CHAPTER – III
FROM PRAJA MITRA MANDALI TO PRAJA PAKSHA

The non-Brahmin movement which took place in Mysore did not have a clear-cut anti-Brahmanical ideology. The non-Brahmin leaders of Mysore did not express themselves on the basis of culture, locality, caste or religion, while the movements in Tamilnadu and Maharastra expressed themselves in terms of culture, caste, religion etc. The Karnataka movement remained primarily on the periphery, fighting for governmental jobs. Eugene Irschick\(^1\) takes the position that despite the bread and butter agenda, the Tamil Nadu movement certainly had cultural and ideological overtones because the people had to be mobilized on these lines only. According to Irschick, the nativist movements primarily expressed themselves in terms of language and culture. And hence, the Dravidian ideology was essential in a struggle against the Brahmanical influences.

Dushkin says, “But the question is to what extent was it (non-Brahmin movement in Mysore) really non-Brahmanical”. To the best of my knowledge, I must say that it was very much a political and economic movement rather than the one against Brahmanism as a set of ideas of

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Hinduism, except the fact that in speeches some people used to flare up against Brahmanism. But certainly they did not take any clear coherent well thought out, ideological position as such it was focused on political and economic aspects.

On the question of the spread of Dravidian ideology, Lelah Dushkin is of the view that there was practically no influence of the Dravidian ideology in Princely Mysore area. On the other hand, in the Tamil Nadu region the leaders had gone to the extent of expressing themselves in terms of racial identity.

In a meeting of the non-Brahmin leaders of the Southern Tamil districts, one of the speakers, the Zamindar of Singampatti states that, the voiceless backward millions should help themselves towards attaining equality with their ‘Aryan brothers’. He also proposed the idea of a “Dravidian Amelioration Fund’ by voluntary contributions from all Dravidians, high or low greater emphasis on the Dravidian identity against the Aryan identity could be found in several writings and speeches of the non-Brahmin leaders of the Madras Presidency. Hence, to them, the

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3 Ibid.
Brahmin non-Brahmin conflict was not just a bread and butter issue\textsuperscript{5}. It was clearly expressed in terms of race, ethnicity and language so that the movement could go deeper into the psyche of the people. The history of the non-Brahmin movement in Tamil Nadu region from the days of the Justice Party to the Dravida Kazhagam or D.M.K. has this common ideological thread. Perhaps it was this ideological base which helped the movement to sustain itself for a longer period. This fact is very clear from the well-known study of P. Rajaraman on the Justice Party\textsuperscript{6}.

On the other hand, the absence of clear ideological meanings in the backward class movement of Princely Mysore was perhaps a reason for its decline and fall during the thirties of the present century. The internal cohesion within the non-Brahmin category, i.e., between the Lingayets, Muslims and the Vokkaligas was a difficult task. The poor and the illiterate among the non-Brahmins had nothing common in them to unite themselves against the Brahmins. The educated, urban middle class among the non-Brahmins, on the other hand, had only a common desire for a greater share in the civil services. And they could not keep their ranks together in the absence of any fundamental bonds of unity, beyond the transient desire for offices in the government.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{6} As quoted by Raja Raman, \textit{The Justice Party – A Historical Perspective}, Madras, 1988, p. 112.
In fact, the leaders of these non-Brahmin communities were cautious in keeping their ranks together until 1926. This could be seen not only in their activities outside, but also inside the Legislative Council on many occasions when resolutions were moved. One such issue was the introduction of a resolution working for the extension of the services of the officials. The non-Brahmin members realised the danger ingrained in the resolution, which if passed would have blocked the opportunities of hundreds of backward class youngmen from entering the office. Therefore, the leaders unanimously ensured the defeat of the said resolution. The unity expressed on the eve of the resolution in the legislative council was something unusual.

The backward classes who constituted about 90 per cent of the total population of the state by and large, remained uneducated and did not have proper representation in the legislative bodies or in the government service. There were signs of awakening among them in the early 20th century and they started organizing themselves for their own upliftment. As in the neighbouring Madras Presidency and Maharashtra, some leaders among the backward castes became too vociferous in expressing their grievances. According to C.R. Reddy, one of the leaders of the movement, entry into

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civil services was crucial to the progress of the non-Brahmins. He stated, “office is a social lever of the highest importance and as such we must see that we get our share, it was felt that these offices were distributed fairly as between the different classes of people.

On November 18, 1917 the first meeting of the backward classes was held in Bangalore.

The meeting which was presided over by Annaswami Mudaliar, was attended by more than 3000 people representing thirty communities of Princely Mysore. The meeting was a massive show of non-Brahmin mobilization. The meeting among others, was addressed by M. Basavaiah, a member of the Mysore Legislative Council. According to M. Basavaiah, “there was disproportion of the development of a section of lakhs of people compared with the different sections composed of a population of over twenty eight times as large from the statistics in the different grades of education and the representation of various communal interests in the representative assembly, local boards, municipalities and the legislative council. Hence, the political voice of the ninety percent of the people was almost nothing compared with the development of one community which

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9 Ibid.
10 The Justice, 20 November 1917.
had monopolized it. Such a difference was seen in all the stages of administration\(^{11}\) from the village to the highest council.

Hence, Basavaiah called upon the backward classes to speak out boldly and bring them to the notice of the ruler. It was he who first emphasized that the backward classes needed a common platform for all people where they may be equally treated.

In the public meeting in Bangalore, the speakers spoke against the monopolistic control of the press, civil service and the self-governing bodies by the Brahmin minority. They lamented that even in the areas of business, and manufacturing, there was Brahmin domination. Basavaiah went to the extent of declaring that the backward classes wanted the state to be ruled by the sovereign and his people but not by an oligarchy.

We cannot and will not accept the monopolistic leadership in social and political matters. The backward class leaders were of the view that community representation was absolutely necessary to protect the interests of the non-Brahmins\(^{12}\).

One of the earliest steps taken was regarding the local bodies. M. Subbaiah urged the government about the imperative necessity enabling all

\(^{11}\) Ibid.
\(^{12}\) The Justice, 20 November 1917.
communities to equally participate in the benefits of the scheme by re-modeling the legislative and the local bodies and by the introduction of the principle of communal representation, so to make them really democratic well balanced and truly popular\textsuperscript{13}.

In the month of November 1917, a meeting of the backward classes was held in Mysore at the D. Banumaiah School under the presidency of H. Channaiah. The meeting demanded representation to all the communities in the legislative and executive bodies of the government. The leaders representing 21 backward communities felt the need for an organization of their own to represent their grievances.

**The Praja Mitra Mandali Activities**

In order to represent their grievances, the leaders of the backward classes founded the Praja Mitra Mandali on December 6, 1917\textsuperscript{14}. This was the first political organization of Princely Mysore. The leaders who organized the *Mandali* were messrs. H. Channaiah, M. Basavaiah, Mohammed Abdul Kalami, D. Banumaiah, Mohammad Abbas Khan, M. Subbaiah and others. They constituted the committee with Channaiah as the President and Basavaiah as its organizing secretary\textsuperscript{15}.

\textsuperscript{13} Veerathappa, K. *Readings in Modern History of Mysore*, Bangalore, 1985, pp. 44-45.
\textsuperscript{14} Veerathappa, K. *Readings in Modern History of Mysore*, Bangalore, 1985, pp. 44-45.
\textsuperscript{15} *Mysore Star* (Weekly Newspaper), 13 January 1918.
The first meeting of the executive committee of the Praja Mitra Mandali met in Bangalore under the presidency of Channaiah and was attended by representatives from different parts of the state. They decided to submit a memorial to the Maharaja. Thus, a deputation consisting of the representatives of the non-Brahmin communities had an audience with the Maharaja of Mysore on 24 June 1918 and submitted a memorandum, pleading that the rural people have not been given the same chances as the population of the town, due to the existing defects in the educational organizations and also pleaded for giving preferences for the non-Brahmins in the services of the government. The memorandum stated among other things to safeguard the interests of all communities in the state that “all governing councils from legislative council downwards to be modelled so as to secure the principles of communal representation, that government offices be apportioned between different communities so as to secure a just balance of all interests and inspire each community with the only effective motive for education under the circumstances, that to secure the above principles as a temporary measure, and until education is better and more evenly spread in the state and sufficient number of candidates are available, no outsiders possessing necessary qualifications be brought to break the existing

16 James Manor, Political Change in an Indian State, Mysore, p. 59.
17 James Manor, Political Change in an Indian State, Mysore, p. 59.
monopoly, that the results of the government survey into the representation of the different communities in public services be published together with a statement of policy by the government on the subject…”18

The memorandum urged the state government to have the statistics updated annually. They also insisted that the qualifications for the officers be revised so as to abolish the present monopoly by a single community19

The Maharaja, in his reply stated, “My government is using its utmost endeavour to encourage backward classes in the state and you may rest assured that this policy of affording special facilities and encouragement to all communities who are being left behind in the race of progress will be steadily pursued in the future even more than it has been in the past”20. As was promised by Krishnarajendra Wodeyar, the Maharaja of Mysore, the Government became sympathetic to the aspirations of the backward sections of the people and was trying to promote their educational and economic interests by way of reserving seats in the schools and providing scholarships and hostel facilities to the backward and depressed communities21.

18 KSA, Memorandum to the Maharajah, 24 June 1918.
19 KSA, Memorandum to the Maharajah, 24 June 1918.
20 Proceedings of the Representative Assembly, 13.10.1921.
21 Ibid.
During the period of Sir M. Visveswaraya himself, a number of schools and educational institutions were started to provide better educational facilities to the backward classes.

In the case of representation in the public service, certain measures were initiated. One step was to relax the qualifications for the post of Amildars and Sheikdars. In 1916 itself, the government ordered that members of the communities which were backward in education should be more largely represented in the public service and directed that 25 per cent of the appointments made in a year in a department or district would be given to the qualified members of these communities. Further, the government observed that there was a large preponderance of Brahmins in the public service and steps were initiated to ensure that all other communities in the state were also adequately represented in the services of the state.

Another important measure taken by the government to ameliorate the conditions of the backward and the depressed communities was the

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22 *Proceedings of the Representative Assembly, 13.10.1921.*
acceptance\textsuperscript{24} of Memorandum on education submitted by Dr.C.R. Reddy. The Memorandum had several positive points to mention.

Firstly, it proposed the gradual conversion of aided village primary schools to government institutions. The development of the vernacular middle schools to aided village schools of a uniform type the combination of practicals with literary instructions, the establishment of a large number of industrial schools, provision of special facilities for the education of the scheduled castes and finally the proposal for the revision of scales of pay in the tutorial and inspectorate\textsuperscript{25}.

\textbf{The Miller Committee Recommendations}

In August 1918, a committee was appointed with Leslie C. Miller as the Chairman. C. Srikanteswara Iyer, M. Muthanna, M.C. Ranga Iyengar, H. Chennaiah, Gulam Ahmed Kalami and M. Basavaiah were the members of this committee. The terms of reference of the committee were as follows:

1. Changes, if any, needed in the existing rules of recruitment to the public service.

2. Special facilities to encourage higher and professional education among members of the backward classes.

\textsuperscript{24} KSA Memorandum on Education, Backward Classes Committee, 1961, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{25} KSA Memorandum on Education, Backward Classes Committee, 1961, p. 61.
3. Any other special measures which may be taken to increase the representation of the backward communities in the public service without materially affecting efficiency\textsuperscript{26}.

The committee submitted its report in July 1919 and the government obtained the opinions of heads of departments. A large number of civil servants were against the report and for almost two years it was almost gathering dust. The commission had suggested that within seven years, the non-Brahmins should hold at least 50 per cent of the higher appointments and 2/3\textsuperscript{rd} of the lower appointments, but this was modified in the government order of 1921. The official name of the committee was “The committee appointed to consider steps necessary for the adequate Representation of Backward communities in the public service.”

As Dushkin points\textsuperscript{27} out it is highly significant that literacy in English as the criterion by which ‘forward’ castes were distinguished from ‘backward’ castes. This left only the Brahmins and of course, those whose mother tongue was English, in the forward category. The committee made

\textsuperscript{26} Veerathappa, \textit{Readings in Modern History of Mysore}, pp. 46-47.
\textsuperscript{27} Lelah Dushkin, \textit{Non-Brahmin Movement in Princely Mysore} (Thesis) p. 86.
no efforts to distinguish between different backward communities. The committee states\(^\text{28}\):

“It is not necessary at the present stage to complicate the problem by taking each separate community into consideration and trying to adjust its claims, nor could we do so satisfactorily with the information at our disposal. For the present, as can be seen from what is happening in south India, inspite of the numerical and communal disparities of the different communities, still from the point of common interests to be achieved, these communities fall roughly into three groups. (1) Brahmins, (2) other caste Hindus, Mohammedans and Indian Christians, (3) Depressed Classes. These may be taken as unitary groups for the purpose of our report, as they are for other purposes”. While the other communities were represented in the Miller Committee, the Depressed Classes had no representation in it.

Although the government order on adequate representation in the services was passed in May 1921, this controversial issue was not discussed in the Representative Assembly. The reason was a boycott by the Brahmins and therefore, the Dewan in his address\(^\text{29}\) criticized the behavior of the Brahmin members.

\(^{29}\) KSA, Address of M. Kantharaj urs to the Assembly, 1921, Vol. II, p. 231.
“I would be failing in my duty, if I did not point out to you that such action although confined to members numbering only about 35 per cent of the total membership is exceedingly ill-advised and bound to reflect on the reputation for good sense and sobriety which the assembly has all along maintained. If this attitude on the part of a handful of members should be persisted in, it may, I feel constrained to observe, become necessary to consider measures where by the object of representative institutions may not be defeated and the interests of the people as a whole may be safeguarded. I however, venture to hope that this is but a passing phase and that when we meet again in October, wiser counsels will prevail.”

In the October session, the issue was discussed in detail. The Dewan Kantharaj Urs, explained that the government order has been received with satisfaction by the great majority of the people and tried to allay the needless fears entertained in some quarters that it is likely to operate towards the total exclusion of members of the Brahmin community during the next 7 years. Also, it was further pointed out that the policy of creating a proper balance in the services was by no means a new one, that the objective was not to prescribe scales of qualifications for different communities and that the order was applicable solely to initial appointments. The Dewan also pointed

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30 KSA, Address of M. Kantharaj Urs to the Assembly, 1921, Vol. II, p. 231.
out that most non-Brahmin communities were so backward in respect of higher education, that a sufficient number of candidates were not likely to be available from among them for some time to come⁴⁳.

In order to dispel the apprehensions in the minds of the Brahmins, the Dewan further stated⁴²,

“What the recent orders of the government seek to bring about is to gradually raise the representation of the non-Brahmin communities from 30 to 50 per cent in the course of the next seven years. These orders constitute no more than measure of justice due to the bulk of His Highness subjects and it is indeed unfortunate that they should have provoked a bitter controversy in the public press and on the platform during the past few months”⁴³.

The Dewan who understood the Brahmin reaction to the new measure, squarely asked, “It is too much to ask the leaders of the Brahmin community not to view this matter from the mere standpoint of communal interests, but to look at it from the point of view of the well-being of the whole body politic?”⁴⁴

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⁴¹ Ibid.
⁴² Ibid.
⁴³ KSA, Address of M. Kantharaj urs to the Assembly, 1921, Vol. II, p. 231.
⁴⁴ Ibid.
According to Bjorn Hettne, the Brahmin leaders were not satisfied with the explanation. In fact, they vociferously attacked the government orders based on the Leslie Miller recommendations\textsuperscript{35}.

K.T. Seshaiyah, one of the members stated, “I do not ask for a living for the Brahmins. That is quite a different question. My point is, we must have efficiency in public service. Public service is not a representative institution to which recruitment should be made on a communal basis. According to Sukra Niti and according to the practice prevailing in all the western countries, whoever is qualified, will be entitled to serve under government. Whether a candidate for office is a Jew, Christian, Protestant or Jacobite, his qualification alone counts. In no country and at no time in the annals of the world, was government service held to be a representative institution to be recruited on a communal basis\textsuperscript{36}.”

R. Gopalaswamy Iyer, another important Brahmin member stated “that those who have studied Political Economy are aware of the law of supply and demand. There was the demand, and we the Brahmins furnished the supply”. H. Krishna Sastry, another member, relied on the age-old

\textsuperscript{35} Bjorn Hettne, \textit{Political Economy of Indirect Rule}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Proceedings of the Representative Assembly, October 19341, p. 75.}
division of labour based on the caste system to substantiate his objections to the Miller Committee recommendations\textsuperscript{37}.

“If all the classes of people take up the same avocation, the country will not prosper. Professions must be distributed among them. And in all countries, people consist of three or four classes. The first class take up the government service and the learned professions, the second are engaged in trade and industry, and in the lower grade of service, the third in agriculture and the last class will be unskilled workers engaged in factories but sometimes also depend upon others for livelihood”\textsuperscript{38}. This was a classic argument of upper caste arrogance. While the Praja Mitra Mandali argued for equal representation for all communities, the Brahmin members emphasized on their superiority and sought to retain their dominance in the services.

The crux of the non-Brahmin argument inside the assembly was that it was only when a definite percentage of appointments are reserved for the non-Brahmins that they would have a powerful incentive to education. Both the Vokkaligara Sangha and the Lingayat Education Fund Association thanked the government profusely for the reforms announced by the government. Both the Miller Committee report and the Education

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
Memorandum were considered to be the landmarks of a great progressive policy and they hoped that the reforms would be carried out in the liberal spirit in which they had been conceived.\footnote{Bjorn Hettne, \textit{Op. Cit.}, p. 141.}

\section*{The Decline of the Movement}

The unity and the mobilization of the non-Brahmin communities could be noticed until the announcement of the Miller committee recommendations on an upward swing. But once the reforms were introduced, it led to certain internal differences within the movement. While the Vokkaligas and the Lingayats were highly enthusiastic about the proposals of their respective communities through the reforms, the Muslims, Christians and the depressed classes believed that they would be benefited more by maintaining their separate identities than by setting bracketed within the artificial ‘\textit{non-Brahmin}’ category. This is evident from the statements of the caste associations in 1921 and subsequently.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 149-150.}

According to Hettne, the prophecy made by the Brahmin critics of the Miller Report that the next phase would be a split among the on-Brahmins for their quota of appointments proved to be correct.\footnote{Bjorn Hettne, \textit{Op. Cit.}, p. 149-150.}
The Brahmins were becoming greatly dissatisfied particularly after the appointment of Mirza Ismail as the Dewan. In fact Ismail was selected mainly to end the Brahmin and non-Brahmin conflict. But the Brahmin leaders were unhappy that the Dewanship, which was a monopoly of their community from 1881 to 1918, until the resignation of Visvesvaraya was changed into the hands of others like M. Kantha Raj Urs, (1918-1922) Sir Albion Banerji (1922-1926) and Sir Mirza Ismail (1926-1941).

The Miller Committee report was considered a disqualification to Brahmins to enter the civil service. The demand to throw open Sanskrit colleges for admission to all or to stop state grant was also considered an assault. Another important issue of their worry was the proposal for a legislation, which would threaten the position of about 600 Brahmin Shanbogues (Village officials). The Brahmin dominated press had become extremely critical about the non-Brahmin movement as well as the state policy\textsuperscript{42}.

As long as Kantharaj Urs and Sir Albion Banerjee were Dewans, the Brahmin leadership could not do anything with the administration. But with the appointment of Mirza, they tried to influence the administration. This was done by way of bringing some amendments to the Miller committee.

\textsuperscript{42} PMRA (KSA), October 1921, p. 74.
orders by diluting some of the provisions. N.S. Nanjundaiah moved a resolution in December 1926, seeking a withdrawal of the Miller committee orders as far as the selection of teachers was concerned, in order to provide the “best available teachers to the pupils attending schools and colleges”. Similarly M. Venkata Krishnaiah moved a resolution in the Representative Assembly seeking the selection of candidates only through competitive examinations and through promotions.

The non-Brahmin leaders in the Assembly attributed motives to the Brahmins and said that the resolution had been brought with a view to put obstacles in the way of the introduction of Miller Committee recommendations. On the pretext that certain practical difficulties will have to be removed which were in the way of recruitment rules. The Government revised the order and decided to give three out of four jobs to backward class candidates in departments where representation of them had reached fifty per cent and two out of three where they had already reached the stipulated fifty per cent.

There was a serious criticism that the modification of the order had diluted the spirit of the Miller committee’s recommendations. In fact, the original order had not specified any fixed quota and it was a general policy

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43 PMRA (KSA), October 1921, p. 74.
towards the recruitment of the non-Brahmins. The new order was certainly to the advantage of the Brahmin community because more qualified candidates were available only in that community.

While the backward class leaders were disappointed, the Brahmins were far from satisfied. Out of the 4,238 posts filled, the Brahmins secured 1415 posts and this was between June 1921 and November 1926. The non-Brahmin minor castes were also not happy because the beneficiaries of the 1921 order were the Lingayats, Muslims and to a certain extent Vokkaligas. These communities covered 1485 leaving only 1338 posts to all other communities. The Kurubas and other minor groups were generally unhappy about the way in which the benefits were cornered by the dominant among the non-Brahmins.

Thus the internal divisions among the non-Brahmin group was a major problem for all those who were concerned about the future of the non-Brahmin movement. In fact, one of the members of the Miller Committee had given a vote of dissent about the ‘lumping together of all non-Brahmins’ under one category\textsuperscript{44}.

Under Mirza Ismail, the relative representation of the Muslims in the state service had increased. This naturally gave way for the emergence of a

\textsuperscript{44} Gundappa, D.V. \textit{Vrittanta Patrike}, Mysore, 1968, p. 160.
cleavage between the Muslims and non-Muslim members of the non-Brahmin category. The Brahmin leadership, which understood the potentialities of this cleavage, decided to widen it.

In October 1927⁴⁵ the Maharaja invited the Dewan to ride behind him in the howdah during the great Dasara procession through the streets of Mysore city. No Dewan had ever been granted this privilege and it signified the Raja’s deep personal attachment of Mirza Ismail. This shocked many Hindus, especially Brahmins. The procession was seen as the culmination of the nine-day religious festival in which the Maharaja was viewed as the chief priest and Vicar of god. During the procession shoes were hurled at the howdah and the mahout nearly lost control of the elephant⁴⁶. This was a well-planned attack to divide the people on communal lines. In the months which followed there were further conspiracies.

**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

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⁴⁶ Ibid.
However, in the case of Princely Mysore, the national movement should not be strictly identified with the Indian National Congress in the beginning. In fact, as early as 1921, the Vokkaligara Sangha put forth the demand for representative government by stating that the responsible government was 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 felt they were in no-way worse qualified than their brother outside and believed that the government would formulate the measures in a bold and generous spirit taking the people fully into confidence”.

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 if indicated a departure from the earlier caste-political style and pledged to strive for the attainment of full responsible government in Mysore. The first session of the Praja Paksha was held at Channapatna under the presidentship 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
Presidency of H.B. Gundappa Gowda. The members of the Praja Paksha tried to establish powerful local links and by contesting District Board Elections.

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 ordered 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 B. 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, Praja Mitra 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 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 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 presidentialship 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 *Khadi* 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 Committee 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. Politically the Brahmans lost their dominance after this merger. In a way it was a take over of the Congress by the Samyukta Praja Paksha.