a good Government and to oppose northern domination. He emphasised that casteism and religious dogmas should be made to disappear and socialism must be achieved in the economic field.
In politics the Dravidian should be a slave to nobody.  

The party Flag of the D.M.K. is rectangular in shape, with the upper half black and the lower half red in colour. The black colour indicates the backwardness prevailing in political, economic and social fields in Tamil Nadu and the red colour indicates that efforts should be made to brighten the prevailing condition in all the fields.

Anna was asked to be the General Secretary of the party.

Anna oriented the D.M.K. towards the urban lower classes the lower middle classes and students. In the villages both rich peasants and poor labourers supported the D.M.K.

Harkening back to the glories of the Dravidian past and dwelling upon the social oppression suffered by the Non-Brahmins at the hands of the Brahmins and the exploitation by the Bania of the north, the D.M.K. attempted to mould the masses into a self conscious community.

The main role of the party was to establish a new society based on the three cardinal principles of Democracy, Rationalism and Socialism. In order to achieve
this goal the party felt it necessary to resist the Northern domination and to work for the formation of a separate independent Sovereign Federation of Dravidian Socialistic Republic comprising the present four Southern States of India - Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. Anna worked hard to mobilize support and sympathy for his philosophy from the masses. He made speeches, wrote articles in weeklies published by himself and others belonging to his party. He also wrote short stories, dramas, novels emphasising the principles of party. His letters entitled "Thambikku" published in his Dravida Nadu had a great appeal to the masses. He also published English Weeklies Home Land and later Home Rule.

During the first seven years, since the inception of the D.M.K. all the leaders under the guidance of Anna engaged themselves in propagating the ideals for which the D.M.K. stood. Anna launched several agitations in this period to draw the attention of the Government to various issues of public interest. He was also sentenced to imprisonment several times. In 1950 he was sentenced to imprisonment for writing a book entitled Arya Mayai. In 1953 Anna organised three-cornered agitation Mummumai Pōratam to oppose Rajaji's education policy in Tamil Nadu,
to show protest to Nehru's reference to their activity as nonsense and to change the name of Dalmiapuram to 'Kallakudi'. Anna was arrested and imprisoned. Again in 1958 when he organised a black flag demonstration before Nehru, he was sentenced to six weeks imprisonment.

It was at the historic Thiruchirapalli conference in 1956 that the D.M.K. took an opinion poll and decided to contest the general elections in 1957. In the election D.M.K. won fifteen seats. In 1959 in the Madras Corporation elections the D.M.K. captured the majority of seats and on 24th April 1959 the first D.M.K. Mayor was sworn in office. In 1962 General Elections, though Anna was defeated the D.M.K. secured fifty seats in the Assembly. Anna was subsequently elected to the Rajya Sabha and went to Delhi where he left an indelible impression in the minds of all about his scholarship, wisdom, magnanimity, simplicity, humility and his extraordinary ability as an orator.

"The Central executive of the D.M.K. in June 1963 amended the party constitution to drop its goal of the 'Independent Dravida Nadu'. The new clause set out the party's objective thus: 'To strive for the formation of a closer Dravida Union of the four linguistic states of
Tamilnadu, Andhra, Karnataka (Mysore) and Kerala with as large powers as possible within the framework of the sovereignty and integrity of India and of the Indian constitution."\textsuperscript{112}

On the eve of the fourth general elections in 1967, Anna worked out an undertaking among all opposition political parties in Tamil Nadu and formed a united front to oppose the Congress. In the election it was a landslide victory and a clean walk over for Anna's party. On 6th March 1967 the D.M.K. Government was sworn in with Anna as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{113} During the short period of two years of his office Anna did what best he could and stood true to his mottos, duty, integrity and discipline. He died on 2.2.1969 and was buried with State honours at the Marina Sea shore and a memorial was erected at that place, which is visited by thousands of people every day.

Conclusion

Burke was born in a middle class family in Ireland and had his early education and University education till he graduated in Ireland and for the study of law he moved to England where he settled permanently.
Anna on the other hand was born and studied and lived till he died only in Tamil Nadu in India. As Burke did not show interest in the study of Law his father did not send him sufficient money and so he had to suffer to lead his life in London. As Anna's family was poor, he also had to experience much hardship in pursuing his higher studies in Madras. Both Burke and Anna read a lot of books relating to various branches of knowledge with special interest in History, Philosophy and Literature. Their wide and deep study made them acquire a good knowledge of men and things, quite appropriate to the great tasks they had to perform later. Just as Burke had Rockingham as his patron, Anna also had Periyar E.V.Ramasamy as his political Guru (Master). In the case of Burke, he first joined as Private Secretary to Rockingham who got him a seat in the Parliament in 1765. For Anna, Periyar was his political teacher. Anna drew inspiration from him and he faithfully followed the Justice Party principles and the principles of Self-respect movement for which Periyar stood. Just as Burke was shaping Rockingham's thoughts on political matters Anna also influenced Periyar's thoughts. Burke was always in the opposition except for a short period when he was Pay Master in Rockingham's ministry and also
in the Coalition ministry in which Fox represented the Whigs. Anna was also in the opposition for a major period of his political career except for the short duration of his Chief ministership. The political and social conditions that existed in England, America, Ireland, India and France made Burke devote his entire political career to the affairs of these countries. So also the political and social conditions that existed in Tamil Nadu made Anna devote his entire career since he came out of college, to the affairs of Tamil Nadu and Tamil people.
NOTES


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13 Ibid., p. 191.

14 Ibid., p. 207.

15 Ibid., p. 208.

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20 James Sambrook, p. 66.

21 Compton - Rickett, p. 289.

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23 James Sambrook, p. 2.

24 Ibid., p. 13.

25 Compton - Rickett, p. 290.


30. Ibid., p.XVIII.


33. Southgate, p.189.


35. A. M. D., Hughes, p.187.


37. Ibid., p.205.


40. F. N. Raffety, p.IX.

41. Ibid., p.X.


46. Ibid., p.40.


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79 Sagar Ahluwalia, p.2.


82 T.M.Parthasarathy, p.20.

83 Seran, pp.16-17.

84 Ibid., p.20.

85 T.M.Parthasarathy, p.21.

86 Ibid., p.20.

87 Ibid., p.22.


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90 T.M.Parthasarathy, pp.23-24

91 A.S.Venu, pp.30-31.

92 Ibid., pp.31-32.
93  Ibid., pp.33–34.
94  T.M. Parthasarathy, p.25.
95  Sagar Ahluwalia, p.22.
96.  T.M. Parthasarathy, pp.27–30.
97  Ibid., p.31.
98  Ibid., p.31.
99  Sagar Ahluwalia, p.21.
100  T.M. Parthasarathy, p.33.
101  Sagar Ahluwalia, p.25.
102  T.M. Parthasarathy, p.35.
104  T.M. Parthasarathy, p.83.
105  Ibid., pp.85–86.
106  Ibid., p.94.
107  Sagar Ahluwalia, p.29.
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