CHAPTER III

INDIRECT COLONIAL RULE AND
CASTE-COMMUNAL SITUATION

The defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799 placed the whole Kingdom of Mysore at the disposal of the British. The Marquis of Wellesley, the Governor General had to decide the future of Mysore and its vast territories. The Partition Treaty of Mysore was concluded between the East India Company and its allies in 1799. According to this Treaty, Mysore was shared between English and the Nizams and a small part was placed under the minor descendant of the Wodeyar Family of Mysore. The Governor – General appointed a Commission of five officers to settle the details of making over a portion of the conquered
territory to a descendant of the Wodeyar family as well as to divide the remaining portions of the territory among the British, the Nizam and the Peshwa. Thus, the Princely State of Mysore was created out of an unequal treaty. The Governor General in a letter to Lt.Col. Kirkpatrick (5 June 1799) stated: "I do not see any necessity for ceding the whole country in the first instance to the Rajah of Mysore, and accepting again as a cession under his authority, such districts as must be retained by the allies".²

The Partition Treaty of Mysore was concluded on the 22 June 1799³ and ratified by the Nizam on 13 July 1799. Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar, a boy of 5 years and the son of Chamaraja Wodeyar IX (1776-1796) was chosen to sit on the throne of Mysore. On 30 June 1799 Krishnaraja Wodeyar III was formally installed on the throne of Mysore.

One of the important motives of the East India Company was to see that Mysore paid indemnities for the expenses on war and defence. The East India Company also specified that all important ghats on coastal areas were to be incorporated in the dominions of the Company. In dividing the territories between the company and the Nizam, the British retained the territories which helped them to
command the key areas. They retained Canara, Coimbatore and Dharmapuram in Carnatic as well as Malabar. This, in fact, placed the British in an advantageous position, since they got access not only to the Malabar coast, but also to all the important coastal areas in princely Mysore.

Bjorn Hettne rightly called this crippled Mysore “a child of British imperialism”. And the British maintained that they had every right to shape and reshape the conquered territory. So a wisely webbed subsidiary treaty was imposed on Mysore, destroying its political autonomy.

The period before Rendition (1881) witnessed two historic epochs. Firstly the indirect rule between 1799-1830 and secondly, the direct rule from 1831-1881. Purnaiah was installed as Dewan – Regent in 1799 to the new born province of Mysore. The country was still in an unsettled condition.

The Dewan was given 500 pagodas per month with a commission of half percent on the net revenues of the state. This prompted Purnaiah to give strict personal attention to revenue matters. He proclaimed the restoration of the former Hindu rates of assessment on land and remission of all balances of payment. By 1801, Dewan had
imposed duties on all possible articles of consumption. Thus under him, revenues of Mysore improved greatly. But this great accumulation of revenues brought him into the whirlwind of criticism. The Maharaja himself wrote in 1815 that, “Dewan Purnaiah whose talents lay only in the collection of the revenues, directed his attention to the accumulation of money merely for the purpose of displaying his industry and zeal in this branch of the administration, but he was inattentive to the interests of the people.”

However, after the Dewanship of Purnaiah, the state finances showed a heavy fall due to the mounting expenditure to maintain the enlarged Royal house hold. But the Raja stated that the deficit in finance was due to unfavourable seasons. The finances fell to the lowest ebb by 1825. Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras stated that “the disorder of the Raja’s affairs had reached to such a height that if reforms were not immediately begun, then direct interference would be unavoidable.” The administration of the Raja was a kind of personal autocracy. The Raja was greatly weakened by the absence of capable Dewans and honest advisors.

A Group of Maratha Brahmin families controlled the civil service and converted the state in to their private borough. On the top of it,
when *sharat* or the contract system was introduced for revenue collection, it became a highly exploitative system. Poverty, stricken peasants, who were subjected to untold cruelties rose in revolt against the Raja and the colonial masters.\(^8\) The Peasant Revolt was suppressed by the British and the Mysore army after several months of warfare in 1831.

As the payment of subsidy to the tune of Rs.25 lakhs was stopped for several years, the British government took the opportunity in 1831 to announce the direct take over of the administration under Art IV of the Subsidiary Treaty. Communicating the decision to the Maharaja in 1831, Lord William Bentinck wrote, “this mismanagement and the tyranny and oppression that resulted came at length to such a pass as to be no longer bearable. British Government cannot permit its name or its power to be identified with these acts of misrule”\(^9\)

Thus, Mysore was placed under a Chief Commissioner and European Superintendents at District levels. During the first phase, the commission did not attempt to any drastic changes in the existing administrative system. As a colonial administration, the British wanted to see that congenial atmosphere was created for the increasing agricultural production so that the resources could be mobilized in an
effective manner with an eye on more tax revenues and export items. Between 1834 and 1861 Mysore was ruled by Sir Mark Cubbon as Chief Commissioner who maintained the local administration with lot of care.\textsuperscript{10}

Lewis Bentham Bowring, who assumed power after Mark Cubbon in 1864, effected some remarkable improvements in the administration of Mysore. A large number of departmental reforms introduced by him gave the government a modern look. The major events in the Bowring's tenure was the introduction of Land Survey and Settlement in Mysore. They were intended to secure the proper rights of the state and of the cultivators, the benefits of improvement made on land by cultivators were left to them. The cultivator was given a hereditary right of occupancy as long as he paid the rent. This system was a modified version of the Ryotwari System.\textsuperscript{11} The British also wanted to see that the cultivation of commercial crops like coffee, tea, cardamom, pepper, etc. took place in a big way in the Malnad region as well as in Coorg.

By the close of the century, there was talk on restoration. The Commissioner was against the restoration of the Raja to the throne. According to Sir Charles Wood, the Maharaja was not entitled to
restoration, because the Subsidiary Treaty contained no such article for reclaiming the territories once annexed by the British.\textsuperscript{12} The Commissioner spoke of the Maharaja's unchanging and costly habits which resulted in a debt of half a million sterling between 1831-1864 and his "return to power would be anything but a return to reckless and excessive expenditure".\textsuperscript{13}

However, with the assumption of office by Sir Stafford Northcote, the situation began to change substantially. The British Government decided to restore the Wodeyar family to the throne of Mysore. But at the same time, the British took extreme care to see that once the native authority was restored, the British interest, both at the administrative level and in the plantation sector, it was made expedient that all the laws and regulations existing before should be continued.

On 25 March 1881, Maharaja Chamarajendra Wodeyar was invested with ruling powers over his ancient domain.\textsuperscript{14} He appointed Sri Rangacharlu as the Dewan. He held the reigns of administration for less than two years. The task before the Dewan was stupendous. The state had just recovered from the famine 1876 - 78, which resulted in the destruction of a million people almost one fifth of the population.
The state was saddled with a debt of Rs.80 lakhs which it borrowed from the Government of India. During the two years of famine there was a fall of Rs.67 lakhs in the revenue. The expenditure during this period exceeded the revenue by Rs.66.5 lakhs as a result of the large scale famine relief measures undertaken by the Government. The total deficits from diminished revenues and increased expenditure came to Rs.1,33,50,000/- In order to meet this enormous deficit, the Government sold securities of the value of Rs.61 lakhs. Rangacharlu, in his capacity of the revenue secretary before 1881, had introduced very stringent measures of economy and continued them after he became the Dewan.

Rangacharlu's greatest contribution is the introduction of the representative assembly in Mysore, despite strong protests from several quarters. It was his intention that the Assembly should serve as a forum for ventilating public grievances and bringing their difficulties to the attention of the government.

Dewan Seshadri lyer who succeeded Sri Rangacharlu had many administrative innovations to his credit. The irrigation systems as strengthened and a project Vanivilasa Sagar was completed and the first power station in the 'eastern world' was also harnessed. Certain
new railway lines were laid which increased the revenues of the state. Civil service examination to recruit natives to the state service were instituted. The Muzrai department was formed to manage the religious and charitable institutions. Apart from clearing the debts, he also kept the treasury very sound.\(^\text{18}\)

The Mysore history between 1881-1910 was dominated by the Madrasi versus Mysorean conflict. When the administrative society opened new opportunities for the first educated, the Madrasi Brahmins began to dominate the civil service with the help of two Dewans, Sri Rangacharlu and Shri Seshadri Iyer. While the Madras group was consisted of some Madrasi Brahmins and retired civil servants, the Mysore group consisted exclusively of the Hebbar Srivaishnava Iyengars.\(^\text{19}\) Apart from fighting for an entry into the civil service, the Mysore-Iyengar group also raised issues like the surrender of rights over Mysore Railways, postal service etc. In the early years, the conflict was restricted to the palace - ante chambers, later spread to outside in the urban areas. Public meetings were arranged to expose the “anti-Mysore policy” of the Madrasi Dewan.\(^\text{20}\) The slogan, Mysore for Mysoreans was coined, though the term ‘Mysorean’ should be understood in a limited context since it was restricted only to the
educated Hebbar Srivaishnavas. However, this conflict acted as a forerunner to other types of socio-political conflicts later.

Sri Krishnamurthy, the leader of the Mysore group became the next Dewan, but he too started favouring his own people. He is said to have made himself the facile instrument for an unblushing nepotism, thus, losing all weight.\(^2^1\) He was followed by V.P. Madhav Rao, who could be called an admixture of both progressive and reactionary policies. He was instrumental in the establishment of the legislative council as well as in the abolition of school fees at the primary level. Despite these progressive measures, at the political level, he went one step ahead of the British in muffling a free press in the princely state of Mysore. The Newspaper Regulation passed in 1908 had many draconian provisions.\(^2^2\)

During the period of Visweshwarayya, the state was in for considerable progress, particularly in the field of industrialization and education. It was he who first introduced compulsory education on an experimental basis.\(^2^3\) In the year 1916, the Mysore University was established in order to give encouragement for higher education. There was conflict of interest between the British paramountcy and the state of Mysore with regard to industrialization. Visweswarayya had taken up
several ambitious projects, such as the railway lines, iron works etc., despite the British attempts to scuttle them.

Shri Kantharaj Urs and Shri Albion Banerjee were the two Dewans who succeeded Shri Visweshwarayya and who established friendly contacts with the growing non-Brahmin movement in the state. At this juncture, it is necessary to mention about the non-Brahmin movement which was significant in the socio-political history of Mysore.

Caste Consciousness and Assertion

Twentieth century witnessed non-Brahmin movements and backward class movements in different parts of south India. Many scholars have done serious research on such movements not only of princely Mysore, but also of other parts of South India. While, Eugene Irschick and Cristopher Baker worked on the society and politics of the Madras Presidency with special reference to the Justice Party and the non-Brahmin movement in Princely Mysore, the backward class movement was dealt with by Lela Dushkin, James Manor and Bjorn Hettne in the seventies.

From the beginning of the present century, a large number of caste associations had sprung up in Princely Mysore, in response to
educational opportunities and the resultant trend towards socio-political mobility.

In the year 1906, some of the leading public-spirited men of the Vokkaliga community organized the 'Vokkaligara Sangha', which later played a very crucial role in the state politics. They were conscious of the fact that they were a cultivating land owning class who thought of improving their living conditions through organized efforts. The then Dewan of Mysore, Sri.V.P.Madhav Rao encouraged the Vokkaligara Sangha in furtherance of the cause of education and for the improvement of agriculture. The state was prepared to give assistance to get the boys of the community to school as well as to bring home to the cultivators such improved methods of agriculture as may result from the advice of the agricultural experts of other regions. At the opening of the second conference of the Sangha, Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar said "the aims of the Sangha are entitled to all encouragement. The cultivators of the country are its main stay in times of prosperity and in times of misfortune. It is on them that the burden falls most heavily. Any movement that tends to their welfare must command my warmest support".26
Following the lead given by the Vokkaligara Sangha, other communities organized their own associations. The most significant among them were, the Central Muhammadan Association, which came into existence in 1908; the Mysore Lingayat Education Fund Association 1909, Arya-Vysya Mahasabha 1915, Indian Christian Association 1920, the Adi Dravida Abhivrudhdi Sangha 1920, the Jaina Education Fund Association 1921 and the Kurubara Sangha in 1922. All these associations were striving hard for the betterment of their respective communities in matters of administration, public services and social and economic fields.

The Adi Dravida Abhivrudhdi Sangha in a representation to the Government, stated “We are an ancient community with a civilization, philosophy and history of what we reasonably feel proud. We are confident also that our present unfavourable conditions are the outcome of the economic degradation. We are confident that our social condition will automatically improve with improvements of our economic condition”.

Thus, caste associations had mushroomed in Mysore since the early 20th century and have been and still are the principal means for caste mobilization, however, the role of these associations has
differed in accordance with changing conditions. According to Bjorn Hettne, the communal movement initially did not challenge the Government, on the other hand, it did broaden the social base.\textsuperscript{29}

The working of the Caste associations gradually led to the emergence of a movement which could be termed as the 'Non-Brahmin Movement', or more appropriately, the 'Backward Class Movement'. The formation of these caste associations gave fillip to the awakening of the people and helped to get a better deal with the Government in the redressal of their grievances through organized channels.

The emergence of the Justice Party and the non-Brahmin movement in the Madras Presidency had an immediate impact on Mysore. The association of the non-Brahmins in Madras was called the 'South Indian Liberal Federation' originally. Gokhale, while delivering a speech at the Dharwad Social Conference held on April 27, 1903 remarked that the question of degraded condition of lower castes was in the first place a question of "sheer justice". Probably this remark which attracted the attention of the non-Brahmins to name their party and the party's news paper organ as "justice".\textsuperscript{30} The distinction between Brahmins and non-Brahmins was focused for the first time in
Madras by Alexandar Cardew an ICS Officer, who later rose to be a member of the Madras Executive Council, in his evidence before the Public Service Commission in 1913. He indicated the details by showing that out of 128 permanent District Munsiffs in 1913, as many as 93 were Brahmins, only 25 were non-Brahmins. Later, the non-Brahmins submitted a memorandum to Mr.Edvine Montagu pleading for proper representation of non-Brahmins in the services. On November 20, 1916, the South Indian Liberal Federation was formed. This association of the non-Brahmins started an English Newspaper called "Justice". Dr.T.M.Nair and Shri P.Thyagaraja Chettiyaar were the leading organizers of the association. The objects of the association were, social, economic, political, material and moral progress of all communities of South India other than Brahmins. They also decided to disseminate by public lecturers, by distribution of literature and by other means sound and liberal views in regard to public questions and thus create and direct public opinion.

The preponderance of Brahmins in various spheres of public life in Mysore as elsewhere in southern states of India created a feeling of frustration and resentment among the elite non-Brahmins. Political awareness which came hand in hand with westernization heightened...
not only the linguistic consciousness but it also gave impetus to caste consciousness. As a result, the leading non–Brahmin castes such as Vokkaligas and Lingayats organized caste associations to further the interests of their own castes in the race for urban development. Even in the precincts of the palace of Mysore there were reverberations of resentment against the overwhelming position of the Brahmins in the civil services. The Maharajas uncles and brother came out openly to oppose the monopolies of Brahmins in both administrative and educational services.

The memorial which the non-Brahmins of Mysore submitted to the public service commission of 1914 indicated how predominant the Brahmin element was in the civil service of Mysore and argued for proportionate representation of non-Brahmins in the administrative services in accordance with their strength of population.

An impetus to the non-Brahmin cause came from an unexpected quarter. C.R. Reddy, a Cambridge educated scholar noted for his erudition and scholarship, joined the Maharaja’s College as Professor. Later he was elevated to the position of the principal of the college. The popularity which he enjoyed as the principal of the college got him the post of Inspector General of Education for the whole state.
yeomen service that C.R. Reddy, rendered to the cause of higher education attracted the leaders of Vokkaliga and the Lingayat communities who played a crucial role in bringing the leaders of the two communities together on the ground of anti-Brahmanism.  

An organization to voice forth the views of the non-Brahmins of Mysore was a long felt need. The initial efforts of some of the non-Brahmin leaders went abortive. By 1917, Reddy ventured to give shape and form to the anti-Brahmin feeling with the help of two prominent citizens of Mysore namely M. Basavaiah and H. Channaiah as well as a few Muslim leaders. What Dr. T. M. Nair and Thyagaraja Chetti were to Madras, Basavaiah and Channaiah were to Mysore. Eventually an organization called Praja Mitra Mandali was born with a new creed which advocated equal opportunities and adequate representations in public services for all communities. It urged for concessions to non-Brahmins in education, government employment and political representation.

This was the first political organization of Mysore and hence it captured the imagination of the people. Curiously enough it enjoyed the royal patronage by receiving secret financial help from the members of the Maharajas Royal family who were very much
interested in pressing claims of the non-Brahmins\textsuperscript{39} ostensibly to widen their base of legitimacy. In 1917, C.R.Reddy organized a systematic campaign to win special treatment for non-Brahmins through the press and other national fora such as legislature. “This campaign reached a high pitch on 18\textsuperscript{th} November 1917 when the non-Brahmins organized what was probably the states mass political meeting in Bangalore. Followed by this, they presented a proposal to the Maharaja in June 1918, demanding various concessions. Subsequently, Praja Mitra Mandali\textsuperscript{40} sent a delegation to the Maharaja in June 1918. The response of the Raja was encouraging.

\textbf{Miller committee}

To make progress in the right direction towards the cause of the non-Brahmins, the state government appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Leslie Miller, Chief Judge of Mysore High Court. Other members of the committee were C.Srikanteshwara Iyer, M.Muthanna, H. Channaiah,\textsuperscript{41} Gulam Ahmed Kalami, Basaviah and M.C. Raja Iyengar. The terms of reference of the Committee were (1) to investigate and report on the problems concerning the changes needed in the then existing rules of recruitment to the public services. (2) Special facilities to encourage higher and professional education.
among the members of the backward classes (3) any other special measures which may be taken to increase the representation of the backward communities in the public services.\textsuperscript{42}

The Miller committee, which was constituted in August 1918, submitted its report in July 1919. Members of the committee were convinced of the necessity of special treatment to the backward classes in the matters of public services and recommended that ‘within a period of not more than seven years that no less than half of the higher and two-third's of the lower appointments in each grades of service are to be held by members of the communities other than Brahmin community, preference being given to duly qualified candidates of the depressed classes when such are available’.\textsuperscript{43} The state government are fully examined the report and passed orders in May 1921. Welcoming the measures, Mr.Gulam Ahmed Kalami a prominent member of the Representative Assembly stated, “This session of the Assembly is rather unique, in many respects, its worth being remembered. We need not say how grateful we feel for the steps taken by our benign government for

The government order on backward communities had extensive reaction and even subject of discussion in the very next session of the
Representative Assembly and even after. It had been the main topic of interest in tabling resolutions and interpolations in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. When Dewan Visweswarayya resigned, for the first time, a non-Brahmin, the uncle of the Maharaja one Kantharaj Urs was appointed the Dewan of Mysore under a very strong pressure from the royal family. The leadership offered by C.R.Reddy was mainly responsible for the spectacular success that the non-Brahmins won.

During the Dewanship of Kantharaj Urs the backward classes were emboldened to assert themselves. The Brahmins, non-Brahmins controversy became more entrenched in the body politic of the state, that rocked its politics for two decades to come. However after the death of Kantharaj Urs in 1923, the movement lost its vigour. During the Dewanship of Albion Banarjee, the earlier policies were continued vigorously. But with the implementation of the Miller Committee Report, the movement itself lost its vigour. It was almost reduced into a palace-ante-chamber politics. With the resignation of the philosopher and guiding spirit of the movement, C.R.Reddy, from the Mysore service the backward class movement entered a phase of decline.
It is often said that the backward class movement of Princely Mysore did not help in any way the uplift of the needy and the downtrodden among the non-Brahmins. The movement was, no doubt, dominated by wealthy peasants and rich merchants who were the early beneficiaries.\textsuperscript{48} Those castes among the non-brahmins, like the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas, who were numerically stronger and economically better-off, could corner the benefits substantially.

Another serious blow to the non-Brahmin movement came on account of the communal disturbances in Mysore, which strongly began to occur from 1921 onwards, the year in which the Miller Committee Report was passed and implemented.\textsuperscript{49}

It is also intriguing to note that while the Muslims and the non-Brahmins were together in state politics and the spokesman of the non-Brahmins was a Muslim, Abbas Khan, the communal disturbances could occur in Mysore, which was traditionally known for its communal harmony. During the twenties there were at least five incidents of communal disturbances\textsuperscript{50} in different parts of Mysore. They included the Chintamani (Kolar District) Disturbances, Sultanpet Ganapati disturbances etc. The Sultanpet incident took place in 1928, the year in which the Miller Committee Report was to complete its period of
The roots of the disturbance lay in the Brahmin - non-Brahmin cleavage. The vested interests also wanted the removal of Sir Mirza Ismail, one of the most powerful.

The immediate reason for the flare up was the removal of a Ganesha idol. This was from a school compound in the Sultanpet area where Abbas Khan a leader of the non-Brahmin movement and a friend of the Dewan. The idol of Ganesha was actually removed by the students of the school to a room within the school on 29\textsuperscript{th} May to facilitate the construction of an archid niche in the place where the idol was. There were also complaints to the government that some people were trying to construct a temple inside the school compound which was enquired into by the Dewan, since the area was sensitive. The disturbances perturbed Mirza Ismail to such an extent that even he requested the Maharaja not to come from Mysore to Bangalore till after the arrested leaders have been tried.

Some of the communal disturbances which occurred in Mysore, Chintamani, Bangalore and Davanagere were not communal clashes in the real sense. They, as found from the evidences, were purely the results of the emergence of the political cleavages. They were, more specifically, the outcome of the dissatisfaction of some elements.
notably certain disgruntled politicians over the patronage extended by
the government to the non-Brahmin backward classes. The political
overtones were also clear as it was intended to pressurise the Dewan
Mirza Ismail from bestowing liberal favours to the non-Brahmin political
adversaries. The role of the press was also dubious as they openly
contributed through their writings to increase communal divide.

Praja Paksha Politics:

Bjorn Hettne divides the national movement of Mysore broadly
into three phases.

1. The period of mobilization without organization - 1885 - 1920

2. Elite Mobilization and - 1920 - 1937


However, in the case of princely Mysore, the national movement
should not be strictly identified with the Indian National Congress in the
beginning. Infact as early as in 1921, the Vokkaligara Sangha put forth
the demand for representative government by stating that the
responsible government is a panacea for many of the administrative
ills. The success of the reforms in British India had produced an added
desire among the people for similar reforms here who feel they are in no way worse qualified than their brothern outside, and we trust that the government will formulate the measures in a bold and generous spirit, taking the people fully into confidence.\textsuperscript{57}

In 1929, the non-Brahmin conference of the leading men in the state brought into existence a new organization called Praja Paksha. The composition of the Praja Paksha was the same, though theoretically it was open to all communities. By this it indicated a departure from the earlier caste-political style and pledged to strive for the attainment of full responsible government in Mysore.\textsuperscript{58} The first session of the Praja Paksha was held at Channapatna under the presidency of D.S.Mallappa. One of the important resolutions passed in this session was for setting up responsible government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. The second session of the Praja Paksha was held at Mysore under the Presidentship of H.B. Gundappa Gowda. The members of the Praja Paksha tried to establish powerful local links and by contesting District Board Elections.\textsuperscript{59}

The leading non-Brahmin leaders were elected as Presidents of District Boards. In 1930, out of 8 districts, 7 districts board Presidents were non-Brahmins. District Boards provided opportunities for
constructive work both in rural and semi-urban taluks by way of putting roads establishing health centres and providing water and other facilities. In other words they served as training groups for responsible, self-government and moderate means to power. Most of the members entered the assembly and the assembly provided a central place for meeting of the leaders of all districts. Gradually, most of the District Board presidents made politics as their primary concern. The third session of the Praja Paksha was held at Tumkur under the Presidentship of Pamadi Subbarama Setty. The Chairman of the reception Committee D.S. Mallappa said that the party grew in strength attracting people from all segments of society. The party in a resolution demanded the establishment of responsible government and an elected president for the Legislative Council. Soon, the new party, Praja Paksha which agitated for the establishment of responsible government, became more popular than its mother organization Praja Mitra Mandali. Its popularity alarmed the government, which imposed restrictions on the activities of the party members.

Samyuktha Praja Paksha

Thus, for four years, there were two parties, Prajamitra Mandali and Praja Paksha functioning side by side with the same objectives. As
the objective was the same, the leaders of both the parties felt that the movement for responsible government could be intensified, if they worked consequently together. In 1935, both the parties merged and it was rechristened as Samyuktha Praja Paksha. The membership of this new party was open to all communities including Brahmins. The striking innovation of this new party was mobilization of the rural support by organizing Ryots conference in every taluk of the state to hear and catalyse agrarian grievances. The first conference of the People's Federation was held in Hassan under the Presidentship of Sri. K.C.Reddy. The party demanded in one of the resolutions adequate representation to the backward communities in government service, while another resolution urged the establishment of responsible government at once in the state.

The Mysore District Congress Committee (MDCC), Princely Mysore being considered a District of Karnataka, was established in 1921 under the presidency of S.S.Setlur, an ex-judge of the Chief Court of Mysore. It confined itself to constructive activities only. Spinning on the Charaka and wearing of Khaddar progressed steadily in the state. After the Belgaum session of the Congress in 1924, important congress leaders came to the state, addressed public
meetings, preaching the ideals of national movement in the state. The state government passed prohibitory orders preventing outside leaders from addressing public meetings in the state. Even the National Congress directed the MDCC not to disobey government orders and called upon the state Committee to confine its activities to constructive programmes only without interfering in political activities. The congress Committees activities were mainly confined to the urban areas. On the other hand, the Samyuktha Praja Paksha had spread its activities to both urban and rural areas. As both the parties were agitating for responsible government, they merged together in October 1937 and the new party was called the Mysore State Congress.
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