

Howe (1921) Department.
Miscellaneous

Ordinary SERIES.

G.O. No. 200,

DATED 10-2-1921.

[Despatch Abstract.]

Legislative Council meeting - August 1920.
Resolution regarding Sourashtra community not to
to be treated as Non-Brahmins.

To Commissioner.

The Sourashtras' claim that they are Brahmins has never been admitted. In the census of 1891 they "have returned 54 sub-divisions but many of these are not real sub-divisions at all. For example 7487 have returned Brahmins, 4341 Chetti, 17290 Sourashtra. They claim to be Brahmins and in Madura where this pretension is asserted with obstinate vehemence they style themselves 'Iyer'. Elsewhere they are generally called Chetti." ^{In the census of 1891} They were not included in the group of Brahmins. In the census of 1901 and 1911 they were classed as Non-Brahmins. The Sourashtras rely upon certain 'sasanams' issued by Queen Mangammal. (Vide enclosures to their memorial). ^x ~~There is nothing in these sasanams recognising them as Brahmins.~~ The whole dispute then was as to the right of this community to perform the annual "Upakarma" (renewal of sacred thread) in the Brahmin fashion and after consulting the State pandits Queen Mangammal issued a cadjan in which the Sourashtras were permitted to follow the Brahminical rites. This establishes little because there are Non-Brahmins who are entitled to perform Brahminical rites e.g. Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. In this connection attention is invited to the extract from Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India, which meets all the arguments advanced by the Sourashtras in support of their claim. In the census table of 1901 the Sourashtras (Patnulkarans) were included in the group of "Kshatriyas and allied castes" and this appears to be the correct classification. The Sourashtras may add the word 'Brahmins' after their communal name but that does not establish that they are Brahmins. For the matter of that the Goldsmiths in the Northern Circars style themselves "Viswa Brahmins" but no one recognises them to be Brahmins. Similarly the --

p.284 Vol.XIII.

pp.136 and 173 of Part I Vol.XV of the report of 1901; and p.186 of Part I Vol.XII of the report of 1911.

pp.5-9 of (A)

(B)

p.136.

fishermen of Southern India style themselves "Agnikula Kshatriyas".

2. Mr. Tulasiram who is playing a leading part in the present Sourashtra agitation appeared before the Joint Select Committee as a representative of the Non-Brahman community. (Attention is invited to extracts from his memorandum and evidence before the Committee). It was ~~in~~ the same capacity ^{that} he appeared before Lord Meston at the time of arbitration. Before Lord Meston he said that he had been instructed to press the question of communal electorate, that there were one or two communities who were neither Brahmans nor Non-Brahmans; that the Sourashtras claimed to be Brahmans but were not admitted by the Brahmans as such. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao then pointed out that the Sourashtra community itself had passed a resolution to the effect that they are not Brahmans. Mr. Tulasiram apparently wanted separate representation for Sourashtras and for Nadars (who called themselves Kshatriyas but were not recognised as such). This elicited the reply from Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar a representative of the South Indian Federation that the statements regarding Sourashtras and Nadars were the individual opinion of Mr. Tulasiram and that it was not the intention of the Federation to sub-divide the community. Attention is also invited to the note dated 23rd June 1920.

3. In the circumstances stated above the Sourashtras' claim seems to be untenable but the fact remains that there is considerable agitation on the question and the community feels aggrieved with the Communique of the Government in which it was decided that the Sourashtras should be classed with Non-Brahmans for the purpose of the coming elections. The Chairman, Municipal

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(P) B. Ramachandra Rao

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Council, Madura, has also addressed a demi-official to the Commissioner in which he points out that the feeling is so strong among the Sourashtras in Madura that they are arranging to start a campaign of non-co-operation against Government. A resolution has ^{since} actually been passed at the Madura ^{Sourashtra} Conference to the effect that no member of the community should take part in the elections either as a voter or as a candidate nor should he accept nomination to the Council.† The point is whether the

Government will reconsider their decision and allay the feeling of the community. No doubt Government do not yield to such threats of non-co-operation but in the present case the threat is not meant to acquire any political concessions but only to safeguard the religious status which they honestly believe they ~~were~~ are entitled to.

(Z)

Mr. Srinivasachary (Chairman, Municipal Council, Madura) is not correct in saying that "so far as Madura is concerned the question is of no practical importance" because "the only seat in the Legislative Council which the Sourashtras can contest is the Madura urban seat which is not reserved for Non-Brahmans;" ; for, under the rules a Sourashtra of Madura provided he is qualified can stand for any Non-Muhammadan constituency, even outside his district. However, there appears to be no objection to treating the Sourashtras as Brahmins for the purpose of the coming elections because there are no seats reserved for Brahmins, the reservation being exclusively for Non-Brahmins, and the non-reserved seats may be contested by Brahmins as well as Non-Brahmins. On the contrary to treat the Sourashtras as Non-Brahmins in spite of their protest might give rise to complications in connection with elections. If in a plural constituency a Sourashtra scores the largest number of votes he

until the Communique of the 5th June is cancelled

p. 127 et (G)

Rule 12(7) of the
Madras Electoral
Rules - 1.7.7 (N)

Rule 41 of the Madras
Electoral Rules.

1.18.7 (N)

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will have to be declared elected to the reserved seat if he is treated as a Non-Brahman. This may be objected to by a Non-Brahman candidate who but for the Sourashtras would have won the reserved seat, on the ground that as the Sourashtras claims himself to be a Brahman he cannot be declared to be elected to the reserved seat. The dispute will naturally be taken before an election court but whether an election court has jurisdiction to adjudicate upon it is not free from doubt because the issue virtually is whether a Sourashtra is a Brahman or a Non-Brahman -- a matter which only civil courts are competent to decide. The proceedings of the election court so far as they relate to matters falling within the scope of their authority are practically final and it could not have been the intention that such vital questions of caste should be finally disposed of by a summary court. If the dispute can be taken to civil court the seat will have to be kept vacant for many years. It is respectfully submitted that these complications can be avoided by adopting the course suggested by His Excellency the Governor viz. that the communique dated 5th June 1920 be withdrawn and that another be issued saying that ~~they~~ any Sourashtra standing for election should declare -- whether he stands as Brahman or Non-Brahman.

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26.7.20

NOTES CONNECTED WITH RESOLUTION ON MATTERS OF
GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST.

[For the meeting of the 17th August 1920.]

[SUBJECT.—*Classification of Sourashtras for the purpose of election and census.*]

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—

XIII. This Council recommends to His Excellency in Council that Sourashtra community should not be treated as non-Brahmans in the matter of elections, in the matter of census classification or in any other matter against the expressed wishes of that community.

REFORMS SECTION.

This resolution has its origin in an order passed in the Reforms Section declaring that for the purpose of the forthcoming elections Sourashtras would be classed (i.e., would vote) with the 'non-Brahmans.' This decision was promulgated on an application from one S. K. Sundara Ram, a yarn merchant, whose head office is at Singaratope Street, Madura. He is evidently a Sourashtra. The terms of his letter are interesting, for he admits that the Sourashtras in actual practice have not been accepted as Brahmans by the South Indian Brahman, and the case which he contemplates is that of a Sourashtra standing for a non-Brahman seat. In such an event, he asks whether the election would be valid. I mention this to show that our decision had its origin not in a wanton attempt to disgrace and depreciate the Sourashtra but in an inquiry to which an answer of some kind had to be given.

2. In coming to a decision we mainly relied upon the fact that the Sourashtras had never been officially recognized as Brahmans. In the census of 1891, they were not classed as Brahmans and the figures in paragraph 476 on page 284 of Volume XIII of the report of that census shows that out of 73,000 of them only 7,400 actually returned 'Brahmana' as their caste. The same paragraph mentions that it was in Madura that their pretension to be Brahmans is asserted with the greatest vehemence,—a phenomenon which now repeats itself.

In the census of 1901 they were again not classed with Brahmans but under 'Kshatriya and allied castes'—page 136, Volume XV, Part I, 1901 Census Report. In this report (as in that of 1891) they are found entered under the term 'Patunulkaran' which appears to have been until comparatively recently the name by which they were generally described. Lastly in the census report of 1911, they are entered merely as 'Patunulkaran' and not under 'Brahmans'—Census report, 1911, page 186, Volume XII, Part I.

3. If the debate on the resolution takes the form of recriminations in regard to what has already been done, I think our reliance on the census reports supplies a perfectly good answer. Further it is, I believe, unquestionable that the great majority of the orthodox Brahmans, not influenced by political objects, would refuse to admit that the Sourashtra is a Brahman. The political Brahmans may, for the purpose of electioneering, declare otherwise, but I doubt whether any of them would go so far as to eat with Sourashtra without considering himself polluted.

4. The Sourashtras in a memorial which is separately under disposal base their claim to be classed as Brahmans on certain sasanams issued by Queen Mangammal (vide the enclosures to the memorial at page 1 of the currents in the linked file). That lady's decision, as will be noticed, was very cautious and non-committal. All she admitted that Sourashtras had Brahmanical rites and ceremonies and she permitted them to continue in the use of them. She did not declare that they were Brahmans.

The mere fact that the Sourashtras used and still use Brahmanical rites or that they call themselves Brahmans counts for little; for, the goldsmiths in the Northern Circars style themselves 'Viswa Brahmans' though no one recognizes them as Brahmans; while the fact that the fishermen in the south sometimes style themselves as 'Agnikula Kshatriyas' is not accepted as entitling them to recognition as 'Kshatriyas'.

The principal lesson which I should draw from the documents sent up with the memorial is that the Government, if they have erred, have erred in very good company, namely, in that of Venkatrangayya Garu, an astrologer and the adhikari of the Madura Fort, who, confident that the Sourashtras had no right to claim the status of Brahmans, arrested them for performing Brahmanical rites.

5. The following extract from Thurston's description of the Patnulkaran may be of interest:—

"*Patnulkaran*.—The Patnulkarans are described in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as 'a caste of foreign weavers found in all the Tamil districts, but mainly in Madura town, who speak Patnuli or Khatri, a dialect of Gujarati, and came originally from Gujarat. They have always been known here as Patnulkarans, or silk thread people. They are referred to in the inscriptions of Kumara Gupta (A.D. 473) at Mandasor, south of Gujarat, by the name of Pattavayaka, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of Patnulkaran, and the sasaram of Queen Mangammal of Madura, mentioned below, speaks of them by the same name, but lately they have taken to calling themselves Sourashtras from the Sourashtra country from which they came. They also claim to be Brahmans. They thus frequently entered themselves in the schedules as Sourashtra Brahmans. They are an intelligent and hard-working community, and deserve every sympathy in the efforts which they are making to elevate the material prosperity of their members and improve their educational condition, but a claim to Brahmanhood is a difficult matter to establish. They say that their claim is denied because they are weavers by profession, which none of the Southern Brahmans are, and because the Brahmans of the Tamil country do not understand their rites, which are the northern rites. The Mandasor inscriptions, however, represent them as soldiers as well as weavers, which does not sound Brahmanical, and the Tamil Brahmans have never raised any objections to the Gauda Brahmans calling themselves such, different as their ways are from those current in the south. In Madura their claim to Brahmanhood has always been disputed. As early as 1705 A.D. the Brahmans of Madura called in question the Patnulkaran's right to perform the annual upakarma (or renewal of the sacred thread) in the Brahman fashion. (Eighteen members of the community were arrested by the Governor of Madura for performing this ceremony.) The matter was taken to the notice of the Queen Mangammal, and she directed her State pandits to convene meetings of learned men and to examine into it. On their advice, she issued a cadjan (palm leaf) sasanam (grant) which permitted them to follow the Brahmanical rites. But all the twice-born—whether Brahmans, Kshatriyas, or Vaishyas—are entitled to do the same, and the sasanam establishes little. The Patnuls point out that, in some cases, their gotras are Brahmanical. But, in many instances which could be quoted, Kshatriyas had also Brahmanical gotras."

"Their perseverance has won for them a place in the Devasthanam Committee of one of the most prosperous temples in the district. But, in spite of their affluence and leading position, it must be confessed that they are essentially a 'backward class' in respect of English education and enlightenment."

"In an order of the Director of Public Instruction in 1900, it was laid down that, 'Saurashtras having been recognized (in 1892) as a backward class falling under Patnulgars, the manager cannot continue to enjoy the privileges accorded under the Grant-in-Aid Code to schools intended for backward classes, if he returns his pupils as Brahmans. If the pupils have been returned as Sourashtra Brahmans, the manager should be requested to revise, as no such caste is recognized.' A deputation had an interview with the Director, and it was subsequently ruled that 'Saurashtras will continue to be treated as a backward class. Pupils belonging to the above class should invariably be returned in future as Sourashtras whether the word Brahman is added or not'."

6. Turning to another line of discussion, we have the case of Mr. Tulasiram—the leader of the present agitation—who appeared before the Joint Committee in London, and also before Lord Meston, as a champion of the non-Brahman. His evidence before the Joint Committee is at page 368 of volume II of the Minutes of Evidence. Mr. Tulasiram, I understand, now claims that when he appeared as a champion of the non-Brahman he was with them but not of them. In other words, he would like to argue that the expressions 'we' and 'us' which appear throughout his evidence were used in the sense in which a lawyer uses them when he identifies himself with his client. This seems to me a little difficult to accept. I notice that when Mr. Tulasiram in his evidence placed the Brahman population in Madras at 6½ lakhs he apparently accepted the census decision that the Sourashtras are not included among Brahmans. Mr. Tulasiram's appearance before Lord Meston was due to his selection as a non-Brahman representative by the South Indian Liberal Federation, the President of which is Sir P. Tyagaraya Chetti, the acknowledged non-Brahman leader of non-Brahmans. Possibly before he actually appeared, Mr. Tulasiram realized that his fellow easterners were hardly welcoming the attitude which he had adopted, for before Lord Meston he took a new line and stated that one or two communities were neither Brahmans nor non-Brahmans and he apparently included Sourashtras in this category. The Sourashtras, he said, claimed to be Brahmans but were not admitted by Brahmans as such. This last confession of his further justifies the attitude which Government took in its communiqué. The suggestion that there are castes among Hindus which are neither Brahman nor non-Brahman is of course illogical and ridiculous. If the Sourashtras are not non-Brahmans they must be Brahmans and that claim, as has been said, has never been admitted. The question is one of fact and the onus of proving that the previous decisions on this subject in official records is wrong lies, I think, on the Sourashtras.

7. Apart from the question of caste, it is obvious that politically the Sourashtras' place in the electoral cosmos is with the 'non-Brahman.' The Sourashtras at their own desire have been classed educationally as a 'backward community.' Their occupation is industrial. Their whole position is therefore in sharp contrast to that of the persons of influence and education, largely belonging to the professional classes, who make up the class of Brahmans with whom we politically are not concerned. Mr. Tulasiram's evidence in London itself supports this view. For whether he confessed himself a non-Brahman or not, his whole line of argument was to show that all the other Hindus in the Presidency needed to be protected politically from the Madras Brahmans, a 'clanish, selfish and ambitious class', who, if their powers were not limited, would keep the whole of the rest of the population under their dominion.

8. I may add that the agitation in the present instance comes only from Madura which contains considerably less than half the total Sourashtra population. There were at the last census 39,000 Sourashtras in Madura out of 92,000 in the whole Presidency. I have telegraphed to the Collector of Salem to ascertain if the Sourashtras there are raising any similar trouble, but have had no reply. As the Salem Sourashtras are content to call themselves Chettis it seems improbable that they will take part in the Madura agitation.

9. Finally, I may mention that the total number of voters concerned in this agitation is 2,078 out of an electorate which we hope will total 1,000,000. It is very much a case, I think, of the 'Tailors of the Fooley street.'

10. So much for the justification for the orders already issued. If members of the Legislative Council (Government members refraining from voting) choose to recommend that the Sourashtras should be classed for electoral purposes as Brahmans, I do not think there need be any very great objection, but Government, I submit, should not itself take the responsibility of issuing a decision which would certainly hurt the feelings of a very large number of orthodox Brahmans.

11. As regards the classification of Sourashtras for census purposes, I understand that the Home Department is noting.

His Highness the Governor has understood there is a resolution on his coming up in Council, if so, think we shall await the discussion on it before we decide on the Mr. P. T. Todunkhi any further action

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NOTES CONNECTED WITH A RESOLUTION ON MATTERS OF
GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST.

[For the meeting of the 17th August 1920.]

[SUBJECT.—*Sourashtra community not to be treated as non-Brahmans.*]

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR:—

XIII. This Council recommends to His Excellency in Council that Sourashtra community should not be treated as non-Brahmans in the matter of elections, in the matter of census classification or in any other matter against the expressed wishes of that community.

HOME (MISCELLANEOUS) DEPARTMENT.

In the "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" (Volume VI) Mr. Thurston writes that Sourashtra is a synonym of the Patnulkarans derived from the Sourashtra country whence they came southward and that they also style themselves Sourashtra Brahmins. A brief review of the Patnulkaran sect will be found on pages 160—176 of the same book (volume VI). Attention is also solicited to the remarks of Mr. Francis on page 173 of the Census Report, 1901, from which it will be observed that their claim to Brahmanhood has always been disputed.

On the occasion of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone for the Sourashtra High School at Madura in July 1917, Sir Alexander Cardew is reported to have remarked in the course of his speech that the Sourashtras form an important section of the non-Brahman community and this evoked some controversy in the newspapers. Please see also the marginal remarks of Sir Alexander Cardew on page 6 of the Notes to G.O. No. 1188, Home (Education), dated 18th September 1917.

The Sourashtra community is a backward one, but is latterly showing considerable activity to be treated as 'Brahman' as will be evidenced by the recent Sourashtra Conference held at Madura.

2. From a census point of view the name of the main caste to which the person enumerated declares himself to belong is entered in column 8 of the census schedule, even though it is considered that he is claiming a higher position than that to which he is entitled. In the census table for 1901 and 1911 the Sourashtras appear to have been classified as Patnulkarans (vide table XIII on page 113, volume XII, Part II, 1911, and also table XIII—1901 volume). For statistical purposes it is quite immaterial whether a person is enumerated as Sourashtra or Patnulkaran so long as correct figures are ascertained. It may also be noted that in the ensuing census inquiries on the subject of castes will be confined to the recording of main castes as in 1901 and 1911 except to the extent ordered in G.O. No. 1162, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 7th July 1920—vide also paragraph 8 of the Census Commissioner's note recorded in G.O. No. 804, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 31st March 1920.

3. The Sourashtra community is evidently aspiring to a social position higher than that which the Hindu society in general is inclined to accord the community. As regards the practical difficulties in defining scientifically what correct position should be assigned to it in the caste category, Mr. Francis has remarked as follows in his report on the Census, 1901:—

"A really scientific classification requires full materials from the fields of early vernacular literature, history, folklore, customs, archæology, epigraphy and anthropometry, and none of these have yet been thoroughly explored."

page 304

b.7 of the manual
for charge-sheet &
Supervision

b.125 of the
Census Report
Vol IV - Part I

His views on the general question of castes assuming some name to give them social advancement, are noted below :—

"The movements are contrary to the teaching of Manu, who classes falsely asserting oneself to be of too high a caste in the same category with breach of trust and incest, and moreover a caste does not enhance its real position by wearing threads, marrying its children as infants, and giving itself a high sounding name. It can obtain far more honourable distinction by educating its members and elevating their lives. The Native Christians afford an example of how much can be done to raise a community by unpretentious efforts in these directions."

4. The file may be sent u.o. to the Public (Reforms) Section for remarks.

A.R.—27-7-20.

S.A.—29-7-20.

W. S. BROWN—29-7-20.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—29-7-20.

REFORMS SECTION.

A copy of the notes of this department with regard to the treatment of Sourashtras as non-Brahmans in the matter of elections is put up. Submitted that this file may be returned to Home (Miscellaneous) u.o. with thanks.

T.S.R.—5-8-20.

P. T. SRINIVASACHARI—5-8-20.

HOME (MISCELLANEOUS) DEPARTMENT.

It is noted that the matter of elections comes first in the resolution. The Reforms Commissioner's view of the pretension bears out the view taken above in the matter of census classification. We may, I submit, take the view expressed by Mr. Knapp in paragraph 10 of his note and leave it to the Council to decide after the facts are placed before them.

For orders who is to take charge of the resolution.

W.S.B.—5-8-20.

The note on the Reforms Section has been circulated to His Excellency and the Honourable Member (Public).

H.M. (Census).

R.R.—5-8-20.



Stonehouse Hill,
Ootacamund,
11th August 1920.

My dear Ramachandra Rao,

With reference to the discussion in to-day's Council regarding the claim of the Sourashtras to be treated as Brahmans, I should be much obliged if you could give me a short note of any points on the ethnographical or caste aspect of the question which you think will be useful in debate.

Yours sincerely,

M. R. Ry.

M. R. Ry.

Diwan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao Avl.,

Secretary to Government,

Home Department.

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2 Census reports

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"A really scientific classification requires full materials from the fields of early vernacular literature, history, folklore, customs, archaeology, epigraphy and anthropometry, and none of these have yet been thoroughly explored."

p. 163 of Thurston's Castes of India
(Vol. VI)

2. Mr. (now Sir) H.A. Stuart writes in the manual of the North Arcot district "The Pattulkars say that they were originally Brahmins, living in a town of Surat called Devagiri, in which 12 streets were entirely peopled by them. For some reason, of which they profess themselves to be ignorant, the residents of one of the streets were excommunicated by the rest of the caste, and expelled. They travelled southwards, and settled in Tirupati, Arni, and Vellore as well as in Trichinopoly, Bangalore, Madura, and other large towns, where they carried on their trade of silk-weaving. Another story is to the effect that they were bound to produce a certain number of silken cloths at ^{each} ~~which~~ Deepavali feast in Devagiri for the Goddess Lakshmi. One year their supply fell short, and they were cursed by the Goddess, who decreed that they should no longer be regarded as Brahmins. They however still claim to be such and follow the customs of that caste, though they refuse to eat with them. They acknowledge priests from among themselves, as well as from among Brahmins and profess to look down upon all other castes. In religion they are divided into Smarthas, Vishnavas and Vyaparis, some among the Smarthas being Lingayats. Those who can write usually employ the Telugu characters in writing their language."

p. 164 of Thurston's Castes & Tribes
Vol. VI

In the Manual of the Madura district, the Pattnulkarans are described as "a caste of Surat silk-weavers, whose ancestors were induced to settle in Madura by one of the earlier Nayakkan kings, or in response to an invitation from Tirumala Nāik and who have thriven so well that they now form by far the most numerous of all the castes resident in the town of Madura. They are very skilful and industrious workmen, and many of them have become very wealthy. They keep altogether aloof from other castes and live independently of general society, speaking a foreign tongue, and preserving intact the customs of the land of their origin. They are easily distinguished in appearance from Tamils, being of a light yellowish ~~xx~~ colour, and having handsomer and more intelligent features. They are called Chetties or merchants by Tamils".

3. The following extract from Thurston's description of the Patnulkaran may be of interest:—

"Patnulkaran.—The Patnulkarans are described in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as 'a caste of foreign weavers found in all the Tamil districts, but mainly in Madura town, who speak Patnuli or Khatri, a dialect of Gujarati, and came originally from Gujarat. They have always been known here as Patnulkarans, or silk thread people. They are referred to in the inscriptions of Kumara Gupta (A.D. 473) at Mandasor, south of Gujarat, by the name of Pattavayaka, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of Patnulkaran, and the sasanam of Queen Mangammal of Madura, mentioned below, speaks of them by the same name, but lately they have taken to calling themselves Saurashtras from the Saurashtra country from which they came. They also claim to be Brahmans. They thus frequently entered themselves in the schedules as Saurashtra Brahmans. They are an intelligent and hard-working community, and deserve every sympathy in the efforts which they are making to elevate the material prosperity of their members and improve their educational condition, but a claim to Brahmanhood is a difficult matter to establish. They say that their claim is denied because they are weavers by profession, which none of the Southern Brahmans are, and because the Brahmans of the Tamil country do not understand their rites, which are the northern rites. The Mandasor inscriptions, however, represent them as soldiers as well as weavers, which does not sound Brahmanical, and the Tamil Brahmans have never raised any objections to the Gauda Brahmans calling themselves such, different as their ways are from those current in the south. In Madura their claim to Brahmanhood has always been disputed. As early as 1705 A.D. the Brahmans of Madura called in question the Patnulkaran's right to perform the annual upakarma (or renewal of the sacred thread) in the Brahman fashion. (Eighteen members of the community were arrested by the Governor of Madura for performing this ceremony.) The matter was taken to the notice of the Queen Mangammal, and she directed her State pandits to convene meetings of learned men and to examine into it. On their advice, she issued a cadjan (palm leaf) sasanam (grant) which permitted them to follow the Brahmanical rites. But all the twice-born—whether Brahmans, Kshatriyas, or Vaishyas—are entitled to do the same, and the sasanam establishes little. The Patnuls point out that, in some cases, their gotras are Brahmanical. But, in many instances which could be quoted, Kshatriyas had also Brahmanical gotras."

4. From the above it will be seen that the Pattnulkars perform Upanayanam and other brahmanical rites with the help of Brahmin priests. This would only show that they are not Sudras but does not establish that they are Brahmins, inasmuch as the rites referred to above are common to all the first three castes. The Mandasor inscriptions are reported to represent them as soldiers and weavers. In olden days caste followed occupation and in accordance with this principle the race of Sourashtras may have been divided into Brahmins, Kshatriyas &c. In the 'History of the Sourashtras in Southern India' by the Sourashtra Literary Societies of Madura and Madras, they actually lay claim to such a division. It is probable that ^{while} migrating from the North, particular divisions may have migrated in a body to a particular place. This may account for the fact that the community in Madura alone have been from a very long time past (the days of Queen Mangammal) been strongly pressing for their recognition as Brahmins.

5. It may be noted in this connection that the fact of their backwardness in education cannot be taken by itself against their treatment as Brahmins. For instance the Nambudri Brahmins of Malabar are even now backward in education: The fact that the Sourashtras call themselves Ayyars, Ayyangars, Raos etc., does not also support their claim for brahminhood. In the north Rao is a common term for both Brahmins and non-Brahmins. These titles are therefore by themselves no ~~extrinsic~~ criterion. It may also be noted that Tamil Brahmins do not recognise Gauda Brahmins as real Brahmins. The Gold-smiths in the Northern Circars style themselves Viswa-Brahmins though no one recognises

p. 168 of Thurston's
Castes & Tribes

them as Brahmins.

6. The social habits of these Pattulkars, the mode of dressing of their females, their exclusiveness and their appearance generally mark them off from other castes.

S
12/4/10

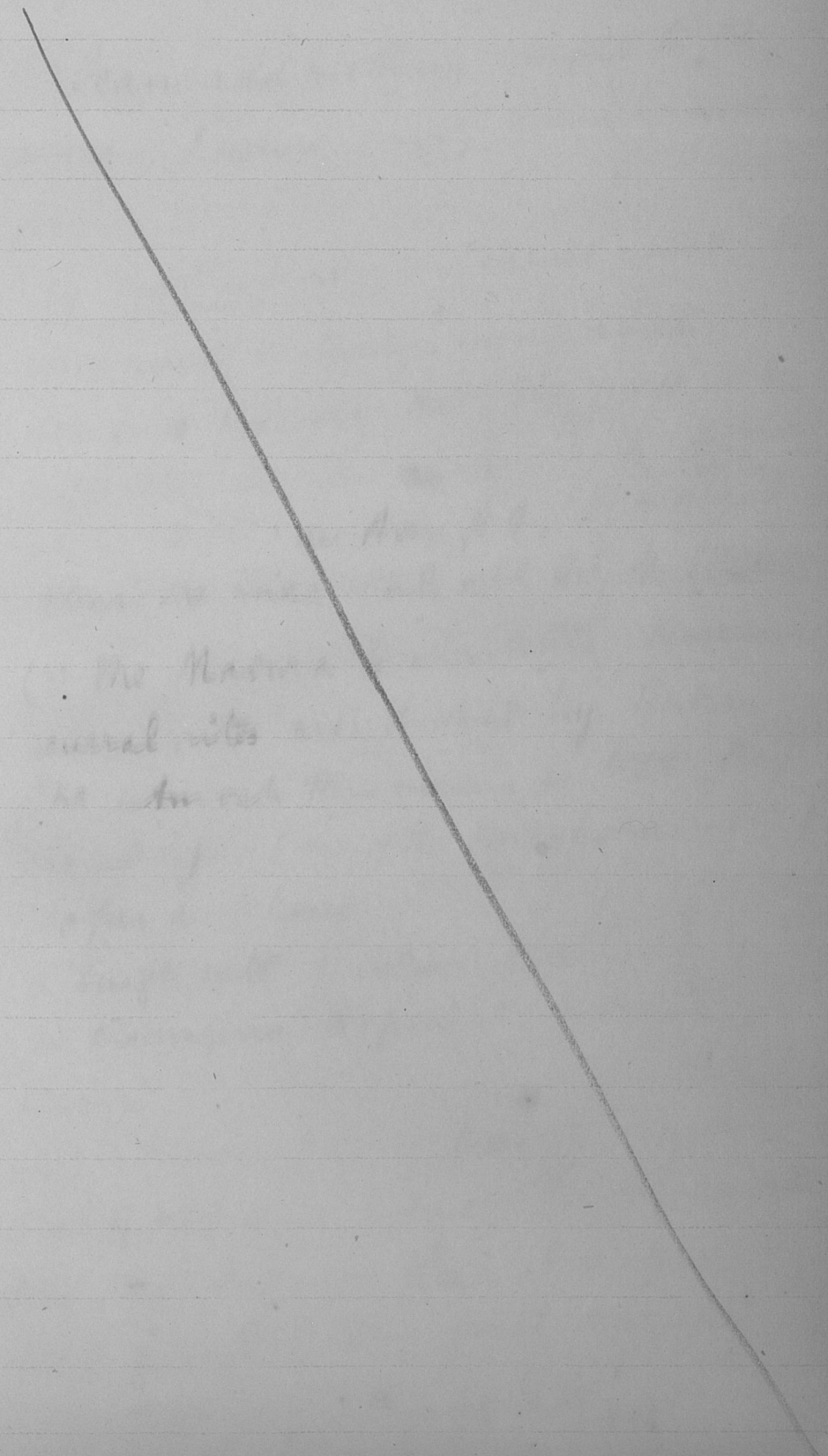
I can add nothing useful to the above. I would simply summarise as follows:-

- (1) Pattulkaran is a Tamil name; the community is clearly immigrant; it is quite possible that the race, like all other Indian races, had the four castes, see A. & S. p. 4. It is also clear the race had all the 4 occupations.
- (2) The Madura Sourashtras observe several rites not observed by Sudras. The utmost this means is that they are Dravidas (one of the twice born castes). So far as I have read, I do not see a single rite peculiar to the Brahman as distinguished from the Kshatriya or Vaisya.
- (3) Ethnographically there is a good deal of difference between the Sourashtras & the South Indian. But I need hardly point out that, one found that the race is Indian, ethnologically does

not throw any light on discrimination
of caste.

may
12/8/20

Hm (Census)



can add nothing useful to the
above. I have only mentioned an
example.
(1) Fortification is a Tamil name. The
community is chiefly Dravidian.
It is quite possible that the name is
of Dravidian origin. It is also
in the p. 4. of the
then the more has all the of
(2) The Madras Government
general into all those of
the which the means is that they
are Dravidian (or the Dravidian Caste)
to for a name used in the
a single note of order to the
in the Dravidian from the
Karnataka
(3) Ethnography has a good
deal of information between the
the East Indian. But I understand
part of it. The fact that the
are Dravidian, ethnography has



Local and Municipal Department,

Ootacamund, the 13th August 1920.

Dear Mr. Todhunter,

I regret I am not in a position to deal adequately with the ethnographical aspect of the claims put forward by the silk weavers commonly called 'Patnoolkarans', (an appellation which they strongly resent). The following points may, however, be of use.

I. Jurisdiction.-

Caste disputes which cannot be settled by caste panchayats, have in the past been referred for decision either to the spiritual authority of some Matha, or to the temporal authority of the Sovereign power.

As an instance of the former may be cited the case of the Māraka Brahmans, (see page 368, Vol. I of Thurston's 'Castes and Tribes') where on the strength of ~~the~~ pronouncements ~~by~~ by Sringeri Matha and the Parakā Matha at Mysore, the Government directed that the Mārakas should be entered as Brahmans in the Government accounts.

The obvious precedent for the handling of such questions by the temporal power is that of Queen Mangammāl's Sāsanam of 1705, which, so far as I am aware, has never been critically edited. Mangammāl wisely referred the matter to a conference of pandits. Her award appears to have satisfied the Saurāshtras for the time being.

In this connection I would solicit a perusal of paragraphs 484, 485, 504, 505 on pages 378-380 and 393-395 of Vol. I ^{are given} Part I of the Census Report of 1911, where a number of instances of the control of caste matters by Rajas and also by the East India Company.

II. Merits.

It would be risky to attempt to decide the merits of the Saurāshtras' claims in the absence of data. Much has been written

16
but little is known of them, practically nothing of ethnographic value. The evidence of their Gōthra names has been cited, but this is not conclusive as to their claims to Brahmanhood, (See page 173 of Francis' Census Report, Madras, 1901), ~~and~~ To establish their lineal connection with any communities still surviving in Malwa or Gujrat, ~~it~~ would be necessary to survey in detail the social customs of similar communities in those areas, and compare them, bit by bit, with those of the Patnool-karans, and to collect at least some anthropometric evidence. I would hesitate to accept the identification assumed by Francis and others between these Patnoolkarans and the Pattavayakas of the Mandasore inscription. The introduction of ~~these~~ ^{silk-weaving} in South India is an interesting puzzle, ~~as~~ it is certainly not an indigenous art; but here again the problem has never, so far as I am aware, been scientifically examined. That true Brahmans should take to weaving is a priori improbable, but it is by no means a priori impossible.

(The Bombay Census Report for 1911, and other volumes which might throw light on the Khatri and Patve silk weavers of Gujrat and Central India are not obtainable at Ooty. Nor have I been able to get a copy of Indian Antiquary, Vol. XV, pages 194-201, where the Mandasore inscription is discussed.)

I may add that there is very little on record in Thurston's Volumes which will bear close scrutiny.

III. Results.

The result of the Government accepting this resolution would almost certainly lead to a demand from other sections of the community to be recognised as 'twice born'. The Patnoolkarans of this Presidency number some 92,000 odd. The Tamil Kammālas or artisans (numbering over 558,000) claim recognition as Brahmans with equal vehemence, and, once the fashion was started, there is very little doubt that the Telugu Kamsalas (numbering 295,000) and the Devanga weavers (numbering 286,000) would similarly advance their claims. (See Thurston's Vol. III, pages 113 and 143 and Vol. II, page 156.)

But the matter would not end with that; for the claims of Shanars to be Kshatriyas, which has led to so much bloodshed in the past, will inevitably burst again into volcanic activity. The Shanars number

15 17
-3-
nearly 642,000, and their example would certainly be followed by the Pallis or "Agnikula Kshatriyas", who number over 2,820,000. The Rāzus, who number over a hundred thousand have a better claim than either to Kshatriya rank, and a large number of the Baliga community (numbering over 1,41,000) harbour like ambitions.

As for Vaisyas the claims of the Kōmatṭis (numbering 508,000) have not everywhere been recognised, and important sections of other Chettis (whose number is given as 350,000) are sure to follow suit, as also will the oil-pressing Vānias, who number 194,000. (See Thurston's Vol. V for Pallis; Vol. VII page 313 for Vānias; Vol. I, page 212 for Bēri Chettis; Vol. V, page 136 for Nagarth Chettis.)

No doubt if all these claims were recognised under the orders of Government, the ranks of the 'twice born' would be immensely strengthened for political campaigning. But in the first place no orders of Government can enforce the social recognition of these various communities by the communities with whom they wish to be equalised, and in some cases such a recognition would be bitterly resented, probably with violence. Once the claim of the Saurāshtras is officially recognised, it would be impossible to refuse a hearing to other aspirants, and any attempt on the part of Government to intervene in such matters is likely to bring them into ridicule and contempt.

I may add that even the Pariahs have recently protested against being called Pariahs or Panchamas, and their case has been discussed at immense length by the ^{Madras} Corporation. Their claim to be ^{the} Adhi Dravidas is likely to lead to complications; for if they are only ^{the} true and original Dravidians, all other Non-Brahman Hindus must have ^{a "bar"} ~~appeared~~ sinister in their pedigree.

Yours sincerely,

H. P. Richard

To

The Hon'ble Mr. C.G. Todhunter, C.S.I., I.C.S.,

Member of Council.

See e.g.
petition
below, which
is a counter
to the Adhi
Dravida claim.

Appendix.

19

Name of the community.	No.	Claim to be classed as
1. Sourashtras or Patnoolkarans	92,000	Brahmans.
2. Tamil Kammalas	558,000	Do.
3. Telugu Kamsalas	295,000	Do.
4. Shanars	642,000	Kshatriyas
5. Pallis or Agnikula Kshatriyas	2,820,000	Do.
6. Razus	over 100,000	Do.
7. Baligas large No. of	1,041,000	Do.
8. Komattis	508,000	Vaisyas
9. Other Chettis	350,000	Do.
10. Vaniyas (oil-pressing)	194,000	Do.

70 Lt M Department 19

From Mr R. V. Ramaswami Aiyah, Salem, 8/8/20
Subject classification of Sourashtras as
Brahmans

To the Home (misc.) Dept. no.
C.V.R. - 12.8.20 L.A.C. - 12.8.20.
Home (misc.) Dept

is
maybe submitted to H.M. (Census)
for perusal. ~~is submitted to H.M. (Census)~~

by 12.8.20. S 13/8/20
H.M. Census

This is clearly an imitation
adopted from Madras, the
agitation so far as Salem is
concerned has no history behind
it

13/8/20

H.M. (Census)

C. J. [unclear] 3pm 14-8-20
 C. No. 1984-44 14-8-20
 TELEGRAPHS. 390

NOTICE
 This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

14 AUG 1920

CHIEF SECRETARY
 14 VII 1920

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

Received at (Office of Origin) Date. Hour. Minute.
 Paramakudi 14 11 50

Recd. here at 13 H. 10 L.

To the Home (Res) Dept. Secy Govt of Madras
 (14-8-20) 14-8-20 14-8-20
 Public meeting Paramakudi Souras
 brahman's Thousand and
 more people present resolution
 passed heartily Thanking Honorable
 narasimha iyer for moving

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.
 Lal Chand & Sons—3410—5-9-18—2,65,000 Bks. (Edn. III).

Resolution against govt classifying
 us nonbrahman requesting
 him carry it successfully
 Request all honourable mem-
 bers support it = Venkatayalu Iyer
 Secy =

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.
 Lal Chand & Sons—3410—5-9-18—2,65,000 Bks. (Edn. III).

Box 29
Cue 17.8

2

U.S.

22

Home (nus) Dept

The telegram on p¹ ante may
be circulated to H.M. (Census) for
perusal.

SND
16820

S
HM
Census

Paramaguri is near Madara

run
167820

HM (Census)

HE

D.O. No 401.



27/22
Census Office,

Camp - Darmapuri,

17th August 1920.

Dear Mr. Todhunter,

Your D.O. of the 15th has just reached me on my arrival here this morning.

My general instructions to Enumerators are that they are to record on the Schedule "the name of the main caste to which the person enumerated declares himself to belong", even though the enumerator thinks such person is claiming a higher position than ^{that} to which he is strictly entitled.

As a matter of fact I do not anticipate that the Sowrashttra will insist upon returning himself as a mere Brahman, for he is not at all anxious to lose his own identity or to be merged with the mass of "other Brahmans". Probably he will in most cases return himself as a Sowrashttra Brahman; and if he does, there will be no difficulty in keeping him distinct from other castes. Even if however he be perverse enough to insist on having his caste recorded as Brahman pure and simple, it will still be possible for my Sorters to

23



to identify him by the language which he returns; for under the head of "Language ordinarily used in the household" practically the whole community must return their own language whether they call it Sowrashtra or Patnul or Kathri.

In 1891 - 72,200 persons were returned as Sowrashtras,
and 73,352 as speaking the language.

In 1901 - 87,149 persons were returned as Sowrashtras,
and 85,574 as speaking the language.

In 1911 - 92,840 persons were returned as Sowrashtras,
and 92,649 as speaking the language.

These figures, I think, are sufficient to show that the entry in the 'language' column of the Schedule will be an adequate check on the entry in the 'caste' column.

I remember the Sowrashtras raised the same question before the last Census; but so far as I am aware Molony had no trouble in sorting them all correctly,

Yours sincerely,

Chas. A. Soale

To

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter, I.C.S.,

24 24
Extract from page 377 of the 'Castes and Tribes
of Southern India' by E. Thurston Esq.,

At the census 1901 Tollakkadan (man with a big
hole in his ears) was taken as being a sub-caste of -
Shanan, as the people who returned it, and sell husked
rice in Madras, used the title Nadan. Madura and -
Tinnevelly are eminently the homes of dilated ear-lobes.
Some Tamil traders in these two districts, who returned
themselves as Pandyan, were classified as Shanans, as
Nadan was entered as their title.

Falsely attributing to oneself high birth, giving information to the king (regarding a crime), and falsely accusing one's teacher, (are offences) equal to slaying a Brahmana.

59. Carnal intercourse with sisters by the same mother, with (unmarried) maidens, with females of the lowest castes, with the wives of a friend, or of a son, they declare to be equal to the violation of a Guru's bed.

55. Killing a Brahmana, drinking (the spirituous liquor called) Sura, stealing (the gold of a Brahmana), adultery with a Guru's wife, and associating with such (offenders), they declare (to be) mortal sins (mahapataka)



20 26
"The Hermitage",
Mylapore, Madras,
20th August 1920.

My dear Knapp,

You will probably have seen the report of the debate on the Resolution about the Sourashtras. I thought that it might perhaps save trouble if I were to draft the communiqué which we shall presumably have to issue amending the previous one. I send the file herewith together with a draft communiqué and shall be glad if, if you find nothing to criticise in it, you will submit it for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor.

Yours sincerely,

G. S. S. S.

A. R. Knapp, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S.,
Reforms Commissioner,
Ootacamund.

27 27.
In May last the Govt. of Madras were asked

for a reply to the following question:- "If in the coming elections to the Reform Councils a member of the Sowrashttra community takes it into his head to stand as a candidate for election for a non Brahmin seat, will his election be valid and in order?"

2 The enquirer desired permission to publish the reply and the Madras Government thought it was desirable in the circumstances to give it publicity themselves. They therefore on June 5th issued a communiqué to the effect that for the purposes of the election ~~as~~ to the Madras Legislative Council under the Reform Scheme, the Govt. had ~~have~~ decided that the Sowrashttra Community should be classed with the ~~non~~ non-Brahmins.

3 This communiqué gave rise to ~~the~~ several meetings of protest and eventually ^{to} a debate moved in the Legislative Council on the 19th August 1920 in which expression was given to the opinion that the members of the Community did not desire to claim the privilege of standing for the seats reserved for non-Brahmins and request was made that, in such an event if any member of the Community should so stand, the question whether he was entitled to the privilege or not should be left to be ~~decided~~ decided by the Tribunals appointed for the purpose. As a result of the discussion a

28
Resolution was passed in the following terms:--

"That this Council recommends to His Excel-
lency the Governor in Council that the Government
should be pleased to refrain from any declaration
to the caste of ^{the} Sowerashtra community for pur-
poses of elections to the ^{legislative} Council".

4 This resolution was accepted by Govt., and
in pursuance of it, the Govt. have ^{decided} ~~decided~~ to
leave any question that may arise in regard to the
right of a member of the Sowerashtra community to
stand for a reserved seat to be decided ^{by the} ~~on an~~

under the Madras Electoral
Rules.

^{authorities responsible} ~~election~~ petition. ^{for the election}

[5 It is needless to add that ^{in reply} ~~any reply~~ on the
information available to them to a question put
to them officially on an administrative matter,
the Govt. had no intention of issuing orders in
any way affecting the religion of the community.]

note informal.

8.15.20
Communique approved as amended above.

10.27.20

REFORMS OFFICE,

29
Ootacamund,

25th Aug. 19

My dear Todhunter,

The only doubt that occurs to me in regard to the Communiqué sent ~~in~~ with your letter of the 20th regarding the Sourashtras is this. If a Sourashtra candidate in a constituency which has a reserved seat should claim that he is a non-Brahmin and that his place in the poll entitles him to hold the reserved seat, it is the Returning Officer who will have to decide in the first instance whether to admit the claim or not: the petition, if any, to the Tribunal will be only a later stage. I admit that the case may very probably never arise, but it would, I think, be only fair to the Returning Officers that they should be given some lead in the matter, *as* for example that they should accept the candidate's own declaration ~~as~~ as to whether he is a Brahmin or not. This need not perhaps be included in the Communiqué but could, if necessary, be an instruction separately communicated; but the point does suggest a slight amendment of the Communiqué; namely that the last words of paragraph 4 should run "leave any question to be decided by the authorities conducting the election". This will better represent the actual position and will still be in accordance with the terms of the resolution accepted in Council.

likely to be concerned If we want to issue instructions to the returning officers, *Confidentially* we might perhaps merely ask them to report if in any case a Sourashtra is nominated as a candidate for a constituency which has a reserved seat. If no such case occurs we need say no more.

Perhaps you could bring the matter up

in

Council on Friday.

Yours sincerely,

Arumapp

The Hon'ble Mr. C.G. Todhunter C.S., I.C.S.,

Member of Council,

Ootacamund.

*I have answered para 4 in the same suggested.
Will the Hon'ble Mr. C.G. Todhunter please have this entered
in the business for tomorrow and copies distributed?*

26.8.20

Extract from the Proceedings of an Adjourned Meeting of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations under the provisions of the Act of Parliament, 5 & 6 Geo. V. Ch. 61.

The Council re-assembled at the Victoria Buildings, Egmore, at 11 a.m. on Thursday, the 19th day of August 1920.

RESOLUTION RE SOURASHTRA COMMUNITY NOT TO BE TREATED AS NON-BRAHMANS.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—Your Excellency, the resolution which I have the honour to move runs in these terms—

'XXVIII. This Council recommends to His Excellency in Council that Sourashtra community should not be treated as non-Brahmans in the matter of elections, in the matter of census classification or in any other matter against the expressed wishes of that community.'

"Since this resolution has been on the table I have had free discussion with practically every non-official gentleman here present and with those hundreds of representatives of the Sourashtra community."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—"Order, order. I do not think the Honourable Member must refer to the presence of gentlemen in the Stranger's Gallery."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—"The resolution is tantamount to saying that this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that the Government be pleased not to classify the Sourashtra community as Brahman or non-Brahman for purposes of the coming elections to the Legislative Council."

"I also understand that the Government do not want to tread on the corns of anybody least of all the Sourashtra Brahmans."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—"I think the Honourable Member had better leave the Government to say what their views are."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—"I only say that as since the policy of 1913 was given out there has been no declaration of policy to the contrary, I presumed the same policy regarding census would be continued."

"The only point which I want to press is with reference to Legislative Council elections whether the Government should classify the Sourashtras as Brahmans or non-Brahmans. This point would not have arisen but for the fact that a Government Order has recently issued to the effect that the Sourashtra community should be classified as non-Brahmans as regards the Legislative Council elections. When I mention that there is a Government Order it is not my intention to lay any blame on the Government for having issued it. They might have issued it for very good reasons. The question is not what was the occasion which led to the issue of the Government Order but only whether it is necessary or right for the Government so to classify the Sourashtras and whether it is desirable that Government should interfere with questions of community and give us a decision on the matter."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER :—"The Government Order does not classify them as non-Brahmans but *with* non-Brahmans."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—"There is a Government Order and a press communiqué also has been published. The press communiqué put them as non-Brahmans and the Government Order *with* non-Brahmans. It does not matter which particular paper says which. Both emanated from the Government. The reason why I am before this house is that this Government Order, however blameless according to the view of the officers that issued it, has had the effect of electrifying the whole Sourashtra community. I hold in my hands resolutions passed by the community in every place, where this community lives, Dindigul, Salem, Coimbatore and Kumbakonam. Resolutions after resolutions have come up. Some of them go even so far as to authorize me to put forward their claims in the Council. So I have got a commission, an authority from them. But even apart from that, as an elected non-official member I have a right to bring forward any specific point of public interest before the Council. The specific point is whether it is necessary at present for the Government to classify the Sourashtra Brahmans with the non-Brahmans. On that question alone I would entreat the Honourable Members to comment and I hope that Honourable Members who speak after me will confine themselves to this particular issue. It is no use going into other broad issues. I do not wish to tread on the corns of anybody. There have been bitter and acrimonious discussions about other communities in the past. It has been said that among the Brahman community there is a particular class of Brahmans. I do not wish to mention names even under great provocation—who are regarded as non-Brahmans at particular hours of the day. I do not wish to go into these painful details but I do not think it is the function of the Legislative Council or that of a Government to find out whether any particular person belongs to any particular class or caste. I really believe that no trouble at all will arise if Government do not commit themselves in this

2 RESOLUTION RE SOURASHTRA COMMUNITY NOT TO BE TREATED AS NON-BRAHMANS.

(Mr. Narasimha Ayyar; Mr. Ramanuja Achariyar; [19TH AUGUST 1920.
Mr. Todhunter; Mr. Siva Rao; Sir Tyagaraya Chetti.)

matter. But if any troubles arise, it is always an implication that whenever we make any rules the ultimate authority to decide doubtful points is the court. The point under consideration is whether there is any necessity for the Government to lay down that a particular community should be classified as belonging to Brahmans or non-Brahmans. On this very narrow issue I would respectfully invite the opinion of officials and non-officials. This question is one of very great importance and bristles with difficulties. In point of fact on a previous occasion, i.e., before Lord Meston, there was very great difficulty on this particular matter. Points might be urged against my position but I may however mention the fact that a good number are prepared to fight for the position that the Sourashtra community are Brahmans. I request that a discussion as to these details may be avoided because it serves no purpose. I therefore request all Honourable Members that we need not enter into the larger question but may restrict the issue to the smaller question. It is true there are other communities who claim similar privileges but I am not going to mention their names lest by naming them I should give rise to serious difficulties. I do not wish to give any room for discussion which might be considered to be hits against particular communities. It is not our intention to hurt each other's feelings. We are all one nation and we are all brothers. At present I wish to repeat that my present position is that there is no necessity for maintaining the view taken by Government. I do not contend there was no provocation at the time of the issue of the Government Order but I contend there is no necessity for the Government Order now. I think a very strong case like mine does not require further arguments. I will only request Honourable Members to support this resolution and avoid at the same time any acrimonious discussion."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V. K. RAMANUJA ACHARIYAR:—"Your Excellency, I beg to second this resolution. Even in Tanjore there is a strong feeling among the Sourashtras. I also had a deputation from Madura. I do not see why when the community wishes to call themselves Brahmans, the Government should oppose it. I, as a Brahman, am perfectly willing to welcome them to call themselves Brahmans. The Sourashtras do not want the advantage which the Government intended to give the non-Brahmans. I do not see why when the community does not wish to be called non-Brahmans, the Government should call them non-Brahmans. They are Sourashtra Brahmans and I have got a letter in which it is said that Queen Mangammal gave a copper plate declaring them to be Brahmans."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"Will the Honourable Member read the *sasanam*?"

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V. K. RAMANUJA ACHARIYAR:—"I have not got it. I have simply got a letter in which it is so stated."

The Hon'ble Mr. P. SIVA RAO:—"I give my hearty support to this resolution. I have got an extract from the Census Report of 1891 in which the customs and manners of this community are noticed. 'Sourashtra Brahmans perform all rites. They had been performing their rites from time immemorial. They were doing all the rituals and worship both Vishnu and Siva. They allow intermarriages only among their own sect-people and prohibit re-marriage of widows. Why should Government classify them as non-Brahmans? The more I think of them, the more I am convinced—they are Brahmans. To call them non-Brahmans is hardly justifiable under the circumstances. As was pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar, this community have been calling themselves Brahmans—Sourashtra Brahmans. I do not know on what authority and on what evidence the Government have declared them non-Brahmans for electoral purposes. I may say that when they state that they are Brahmans, to use a legal parlance, it is an admission against their own interests because for election purposes the Brahmans are a privileged class. The very fact that a particular community wants to style itself Brahman in spite of the fact that it will lose certain privileges given to non-Brahmans is itself a guarantee that there is some truth in it. I am reminded of a controversy which was raised some time ago in America when an Indian Brahman from the north—the Punjab—claimed to be a member of a 'white race'. He fought against his being classed under coloured races. It is a very learned question and the Supreme Court of America decided after a very elaborate discussion and after going into a very elaborate evidence that an Indian Brahman is an Aryan and belonged to the white race. In this case the Government cannot decide the matter. What the Honourable Member wants is that there should be no declaration by the Government in the matter. Let them leave the matter where it was. If anybody denies that they are Brahmans and if the matter comes before a court of law it can then be decided. So far as the Government is concerned, they should assume a neutral attitude."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir P. TYAGARAYA CHETTI:—"Your Excellency, I rise to support the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar. There is no reason why the Government should say this or that. The community was called non-Brahman because in the census it was marked as non-Brahman. I do not think it is necessary at all to go into their actual original position. If so, a good deal of difficulty will arise and any amount of time spent on it will not lead to any decision. It is a very difficult question. These gentlemen now call

3 RESOLUTION RE SOURASHTRA COMMUNITY NOT TO BE TREATED AS NON-BRAHMANS.

19TH AUGUST 1920.] (Sir Tyagaraya Chetti; Mr. Desika Achariyar;
Mr. Sivagnanam Pillai.)

themselves Brahmans. But as some of my friends have pointed out by assuming that position, they will be losers. So the fact that they come forward to call themselves as Brahmans shows that really there is a feeling, and the Government should not allow this feeling to be engendered."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur T. DESIKA ACHARIYAR:—"Your Excellency, I hail from a district in which there is a large body of silk weavers who call themselves Sourashtra Brahmans. They have put forward this claim not in 1920 but to my knowledge ever since I began to practise in 1891. The question was raised in connexion with the ceremony of adoption. The adoption was attacked on the ground that it was either made during the time of pollution or it was not accompanied with certain ceremonies which are necessary for a Brahman adoption. Whether these silk weavers are Brahmans or not, it is not possible easily to determine and it is not necessary to do so here and now. If a controversy is started whether even the acknowledged Brahmans are Brahmans, it must be a very difficult matter to decide. The question resolves itself into this. The Sourashtra Brahman speaks a separate dialect which is more akin to Prakrit, old corrupt Sanskrit, rather than to any South Indian vernacular. He has not intermarried with any of the southern races. He has called himself Brahman not now but for a number of years. He produces some documents the genuineness of which need not be examined or decided here. Suffice it to say that he does claim and has claimed for a long time to be a Brahman and there appears to be no necessity to say he is not a Brahman. The tendency in India, and in Southern India in particular, is for the class falling in the category of 'non-Brahmans' gradually to ascend in the social scale, eventually to reach the class styling itself Brahman. There are proverbs illustrating this fact. Gradually the non-Brahman classes seek to go up to a higher stage in social evolution. Perhaps in these days to call it *higher* or *lower* might give offence. I do not think it is necessary for Government to tackle this difficult problem and label anybody Brahman or non-Brahman. It is enough that the silk weavers are styled 'Sourashtra Brahmans' as they do wish to style themselves. The question whether a person who is a Sourashtra Brahman is a Brahman or a non-Brahman might perhaps be left to the law courts to determine. Why should the Government take all this trouble in arriving at a solution of so difficult a problem? It is best perhaps to say that the Government had no opinion on such matters."

"So far as I am concerned—and I think I am voicing the sentiments of many of the Honourable Members here when I say so—I am strongly of opinion that Government should say that they are not desirous to classify the silk weavers in question, for electoral purposes, as 'non-Brahmans.'"

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI:—"Your Excellency, I rise to support the resolution moved by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar. In doing so, I shall offer only a few remarks. My friends, the Hon'ble Mr. Desika Achariyar, the Hon'ble Mr. Ramanuja Achariyar and the Honourable Mover himself, come from districts where the Sourashtras are in a minority, but I represent the Madura, Tinnevely and Ramnad districts where they are in a majority. In fact it is the parent stock from which off-shoots have spread to Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Salem. In the course of my official career, I had to spend one year at Madura town and that was at a period when, in consequence of the outbreak of the European war, there was such a scarcity for aniline dyes that the Government were obliged to interfere in order to make an equitable distribution of the available quantity. In that connexion, the Collector of my district and myself had to visit every Sourashtra house of importance and find out for ourselves how much stock each had and how the remaining stock could be distributed. With the knowledge gained at such close quarters I am able to say confidently that the claim the Sourashtras now set up is not a new one. They have been asserting their claims for generations past and the people of Madura as a whole do not resent that idea, but have in a way been recognizing the privilege which they are claiming. To my knowledge there has not been any instance where any member of any caste other than the Sourashtra community had disputed that claim in courts. In ordinary life they think that these people are faddists and that they claim to some higher class; but really they do not want to bother themselves to find out whether that claim is right or not. If they really thought otherwise they would certainly have moved the villagers and moved every person interested in caste movement to get a decision on that point. That they have not done. The Sourashtra people say that they came from the Sourashtra country in the north and being situated in midst of a Hindu population (Dravidian population) they had to contend against very great odds; and, so far as I know, they appear to have a cadjan document purporting to be the decree of Queen Mangammal about two centuries ago. As my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Desika Achari put it, I do not vouch for the accuracy or genuineness of that document, but its age goes to show that this claim is not one which was set up in the near past. It has been in existence for a long time. Looking at that document it will be seen that certain busy bodies arrested certain Sourashtras professing to be Brahmans and performing certain brahmanical rights and sent them all the way from Madura to Trichinopoly. Queen Mangammal, with an insight peculiar to her sex and characteristic of her wisdom, ordered an assembly to meet for discussing the matter and coming to a conclusion. The result of that discussion is very favourable to the Sourashtra Brahmans. They thought

4 RESOLUTION RE SOURASHTRA COMMUNITY NOT TO BE TREATED AS NON-BRAHMANS.

(Mr. Sivagnanam Pillai; Mr. Todhunter; Mr. Venkatapati Raju; Mr. Muttayya Chettigar; Mr. Numberumal Chetti; Mr. Venkatappayya Pantulu.) [19TH AUGUST 1920.]

that their troubles were over then, but after the advent of the British Government in connexion with the census operations 30 years ago, that difficulty again arose. People wanted to put them as non-Brahmans. They had a very hard fight and, as a result of that fight, they got the census authorities to recognize them as Sourashtra Brahmins and in that capacity they were returned in the census. Thirty years after the lapse of that occurrence, the difficulty has now arisen, not out of any extraneous cause, but on account of the *suo motu* action taken by the Government. There was no necessity for the issue of the Press Communiqué of 5th June 1920. We have got only four lines in that press communiqué which says that they will be classed as non-Brahmins. It is not for me to question the soundness or the accuracy of this statement, but what I wish to say is that the necessity has not arisen. Under the new Reformed Councils, the Hindus, i.e., the non-Moslems, have been given sixty and odd seats. Certain portions of the Hindus calling themselves non-Brahmins came up before the Government and wanted a certain number of seats to be earmarked for them. The Sourashtra community was not one of the communities that put up that claim, although a member of that community was on the staff representing non-Brahmins. He proclaimed publicly that when he sided with non-Brahmins it was only as an individual and not as a member of the non-Brahman community."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"Has the Honourable Member read his evidence?"

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI:—"Then I shall avoid that point. I read what he spoke the other day in a public meeting and I thought that was the last word on the subject. Being a debatable point I will steer clear of it. Now the Sourashtra community, as a community, did not claim to be non-Brahmins and did not want seats to be reserved for them. So the matter may be left entirely to them to decide. Whoever wishes to go into the class of non-Brahmins, let him go, and whoever wishes to go into the general community, let him go into it for the purpose of deciding that issue. It is not necessary to declare the Sourashtra community as a non-Brahman community. With these few remarks I heartily support the motion made by the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU:—"Your Excellency, though I am prepared to heartily support the proposition moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar, I rise to oppose some of the observations made by some of my friends, because that will make a bad precedent. First of all the Government are perfectly justified in issuing the communiqué because some of the Sourashtras themselves convened a meeting to proclaim that they are not non-Brahmins. And if Mr. Narasimha Ayyar to-morrow wants them to be classified as non-Brahmins, is it or is it not the duty of the Government to class them correctly? Perhaps they are Brahmins. All Brahmins are anxious to take them into their fold, but to say that the Government have no business to issue the communiqué, I strongly take exception."

"So far as the census operations are concerned whenever objection is taken that they are not Brahmins, they may be classed as Sourashtra Brahmins. Whatever his inclination may be, he will not become a Brahmin if he is not a Brahmin. There are many fishermen who call themselves 'Agnikula Kshatriyas'. The Kshatriyas have no quarrel with them so long as the adjective is appended to their claim to distinguish them from the others."

"It is for the Government, so far as the election campaigns are concerned, to decide whether the Sourashtras should have the privileges as Brahmins or non-Brahmins. Brahmins have no privileges if at all there were disabilities in the Government employment as non-Brahmins are supposed to be preferred. Sourashtras do not want any privileges. Therefore there is absolutely no reason to deny them the position when no community objects to it. I pray the Government would issue a communiqué on the subject out of consideration to their feelings."

The Hon'ble Rao Sahib M. C. MUTTAYYA CHETTIYAR:—"The proposition moved by the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar is an innocuous one. The Sourashtra community have distinctly a status of their own. Their creed and customs and religious practices and their origin and their history go to prove that they are more brahmanical than otherwise. There was a time, Your Excellency, not very long ago, when some members of this community themselves doubted their status but recently there has been a general awakening that they are Brahmins. There will be no injustice or impropriety done by the Government in accepting this resolution, particularly in view of the fact that it has been moved by a Smarta Brahmin, seconded by a Vaishnava Brahmin and supported by a Kanarese Brahmin."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. NUMBERUMAL CHETTI:—"Your Excellency, I wish to add a few words. There are a certain class of artisans who belong to the class of goldsmiths and silversmiths and call themselves as Viswakarma Brahmins, and who observe Brahman rites. The so-called Brahmins proper do not however admit them in their fold. Similarly I don't see any objection why these Sourashtras also should not be allowed to call themselves Brahmins, and therefore I support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. VENKATAPPAYYA PANTULU:—"Your Excellency, I am an Andhra Brahmin, and the Hon'ble Mr. Muttayya Chetti referred to me as having already supported this

RESOLUTION RE SOURASHTRA COMMUNITY NOT TO BE TREATED AS NON-BRAHMANS. 5

19TH AUGUST 1920.] (Mr. Venkatappayya Pantulu; Mr. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar; Mr. Subba Rao; the Raja of Pithapuram; Mr. Arumainatha Pillai; Mr. Narasimha Ayyar; Mr. Todhunter.)

resolution. I now rise to do so and say that the resolution does not lack support from an Andhra Brahmin. Personally speaking, I have no objection to any person calling himself a Brahmin. I think this is a case to which the principle of self-determination should be applied. It does not matter anything to others if a Sourashtra calls himself a Brahmin. If he wants himself to be classed as a Brahmin, he should be classed as such. So far as the general right of election and privilege of franchise are concerned, he will be under disability. In spite of it, if the Sourashtras desire to style themselves as Brahmins, there is no reason why the Government should come in their way. Of course, they cannot be admitted in the Brahmin fold. But that question does not arise here. Even among the Brahmins themselves there are different sects; one sect does not dine with the other, nor does it marry into another. There are different subdivisions in that caste which are compartmental and it does not make any real difference to add one more sect to it. In fact they don't want to be styled as Brahmins but only Sourashtra Brahmins. As a matter of fact, one Andhra Queen, about 200 years back, seems to have recognized them as Brahmins, and it would be altogether wrong on my part, being myself an Andhra, to object now to the resolution and therefore I support it."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur A. T. G. M. AHMAD TAMB MARAKKAYAR:—"Your Excellency, I am a Muhammadan. I just want to say a few words. Several classes of Brahmins and non-Brahmins have supported the resolution. It is immaterial to my caste or my creed whether you include the Sourashtras either among Brahmins or non-Brahmins. But I know as a merchant, I have great dealings with the Sourashtras, they always say they are a better class of Brahmins. Credit should be given to their claims, and as this house has no objection and as several Brahmins of different classes have supported the proposition, I too have no objection. Yet I wish to say a few words. I don't mean to wound the feelings of the Sourashtras. As my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Numberumal Chetti, has said, there are certain classes of people belonging to the blacksmith and goldsmith classes who also observe Brahmin customs and I wish that their case also should be considered. With these remarks I support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur N. SUBBA RAO:—"Your Excellency, there is not a single Sourashtra in my district and I hold no mandate from anybody and nobody waited upon me in deputation. But all the same, I support the resolution on the sole ground that I belong to a school of thought founded by Justice Chandavarkar who hold that all caste and caste troubles must disappear from this land. So on that account I welcome this kind of request from these people and similar people and I would like that similar requests should come from Christians and Muhammadans and other classes (*laughter*) so that we may all commingle together. We know some classes of Brahmins would like to be called non-Brahmins if they can be allowed by the Government to do so; but at any rate I submit, Your Excellency, that this is a very good augury because this shows that we want to mingle with each other. So, I support the proposition."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF PITHAPURAM:—"I beg to support this resolution. As a particular community wishes to be classed as Brahmins, the Brahmins are prepared to receive them and the non-Brahmins are prepared to let them go, I hope the Government will accept the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. T. ARUMAINATHA PILLAI:—"I rise to support this resolution. But I find that it will lead to some difficulty in the working of this resolution so far as the election rules are concerned. But as all my friends here and all my Hindu friends—I am not a Hindu—are agreed that they ought to be treated not as non-Brahmins, I have not got the slightest objection. But only I would point out to Your Excellency's Government, before Your Excellency takes any definite action in this matter, that Your Excellency's Government as well as the Government of India have divided the Hindus into two classes only, the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins; and I do not believe that they have reserved a sort of middle class between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. Unfortunately Mr. Narasimha Ayyar's resolution says that they ought not to be treated as non-Brahmins, but I do not believe that my friend intends or would like to say that they should be treated quite as good a Brahmin as himself."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR:—"Why not?"

The Hon'ble Mr. T. ARUMAINATHA PILLAI:—"But that is not what I find here. If that difficulty can be solved by Your Excellency's Government, I am glad that this Legislative Council has now turned into a priestly panchayat to convert one sect of people into another sect. I have not got the slightest objection for the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"At the outset I was disposed to regret that this question had ever been brought forward, but now that I have heard the opinions to which expression has been given by Honourable Members of this Council, I am beginning to regret that it was not brought forward some months ago, when it might have afforded a solution of the Brahmin-non-Brahmin question which was referred for settlement to Lord Meston. If the new

(Mr. Todhunter.)

[19TH AUGUST 1920.]

plan of self-determination of caste which has been so eloquently advocated to-day were to be generally adopted, the time might come when we all would be Brahmans together and the non-Brahman difficulty would cease to exist, and perhaps there would not be sufficient left even to fill the reserved seats. However, pending the coming of that happy era, we must deal with the question in issue, and for the immediate future, I am afraid the resolution, which provides for leaving caste questions to the will of the community concerned, goes rather too far.

"In this connexion, one Honourable Member has referred to the report on the census of 1891 as having conceded the claim of the Sourashtra community. I should like to refer him to what Mr. Francis said in dealing with the question in the report on the succeeding census. He said:—'A really scientific classification requires full materials from the fields of early vernacular literature, history, folklore, customs, archaeology, epigraphy and anthropometry, and none of these have yet been thoroughly explored.' I need hardly say that, when deciding the question that was placed before them, the Government had no time to explore these various fields, nor had they any wish to act as a court of caste or to interfere in any way with questions relating to the Hindu religion. The Hon'ble Mr. Sivagnanam Pillai has found fault with us for taking up the matter *suo motu*, while another Honourable Member has said that we have unnecessarily raised the question. I should like therefore to explain how the question was raised. It was not raised by the Government at all. It was raised by a member of the Sourashtra community who wrote to us a letter in which he said that the Sourashtras were not accepted by the South Indian Brahmans as Brahmans and he asked us this question: 'If in the coming elections for the Reformed Councils, a member of the Sourashtra community takes it into his head to stand as a candidate for a non-Brahman seat, will his election be valid and in order?' He also asked for permission to use our reply as he thought fit. We thought it best to do the publicity ourselves and so issued the communiqué which has given rise to this controversy.

"In doing so, we were answering to the best of our ability an administrative question to which the enquirer was entitled to have a reply. As I have said, we had no desire to answer a caste question, for which materials were not available. We acted on *prima facie* grounds and largely on grounds supplied by the community itself. As the Honourable Mover says that feeling runs very strongly on the subject, it will perhaps be wisest not to go into that material. But there are one or two points upon which some misconception has arisen and I think it may be well that I should touch very briefly upon them.

"In the first place, reference has been made to Queen Mangammal's *sasanam* and it has been said that she declared the Sourashtras by that *sasanam* to be Brahmans. Now, I don't think that the *sasanam* will bear that interpretation. I have here a translation of the *sasanam* put in by the Sourashtra community and I should like to read to the Council their interpretation of it:—

"Since those great men thus assembled assure us that the Sourashtras have Brahmanical rites and ceremonies after consulting the Shashtras, and since we have made inquiries into the actions and performances that are being followed by the Sourashtras of Madura and other places, we proclaim that you are at liberty to follow the footsteps of your forefathers, in all your rites and ceremonies and to live and prosper here generation after generation."

"Now, I put it to the Council that this declaration does not declare the Sourashtras to be Brahmans. All it does is to restore to them the right to perform certain ceremonies which had been interfered with. In other words, Queen Mangammal was a very wise lady and avoided issuing a definite judgment on this very intricate question, and the Government of Madras as at present constituted propose to follow the excellent example of Queen Mangammal.

"In the next place, with reference to the statement that has been made that the Government have agreed to return in the census any one as of the caste to which he declares himself to belong, I should like to explain what is the exact situation. The instructions to the enumerators are to record the caste which the persons enumerated declare. But they also record their house language and other particulars. When the slips come to be sorted, they are sorted into various large groups, one of which is a group by house language. Thus, it was ascertained at the last census that there were 70,000 Sourashtras, that is to say, 70,000 persons speaking the house language of the Sourashtra community, of whom I may remark in passing only some 7,300 returned themselves as Brahmans. At the same time, these 70,000 did not form part of the 6½ millions of South Indian Brahmans. It was left open to any person who considered the Sourashtra Brahmans to be Brahmans to add this 70,000 to the Brahman total and to any one who thought otherwise to leave the total as it stood.

"Whether the claim of the Sourashtras to be treated as Brahmans for the purposes of the elections is an admission against their own interests or not, I accept the Honourable Mover's assurance that no member of the community intends to claim the privilege of standing for a reserved seat, which it was suggested in the letter which gave rise to the controversy was likely to be claimed. Even if he does so, the question whether he is entitled to the privilege or not will, as an Honourable Member has remarked, be a matter for decision by the election authorities. This being so, the question which gave rise to the controversy need never have been asked, and the necessity of answering it need never have been imposed upon the Government. Acting on this assurance, the Government are quite willing to return to the *status quo ante*, and if the

19TH AUGUST 1920.]

(Mr. Todhunter; the President.)

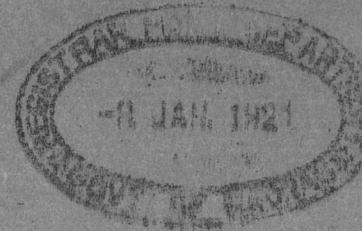
Honourable Mover will amend his resolution so as to run 'that this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that the Government be pleased to refrain from any declaration as to the caste of the Sourashtra community for the purposes of election,' we shall be glad to accept the resolution in those terms. As I have said before, we cannot accept it in the terms on the paper, which imply what has been termed the right of self-determination of caste."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"So far as I am personally concerned, the debate has been interesting and instructive. I should like to inform Honourable Members that my first knowledge of the feeling that there was amongst the Sourashtras in regard to the press communiqué issued by the Government was on my way from Kodaikanal to Madura when I received a letter and a telegram from the Secretary to an organization of the Sourashtra community exhorting me to go back to Madras because they were so displeased with His Excellency the Governor's recent behaviour in having allowed the press communiqué to issue, that they proposed to shut all their houses and make the city one of mourning on his arrival. I am glad to inform Honourable Members that during the night they changed their minds and, when I arrived at Madura, I found a great many people who were apparently very pleased to see us. Now I should like to emphasize what my Hon'ble Colleague Mr. Todhunter said with regard to the reasons for issuing this communiqué. I do not think it just or fair that some Honourable Members have tried to put the responsibility of this communiqué upon Government. The fact is as my Honourable Colleague has stated that a letter was sent to us demanding an answer to a certain question with regard to the position of Sourashtras at the coming election, and we gave to the best of our ability a perfectly definite reply. I would only add this that, as far as I am individually concerned, I can assure the Honourable Members, that in that reply we had no intention of any sort, kind or description to assert that from a religious or caste point of view the Sourashtra was a Brahman or a non-Brahman. What we did want to do—I hope I may be allowed to say so—was to give the Sourashtra the best chance that we could at the election. If we put him down as a non-Brahman, he would have the advantage of standing for election among the 26 reserved seats. But he thinks he had better not. Very well, we have no objection. I agree with my Honourable Colleague when he said that he proposed to accept the resolution on certain terms. I would only add that this discussion has increased the bewilderment that I have always felt since I have been here with regard to the intricacies, mazes and difficulties in the matter of communities in the Madras Presidency.

"The resolution proposed now is: 'That this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that the Government be pleased to refrain from any declaration as to the caste of the Sourashtra community for the purposes of election to the Legislative Council.'"

The resolution as amended was put to the vote and carried.

F. J. RICHARDS,
Acting Secretary to Govt., L. & M. (Legislative) Dept.



Proc. C. No. 102
38
1.21

No 52-1
5/1/21

Office of the Legislative Council,
Fort St. George, Madras.
31st December 1920.

Extracts of the Proceedings of the
Legislative Council meetings held on 18th and
19th August 1920, on the resolutions discussed
thereat, may be as usual forwarded to the
Departments concerned.

(sd) L.D.S. 30-12-20

To

Home (Miscellaneous) Department. 28.

Wf
31.12.20

Home (Miscellaneous)

For the OLS.

The original file
which was ~~has been~~ circulated to H. M. (Census) on
6.8.20 ~~and~~ ^{has} not yet been received back.

38



Office of the Legislative Council
Madras
11th January 1921

1-28-1
12/12

Minutes of the proceedings of the
Legislative Council meeting held on 10th and
11th January 1921, in the resolution discussed
thereat, may be as usual forwarded to the
Department concerned.

10-12-20 10.12.20 (2)

Home (Miscellaneous) Department

Home (Miscellaneous) Department

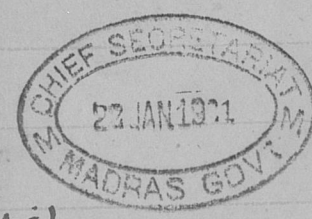
200 and 102

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was forwarded to H.M. (General) on
8.20 and has not been received back.

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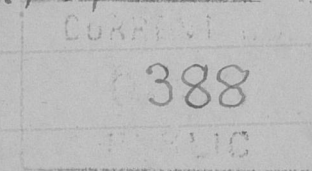
It is understood that the file
is now in the Public Dept having
been returned by the Reforms section
to whom it had been passed on
by H.M. for the issue of the
Press Communiqué of 27.8.1920
at flag 'Y'.

The Public Dept may be
requested to put up the
file referred to above.



Home (Misc)
no 102-1

21.1.21



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The papers referred to
are now added to the file - 102-1-30 and
the file may be returned to
Home (Misc).



Pub 388-1

4-2-21

Misc. C.N. 602

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Home (Misc.) Dept

No further action is necessary on this file.
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MAIN G.O. No.
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