CHAPTER I
EVOLUTION OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY AND
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AND GROWTH OF LEGISLATURE

In the genesis of a State, many eminent personalities, especially Political, have rendered yeoman services. They also contribute their mite for the elevation of the state in all aspects. Among leaders some may possess a particular skill and some with more than one. But as far as the service rendered by them for the uplift of the nation it should be viewed without partiality.

This Research work has focused its attention towards C.Rajagopalachari since the topic of the thesis is Rajagopalachari - An Administrator - A study in Madras Presidency.

Since C. Rajagopalachari is popularly known as Rajaji hereafter he will be addressed as Rajaji in this thesis.

Since Rajaji served as the Premier of Madras Presidency during 1937 to 1939 and the Chief Minister of Madras during 1952 to 1954 it is inevitable to trace out the evolution of the Madras Presidency. The growth of Legislature, the circumstances under which he took up responsibilities and his resignation are also dealt with in this Chapter.

Evolution of Madras Presidency

From the beginning of the fifteenth century European nations sought a sea route to India.\(^1\) Vascodogama found a sea route in 1458 and made a
successful voyage to India and landed firmly at Calicut in May 1491. Thus the gates of India were opened to European traders.

The English East India Company was the gift of Queen Elizabeth I who granted a royal charter to a group of merchants who submitted a petition to her requesting permission to constitute a company. It was provided with exclusive privileges of "trading into the East Indies" for a term of fifteen years. Thus the British period in India dawns with the establishment of East India Company on 31st December 1600 by a Royal Charter issued by the Queen Elizabeth of British Empire. Thereafter, it was given certain powers and privileges to carry on trade with India in the way it liked. Henceforth, many more charters were issued to improve the trading activities of the company.

The East India Company derived its power not only from the British crown but also from the great Mughals. In 1608 British captain Hawkins took efforts to get permission for trade in India from the Emperor Jahangir. In 1612 and Thomas Roe in 1615 were quite successful in getting permissions to establish factories in Mughal territories. In 1628 Armagaon was obtained by the company. As it was gained through the influence of a Chief by name Arumuga Mudali the English had the grace to call it after him. Finding this place not suitable for their commercial activities due to lack of resources and cordiality of the local Nayak it was decided by the Directors of East India Company to give up that place. But they sent their order to this effect only in 1638-39. Meanwhile Thomas Live, the
Chief of Masulipatnam commissioned Francis Day to find out a better site for the erection of a fort on the same coast. He after exploring the Coromandel Coast up to Pondicherry chose a narrow strip of land - a fishing village called Madraspatnam in the immediate vicinity of Santhome in 1637. Damarla Venkatappa better known as Venkatadri was the "Lord General of Carnatak" and "Grand Vizier to the Emperor", Venkata III. Though Wandiwash was his headquarters he resided mostly at Chandragiri, the then capital of Vijayanagar power. His younger brother Damarla Aiyappa who was put in charge of the administration of the Coromandel Coast had his office at Poonamallee. Francis Day secured from Venkatadri Nayak through the mediation of his brother Aiyappa, a grant of the territory of Madraspatnam on 22, July 1639. Permission to build a fort or castle in or about Madraspatnam was also accorded. In return Venkatadri Nayak obtained trade, military and pension from the British.

The extent of the site granted to the English was "about three and three fourth miles from the north to south and a mile from east to west." Despite the fact that John Company (English East India Company) gave permission "to build 'fort and castle' on the hillocked sand-pit protected by river and sea on three sides", they were not enthusiastic about the project. However, Day and his immediate superior Andrew Cogan had not lost interest. It was only the eagerness of Cogan and his own purse which were mainly responsible for the construction of a grim brick and granite structure - the fort which was named
after St. George since its inner part was completed on 23, April 1640-St. George's Day. But the name was officially confirmed by a letter dated 17, July 1642.

Fort St. George became commercially an important centre and Masulipatnam began to lose its significance. Inspite of the presence of the Portuguese at Santhome, the English were quite confident that they could have a bright future for their trade from here. By 1652 Fort St. George became the head quarters of the eastern possessions of the English East India Company.

The Anglo-French Rivalry

Of all the European East India Companies, French alone became the serious rival of the English East India Company. Both were interested in building colonial empires in the sub-continent since they clearly understood that India's political conditions could be exploited to their benefits. Moreover they realised that territorial acquisition in a fabulously rich country like India would be more profitable than honest commercial pursuits. Accordingly these two powers changed their attitudes and policies. They began to show more concern towards the eastern coast of India, which they called the Carnatak - the region extending from the river Krishna up to the princely state of Tanjore.

The political unrest that prevailed in this region in the beginning of the eighteenth century encouraged them to involve their destinies in its affairs. As
a result, three Carnatak wars were fought between these two commercial Companies.

**First Carnatak War (1746-1748)**

The seizure of Saint George Fort by the French, the battle of Santhome, the restoration of Saint George Fort to the English in accordance with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 were some of the interesting episodes of the First Carnatak War. This war also exposed the military weakness of the Nawab of Arcot who was the real representative of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the virtual ruler of Carnatak.

**The Second Carnatak War (1748-55)**

Both the French and the English East India Companies in order to quench their thirst for territorial acquisition interfered in the dynastic disputes of the native states such as Carnatak and Hyderabad. Duplex, the Governor of Pondicherry, (the French settlement in India) was successful in enthroning the candidates of his own choice viz., Muzafar Jang at Hyderabad and Chanda Sahib at Arcot.

But soon after the appearance of Robert Clive “the heaven -born general” on the Indian political scene the influence of French began to wane and the second Carnatak War came to an end by the treaty of Pondicherry in 1754. In fact this war completely shattered the dreams of the French East India
Company of building a colonial empire in India and enhanced the prestige of the English.  

Third Carnatak War (1757-61): The Continental Conflict namely the seven years war revived the Anglo French rivalry in India in the form of the third Carnatak War. It came to an end with the treaty of Paris in 1763. The French imperialistic ambition was once for all shattered. Another important result was that Muhammed Ali renounced all his allegiance to the Nizam of Hyderabad and became an independent sovereign of the Carnatak with the help of the English. His kingdom constituted a narrow strip along the Coromandel Coast from Ongole in the north, restrained by the Eastern ghats in the west extending upto Rameswaram in the south. The Palayams of Madurai and Tirunelveli region accepted his overlordship and paid peshkash (tribute) every year to him. He on his part assigned a part of his revenue to the English for their military defences during the Anglo-French conflict.

In 1763, the Nawab of Carnatak granted some territory near Chennai (Now in Chengalputtu) as a jagir to the British. Further in 1765,1766 and 1788 the British acquired Northern Circar ,Guntur, Godaveri, Krishna, Ganjam and Vizakapatnam etc. (Now in Andhra Pradesh) These were annexed with the Madras Presidency.
British and the Mysore Wars

In the third Mysore War during 1790-1792 Tippu was defeated and the treaty of Srirangapatnam was signed. Tippu Sultan paid huge indemnity and surrendered two of his sons as hostage to the British. They also got Malabar, Coorg, Dindugul and Baramahal from him.

In the Fourth Mysore War 1799, the British defeated Tippu, ransacked his capital Srirangapatnam and he too died while defending it. The result was that Mysore, one of the leading South Indian Kingdoms fell. Then it was divided and one half was taken over by the British.

In 1799 British Annexed Tanjore also. Thus by 1800 the British had acquired most of what was to be constituted as Madras Presidency. From 1801 the company changed its commercial attitudes and involved in the political activities of the native states as well as other European Settlers and signed treaties with them and established its supremacy in the south India.

Thus by 1801 the Madras Presidency comprised of a vast land, stretching from Cape Comerine in the south to Vishakapatnam in the North and from the East to the West Coast of Peninsula. It occupied the Southern portion of the peninsula from latitude 11° on the western coast to Cape Comerine in latitude 8° 4' the longitude range from 74° 9' to 85° 15'. It consisted of multilingual unit covering the whole of the present Tamil Nadu, a
considerable portion of the present Andhra Pradesh, Malabar area, the present Kerala state and a part of present Karnataka State.\textsuperscript{17}

Madras, the birthplace of British rule in India, emerged as the Presidency’s Capital of the British and flourished as the centre of the administrative and political activities of the company.\textsuperscript{18}

Physical Features

The Present Madras Presidency or the Presidency of Fort Saint George occupied the Southern portion of the peninsula from latitude $20^\circ18'$ on the eastern coast and latitude $11^\circ$ on the western coast to Cape Comarine in latitude $8^\circ4'$ the longitude range from $74^\circ9'$ to $85^\circ15'$. The extreme length of the presidency from North East to South West was about 950 Miles and its extreme breadth about 450 Miles.\textsuperscript{19} The Presidency occupied a total area of 1,42,260 Square miles excluding the area occupied by five native states namely Sandur, Banganapalli, Pudhukottai, Cochin and Travancore.\textsuperscript{20} The Eastern Boundary of the Presidency was the Bay of Bengal. The Western Boundary was Cochin and Travancore States and the Arabian Sea. The Mysore State was under the dominations of Nizam of Hyderabad, Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces formed the Northern Boundary of the Presidency. The Madras Presidency comprised of twenty-six Districts constituted one third of the land area\textsuperscript{21} and contained a population of 42,794,155.\textsuperscript{22} As per the economic
condition, the Presidency was divided into seven distinct Geo-physical Regions.\textsuperscript{23}

The Coastline

The coastline on the east from Chilka Lake in the Bengal District of Cuttack to a small portion of Travancore State was about 1250 miles of coast washed by the Bay of Bengal. The coastline on the west commenced North at the Bombay District of North Canara to Travancore State. This made a coast line of about 450 miles was washed by Arabian Sea. On every side but the north, the Presidency washed by open sea. In spite of the long coastline the capital of Madras could not be developed as that of Bengal and Bombay in Trade and Manufacture.

Area and Population

Madras Presidency was second in area (1,42,300 Sq.Miles) among the administrative division of British India with Burma topping the list. The Presidency was composed of seven distinct territorial regions, each with its own economy and cultural ethos. There were 26 Districts, the largest district Vizagapatinam, with 17,000 Sq. Miles was more than half of the size of Scotland. Madras Presidency was one of the most polyglots of India's administrative division. According to 1931 census of India, Madras Presidency with a population of 46.74 millions ranked third in the order of population with Bengal topping the list with 50.11 million population.
Language and Religion

There were 5 Major linguistic divisions. Tamil was the largest single first language. According to 1921 census of India distribution of population by major languages read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>(In Million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canarese</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these a million Hindustani and a quarter Million Marathi speaking people lived around the province. The vast majority of population was Hindus. According to 1921 census of India, Muslims and Christian, the other two religious groups, formed seven percent and three percent respectively of the total population.

The Growth of Legislature in Madras Presidency

An administration is assessed through its outcome. If the outcome is beneficial and welfare oriented it is appreciated by all. Democracy and Political parties play vital roles in the formulation of a legislature. It paves the way for a person to exhibit his or her skill and ability in administration. Legislatures have both the elected and nominated representatives and whichever political party commands the majority it forms a ministry. Each and every political party has its own socio-economic and political policies. When a political party gains power it strives to implement its policies through the ministry it forms. Without
legislature, there is no ministry in a democracy. It will be appreciated if the growth of legislature is dealt with, in this research work.

**Administration under British Rule**

In the early decades of its origin, Fort Saint George in Madras, no less than Fort William, had a strong fortification with support of a Navy. Behind this fortification, the foreign merchants with their accountant, writers and packers lived a life connected with their business and not minding with what was happening around.

But the patterns of things were changing since the Carnatak Wars (1746 to 1763). However, till the implementation of the Regulating Act (1773), administration of the company in the province was nothing more than a robber state whose main object was to extract as much as possible from the territories it was supposed to be administered. It was the first Mysore war (1767 to 1769) that strained the company’s exchequer and consequently the Company’s request for loan ultimately paved the way for the enactment of Regulating Act, which came into operation in 1773. This Act was the first step in the direction of consolidation of British rule and centralization of administration in India.\(^{24}\)

Thereby, the first seed was sown for the genesis of a legislature through this Act. Though it was criticised as “an infringement of national rights, national faith and national justice”\(^{25}\) by Edmund Burke, its importance in the Constitutional Development in India cannot be minimized.
Earlier to the enforcement of Regulating Act the Governor of each independent province including Madras was directly responsible to the Court of Directors of the Company. There was no proper co-ordination among the Governors of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Provinces. To remedy this defect, the Regulating Act made the Governor of Bengal as the Governor General of Fort William, whose Council was supreme over the Governments of Bombay and Madras. This was the first step towards unitary control and Fort Saint George was relegated to secondary position. However, the Governor and his council exercised both executive and judicial function.

Moreover this Act gave the right of vote for the election of Directors of the Company to the share holders. In this Act we find the right of vote and election. This Act provided for a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice and three puisne judges.

By the passing of the Pitt's India Act of 1784 the Presidency Government at Fort Saint George Madras was regularized.

Charter Act of 1813

In the early first half of 19th Century, the imperialistic arrogance and mercantile attitude of the British further accelerated their bania tradition and thereby the Madras Presidency was exposed to high-handed exploitation in every sphere. This led to rampant discontentment that resulted in several occurrences of contumacy and unrest such as south Indian rebellion (1800-
1801) and Vellore Mutiny (1806). These resulted in the passing of the Charter Act of 1813. It enlarged the powers of the Provincial Councils and the Court of Directors of the company was subjected to the control of the British Parliament. 

**Charter Act of 1833**

Under the Charter Act, 1833 the British territory in India came under the Governor-General's Government known as the “Government of India” and his council as the “India Council”. It also provided for the codification of laws in India.

**Charter Act 1853**

By the Charter Act 1853 the Governor-General's Council was expanded by an addition of six special members to perform legislative functions. Moreover provinces were allowed to send one representative each to the Central Legislative Council.

**Government of India Act 1858**

The East India company rule completely changed the Indian political system and that the Indians suffered a lot. Moreover it brought a vast change in social and cultural life of the people in India. This resulted in the outbreak of Sepoy Mutiny or otherwise known as the first war of the Indian Independence in 1857. This Incident paved the way for the end of the Company rule in India in 1858.
As per the Government of India Act 1858 the entire possession of the company in India was taken over and brought under the direct control of the British Crown. With that the Indian Administrative pattern of the British Government changed and a new mode of administration was introduced.

The Indian Council Act 1861

The Indian Council Act of 1861 marked an important step in the Constitutional history of India. It made a beginning in representative institutions and legislative devolution. The representatives of the Indian people were nominated by the Governor-General to his expanded council and the legislative powers were transferred to the provinces. It helped the Governor-General to associate non-official Indians for purposes of legislation. No doubt, the experiment was a failure but it made the beginning of representative institutions.

The Indian Council Act 1892

As per this Act the number of additional members in the Governor-General's council was increased to be “not less than 10 and not more than 16”. Similarly, the numbers of additional members to the Provincial Legislative Councils were also increased to not less than 8 and not more than 20 in the case of Madras and Bombay. Moreover members were permitted to discuss on financial matters and even could ask questions on matters of public interest
with certain conditions. Further, the members were now elected and then nominated by the Government.35

Minto - Morley Reforms - 1909

The partition of Bengal in 190536 by Lord Curzon and his "Divide and Rule" policy resulted in Swadesi Movement in India. On account of difference of opinion with the Congress the Muslims formed their separate organization called Muslim League in 1906.37 The ideological difference between Gokahale and Tilak created a split in the Congress Session in 1907 at Surat.38 In 1908 moderates demanded a liberal constitution.39 Whereas the revolutionary minded youth of the Congress Party indulged in violence and that resulted in chaos and skirmish.

At this stage the British came forward to effect certain changes through Minto-Morley Reform - 1909, to win over the support of the moderates and to appease the Muslims by providing a separate electorate for them.40 The Act of 1909 had increased the size of the Legislative Councils. The additional members of the Governor - General's Council were increased up to a maximum of 60, those of Madras, Bengal, U.P., Bombay and Bihar and Orissa to a maximum of 50 and those of the Punjab Burma and Assam to 30. Further this Act provided for separate or special electorates for the due representation of the different Communities, Classes, and interests. The remaining seats were
allotted to the municipalities and district boards that were called “General electorates”.

In the case of Madras there was 21 elected members of the Legislative Council. Out of these, two were elected by the Mohammedans 2 by Zamindars and 3 by landlords other than the Zamindars, one by the Corporation of Madras one by the Madras Chamber of Commerce, one by the Madras Traders Association and one by the planting community. The Municipal Councils, District and Taluk Boards elected the rest of the 9 members. But this Act created a gulf between Hindus and Muslims and intensified their hatred. Hence Rajaji who was practicing as a lawyer at Salem, regarded the 1909 Minto-Morley Act as “Inadequate deceptive and cleverly divisive.”

**Government of India Act 1919**

The First World War that broke out in 1914 was a crucial turning point in the political history of India. During the course of the First World War Gandhi stood for unconditional help for the British war effort and Rajaji also defended him. At this juncture Annie Besant started the Home Rule League at Gokhale Hall, Madras on 3rd September 1916. At that time the British Government also felt that a contented India would be a far greater asset to her than a disappointed and discontented nation. Hence the historic announcement of Edwin Samuel Montague, the Secretary of State for India on 20, August 1917 in the House of Commons. It was made clear that the policy
of the British Government was “to associate Indians in every branch of administration and to develop self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India”. It promised that the people of India would be given responsible government by stages.

In August 1918, a special Congress meeting was held, and both moderates and extremists had agreed to insist for a full responsible Government in the provinces. While speaking in the congress meeting Mrs. Annie Besant agreed that Montague - Chelmsford reforms were not acceptable. However, she suggested that they should be worked for what they were worthy of. She also insisted her friends to work from within the Government. At this juncture Rajaji who was functioning as the chairman of the Salem municipality from 18 June 1917 onwards resigned his post in February 1919 and came to Madras to involve himself in active politics.

Considering the prevailing political trend the British Government announced the Montague-Chelmsford Reform Act in 1919. It proposed to increase the number of Indians in every branch of the administration. It was decided to transfer certain departments into the hands of ministers selected by the Governor from among the leaders commanding a majority in the elected portion of the legislature. Further this Act had set up a bicameral legislature at the Centre in the place of the Imperial Council Consisting of one House.
The names of the two Houses were the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State.

The Council of State consisted of 60 members out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated by the Governor-General. The Central Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members out of which 103 were elected and the rest were nominated.

Out of the 42 nominated members 25 were officials and the rest were non-officials. Out of the 103 elected members 51 were elected by the general constituencies, 32 by Communal Constituencies (30 by Muslims and 2 by Sikhs) and 20 by special Constituencies (7 by land holders 9 by Europeans and 4 by Indian Commerce). The life of the Central Legislative Assembly was 3 years and the Council of State 5 years.

The First General Elections

As per the Montague Chelmsford Reform, elections were conducted to the new Councils in all the provinces at the end of November 1920. As the congress boycotted the election as a policy of non-cooperation, in Madras Presidency, the Justice Party made decisive victory and formed the Government. Hence it is considered essential to know about the circumstances that led to the formation of Justice Party and its decline in 1937.
The Justice Party in Madras Presidency

The birth of the Justice Party constitutes a landmark in the history of South India. The long-smouldering discontent, hatred and suspicion of the elite non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency towards Brahmins got institutionalised under the nomenclature of the S.I.L.F. whose primary purpose was “to promote the political interest of the non-Brahmin caste Hindus”. The leaders of the Justice Party were “all men of substance and standing, highly educated, and conscious of the direction and goal of their endeavours”. They were not mere idealists, but practical politicians. They accepted dyarchy with a view to employing the available power of the government for the upliftment of the non-Brahmin communities.

The First General Election 1920

The Justice Party opened a new era in the annals of the administration of Madras Presidency by capturing 81 out of 127 seats in the legislature. Its first ministry under the leadership of A.Subbarayalu Reddiyar assumed office on 17th December 1920. The new council was inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught (the paternal uncle of the king of England) “For the first time in the history of India, the lower castes of Madras have asserted themselves against the intellectual oligarchy of the upper, and have seized political power in their own hands… “The first bulwark of caste dominance in political matters has been stormed as a result of the recent constitutional changes”. Due to ill
A. Subbarayalu Reddiyar resigned his Chief Ministership within a short period. Then A. P. Patro became the Chief Minister.

The second general elections to the Madras Legislative Council and the Central Legislative Assembly were held on 31, October 1923. Though the Justice Party was in a position to form the Ministry, its strength had got reduced considerably. The Second Justice Party ministry was constituted on 19th November 1923 under the leadership of the Rajah of Panagal. P. Theagaraya Chetti, the leading light of the Justice Party, died on Tuesday 28th April 1925. In his demise, the Justice Party sustained an irreparable loss. The Rajah of Panagal's efforts to rejuvenate the Justice Party did not prove a complete success. Unfortunately it appeared like "a flock of startled sheep each running in a different direction."

During the 1926 general election the Swarajists took active participation in the election campaign and brought "politics down from the Gokhale Hall to the beach, from the club to the street corner". But the Justice Party adopted the traditional method of contacting the big-shots of villages and towns and influencing them. In that election though the Congress emerged as the largest Party on the floor of the Madras Legislative Council with 41 seats, it did not have an absolute majority to form the ministry and no party was in a position to constitute a ministry of its own without the support of the other. Goschen the Governor of Madras invited Dr. Subbaroyan to head the ministry.
The visit of Simon Commission to India in February 1928 to undertake a preliminary survey of the Indian problems created a split in the ministry on the question of boycotting the Simon Commission. But the position of Dr. Subbaroyan was saved by the influence of Rajah of Panagal. It was unfortunate that his ministry suffered an irreparable loss in the premature demise of the Rajah of Panagal on 16, December 1928, the last of the trio of the non-Brahmin movement, which marked the end of the Justice Party for all practical purposes.58

The Congress Party did not participate in the elections to the Legislative Council held in the year 1930. As the Justice Party emerged victorious, the Governor called upon B. Muniswami Naidu, the leader of the Justice Party, to form the ministry. The growth of 'Ginger group' (Telugu zamindars along with the Nattukottai Chettis) in the Council forced him to resign his First Ministership. On 5, November 1932, the Rajah of Bobbili was appointed the First Minister. He took frantic efforts to rejuvenate the party but in vain.

The tenure of the Madras Legislative Council, which should have expired on 5, November 1933 in normal course, was extended for another year in view of the impending constitutional changes. But the general elections to the Central Legislative Assembly were conducted alone in November 1934. The Congress abandoned its Civil Disobedience Programme and for the first time that the Congress Party had decided to contest the elections under dyarchy. So it organised a vigorous election campaign and won a landslide
victory. The Justice Party was defeated “not so much by the strength of their opponents’ campaign as by the intrigues of their party colleagues”.

The Government of India Act 1919 and Rajaji’s Reaction

At the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1920, the boycott of the council was included in the Non-Cooperation programme. There developed differences between the moderates and the extremists regarding council entry. At that time Rajaji brought a resolution that was eventually accepted by all. On seeing his skilful draftsmanship C.R. Das, the President of the Congress session, said that when a mutually acceptable solution seemed to elude everyone, there came “this Madrasi, who put a comma here, a semi-colon there, inserted a phrase here, removed one there, and within a few minutes, to the astonishment and joy of everyone, he was able to give us an acceptable resolute”. The controversy over the council entry subsided.

At the Gaya Congress, in 1922, once again there arose difference among the Congressmen on the use of legislatures. Practical politicians like Chittranjan Das wanted the congressmen to capture council and work. But Rajaji doubted the wisdom of the new move. He as the chief spokesman of the ‘No-Changers’ vehemently opposed the Council Entry. The Advocates of Council Entry, ‘Pro-changers’ as they were called, were defeated by the ‘No-changers’ who were against any change in the old programme, and as a consequence, President Das had to resign. In the A.I.C.C. meeting held at Patna
in September 1925, the controversy over the council entry issue between ‘No-Changers’ and ‘Pro-Changers’ came to an end.

When the Congress at Lahore Session in 1929, resolved to revive the ‘council boycott’ Rajaji disliked it and desired to utilize the council as a second front to achieve the objective of the congress. Hence he moved the proposal of office acceptance in the Congress Working Committee and got it passed.

**Government of India Act 1935**

The failure of the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference that led to the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935 to satisfy Indian aspirations accentuated the demand for a Constituent Assembly of the people of India. The Government of India Act 1935, provided for a federation at the centre and provincial autonomy to the Provinces. But only the part relating to provinces were given effect. As a result in the Presidency of Madras there was to be a nominated Governor and Bicameral Legislature. The Governor was given special power in respect of law and order, otherwise he was to be guided by the council of Ministers. On the Canadian model the chief among them was styled as “Premier”. The provinces had the wholly elected legislatures. The Ministers were responsible to the legislature and could be voted out of office by an adverse vote.
Legislative Assembly

Under 1935 Act, Bicameral Legislature was established in Madras. The popularly elected chamber called the Legislative Assembly, had the maximum of 215 Members. They were to be elected directly every five years and there were no nominated member. While 146 Members were elected from the general constituencies the remaining 69 were elected from the communal constituencies. Of the latter 30 were reserved for the Depressed Classes, 28 for the Muhammedans and the remaining seats were distributed between the European and Anglo-Indians. The Members of the Assembly were to be elected by enlarged electorate. All tax payers and literates became eligible to vote.

Legislative Council

This second chamber had a maximum of 56 members. It was designed to be a permanent body, not subjected to periodical dissolution, but with a third of its members retiring every two years. Out of 56 seats 11 were reserved for minorities. The Governor was empowered to nominate up to 10 members.

Financial Power

Under the diarchy system, it was not possible for the Provincial Government to raise a loan without the permission of the Government of India. But under the Government of India Act 1935, the diarchy system came to an end and each province was given power to float its own loans on the open money market.
Rajaji's Attitude towards the Act

At that time there was a general consensus among different groups of Congress that council must be used to achieve social legislations promised by the Swarajist and the Constructive Programmes of the Gandhians. In this context Srinivasa Shastri a leading congressman in Madras Presidency had a firm belief that it was a suicidal policy for the best men and women of a nation to stand aside from government and refuse to practice administration, one of the greatest arts. He held that the Congress had stayed too long in the wilderness and that the whole future of India turned upon whether it threw itself into the election with a view to capture power, assume responsibilities develop its political muscle and forge unity of the nation. Rajaji was interested in taking up the opportunities provided by the 1935 Act and serve the people within the scopes provided by it.

Rajaji and 1937 General Election

Rajaji who had voluntarily retired from active public life and laid down the office of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee Presidentship in May 1935 once again joined the party and took active participation in the political activities. Thus the congress party, which had rejected the Government of India Act 1935 earlier now, decided to contest the elections as per its provision. It was felt wise to determine the national will and fight against the Constitution inside and outside the provincial legislature.
1937 General Election and its Result

The Congress Party after a long gap participated in the election. In the Madras Presidency out of 146 seats in the General Constituencies Congress fielded 138 candidates and secured all but 9 of the 146 general seats. By annexing total of 159 seats in the Assembly and 27 out of the 46 elective seats in the Council it secured 64.5% of votes polled. The most significant outcome of the election of 1937 was the sweeping success of the Congress Party. It secured the majority in seven provinces, but nowhere did the congress achieve a stupendous victory as in the case of Madras Presidency. Though S.Satyamurthy was the President of the P. C. C., the election was virtually run by Rajaji and Congress Party made tremendous victory with the support of the moderate nationalist.

The Justice Party fielded 90 candidates and captured 21 seats. The Muslim League won 9 seats; Peoples Party secured 1 seat, Muhammedan Progressive got 1, European and Anglo-Indian captured 9 seats whereas independent gained 15 seats.

Even though the Congress had swamped the Justice Party after a struggle of seventeen years, it refused to form its ministry, as it demanded “an assurance” from the governor against the misuse of the discretionary power, vested in him under the Act of 1935.
The Interim Government

The Governor of Madras, in favour of forming a constitutional government requested S. Srinivasa Sastri, a leading Congress man of Madras Presidency to head the interim ministry but he declined to do so. Hence on 1, April 1937, he invited K.V. Reddi Naidu of the Justice Party to form a ministry. In response to that he came forward to constitute an interim cabinet consisting of six ministers.

Having got a majority in the election Rajaji thought that the only sanc course for Congress was to accept Office and serve the people to any extent under the New Government of India Act 1935. He was quite convinced that the Act had provided scope for carrying on ameliorative measures in the interest of the masses and to proceed ahead.

Simla Announcement

Following the historic Simla announcement the Congress Working Committee which met on 8, July 1937 decided to permit the Congressmen to accept office even though the announcement of both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy fell short of the assurances demanded by it.

It gave, the Provincial Congress leaders permission to form Ministries in their respective provinces. It was done with a view to control the new Act on one hand and to implement constructive programmes on the other hand. For the Congressmen who were so desperate to assume charges found the
compromise made by the British as a favourable answer to the demand put forth by them. 

Rajaji’s Ministry

In Madras the Congress Legislative Party unanimously elected Rajaji as its leader. Accordingly the Governor of Madras invited him to form the Ministry. Rajaji became a member of the Madras Legislative Council and formed the ministry. Thus the Congress Government came to power in July 1937 and Rajaji headed the ministry. For the first time in the history of Madras Presidency a Harijan V.I.Muniswami Pillai was included in the Ministry. Even the Justice Party which was in power for twenty years under diarchy had included no Depressed Class representative in the Ministry. Though Rajaji was bitter against his friend Dr. T.S.Rajan of Trichy, over some political issue, considering his talent, included him in his cabinet as 'Minister of Health'. He was the only Minister who was not a member of Legislative Assembly but nominated by the Governor to Legislative Council.

Rajaji had set higher premium on correct administration that he insisted on a divorce between the party organization and the Government. He also strongly advocated the separation of the Executive from Judiciary and never allowed the judiciary be an arbitrator between the state and the people to shape the administrative policy. “Thus the congress in Madras settled down to enjoy
the exercise of power and the perquisites of office, for so long the forbidden fruit". 86

With the acceptance of office, "the Congress entered upon a new era of constructive statesmanship as against the old era of fights, disobedience and imprisonment. The erstwhile rebels and jail goers appeared in the new role of administrators and in that capacity worked in co-operation with the bureaucratic opponents, the Governor and Indian Civil Service Officials". 87

Rajaji and his Maiden Legislative Measures

The second chamber, the Legislative Council as an Upper House was created in the year 1937. His Excellency Lord Erskine, the Governor of Madras addressed the joint session of both the chambers at the Assembly chamber at Chepauk. 88 As a Veteran Parliamentarian, he took pride in the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, which was the sum and substance of the Act of 1935 and appreciated the steady advance that the Province of Madras had made in the path of self Government. It was a most memorable day in the annals of Madras Legislatures making a new era of political progress. 89

The first motion passed by the Congress after assuming charge was the one regarding the shaping of a fresh Act, Indian Constitution by a constituent Assembly. It urged the government to take immediate steps to replace the 1935 Act by a new constitution, which would be in consonance with the operation of
the people of India as expressed in the resolution of Indian National Congress. 

The federal structure in the Act 1935 was considered as a flaw in the Act. Rajaji did not want the princes who did not give any form of responsible government to the people to sit in the National Parliament along with the popularly elected representatives from the provinces to make laws for the whole country. He however, conceded, that as and when each princely state advanced to the level of the government, “at least of the provinces”, it could be admitted into the federal Legislature and not until then. Another defect found in the Act was that it did not fix any time limit for ending the British rule in the country. The Congress Party did not like the decision taken by the British in the postponement of freedom of the country. Rajaji said that the struggle for the country’s independence should continue until the principle of Constituent Assembly was considered by them.

Administrative Measures of Rajaji

Immediately after assuming office the Prime Minister rendered a meritorious service to the cause of freedom struggle by setting free the political prisoners without much friction with the provincial Governor. Then he introduced prohibition in a phased manner. He enacted the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act in August 1939.
Though the ministry of Rajaji was in power for a period of two years and three months it extended many special favours to the poor which "included land revenue concessions, famine, flood and cyclone relief; village reconstruction which consisted of water supply, rural medical scheme and revival of rural games; tenancy reform; public health measures, education facilities; and religious and charitable endowments". However, his policy of compulsory introduction of Hindi language in schools from standards VI to VIII threw the Presidency of Madras into political turmoil.

Rajaji and his Relation with the Governor

Lord Erskine the Governor of Madras Presidency was not always frank with Rajaji but he opposed him in spirit and not in practice against some of his most cherished policies. Their relationship came under strain when Erskine made the High Court appointments without consulting him. The Prohibition and compulsory Hindi language policy of the Congress Ministry were also not appreciated by him. However he did not interfere in that affair at that time. The relationship between the premier and the Governor was smooth and they parted with mutual respect and in a friendly manner. Lord Erskine's letter to Linlithgow on 5 August 1937 bears testimony to his dictatorial character. 'As to the Premier himself, there is no doubt that he is a sort of dictator and in fact run the whole show'.
Lord Erskine and Rajagopalachari played the constitutional and political role so amicably that both were loyal to their principles and successful towards their ends and endeavours. Lord Erskine admired Rajaji’s hard work above all his sincerity. Both were rigid and flexible in different situation. They were ready to compromise when compromises were possible. He even pointed out that they could carry out administration with minimum friction. Rajaji also admitted that they had some difficulties but they were not responsible for those difficulties.

Rajaji maintained a friendly relation with the British. It is quite evident from the letter of Lord Erskine which states, “This Ministry is an able one and its leader is a remarkable man. Mr. Rajaji is an excellent speaker and a person of very definite views. He is an energetic and hard working Premier and his strength of character enabled him to carry out his ideals”.

The End of the Provincial Government

With the outbreak of the World War II on 3 September 1939, the Governor General of India, Lord Linlithgow, declared that India was also a belligerent state. He did this quite legally, on his own without consulting either the Central Assembly or the easily identifiable leaders of Indian opinion.

On 14 September 1939, Congress declared that “India cannot associate herself in a War said to be for democratic freedom when the very freedom is
denied to her. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of
democracy then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possession.\textsuperscript{99}
The Congress Party withdrew its support to the War and through its resolution
recommended the resignation of Congress Ministries in eight provinces, of
which Madras was one.\textsuperscript{100}

During the session of the Legislative Assembly held on 26 October
1939, Rajaji moved a resolution which, requested that India had been made a
participant in the War without her consent and attacked the British for their
failure to explain their War aims.\textsuperscript{101} He tendered his resignation which was a
moving appeal to the common sense to the Government to concede the
demands of the Congress and thereby make it possible to collaborate in the
War effort.\textsuperscript{102} He further emphasised that the resignation had involved
enormous amount of sacrifice which was necessary to accomplish the great
responsibility which he and the Congress organisation as a whole had
undertaken to secure freedom for the country.\textsuperscript{103}

On 30 October 1939 as no other party was in a position to form a
ministry, the Governor issued a proclamation under section 93 of the
Government of India Act, 1935. Accordingly he assumed the power of the
Legislature and appointed three members of the Civil Services to be his
advisers. Congress men were happy as he did not appoint an interim
The opposition parties too were happy that the Congress Ministry went out of office.\textsuperscript{105}

**The Role of Rajaji 1939 -1952**

Even after his resignation Rajaji stood in support of the British for the cause of India. Rajaji made his followers in Madras to pass a resolution formally conceding the claim for Pakistan. He also demanded for the formation of a national government to resist the Japanese.

The British Government sent its Cabinet Minister Sir Stafford Cripps to get the willing cooperation of the Indian in March 1942. He in his proposals had conceded Dominion Status and the right of Indians to frame a Constitution in their Constituent Assembly, after the War. The Muslim League rejected these proposals. Gandhi condemned the proposals as a "post-dated cheque".\textsuperscript{106}

At this juncture Rajaji appealed, "Is it good in such a situation, (War) that there should be division between government and soldiers on the one hand and... tremendously popular organisation like the Congress and the Muslim League on the other, over whom such illustrious persons as Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah preside? These are not some individuals-one had become almost as famous as the other".\textsuperscript{107} He further warned the British and at the same time sought the cooperation of the Indians through his statement, "Our cooperation is available if the British do the right thing. Supposing the Central Government is placed in my hands then I would take it. But if the..."
Madras Government is given to me without control of the centre I would not touch it....... If I am a hunter, please credit me with being a big game hunter. I won't be contented with anything else.”

Rajaji did not associate himself with the Quit India Movement but came out of the Congress and took a series of efforts to reopen negotiations with Linlithgow, the Governor-General of India in appointing of ten or twelve executive councilors at the centre with the direct responsibility to the legislature. He also negotiated with Jinnah over the issue of Pakistan and convinced Gandhi to take up the threads of the negotiation with him.

In July 1945 in Great Britain the Labour Party won a big victory and Clement Attlee became the Prime Minister of England and he sent Cabinet Mission to have a friendly talk with the Indian leaders. This mission paved the way for holding the general elections in the provinces and forming Interim Government at the centre. In the election held in April 1946 the Congress obtained a massive victory. Rajaji on returning to the Working Committee in 1946 served the Interim Government under Nehru as Minister for industry, supply, education and finance. He then served as a member of the Governor General's Executive Council (1946-1947).

On 24 March 1947, Lord Wavell was withdrawn and Mountbatten assumed office of the viceroy and he gave his famous June 3 plan, the best practicable solution to the Indian partition problem. Finding no other
alternative both Congress and Muslim League accepted it. Accordingly the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Bill on 1, July 1947 and India became independent on 15 August 1947. Rajaji served as the Governor of West Bengal from August to November 1947. When Lord Mountbatten had gone on leave to U.K to attend the marriage of Queen Elizabeth, Rajaji was made the acting Governor General of India. After Lord Mountbatten, Rajaji was unanimously selected as the Governor General of India. Within three years of Independence a new constitution was framed and India became Republic on 26 January 1950. Babu Rajendra Prasad became the first President of India and Rajaji was included as the Minister without portfolio in the union cabinet. After the death of Vallabhai Patel, Rajaji became the Home Minister in 1951. On personal ground Rajaji resigned the post and returned to Madras.

**Rajaji's Re-Entry into Provincial Administration during 1952 to 1954**

On the basis of the new constitution of India the first general elections were conducted during 1951-1952.

In Tamilnadu the Dravidan movement had already consolidated its position. The DK and DMK did not directly participate in the first general election in 1952, which provided an opportunity for the Congress to be the sole national force in the fray. The Congress had to meet the opposition from the Communist Party, which was a powerful force during that time. The Communal Parties like Toilers Party and Common Weal Party along with some
independent candidates opposed the congress party. The DMK extended its support to the Toilers Party and Common Weal party by getting a written pledge that they would approve of its demand of Dravida Nadu. So also the DK supported the Communist Party, even though the Communist had not approved the ideology of the DK. Thus the electoral alliance reveals the fact that both the DK and DMK were determined to oppose the Congress but they were unable to come into a single fold.

DMK opposed Congress mainly on three grounds: First, the working of the Congress was against the welfare of the Dravidian. Secondly, the attitude of the Congress leaders and its Government was against the interest of the people. Finally, the DMK opposed the measure of suppression adopted by the Congress. The Indian National Congress and the DMK differed and assumed an opposing stance in their objectives. For instance the Indian National Congress had been professing few objectives such as maintaining unity by creating a strong central Government, establishing Parliamentary Institution and creating a socialistic pattern of society in India, whereas the DMK fixed the following as its objectives.

a) creating an intellectual revolution,
b) removing the domination of the Brahmins,
c) averting the expansion of the Northern Imperialism,
d) removing the caste discrimination,
e) annulling religious segregation,
f) eradicating economic inequalities and
g) creating an independent Dravidian Society.
General Election and its Results

Democracy took a giant step forward with the first election held in 1951-52 over a four-month period.\textsuperscript{113} In that election the total number of contested seats in the Madras Presidency were 372, and uncontested seats were 3.\textsuperscript{114} Out of 372 seats, the various political parties in the Telengana region secured 142 seats. The political parties in South Kanara in the Karnataka State seized 11 seats. There were 29 seats secured by the political parties in Kerala. The remaining 190 seats were won by the different political parties in Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{115} Due to the factional squabbles in APCC the Congress in Andhra Pradesh captured less than a third of the Andhra seats in the Madras Assembly, whereas the Communists captured most of the seats in Andhra. Congress votes were hopelessly divided in most constituencies between Congress, Prakasam's Praja Party and Rangas Krishik Lok Party.\textsuperscript{116}

Even though the Congress Party secured 165 seats, it could not get an absolute majority in that General Election. Whereas the Communist Party secured 62 seats and came next to the Congress. This encouraged the parties to head towards the formation of a United Front Ministry and they became busy in working out strategies. T.Prakasam, the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, in the provincial council, under the Government of India Act, 1935, was elected as the leader of the Communists dominated United Democratic Front.\textsuperscript{117} As no party was in a position of getting absolute majority in the Legislative
Assembly, it looked as though Madras would not have an administration run by any political party.\textsuperscript{118}

Among the Congress Legislative party members no one was equally powerful as Prakasam. Kamaraj was elected to the Parliament and he was not a Congress Legislative Party Member. Even if he had been, he would not have become the Chief Minister. No one in the Tamil Nadu Congress considered him as a suitable person for that purpose because at that time Madras Province was facing problems like, famine, drought and food crisis. Moreover, the feeling that the Communist rule should be prevented was renting the air.\textsuperscript{119}

\textbf{Efforts Taken to Bring Rajaji Back to Power}

Realising the situation and want of capable leader to handle, C.Subramanian took the first step to invite Rajaji to face Prakasam. The son of the South who had done big things in the past and was now doing nothing - well, more or less nothing - in his Bazulla Road House. Then he was 73 but if he, with his prestige, formed a ministry, it would survive. Most of the independents and many smaller parties would support it. They had been opposed to Congress but not Rajaji.\textsuperscript{120} But Rajaji refused at first.

The Provincial Congress Committee met on March 29, and moved the following resolution: “The Madras Legislature Congress Party is strongly of the opinion that in the present political situation in the State, the services of an eminent statesman like Sri C.Rajagopalachari are needed and, therefore,
requests Sri C. Rajagopalachari to take over the leadership of the Congress Party in the State Legislature”. The resolution was seconded by Sri A.B. Shetty. Once again the Congress Legislature Party met on 31 March and Sri Kamaraj moved a resolution proposing the election of Rajaji as leader. This resolution was seconded by Sri N. Sanjeeva Reddy and supported by all the 170 members present who had been elected either to the State Assembly or Council or to the House of People (now Lok Sabha).

The Congress Legislators from the South in one voice requested Rajaji to shoulder the responsibility and avert the dangerous situation threatening the state. After analyzing the situation very carefully, the Congress High Command also gave its consent. Thus Rajaji was unanimously elected as the leader of the Madras Legislative Party.

**Rajaji Becoming the Chief Minister of Madras**

At the same time Sri. Prakasa, the Governor of Madras having distrusted the communist lead coalition, took up courage and acted firmly. In the month of March he invited Rajaji to form the Government. For a man who had held the highest office of Governor-General of India, the Chief Ministership of a state was a very small position, viewed from the angle of his position. But to Rajaji the service of the people mattered more than the burden of office once again.
At that time, Rajaji was not an elected member of the Assembly, but the Governor nominated him to the Legislative Council, the upper house of Madras Presidency. Not only that, he also came forward to strengthen the position of the Congress Ministry. For that purpose he even co-operated with him (Rajaji) and persuaded Manickavelu Naicker, the leader of the Common Weal Party, to support the Congress Party. Accordingly Manickavelu Naicker agreed to join the Congress Party and become a minister in the Rajaji's ministry. He was given the portfolio of Land Revenue and Commercial Taxes. N.G.Ranga, the leader of Krishik Lok Party welcomed the election of Rajaji as leader of the Congress Legislative Party and promised support to the formation of a ministry by the Congress. Many of the DMK supported MLA'S also extended their support to the Rajaji's ministry. Mr.Manickavelu Naicker, the President of Common Weal Party, besides joining the Rajaji's ministry declared that the 'Vanniars' would not fall a prey to the false propaganda of the DMK. While P.T. Rajan, the lone representative of the Justice Party took a neutral stand, S.S.Ramasami Padayachi, the President of Toilers Party also decided to support the ministry. All these strengthened the power of the Congress Party and its ministry, thereby the united front opposition became disunited.

Election of Rajaji as leader and assumption of office of the Chief Minister considerably helped to preserve the morale of organization. In a mammoth gathering at a public meeting on 13 April 1952 he spoke, "The Congress should think of itself not in terms of a party but as representing the
Meanwhile the Congress High Command moved a resolution that the leaders of PCCs should resign, where Congress had lost in 1952 election and new leaders should be elected. Accordingly Kamaraj who was the President of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee for 13 years resigned and P. Subbarayan a pro Rajaji man became Tamil Nadu Congress Committee President.

During the inaugural speech of the Governor in the Assembly Prakasam and his supporters staged a walk out complaining that Rajaji's selection was against the norms of democracy, as Rajaji had not become a member of Legislative Assembly. So Prakasam argued that a person without being an M.L.A could not become a Chief Minister. On seeing the situation, Rajaji himself asked C.Subramanian to move a confidence motion in the Legislative Assembly to prove his strength. In that 200 members voted in favor of Rajaji and 151 voted against him.

Administrative Measures of Rajaji

Following are some of the administrative measures taken by Rajaji.

1. He instructed the members of the Legislature that they should go to their respective constituencies and work, and should not interfere in the administration by the Secretariat, and that if they encountered any difficulty, they could ventilate it by putting questions on the floor of the Legislature.
2. He lifted the ration system without prior notice to the merchants. This measure immediately brought down the price of rice from four and a half rupees per measure to a rupee and a half. It showed practical results by his action.

3. When the State police struck work in 1952, Rajaji immediately summoned the Army, recovered the weapons from those members of the Police force who had struck work, cancelled the recognition which had been accorded to the police union, severely punished the persons who were mainly responsible for the strike, consequently made the strikers rejoin duty and restored the tone of the police administration.

4. In 1953, he suggested that every class should pursue its traditional occupation (like carpentry, washing) and study in the particular branch suitable to them. However, this idea could not find favour either from the opposition party members or from his own Congress men.

5. He openly said in the Assembly “Communist Party is Public Enemy Number One and I am your enemy”. He also put that party down and strengthened the Congress Party and restored democracy.
End of Rajaji's Regime

With the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the position of the Congress Party became strong in the truncated Madras Legislative Assembly and commanded a majority. After October 1953 the strength and position of the non-Brahmin group became strong under the leadership of K.Kamaraj who became the president of TNCC by sending out Dr. Subbarayan. Rajaji's New Elementary Education Scheme also created a serious problem to his position. This policy was ridiculed as "Kulakalvi Thittam" (Caste Oriented Education) by the opponents and they declared a 'Protest Day' on 21 June 1953. The leaders of the Congress Party themselves passed a resolution to remove him from leadership.\(^{130}\) In 1954, the Congressmen carried a vigorous and virulent signature campaign against the leadership of Rajaji.\(^{131}\) While the Assembly session was going on in March he suddenly announced that he was resigning due to ill health. Thus K.Kamaraj, the President of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee levered him out of power and became the Chief Minister to form the next Congress Ministry.\(^{132}\)

Aim and Scope of this Thesis

The aim of this Research Work "C. Rajagopalachari - An Administrator - A Study in Madras Presidency" is to study it analytically with historical evidence.
The study is focused towards his administrative qualities that had been revealed when he was holding responsible office such as the Premier of Madras Presidency during 1937-1939 and the Chief Minister of Madras Presidency between 1952 and 1954.

Rajaji's Administrative Skill is Reflected in the Following Things

1. Implementation of Prohibition
2. Eradication of Untouchability
3. Promotion of Khadi and Handloom.

Apart from being one of the foremost leaders of the Congress in the Gandhian era and taking active participation in the long drawn political struggle for freedom of our sub-continent, he held several offices and discharged his official functions with meticulous care.

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Member Salem Municipal Council</td>
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<td>1917-1919</td>
<td>Chairman Salem Municipality</td>
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<td>1937-1939</td>
<td>Premier Madras Presidency</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>Governor of Bengal</td>
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<td>1948-1950</td>
<td>Governor General of India</td>
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<td>1950-1952</td>
<td>Union Minister</td>
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<td>1952-1954</td>
<td>Chief Minister of Madras State.</td>
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Review of Literature

The following books, biographical works, weeklies and articles on Rajaji constitute the Review of Literature: “Rajaji En Thanthai”\(^{133}\) (Rajaji my
Father) written by A.Ayyamuthu brings out the author's relationship and experience with Rajaji and his perception of Rajaji's social activities and political thought. The entire narration of the work reflects the author's close intimacy with Rajaji. This work truly highlights the author's differences with Rajaji and at the same time accepted his farsightedness and wisdom.

The book entitled Rajaji\textsuperscript{134} is a biographical study. In this book Narana Duraikannan, the author narrates the events that took place in the personal and political life of Rajaji in the traditional biographical way.

T.S. Kaliaperumal in his work Nattukku Ulaitha Nallavar\textsuperscript{135} (one who serve the nation) gives us a clear picture of the services rendered by Rajaji in various fields. In a lucid narrative way this book lists the key points of Rajaji's life and career and projects his decisions in the light of their effects on the surface area of the matter concerned with socio-economic and political context.

A number of articles on Rajaji in Tamil that first appeared in Kalki (Tamil weekly) were compiled on biographical slant in Kalki Krishnamurthi's Nattukku Oru Pudalvan\textsuperscript{136} (A Unique Son of the Land). This however is fragmentary in so far as it does not cover the entire life of Rajaji due to the early demise of the author. In spite of that the work is valuable as it highlights the major turning points in the social and political life of Rajaji.

One more work along the similar lines is a compilation of forty-one articles of M.P.Sivagnanam entitled Nanarindha Rajaji\textsuperscript{137} (Rajaji I have
known) in which the author discusses his admiration towards him and also his differences with him.

Namadu Rajaji\(^{138}\) (Our Rajaji) a work by Subramania Iyer reviews mostly the social aspects seen in Rajaji's public life in general and the bold measures taken by him in demolishing the caste barriers and thereby establishing an integrated society in particular.

G.T.Boag\(^{139}\) and Antony Copley\(^{140}\) are more concerned with the political career of Rajaji during 1937 to 1954.

The portrait of Rajaji's public as well as private image has been illustrated by Bimanesh Chatterjee in his Thousand Days with Rajaji\(^{141}\).

B.K.Aluwalia's 'Rajaji and Gandhiji'\(^{142}\) and Antony Copley's 'C.Rajagopalachari: Gandhi's Southern Commander'\(^{143}\) draw a sharp parallel between Rajaji and Gandhiji.

Monica Felton in her work I Meet Rajaji\(^{144}\) has brought out, Rajaji's personality in various aspects. Other biographical works regarding Rajaji include.


3. Rajaji's Life and Work\(^{147}\) by R.K.Murthy
4. C. Rajagopalachari His Life and Mind\textsuperscript{148} by K. T. Narasimhachar
5. Rajaji: A Biographical Study\textsuperscript{149} by N. Perumal and
6. Rajaji\textsuperscript{150} by Masti Venkatese Iyengar

The unpublished Ph.D. thesis Nationalism in the Policies and Ideology of C. Rajagopalachari\textsuperscript{151} by V. Vakula deals with more on nationalistic views on the policies of Rajaji than the circumstances in which he took those measures.

Choice of the Topic

Though Rajaji is wedded to politics his administrative skill sometimes has surpassed it. Any administration is subject to criticism and it depends upon how people view it. In spite of certain failures Rajaji has proved that he is an administrator with strong convictions. His staunch views regarding prohibition, his anti-untouchability practices have made me to choose this topic.

Taking the research topic “C. Rajagopalachari - An Administrator a Study in Madras Presidency”, the researcher has strived to study on theories and principles of administration, administrative leadership quality, evolution of Madras Presidency and its growth of legislature. For the sake of an intensive study the area is restricted to Madras Presidency only and the period is divided into two i.e., from 1937 to 1939 and 1952 to 1954.
Technique of Data Collection

The source materials consist of records, reports, books, journals, periodicals, pamphlets (both in English and Tamil), the private papers of Lord Erskine, Records of the Home Department of the Government of India, Fortnightly reports from Madras, Linlithgow papers, Sathiamurthi's papers, the Government of India Act of 1935, Jawaharlal Nehru correspondence, The Gandhi Correspondence, Files of the A.I.C.C (referred to in the text as congress party records) etc.,

The Government Orders, census Reports, Election Reports, Police Reports, Administrative Reports, Reports on non-co-operation movement, Civil Disobedience Movement in Madras State, Administrative Vigilance Commission, Prohibition Enquiry Committee Report (Gounder Report) and Report of C.Rajagopalachari and Guruvayur Referendum etc., are used. Further, Indian Annual Register, Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, and Fort St. George Gazette (1937, 1947) have also been referred. Proceedings of the meetings of the council of Madras Corporation and minutes of the meetings (1952-1954) have been collected from Madras Corporation Record Office. In addition to these, books in Tamil and English, written by many eminent scholars on Rajaji have been studied with utmost care.

The Following journals and periodicals in Tamil have provided useful information on Rajaji: Weeklies like Ananda Vikatan, Dinamani, Kalki and
Swadesamitr. In addition to these, Dravidanadu weekly, Kudiarasu, Viduthalai have also supplied valuable information on Rajaji.

The Journals, periodicals and newspapers referred are: Bhavan's Journal, Dipika, The On Looker, The Hindu, Indian Express, Madras Mail, Illustrated Weekly of India, Swarajya and Kalki. In addition to these things souvenir on Rajaji and the pamphlets issued by him in Tiruchengode Ashram have been made use of.

Methodology

The methods adopted in this work are both Historical and analytical, including the study of documents. The study deals with the various administrative activities of Rajaji in the socio-political and economic fields, in the Madras Presidency, such as prohibition, untouchability and Khadi. Historical method is predominant in this work.

Chapterisation

The First Chapter is devoted to a descriptive and detailed design of Introduction to this research study. It also deals with the following things: The Evolution of Madras Presidency; the growth of legislature till 1919; The Government of India Act 1919; the 1920 elections; the birth of Justice Party and its ministries till 1936; Rajaji's reaction to the 1919 Act; the circumstances that lead to the passing of the Government of India Act 1935; the general elections 1937; the circumstances under which Rajaji became the Premier of
Madras Presidency; his administrative measures; the resignation of Rajaji’s ministry in 1939; Rajaji's activities between 1939 and 1952; the 1951-1952 General elections and its consequences. Also the aim and scope of the thesis, review of literature, choice of the topic, technique of data collection, methodology and chapterization are dealt with.

The Second Chapter deals with the theoretical frame work – the definition of administration – theories and principles on administration – Leadership quality – Definition of a leader – Function of a leader – Leadership styles – Theories of leadership and Choice of the leadership style.

The Third Chapter deals with definition of Prohibition – evil impacts of liquor habit – the measures taken on prohibition prior to Rajaji – failure of prohibition in U.S.A – Rajaji's strategy of enforcing Prohibition – Rajaji's legislative measures to effect Prohibition – Administrative steps to compensate the financial loss – Tackling of unemployment problem – Various measures in strengthening the Prohibition policy – Appreciation to his policy and advantages caused by the introduction of Prohibition – Set back to the prohibition policy due to the out break of the Second World War and the resignation of Rajaji's ministry in Madras Presidency. The condition of Prohibition policy during 1939 and 1952 – Rajaji and his prohibition measure between 1952-1954 are dealt with.
The Fourth Chapter deals with the practice of untouchability and the steps taken by Rajaji along with others to eradicate it and his concept of education including the uplift of the Depressed Classes.

The Fifth Chapter contains some of the reformative measures taken by Rajaji in the fields of Agriculture, Khadi and Handloom and settling of certain industrial disputes.

The Sixth Chapter deals with the Language policy of Rajaji during 1937-39 and its repercussions, and the change in his Language Policy during 1952-54. It is also connected with his dealings in the formation of a separate Andhra State during the years 1937-1939 and 1952-54.

The Seventh Chapter (conclusion) analyses the initiatives taken and the strategies adopted by Rajaji in the socio-economic and political field, and along with these things a critical appraisal of his administration is dealt with.
END NOTES

1. Majundar R.C. and Chopra, P.N. Main Current of Indian History, New Delhi, 1996, p.129


3. Dr. Rajaraman, P. Chennai through the Ages, Chennai, 1997, p.47.


7. Ibid.


15. Ibid., p.58.


22. Ibid.


27. Ibid., p.12.

28. Ibid.


38. Ibid.
43. Shankar Ghose, Modern Indian Political Thought, New Delhi, 1984, p.349.
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