Social and Political Awakening:

Modern education introduced by the British had both advantages and disadvantages. Educated people and nationalists realised the defects in the educational system. Even after more than a century of the British rule, primary education did not progress satisfactorily. It was reported in 1926 that, "the majority of children in primary schools are under instruction for between three or four years only; and for the greater portion of the time, four out of five linger in the lowest class. In consequence, there is a tendency to lapse into illiteracy after the short period of instruction comes to a close." Illiteracy and resultant ignorance among the masses had obstructed social, political and economic progress. There were only 960 students in all in engineering, agriculture and commerce schools and colleges in the year 1934-35. The university reforms of Lord Curzon, though efficient, brought popular criticism, for University education was costly and was limited to higher classes. It was thought that Lord Curzon

1. The Pariyan., 4th September, 1897.
3. Ibid.,
had the desire to limit education under cover of making it more efficient, since he believed that spread of education may "breed sedition". Many British officials in India also believed that education would increase unrest and make the problem of government more difficult.

Western education was divorced from the actualities of Indian life. It did not pose Indian problems such as economic and cultural backwardness and after a solution for them. It pictured the British as the saviours of India, and curtailed the national pride and self-respect of the people. It created a chasm between the educated Indians and the common people. The people of Tamil Nadu, like those in other parts of the country, realised that the educational policy of the British was directed to create a class of minor officials for purposes of administration instead of importing clerks and civil servants from England. By controlling the course of public education, it had been the British motive to strengthen their political authority in the country.

5. Ibid., P. 26.
7. Ibid.,
However, modern education introduced by the British rulers inspired progressive ideas among the educated classes. It was liberal in essence and was open to all, irrespective of caste and creed, unlike the education in the pre-British period. The study of political philosophy of the west inspired the national spirit, and the foreign rulers were alarmed at the spread of extreme political ideas among the educated Indians. The peoples of Tamil Nadu, realising that the English were controlling the administration to keep under their thumb the entire mass of people, demanded Indianisation of services and throwing open higher posts for Tamilians. Agricultural classes demanded reduction of taxes, while workers agitated for better conditions of work and wages. "The nation as a whole demanded the freedom of association and press, assembly, elected legislatures, representative institutions, dominion status, home rule and finally complete Independence. It was

5. Ibid., P. 26.
7. Ibid.,
8. The Pariyan., 11th September, 1897.
10. The Sasilekha., 27th February, 1903.
out of these contradictions of interests of Britain and India that Indian nationalism grew\(^{11}\).

Through Education the Tamil youths assimilated European teaching with astounding receptivity. They quickly became nationalists, democrats and socialists. Political thinkers like Mazzini, John Stuart Mill, John Ruskin, Carlyle and Tolstoy inspired revolutionary political ideas among educated men. Modern education brought social and political awareness among the educated classes\(^{12}\). They realised the social evils prevalent in society to eradicate which reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen in Bengal, Veeresalingam and E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker in the Madras presidency took active part. Educated people could see the seed of discontent the British administrators were sowing among different classes of people\(^{13}\). Caste differences arose between non-Brahmins and Brahmins, since the latter were favoured for higher administrative posts and other privileges, while the Hindu-muslim disunity was caused by appointing the Muslims in more numbers to the legislative council\(^{14}\). These disparities gave way for agitations and

\(^{11}\) The Cochin Argus., Cochin, 10th October, 1910.
\(^{12}\) The Veerakesari., 4th September, 1909.
\(^{13}\) The United India and Native States., Madras, 10th September, 1910.
\(^{14}\) The Hindu., Madras, 8th December, 1910.
political unrest. In Tamil Nadu the rift between Brahmins and non-Brahmins was so great that the non-Brahmins movement was started to claim political rights for the back-ward classes. The justice party, which was an offshoot of the non-Brahmin movement, stood for the social and political rights equally for all.\textsuperscript{15}

It may be generally said that in Tamil Nadu, as in other parts of British India, people became politically conscious and organised themselves to secure demands like administrative reforms, Indianisation of administrative services, representative institutions, elimination of recial discrimination, franchise, elected legislature, civil liberties and self-government.\textsuperscript{16}

**Education and Bureaucracy:**

By 1886 Education had progressed well in Tamil Nadu. The object of the British Raj in its educational policy was to produce clerks and administrators from the Hindu classes.\textsuperscript{17} However they retained higher posts called "covenanted civil Service posts" like that of collectors, sub collectors, Judges and Head of Departments for Europeans

\textsuperscript{15} The West Coast Spectator., Calicut, 14th December 1910.

\textsuperscript{16} The Andhra Kesari., 21st July 1911.

\textsuperscript{17} Asirvadam. E., "The state and social legislation in India" The Madras Law Journal, The golden Jubilee- November 1941. P.26
while subordinate posts in various departments called "uncovenanted civil service posts" were thrown open to Indian graduates and marticulates. As it was the policy of the English to take educated persons for government appointments from the higher strata of society, well educated and brilliant candidates from the Brahmin and other high caste communities were able to be absorbed in public services. They formed the British administrative Bureaucracy. The nation of parents in those days were that a son went to school or college "to obtain a livelihood in future, by securing appointment under governement and pass his days in quiet and ease without being put to the necessity of begging for his bread". Those who could not enter administrative services took to the professions of Lawyers, Doctors, Engineers Journalism and business management. All these professions are generally called "white colour" professions.

The sixty years from 1858 to 1918 has been termed as the golden age of the Bureaucracy in British India. Bureaucracy means officialism or government by officials. It is a government by the office. The term bureaucracy mean administration by bureaus. A bureau is an administrative


unit\textsuperscript{21}. Arnold Green describes bureaucracy as "a power wielding organisation with a hierarchy of ranks, the statuses and functions of which are planned in advance and in which the official activities of personnel in each rank are supervised by the next higher rank up to the apex of control"\textsuperscript{22}. Speaking of bureaucracy, the English philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill expressed his view in 1848 that it is the work of government in the hands of Governors by profession, which is the essence and meaning of bureaucracy. The bureaucrat is responsible to none except his official superior, who is himself a senior bureaucrat. There is a sense of irresponsibility, an impatience of criticism and a general insolence towards the general public\textsuperscript{23}, among the bureaucrats.

The bureaucrat, according to O'Malley, is a salaried official engaged in civil administration. British administration in India was not set up on democratic principles. The civil service was not the administrative instrument of a free people. It was controlled by British

\textsuperscript{21} Vidya Bushan Sachdeva., \textit{An Introduction to Sociology} Allahabad, 1980, P.399.


\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., P.330.
Parliament and depended on it. In British Indian bureaucracy was built up for an autocratic rule over the subject races. The civil servant did not act with the belief that the citizens are the masters of the executive. Among the sins unpunishable by law is bureaucratic redtapsim—mounting correspondence and delay in decisions and issuing orders, and secondly an insolence and indifference towards the general public. "The maladies from which bureaucracy most frequently suffers are an excessive sense of self importance on the part of the officials or an undue idea of the importance of their office; and indifference towards the feeling or the convenience of the individual citizen; a mania for regulations and formed procedure, a preoccupation with the activities of a particular unit of administration and an inability to consider the government as a whole, a failure to recognise the relation between the governors and the governed as an essential part of democratic process." Under the British rule, Sir Robert Montgomery, the I.C.S Governor of Punjab said: "In India we set aside the people altogether; we devise and say that such a thing is a good thing to be done and we carry it out without asking them very much about it". "The remedy for the bureaucratic sins

25. Ibid., P.9
lies in transferring supreme control to those who can see
with eyes other than official and whose ears are attuned to
other music than official reports"\textsuperscript{27}.

White Collar Crimes; Social and Economic Crimes and Social
legislation

In any system of administration corruption and
malpractices prop up and even strict laws have been futile
to check them. "The white collar crime is a relatively new
addition to criminal science"\textsuperscript{28}. The persons involved in
fraudulent activities are habitual violators of law but
escape punishment or, if found, are rarely punished, for
many of these white collar crimes do not come under
conventional law. A white collar crime is defined as "a
crime committed by a person of responsibility and high
social status in the course of his occupation"\textsuperscript{29}. In the
British administration the servants of the East India
company, who were bureaucrats, were not free from white
collar crimes. There have been instances of which Lord Clive
and Warren Hastings tell a lot about the white collar crimes
of the British administrators in India. When Clive was sent

\begin{thebibliography}{30}
\bibitem{27} Robson, W.A., (Ed.), \textit{The Civil Service in Britain and
France}, (No place and year) PP.5-6.
\bibitem{28} Clinard Marshall, B., \textit{International Encyclopaedia of
\bibitem{29} Vijaya., Pondicherry, 15Th December, 1909.
\bibitem{30} Veerakesari., 27th March, 1909.
\end{thebibliography}
a second time to India to reform the entire government for the Company, he found corruption was universal and contageocs. "A kind of a tradition had grown that on the occasion of every change in the government in Bengal, presents should be made to servants of the Company." Though receiving of such presents was strictly prohibited by the Directors of the Company, Clive himself was not free from receiving wealthy presents. When he returned it was stated in Parliament that Clive, "through the influence as a member of the Select Committee and Commander-in-chief of the British forces, did obtain and possess himself of the sum of L 234000 and that in doing so the said Robert Clive abused the power with which he was entrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public and to the dishonour and detriment of the state." Warren Hastings came as Governor General after Robert Clive was impeached for his aggressive war against the Rohillas and hanging of a Brahman who had accused him of forgery. In the Madras presidency also the fleecing of the people by tax officers in the Riotwarei system, corruption in public departments like police, Revenue, Registration had spread. The new kind of offences

31. The Indian Patriot., Madras, 31st August, 1907.
32. The Karnataka Prakasika, 10th September, 1894.
33. The Sattyadipika., Mangalore, 19th March 1906.
35. The South Indian Mail., Madurai, 3rd September 1918.
classified as 'white collar crimes' and 'social and economic crimes' multiplied at an alarming pace\textsuperscript{36}. Tax evasion, share purchasing malpractices in the share market, usury, hoarding, profiteering, substandard performance of contracts, of constructions and supply, evasion of economic laws, bribery and corruption, election offences and malpracties are some examples of white collar crimes\textsuperscript{37}.

The generally accepted subjects falling under these types of offences are:

1. Fraud in business in relation to sale of bonds and investments.
2. Adulteration of food and drugs.
3. Misleading advertisements.
4. Malpractices in the medical profession such as abortion, illegal services to criminals, fraudulent reports and testimony in accident cases, post mortem, etc.,
5. Crimes of lawyers such a twisting testimony to give a false picture.
6. Interfering with freedom of trade to the detriment of honest businessmen and creating false scarcity to encourage rise in prices.

\textsuperscript{36} The Andra Prakashika., Madras, 27th August, 1918.
\textsuperscript{37} Report of the commission on the prevention of corruption, part II, govt. of India New Delhi, 1964, P.11
7. Bribery and corruption by public officers.
8. Evasion and avoidance of taxes lawfully imposed.
9. Misuse of their official positions by public servants in making contracts, disposal of public property, issue of licences and permits, granting of trust board lands etc.,
10. Delivery of goods not in accordance with agreed specifications by industrial and commercial concerns, in fulfilment of contracts entered into with government authorities.
11. Profiteering, black - marketing and hoarding.
12. Theft and mis-appropriation of public property and funds.

The British government in the Madras presidency did not take serious note of the white collar crimes and economic and social crimes. The Santanam committee appointed after Independence revealed the "magnitude of white collar crimes prevalent in India"\textsuperscript{38}. The committee recommended to the government that a new chapter may be added "to the Indian penal code incorporating all such offences and supplementing them with new provisions, so that these offences might find a prominent place in the general criminal law of the country"\textsuperscript{39}. But, when the government

\textsuperscript{38. }\textit{Ibid.}, P.13
\textsuperscript{39. }\textit{Ibid.}, P.54.
referred the matter to the law commission, the commission gave its opinion that "such offences are better left to be dealt with by special and self contained enactments (legislation) which supplement the basic criminal law".  

The attempts of the British Government to curb profiteering and black marketing through legislative measures were not effective, though the following Acts enacted by it contain provisions to check such crimes.

1. The cotton cloth Act, 1918, sections 8, 10(2).
2. The coffee Act, 1942, Sections, 36 (1) and 38(a)
3. The Rubber Act, 1947, Section 13 (3)
4. The sugar cane Act, 1934, Sectin 13(1), 13(2).

The government of Madras Presidency took some measures to check economic offences such as avoidance of payment of Income-tax by imposing interest for delayed and over-due Income-tax, and imposing penalties also: while criminal provisions are contained in chapter 22 of the present Income-tax Act of 1961, such provisions dealing with "offences and prosecutin" were also provided in the Income

40. Ibid., para 41, P.21.
tax act of 1922 (section 51 - 54), of 1918 (sections 39 - 42) and of 1886 (sections 34 - 37) by the Madras presidency legislature.  

Food and during adulteration is common among unscrupulous traders and manufacturers. Long ago, in India of the Mauryan Age (300 B.C), adulteration was considered adharma and was punishable. In modern times, with the rise in prices and standard of living, consumers have become cost conscious. Taking advantage of the helplessness of the consumers inscrupulous traders are playing with the life and health of the consumers by selling adulterated food, drink and drugs at cheaper rates and make profit. The first efforts to check adulteration of food, drink and drugs may be seen in the Indian penal code of 1860, sections 272 to 276 which deal with offences affecting public health and safety. However, adulteration with harmless ingredients did not come under its purview. The section of the I.P.C. 

45. Ibid ; P.51.
deals with adulteration which renders noxious to human consumption. For instance, the mixing of water with milk is adulteration. But it does not make the milk noxious unless the water is impure. Hence, such adulteration is not punishable. The Madras government took steps to check adulteration of food, drink and drugs by exacting Madras prevention of Adulteration Act, 1918, and Madras prevention of Adulteration (Amendment) Act, 1932, and Drugs and cosmetics Act of 1940.

White collar crimes and social and economic crimes, are "not usually punishable under the general criminal law of the land but under regulatory legislations enacted by the legislature from time to time".

Agitation against injustice and for political Rights:

Educated people in the Madras presidency came to realise that the British were against them in dispensing laws, and in treating the people. They were also found to kindly in the minds of the people communal feelings. People were conscious of the autocratic rule of a foreign race in India, which brought misery and poverty, to the

47. Ibid.,
48. The Dravidian, Madras, 18th June, 1931.
country. Various aspects of the general administration of the British Government came under heavy attack.

Land Revenue:

Land revenue is the oldest tax in India recognised from time immemorial. At one time it was the largest single source of states revenue. In its present form, land revenue was first introduced in India during the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar by his Minister Raja Todar Mal (1556 - 1605). Land revenue was fixed by him according to the quality, fertility and other related factors of the soil. With the fall of the Mughal Empire revenue tax collectors became independent and established themselves as Zamindars. The East India company under Lord Cornwallis granted permanent settlement of land revenue in the Bengal presidency. The system of permanent land revenue settlement was extended to Madras Presidency also. It assured the government regular flow of income through the zamindars, while the zamindars grew rich by mercilessly feeling the helpless raiots.

49. Report of the Direct Taxes Administrative Enquiry committee (1958 - 59), Govt. of India, P.1
The agriculturist of the Madras presidency were hard-hit by the Zamindari and Raiotwari system. They were exposed to hardship and exploitation by the official class. Taxes were heavy and land revenue had to be paid in cash, due to which the peasants had to sell their produce at lower prices and pay the assessed taxes. The greed of the zamindars, the practice of torture by the revenue official in the collection of taxes, the defective systems of land survey and the indifference of the company administration to improve irrigation system all these contributed to the sufferings of the ryots.

The Madras Native Association founded at Madras in 1852, represented the landed and business classes of Madras Presidency who had specific grievances against the Company's administration, particularly in the revenue, educational and judicial spheres. The Association (MNA) submitted a petition to the London Parliament expressing dissatisfaction about the land policy of the Madras government and the suffering of the ryots resulting from it. As a remedy the MNA suggested the re-introduction of the ancient village administrative system under which the peasantry would be

54. Revenue consultation, dated 18th May 1852.
55. Board's consultation Nos. 8-9, dated 15th November 1852.
free from the oppression and interference of zamindars and subordinate officials\textsuperscript{57}. As a result of this representation, H.D. Saymour, the Chairman of the Indian Reform society came to India and found that, of the three presidencies of the company, Madras was in the "Worst and most wretched condition", where land policy was concerned\textsuperscript{58}.

The press in Tamil Nadu frequently wrote editorials about the tax burden of the ryots and their misery and poverty due to it. Andra Prakasika wrote in 1913: "The government is solely bent on the collection of revenue and in finding out ways and means by which it may be raised. They have not granted the ryot any permanent settlement, nor have they afforded him sufficient opportunity to better his agricultural prospects. They did not listen to his appeal for remission, when crops fail from causes beyond his control. The burden of taxation is growing heavier day by day\textsuperscript{59}.

The revenue derived from the people was spent mostly on the army and the bureaucracy and not for the welfare of the people. Whenever there was enhancement of taxes and land

\textsuperscript{57} East Godavari Agents report in G.O. No.1988, Public (Political), dated 20th October 1857.

\textsuperscript{58} G.O's No.87 Revenue, dated 4th January 1929; G.O No.1153, Revenue, dated 11th June 1934.

\textsuperscript{59} Andra Prakasika., December 31, 1913.
revenue, people protested and The Hindu wrote in its editorial that the British government was deliberately indulging in "over budgeting of expenditure and under-estimating of revenue to indulge in over taxation"\(^{60}\). Agriculture being the main occupation of the people, the Madras government found land revenue a vital and lucrative item in its economy\(^{61}\). In 1902 congress leaders like G. Subhramani Iyer agitated for permanent settlement in respect of land-revenue indeed of subjecting it to frequent revisions\(^{62}\).

Separation of powers:

During the company's administration of Tamil Nadu, politically there was no division of powers. There was agitation for the separation of the judiciary from the executive. The concentration of both executive and judicial powers in the hands of the district revenue officers, gave them arbitrary authority. Inspite of many resolutions in the legislative council, the government was reluctant to bring in legislation in this regard. Nationalist papers in the Madras Presidency bluntly remarked that the separation of

\(^{60}\) The Hindu, March 2, 1925.


\(^{62}\) Andhra Patrika., 25th May 1918.
powers would only help the people and not the government. The system of administration in which revenue officers were invested with majesterial powers continued till 1947.

The Police System:

Police, one of the executive branches of administration, became the subject of attack both from the press and public. Severe criticism of the press about the police system supported the national movement. "Negligence of duty, inefficiency, corruption, collusion with thieves and other anti-social elements were some of the charges levelled against the police force." An European Medical officer had assaulted a boy in June 1907 for having cried Vandemataram at him. In order to protect the officer a punitive police force was stationed at Kakinada. The Hindu, Madras, strongly protested against the atrocious action of the British Government and wrote: "Are we to understand that from the Madras government in East Bengal and from D. Ibberton's government in Punjab, we can find no justification whatever for the step which the government has taken in imposing a punitive police upon the town of Kakinada."


64. The Hindu., Madras, June 3, 1907.

65. Collection of papers relating to the Inam settlement 1906, PP.70-74, Rules XVII, XVI and V.
During the freedom movement, police atrocities against peaceful demonstrators and Sathyagrahis were condemned all over the country. The application of obnoxious sections of the Indian penal code to deal with popular leaders was vehemently opposed by the press and the nationalists. In 1929, people demonstrated that Lala Lajpat Rai's death was due to police brutality. Hand-cuffing of Sathyagrahis during arrests and trial was a glaring abuse of power vested in the police. The British government came under severe criticism when political prisoners were sent to Andamans in 1930's during the Satyagraha movement. In fact, police had become an executive machinery of the government to suppress the people.

Further, political prisoners in Tamil Nadu were ill-treated in prisons. In the horrible living conditions of the Jails political prisoners were treated like criminals. There was discrimination between European prisoners and Indian prisoners. Reading of newspapers and books was denied to political prisoners, some of whom were locked up in cells intended for lunatics. Lady

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66. Tamil Nadu., Salem, 27th April, 1924.
68. Rasikollasini., 30th January, 1887.
69. The Alhami., 7th January, 1901.
Satyagrahi's imprisoned were subjected to barbarous acts such as the kumkum on their foreheads being wiped out, and their bangles being broken up and their sacred Talis forcibly removed\(^70\). The press in Madras Presidency vehemently criticised police atrocities. One of the papers wrote about the imprisoned Satyagrahi's thus; "all alike have nothing to look forward to except indefinite stay in jail. Their only crime is patriotism. They are the victims of an unscrupulous police system and a panicking governments which is not ashamed of locking up men without trial"\(^71\).

Racial Discrimination:

The policy of racial discrimination by the British administrators was another cause for agitation by the Tamil subjects. The discrimination was strongly opposed in as much as it created double standard of treatment in regard to the Indians and the Europeans in India\(^72\). For the same offences committed, the yardstick of judgement was different in the law courts. While the punishment for Indians was severe, the Europeans were awarded high punishments. "Assault or murder of Indians by Europeans generally did not result in any deterrent punishment. The assailants in such cases were let off with high punishments\(^73\). Injustice was clearly perceived

\(^70\). \textit{Ananda Bodhini}, December 10, 1930.
\(^71\). \textit{Swarajya}, April 6, 1926.
\(^72\). \textit{the Andhra prakasika}, 15th November 1892.
\(^73\). Subramanyam.K., \textit{op.cit.}, P.109.
in all affairs between the Indians and foreigners. When a
cartman by name Ali died after being assaulted by Andrews,
an European planter, it was strongly criticised by the local
paper Krishna patrika. Jackson, the joint Magistrate of
Chingleput was criticised for convicting and punishing a boy
for having cried Salaam. Evidently, justice was ignored
where Indians and Europeans were together involved. "Indians
dying due to the gunshots of Europeans and the Europeans
being let off declaring them not guilty or with a fine of
ten rupees" was common knowledge. Cases of European ladies
ill treating natives were not uncommon. When Byer, an I.C.S
Officer, and his wife assaulted a coolie in front of the
Spencer Hotel in Madras, Satyagrahi, the local paper wrote:
"will the Madras government take action against the official?
or will they write that the black man is born to be beaten
by even wives of the European officers?"

The policy of the Madras government, like the policy
in other British Presidencies in India, was to appoint
Europeans to important key positions in various departments.

75. Andhra Patrika., January 20, 1912.
76. Ibid., July 13, 1921.
77. Satyagrahi., July 25, 1927.
There was a strong protest when the government reserved 236 posts for Europeans out of 292, in the Indian Medical service, and when in 1930 15 per cent of the posts of District Superintendents of police was reserved for Europeans.\(^7\)

The illtreatment of Indian officers by European officers was also another reason for India's hatred of British administration.\(^7\) In the Indian Railways, separate compartments were reserved for the Europeans, and the Indians were not permitted to travel in them. "The Humiliation suffered by Gopala Krishna Gokhale when he was asked to purchase tickets for the entire cabin in a British steamer, while proceeding to South Africa in 1912 was considered as a humiliation of the entire Indian Society."\(^8\) Thus, in the matter of appointments, in the meteining out of justice, in granting civil rights, in short in each and every matter, racial were obvious.

Corruption:

Though the British government appeared to be strict, corruption was rampant, especially in the police, Revenue,

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78. **The united India and Native states.**, Madras, March 9th 1916.

79. **Shams-ul-Akhbar.**, 4th November, 1889.

Public Works and Registration departments. The Krishna patrika of November 15, 1913 gives an account of how the zamindars used to record on their account books bribes given to officials in code language: The codes generally used were, "great god" for Tasildars, "small gods" for sirastadars, Venkateswara for Magistrates, Alwars for clerks, Dwarapalakar for servants, and Mahalaxshamma for the police. Regarding the corruption in the judicial department the satire was that "Previously the Magistrate used to take bribe only from one party and crush the other party. Now, it is not like that due to our good fortune we have a good Magistrate. He has no partiality. Both parties have to bribe him. Now where is partiality? Greater justice for those who pay more and less justice for those who pay less."

Agitation for Political and Social Reforms:

British administration had become more an hindrance to social and economic progress in Tamil Nadu. The agitation for reforms in the Madras presidency centred chiefly on social, economic, administrative and legislative problems. The Madras Native Association (MNA) founded in 1852 by Gajula Laxsmanarasu Chetty agitated for agricultural reforms, as it was composed mostly by zamindars and

81. The Andhra Prakasik., 4th March 1903.
82. Krishna Patrika., April, 1913.
founded in 1852 by Gajula Laxsmanarasu Chetty agitated for agricultural reforms, as it was composed mostly by zamindars and businessmen. The Madras Mahajan sabha founded on May 16, 1884 by the joint efforts of prominent citizens like R. Rangaiah Naidu, C.Subramnaya Iyer, Veeraragahava chariar and other stood for judicial reforms and also reforms in respect of legislative council. The sabha represented to the Governor of Madras that separate officers should be appointed to conduct magisterial, civil and revenue functions. In other words, the sabha demanded the separation of administrative and judicial powers, since the investment of these two powers in the same officer would make him virtually an autocrat, which was the case then with the British administration.

The Madras Mahajana Sabha, in its conference held in 1884, discussed the rights of the Indians for being represented in the Legislative council. It demanded the appointment of more non-official members to the council. In the conference held in December 1885, the sabha stood for the election of non-official members to the Legislative council, local bodies, the University and the Chamber of

85. The Cochin Argus., Cochin, 8th October, 1910.
86. The New India, 20th December, 1916.
Commerce. When the members of the sabha presented an address to Governor Grant Duff in 1886 on his departure, the departing Briton's reply to the Indians was that "they should learn to keep their back-yards clean before aspiring to political privileges". The Madras Mahajana Sabha lasted till 1917 and functioned as an associate body of the Indian National Congress. Its leaders became members of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee.

At the close of the 19th century, politics in the Madras presidency took a new turn by way of the animosity between the non-Brahmins and the Brahmins, for which there were sufficient causes. The south Indian Brahmins considered all non-Brahmins as Sudras and as the Sudras were untouchables to them, they kept the Sudras at an unmeasurable distance, and bondage by the Brahmins by virtue of being the pristely and learned class belonging to the Aryan -stock. The south Indian inhabitants were treated by them as Dravidians and non-Aryans. "These Brahmins never cared to mix with the non-Aryan ethnic groups. They continued to treat themselves as superiors. They are upto this day strictly an endogamous group proud of their fair

87. The Desubhaktan, 24th December, 1917.
88. Majumdar.B., Indian a Political Associations and Reforms of legislature (1818 - 1917), [Calcutta, 1965], PP.19 & 16.
89. The Yogakshemam., 18th october, 1918.
colour and Aryan lineage. They took special care of their cleanliness and regarded themselves holy as against the rest of the society which had adopted their religion, i.e., Hinduism, yet was non-Aryan and, therefore, untouchable and unsociable for them.  

However with the advent of the British, the Brahmins shrank from their Kula-Dharma or caste rules and began to walk with the times. The British, who had assumed sovereignty in India were in need of persons to man their administrative services. As a knowledge of English was necessary for Administrative work, the first to take advantage and learn English for professional advancement were the Brahminists. They monopolised all the subordinate public services in the Madras presidency and, in due course of time, occupied higher posts, which the government threw open to Indians. Thus, fostered by western education, the Brahminists dominated in all new positions as administrators, doctors, lawyers and engineers. The Brahminists, "by virtue of their spiritual authority and service to European masters wielded considerable influence upon the society. This dual role, both in the society as well as in the administration,

90. The Swadesamitran., 24th February, 1919.
92. T.Coatman., India in 1926 - 27., [Delhi, 1985], PP. 42-44.
contributed to the establishment of their influence". They also dominated the political scene with the rise of the Indian National Congress. The non-Brahmins, who held to their traditional professions, were too late in getting themselves educated on the western lines and attain the privileges and benefits that could be derived by it. The upper caste non-Brahmins who got western education by the close of the 19th century found themselves capable of competing with the Brahmins for posts in the administrative services and to participate in the business of the legislative council.

A series of Associations were founded in the early decades of the 20th century for social and political reforms. Before these associations were formed, the Theosophical Society founded by Annie Besant, an Irish lady, in 1882 was rendering Social work. Emphasising the religious heritage of India, the society had for its goal the revival of Hinduism and social reforms in Madras. Besant organised also a new political party called the "Home Rule League" which agitated for self government within the British Empire. Moderates

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95. Rasi Kollasani., 30th January, 1887.
96. Tatwavivechiny., 22nd January, 1888.
like G. Subramanya Iyer and C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer were members of the Home Rule League. Besant believed that the success of Home Rule depended upon the good will and co-operation between India and Britain. Besides being an agitation for freedom, Besant was also one of the pioneers of social reforms in Tamil Nadu. She upheld the cause of the downtrodden Harijans and undertook the task of educating them. In Adyar, a suburb of Madras, she started schools for Paraya (Harijans) boys and girls. She formed the Women's Indian Association, advocated women's education and widow remarriage. In the Depressed Classes Conference of 1911 at Madras, G. A. Natesan, the editor of Indian Review showed that "without the co-operation of the depressed classes, agriculture would be most seriously upset, and anything like an organised revolt by them on western lines would mean ruin to Indian society."
Madras Legislative Body from 1726 to Minto Marley Reforms 1909:

According to Montagu - Chelmsford report, "The germ of legislative power of the Government of India lies embodied in Elizabeth's Charter of 1660 which authorised the East India Company to make reasonable laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances not repugnant to English law for the good government of the Company and its officers". The Charter of 1726 empowered the Governor-in-council and the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras to make laws ordinances and regulations in their respective jurisdictions. Later, the regulation Act of 1773 required the Governments of Madras and Bombay to send copies of the laws and orders passed by them to the Government of Bengal. The Act of 1807 gave independent powers to the three presidencies to make laws for their respective jurisdictions. The charter Act of 1833 simplified the legislative machinery by depriving legislative powers of the Governors of Bombay and Madras, while the Governor General of India was given the powers to make laws applicable to whole of India. A further step in legislature was taken

103. Diary and consultation book., 1684, PP.82 - 86.
104. G.O. No.3402, Revenue, dated 11th November 1912.
up by passing the Charter Act of 1853, which required the provinces of Bombay and Madras to send one representative each to the Governor General's Executive council\textsuperscript{108}. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 made the Governor General's council strictly a legislative body "to make laws and regulations for all persons whether British or native, foreigners or others. and for all places and things whatever within the said territories, for all servants of the Government of India within the Dominions of princes and states in alliance with Her Majesty\textsuperscript{109}. However certain restrictions were put on the Central Legislature: No law could be made which infringed the authority of the Home Government (British government), or stood against the acts passed by British parliament. The Governor General was given the power of veto and in case of emergency to pass ordinances which could remain in force for six months.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 altered the provisions of the charter Act of 1853 and the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were given the powers to make laws. However all the Acts passed by the provincial governments required the assent of the Governor and the Governor General. The functions of the Madras and Bombay councils were purely

\textsuperscript{108} G.O. No. 5141, Revenue, dated 19th November 1884.

\textsuperscript{109} Public consultations, dated 3rd January 1895.
legislative; the laws in reality were the orders of the government. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 fixed the number of members for the Legislative Council of Madras and Bombay, which was to be not less than eight and not more than twelve. Certain corporate bodies were given the power of electing representatives and these representatives were to be nominated by the Governor. The members could ask questions and discuss on the financial statement. But they could not reject the budget. The next Indian councils act of 1909 provided for the majority of members to be elected while the Muslims were given special representation. According to this act, the member putting the original question alone on a subject was permitted to put supplementary questions. The members were allowed to discuss the budget and pass resolutions on it. The Madras legislative council Act 1909 was "essentially a consultative committee attached to the executive." It had no control over the government or legislation. The members could merely "criticise with the full knowledge that they would never be called upon to shoulder the responsibility. The result was that the members were reckless in their criticism of the

111. Public consultations, dated 1st March 1893.
114. G.O.Nos 6 -7, Public Dept, dated 3rd January 1924, PP
government. The government also regarded the council with contempt. The Minto Merley reforms (1909) "did not attempt to create representative institutions one which responsibility could be devolved. The fact was that they had created a system in which there was no responsibility for growth. Under the Minto Morley reforms, Madras got a non-caste based representation of its own choice rejecting communal representation. "But actual working of the system revealed that the Brahmins, though numbering less than four per cent of the total population of the quadrilingual Madras province, obtained a lion's share in the power that was conferred upon councils and also that they used it to serve the ends of their community, particularly for admitting Brahmin boys to provincial services in large numbers. This state of affairs disappointed the non-Brahmin community of Madras province and by the time the Montague Chelmsford reforms were under discussion, a strong demand for separate electorate for the non-brahmins in Madras was already in the air. The non-Brahmins also demanded their just share in provincial and central services."

115. Ibid., P.374
117. G.O. No.1181, public service, dated 11th July 1938.
118. Sneh Prabha Rastogi., "Emergence and the Rise of the D.M.K". Indian Political Parties, [Delhi, 1971], P.152.
The Indian National congress, inspite of holding its annual sessions in 1887, 1894, 1898, 1903, 1908 and 1914 in Madras, had done little to solve the problems of Madras presidency and, therefore, was unable to mobilise the support of non-Brahmins. Among its leaders from Madras the most important were Brahmins - C.Vijayaraghavachari and C Rajagopalachari. "The Madras provincial congress was dominated by Brahmins"119.

Non-Brahmin Movement and Demand for Social and Political Reforms:

T.M. Nair was an active member of the Congress since 1890. He had hopes in 1916 of being elected to the Imperial council by the Madras Legislative council. But to his dismay, he found that he was not only defeated but also the successful candidates were Brahmins - B.N. Sarma, and V.S. Srinivasa Sastri120. This incident convinced T.M. Nair and other non- Brahmin politicians of Madras that they could not get their due and just share in power so long as they were disorganised and dependent on the mercy and support of Brahmins. The non-Brahmin resentment against Brahmin overlordship induced the former to seek political outlet for

119. Ibid., P.153.

righting the wrong done to the community by constant and deliberate neglect.\textsuperscript{121}

a) Dravidian Association:

The non-Brahmins of Madras presidency, considering the fact that they belonged to the Dravidian stock as against the Aryan Brahmin class, started forming Dravidian or non-Brahmin Associations and began a trade against Brahmin domination.\textsuperscript{122} The earliest association formed was the "Dravidian Association in 1915 with the Raja of Pánagal as President, T.M. Nair as Vice-president, and C. Natesa Mudaliar as secretary. The object of this association was "to safeguard the political, social and economic interests of the Dravidian people. Its declared aspiration was the establishment of a Dravidian state under British Raj - national government of, by and for the non-Brahmins.\textsuperscript{123} C. Natesa Mudaliar, who had started earlier th "Dravidian Home" for non-Brahmin students (as they were denied admission into Brahmin hostels) is considered to be the "originator of the non-Brahmin Movement".\textsuperscript{124}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{121} Ibid.,
  \item \textsuperscript{122} Madras University calendar., Vol.1, 1918, PP.367 -377.
  \item \textsuperscript{123} Hardgrave, Robert.L., The Dravidian Movement [Bombay, 1965], P.12.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Saroja Sundararajan., March to freedom in Madras Presidency : 1916 - 1947, [Madras, 1989], P.58.
\end{itemize}
(b) (South Indian Liberal Federation) Justice Party:

In 1916 was born the South Indian People’s Association (SIPA) which later was named as South Indian Liberal Federation. The prominent politicians in this Federation were Theogaraya Chetty, an industrialist and T.M. Nair. It was a forum to ventilate the grievances of the non-Brahmin community and to demand safeguards to protect its political interests. In order to voice its opinions, this federation started the paper Justice in 1917, which was followed by Dravidian in Tamil, and Andhra Patrika in Telugu. Because of the popularity of the paper Justice, the federation subsequently came to be known as the 'Justice party'.

The foundation of the Justice party was "a reaction to the Brahman dominated Home Rule Movement which was gaining rapid support throughout the Presidency". In the opinion of the leaders of the Justice party, congress and Brahmins were synonymous. Therefore, they had the apprehension that the Swaraj Party headed by Satyamurthy, a follower of Congress, would mean Brahmin Raj in Madras. Hence, the Justice Party announced that it stood loyal to the British

125. Justice., 28th March, 1917,
Government and was determined to extend support to it. "The non-Brahmin leaders thus placed narrow communal considerations above nationalism and unwittingly lent their support to the perpetuation of British colonial rule".  

This was the time when Montagu, the Secretary of state for India, had announced in the House of Commons that the British Government aimed at progressive realisation of responsible government in India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were on the anvil. The political situation was not wholesome to the taste of the political parties and the educated elite. In most departments, the Indian services were divided into two sections, imperial and provincial and of all these the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S) was the greatest and most exclusive. It was a distended bureaucracy; its methods autocratic. It was intended for alien administrators who were to rule combining executive and judicial powers, and was not opened to Indians. So also in the army, where Indians were not given higher commanding posts. The army was an important instrument for imperial policies decided in London and was meant to keep under control 'revolts' against the British rule and suppress mass movements as witnessed in the case of Jallianwala Bagh.

128. Ibid., P. 65.
129. Madras Legislative council proceedings, Vol. II. 1921, PP. 426 - 430.
130. Quami Report., 6th December, 1919.
massacre in Amritsar on 13th April 1919\textsuperscript{131}. There was no enthusiasm on the part of the British Government for the devolution of power and responsibility to local and district boards and welcome Indians to share in the affairs of the Legislative council, the meetings of which twice a year were considered as interruption to official business. The "councils had not advanced from their original purely advisory role"\textsuperscript{132}. What was needed was a wholesale reevaluation of the entire administrative system. Lord Willington, the Governor of Madras in 1919, inspite of his support for rapid constitutional change, was not ready to step aside. His opinion of the Tamil educated elite is expressed thus in his letter to Lord Hailey.

"The Dravidian is a terribly and difficult person to deal with. He has no sense of honour, no public spirit, and I get little help from leading citizens in any form or way. Still I go blundering on, telling them what I think. They hate this, but in years to come it may improve their moral sense. They are clever devils too, but I beg of you not to make too much of them or trust them too far"\textsuperscript{133}.

\textsuperscript{131} The Hindu, Madras, 31st October, 1923.
\textsuperscript{133} Letter from Willingdon to Hailey, 9th, September, 1921. Hailey papers, collection of Lord Hailey, India offic library, MSS. Eur. E220, paper No.4.6. (Lord Hailey, an ICS officer served on the reforms committee in 1918).
The political difficulties of the British rule in India was the rapidly spreading spirit of nationalism in all ranks and classes of Indian society. There was demand for constitutional reforms and the Montagu Chelmsford reforms of 1919 were largely due to the agitation of western educated Indians. Due to the problems created by the war that was going on (1914 - 1918) the British Government was reluctant to consider Self Government for India. Chelmsford went so far as to agree that it was hard "to draw a distinction between the self government which we (British) advocate and Home rule, as advocated by Besant and Tilak".

However, circumstances forced the British Government to come forward with better constitutional reforms. The Morley Minto Reforms did not come up to the expectation of the Indian people, whose discontent continued unabated. To satisfy the wider spread demands of the Indians for constitutional reforms, and in recognition of their loyal services to Great Britain during the first World War

136. V. Chakkarai Chetty to P. Kesava Pillai, 12th June 1920, Kesava Pillai papers.
(1914-18), Montagu, the secretary of state for India announced in the House of Commons that "the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British empire".

At this time the Indian National congress was mobilising the people under its banner for liberation from foreign rule. The Justice Party being liberal in its political creed, drifted away from the congress and the national movement. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were being discussed in India, the Justice party pressed for separate electorate for the Madras non-Brahmins. The Government of India appointed the Franchise committee to go into the merits of the question. As the only two Indian members on the committee were Brahmin Surendranath Banerjee and V.S.Srinivasa Sastri the Justice party refused to plead its case before the committee. The committee rejected the

137. Willingdon to Montagu, 8th February 1920, Willingdon papers.
140. Vaisyamitran., 19th November, 1917.
demand for separate electorate for Madras non-Brahmins, but the Government of India recommended to the British Government that half of the general seats be reserved for non-Brahmins\textsuperscript{141}. C.P.Ramaswami Aiyer representing the Brahmins and P.Theogaroya Chetty representing the non-Brahmins were asked to negotiate on this point\textsuperscript{142}. As the two could not arrive at an agreed formula, Lord Meston, who was Finance member then (1918), was asked to arbitrate\textsuperscript{143}. Lord Meston recommended that out of the 65 general seats in the Legislative Council of Madras Province, 24 should be reserved for non-Brahmins\textsuperscript{144}. The Justice Party, which demanded separate electorate for non-Brahmins were disappointed by this electoral award. However, the party was able to contest in the election and form two successive ministries in the province in 1920 and 1923 under the leadership of the Raja of Panagal\textsuperscript{145}. The Justice party cooperated with the Government of India in making dyarchy, introduced by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919, a success. In 1926, the party was defeated\textsuperscript{146}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{141} Raj Narayan to P.S.Sivaswamy Iyer 18th July 1921. Sivaswamy Iyer Papers.
\item \textsuperscript{142} Dravidian., 14th January, 1920.
\item \textsuperscript{143} Swadesamitran., 21st September, 1920.
\item \textsuperscript{144} Krishna Patrika., 15th September, 1924.
\item \textsuperscript{145} The Hindu., 8th June, 1927.
\item \textsuperscript{146} Andhra Prakasika., 4th May, 1919.
\end{itemize}
There was an improvement in the constitution and working of the provincial Legislatures according to the Government of India Act of 1919. The Madras Legislative council consisted of the members of the Governor's Executive council and elected as well as nominated members\textsuperscript{147}. The members and Sikhs were given separate representation. The electorate consisted of general and special constituencies. Eligibility to vote was based on community, ownership of house or landed property, military person etc.,\textsuperscript{148}. Women were also represented in the council. This Act (Act of 1919) provided for dyarchial system of Government in Madras, as in other provinces\textsuperscript{149}. The essence of the preamble of the Act of 1919 as analysed by Tej Bahadur Sapru, is that British India should remain an integral part of the British Empire, that the establishment of Responsible Government in British India is the objective of the declared policy of the Parliament, that Responsible Government is capable of progressive realisation, and that in order to achieve Responsible Government it is necessary to provide for two things: the increasing association of the Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of Self-Governing institutions\textsuperscript{150}.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{147} Report of the Franchise committee on Indian constitutional Reforms, 1920, PP.282-285.
\item \textsuperscript{148} \textit{Ibid.},
\item \textsuperscript{149} Reproduced in the Hindu., 24th November 1925.
\end{enumerate}
The 1919 Act gave some powers to the members of the Madras Council. They could now ask questions and supplementary questions. They could move votes of censure against the Government, demand adjournment of the House to discuss important matters or recent occurrences, discuss and reject the budget. If the budget was rejected the Governor was authorised to pass it.

Lord Chelmsford's viceroyalty saw the worst of disturbances since the mutiny. "His name is associated with repression of a brutality rarely seen before in British times. Under him the British officially recognised that India's future belonged to the Indians, and tried to ensure that its present remained firmly in British hands. Probably no earlier period had seen such rapid shifts in the British position, but perhaps never before was that position so rigorously challenged. Chelmsford's five years coincided almost exactly with the period in which national leadership was assumed by Mahatma Gandhi. In Chelmsford's time, the Indian National Congress and the nationalist movement as a whole, changed almost beyond recognition. They emerged with new weapons - not only Gandhi's Satyagraha, but

151. Ibid., P.2.
152. The Madras mail., 31st May 1918.
153. Besant to P. Kesava Pillai, 21st June 1918, Kesava Pillai Papers.
the Home Rule League's power of popular appeal and permanent concerted opposition; not only a new discipline within the Congress, but an unparalleled co-operation with the Muslim League; not only powerful slogans and ideas, but a fusion of religion and politics and a common cause demanding Swaraj. Change, readjustment, instability, progress were all the hall-marks of this period. Under Chelmsford the course of British history in India had altered.

The next constitutional reform came in the form of the Government of India Act, 1935, which established two houses of legislature in the provinces, including Madras Presidency. In this bicameral system, the upper House was called the Legislative Council and the Lower House was called the Legislative Assembly. The life of the Lower House was 5 years, while the Upper House was a permanent body, one third of its members retiring after every three years. There was no change of the whole House at one time. However, it may be noted that the Madras Legislature, under the provisions of the 1935 act, was not given complete control over legislation. The members did not have complete control

154. The new India., 21st April 1919.
155. The Madras mail., 16th June 1930.
157. The Tamil Nadu, 22nd August, 1936.
over the Budget, for the provincial budget was nonvotable. Though diarchy introduced Indian ministers, the entire control over legislation and administration remained with the British Governor\textsuperscript{159}.

In 1936, Justice party was completely defeated by the Congress party. But it refused to die and became all the more powerful. The time was ripe for it to claim a separate Dravid Nadu for the Tamilians.

**Self Respect Movement:**

There was an other movement launched by E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker in 1925 called the Self-Respect Movement\textsuperscript{160}. Naicker and C. Rajagopala chariar (Rajaji) were close friends, and at the latter's request, Naiker had joined the Tamil Nadu Congress in 1919. Naicker did not like the separatist social tendencies of the Brahmin class and the humiliating treatment the non-Brahmins were receiving in Tamil society\textsuperscript{161}. Naicker wanted Rajaji to agree to the principle of reservation of places for non-Brahmins in administrative services and seats in the legislatures. The Tamil Nadu Congress under Rajaji did not agree and Naicker left the congress party "after heated debate on te issue in

\textsuperscript{159.} Erskine to viceroy, 15 March 1937, Erskine papers.

\textsuperscript{160.} The Madras Mail., 29th December, 1926.

\textsuperscript{161.} D.Arnold., The Congress in Tamil Nadu 1919 - 1937, (N place and year) PP. 55-88.
1925 with a vow to destroy it."¹⁶² When Rajaji's ministry was bent upon introducing Hindi as a compulsory subject of study in Madras High schools, a cultural consciousness came up in the minds of the Dravidian people - the Tamilians - and Naicker launched a movement against the introduction of Hindi, known as the Self-Respect movement. This movement endeared him to the Tamilian non-Brahmins and the Tamil Nadu Women's Conference in 1938 conferred on him the title of (Periyar) (Mahatama)¹⁶³. Meanwhile the Justice party was in its doldrums and, on the advice of Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar, gave support to Naicker. While Naicker was in prison he was elected as the Chief of the Justice party. Both these parties supported the war policies of Government of India during (1939-45), and demanded a separate Tamil Nadu, under the secretary of state for India.

**Dravida Kazhagam:**

By this time, C.N. Annadurai, a leader of the Justice party with his radical, practical and nationalist views, proposed in the Salem conference of the party to denounce all the titles bestowed by the British and rename the Justice party as Dravida Kazhagam (Dravida Association).

¹⁶² Sneh Prabha Rastogi., *op.cit.*, P.158.

¹⁶³ The Sunday Observer., 20th April, 1941.
Kazhagam gained popularity under Naicker. It kept the anti-Hindi agitation alive and aimed at establishing a separate Dravidistan. With these objects in view "it observed the Independence Day of India on August 15, 1947 as the day of mourning and burnt copies of the Indian constitution when it came into force on January 26, 1950".

There was a split in the Dravida Kazhagam. The more ambitious, practical and sagacious members of the party organised themselves under C.N. Annadurai and revolted against the master E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker.

Social Reforms envisaged by several Associations in Tamil Nadu:

From the study of the various social and political associations in Tamil Nadu, it is clear that education had awakened the educated Elite. The spirit of Self-Respect, agitation for political rights and a determination to do away with all the evils that orthodox Hinduism had imposed on the Tamil Society.

164. Courtesy copy of the letter found in G.A. Natesan papers.
In 1878, Surendarnath Banerjee from Calcutta visited Madras to induce the prominent citizens to agitate against the policy of the British Government restricting Indians entering into covenanted Civil Service (ICS) and its attempt to enact the Vernacular Press Act\textsuperscript{167}. During the famine of 1876-78, both Hindus and Europeans had worked for famine relief. This was a voluntary service\textsuperscript{168}.

The South Indian Association was formed in 1850 "to consider political and social issues of the Indian community\textsuperscript{169}.

As early as 1909, attempts were made by non-Brahmin leaders to educate their boys who were lagging behind the Tamil Brahmins. In 1858, the Brahmins held 237 of 305 posts in the upper levels of the district administration of the Madras presidency\textsuperscript{170}". Two lawyers - P. Subramanyam and M. Purushotham Naidu formed in 1909 'The Madras Non-Brahmin Association' which did social work to uplift the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{167} Krishnaswami Iyengar., \textit{Rural Problems in Madras} [Madras, 1947], PP. 430-41.
  \item \textsuperscript{168} The famine commission to enquire in Madras, Orissa and Mindnappore Report 1879. PP.202 - 205.
  \item \textsuperscript{169} \textit{Madras Times.}, 5th October, 1878.
  \item \textsuperscript{170} Nambi Aroran.K., \textit{Tamil Renaissance and Dravidian Nationalism}, [Madurai, 1980], P.37.
\end{itemize}
Non-Brahmin boys by educating them and bringing them to a higher social level.\textsuperscript{171}

The Panchamas known in Tamil Nadu as 'Pariah' (Harijans) were considered as untouchables and were socially ill-treated by the upper classes. In September 1892 was formed of them an association called the "Adi Dravida Jana Sabha" to clamour for their rights. "The Harijans of Madras were not allowed to own lands".\textsuperscript{172} When the first Harijan students entered the Madras High school (which became Presidency College later), there was a loud protest. Some high caste Hindus left the school, while a Hindu member of the University Boards resigned. Later, the Theosophical Society of Madras under Anne Besant stood for the social amelioration of the Harijans and opened schools for Harijan boys and girls in 1914. The "Madras Hindu Association" organised by her in 1904 was largely instrumental in arousing cultural and religious nationalism among Brahmins.\textsuperscript{173}

The" Madras United League" founded in 1912 by non-Brahmins changed its name to "Madras Dravidian Association"

\textsuperscript{171} Madras Mail., Madras, 1st May, 1909.

\textsuperscript{172} Dharma Kumar., : Land and caste in South India, [Cambridge, 1965], PP.14 - 33.

\textsuperscript{173} Heimsath.C.H., Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform, [New Jersey, 1964], PP. 255 - 257.
and with its secretary C. Natesa Mudaliar established a hostel for non-Brahmin students who came to Madras for college studies. The hostel was called "Dravidian Home"\textsuperscript{174}, since non-Brahmin students, considered as Sudras, were not admitted into Brahmin hostels.

The "Madras Native Association" (MNA) of 1852, and the "Madras Mahajana Sabha" founded in 1884 concentrated on concern legislative reforms and did not do much for social reforms. The "Dravidian Association" (1915) had for its object the political, social and economic interests of the Dravidian people.\textsuperscript{175} The MNA was perhaps the first to agitate against to the British Government, it had appealed for the stopage of production of arrack, as its consumption was ruining the health of the poor\textsuperscript{176}. The "South Indian Liberal Federation" which came to be called "Justice Party" concentrated its attention for political rights for non-Brahmins. As such, social reforms was not its main goal. However, with the entrance of E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, the Justice Party paid attention to the immediate problems of the Dravidian people.

\textsuperscript{174} Madras Mail., 30th June, 1916.
\textsuperscript{176} Rao.P.R., History of Modern Andhra., [New Delhi, 1978], P.32.
Ramaswamy Naicker "first attempted to remove the inequalities in the society and eradicate social evils. When he was engaged in such a task, he realised that the Brahmins were the custodians of those inequalities and social evils. It was the Brahmin opposition to his social reform movement which converted him into a Brahmin Hater. He could not fear the treatment given to non-Brahmin students at the Gurukulam at Seranamadevi in Tirunelveli district. The Brahmin boys were given better comforts and rich food while there was separate dining rooms for Brahmin and non-Brahmin boys, and separate water pots were kept for non-Brahmin boys.

E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker started Self Respect Movement to give the non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidian past, The movement denied the superiority of the Brahmins, whom Naicker represented as the representatives of the Aryan. Naicker asked the Dravidians to drop caste appellations appended to their names, avoid all caste symbols and encouraged inter-caste marriages. He denounced child marriage, dowry system and Devadasi system.

Veeresalingam, belonging to Telugu part of the Madras Presidency, was a social reformer like E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker. He formed the "Prathana Samaj" and favoured such social reforms as post-puberty marriages for girls, inter-dining and widow remarriage. He set an example by marrying a widow. In 1884 he established an association called "The Widow Marriage Association". He started a "Widow's Home" (Hostel) and a school for them. He ranks as one of the pioneers of modern social reformers and social change in the Madras presidency. "He led an untiring crusade against caste system, child marriage and institutionalisation of prostitution Devadasi system."
