

DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND NEWS PAPERS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TAMIL NADU – A STUDY

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Abstract

Origin of the Dravidians- Dravidian Languages – ESPECIALLY THE TAMIL – THE WORD, "DRAVID"- THE SOUTHERN PARTS – Dravidian Languages and Sanskrit – Indus Valley Civilization – Cradle of Dravidian Race – Kannada and Telugu – Family of Dravidian Languages – Three Different Views on the word 'Dravidiam' – Language Explanation – In twentieth Century – Madras Mail and Hindu – Hindi movement – Central Legislature - Provincial governments.

Introduction

The paper attempts to reconstruct with the available sources, the origin of the Dravidians and the Dravidian languages especially the Tamil. It analyses the antecedents and characteristics of the Dravidian Sources for the word, "Dravidian" The word, "Dravid" has been used for hundreds of years in Indian records and in many foreigners' travelogues. Karavela's inscription (169B.C.) talks about the coalition formed by the Tamil kings against the invasion of the foreign forces in "tramildesa sangatham". Avanti Sundarisudha calls the ancient country as 'Tramila Desam'. Manusmrithi also catalogues the aborigines as 'Dravidas'.

Archeologists have excavated some evidences pertaining to the Dravidian Civilization in Adichanallur, Tirunelveli district. In an inscription there is a mention of knowledge of Dravidian languages spoken by 24.4% people. Yuvan Chwang, the Chenesee Traveller of the 7th century A.D. in his travelogue has also made a about Dravida around Kanchipuram. Kumarilabhatta of the 8th century in his Commentary has used the word 'dravida' language. He has also explained about dravida tamil language but it is 'Dravidathi Bhashayam'. Adi Sankara calls Gnanasambandar as 'Dravida', Nammazhwar's Thiruvaimozhi is known as 'Dravida Veda'. 'Namadeepaikhandu' calls Tamil as Dravidam. Ramanuja in his 'Giribhashyam', calls Chanakya's tramilachchari. Robert Caldwell used the word Dravidam in his language research and he further states that Dravidians include not only Tamil speaking people but also it covers a wider network of people. The word "Dravida" denotes Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and languages and Dravidians are those race who speak those languages.

The four major languages spoken in the southern parts of India are Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada. Among these very old literary works of Tamil only are available.

Telugu is spoken by majority. According to the Census of 1931, out of every 10,000 Indians Telugu is spoken by 725 people, Tamil by 592 people, Kannadu by 320 people and Malayalam by 261 people. In the northern parts of Sri Lanka also Tamil is spoken. Generally in the southern part of India, Telugu is spoken in the south - east, Kannada in south west and Malayalam in the north - west. Robert Caldwell, the linguist who did research on the languages prevalent in the South India named the group of these four languages as 'dravidam'. There is no doubt that this word had transformed from Tamil. In the literary works of Sanskrit, the words tramila, thramida and dravida are found. The Sinhalese work Tamilla." The other groups of Dravida languages are kontu, tulu, kurukku, kuy and braguy. Braguy is spoken in Baluchisthan. In India itself, the number of persons speaking, Dravidam is about 7,20,00,000.

Dravidian Language and Sanskrit

The languages prevalent in India and other parts of the world have their roots in Sanskrit according to the scholars of yester years. The roots of some words of Dravidian languages can be found in Sanskrit and Prakrit and they did not originate from these two. These words named as 'desikam'. According to scholars even these words should have originated from Sanskrit and Sanskrit was considered as one of the classical languages of the world. The grammar treatise on Malayalam, Lia Thilagam says the words stomach and snake denote fight and sin respectively. In fact it was a mistake that people were trying to find the roots of Dravidian languages in Sanskrit. In reality Prakrit has borrowed many words from Dravidian languages.

Dravidian Languages and Indus Valley Civilization

Sir John Marshall says that Indus Valley Civilization was upto 3500 B.C. and the Aryans came after this. Prof. Longton feels that the scriptures of Brahmi are of different form that of the Indus Valley Civilization. Father Heras on examination of the scriptures on 800 objects obtained from excavation of Indus Valley observed that Dravidian languages had originated from these scriptures. From the Indus Valley scriptures, Brahmi scriptures were born and from them all other languages originated.?

Cradle of Dravidian Race

One theory stipulated that Dravidians reached India from Mediterranean nations while there is another theory which says vice versa. (that Dravidians went to Mediterranean nations from India), Father Heras reiterates that Indians migrated from east to west by citing various reasons. Many contemporary researchers also endorse this view, Father Heras views that Indus Valley Civilization contain many Tamil words.

Kannada and Telugu

Dravidian languages prevalent in south and north India became too braches. In the days of Tholkappiyam (300BC) Tirupathi was of Tamil country. The Kannada language spoken in the north eastern parts went to Telugu region. Tamils called it, 'Vadugu,' meaning north. The land of Telugus being the heart land of Aryans and also near the Prakrit speaking

kingdom were influenced a lot by the Aryans. Compared to Kannada, Telugu had much of Aryan influence. The difference between Kannada and Telugu increased as compared to difference between Kannada and Tamil but there was lot of old Dravidian style in it. Hence Telugu rather than Kannada was considered more as group of Dravidian language. Kumailabhattam has included Tamil and not kannada as Andhra Viddhuva bhasha, a group of languages. There is no great literary treatise in Kannada other than Nirbhadhunga, Kavirasamargha (814 -877 AD). Nannabhatta (02-63 A.D.) under the patronage of Raja Raja Narendhiram, had written Mahabharatham in Telugu and apart from this no other great literary works were produced. There are grants inscribed on copper plates in Kannada during the 5th century AD and even before this period. Telugu scholars had gone to Kannada lands before the 11th century AD and had created literary works in Kannada. Telugu literary historians feel that there are literary works in pure chaste Telugu without any mixture of Sanskrit before the period of Nannayabhattat. Later on Sanskrit scholars produced literary treatises in Telugu.

In the 13th century AD, Kethana had written Andhra Bhasha Bhushanam, a Telugu grammaer treatise. In 2nd century AD, very old Kannada prose written by Greeks in Papyurs leaf were found in Egypt. There are no old Lexion available in Kannada and Telugu. Only after the emergence of literary works, treatise on grammar and rules for writing poems are created. Before the treatise, Kavirasamarga there must have been some literary works produced in Kannada. During the days of Nannayabhattor's writing of Bharatham there was no opposition for sansktitization of Telugu. Nannayasenar, a Kannada Jain in 1112A.D. had produced a treatise Dharmaratha. He has remarked that mixing Kannada with Sanskrit is like mixing ghee with oil. To oppose the usage of words of Sanskrit in Kannada was not possible.

If one analyze the literary treatises in Kannada, one can make an observation that the grammar of Kannada has strong connection with the Tamil grammar. The following observation is made in the work, History of Telugu Literature. Telugu is one of the four languages prevalent in South India. The origin of Telugu language is based on inferences. The place where the Teugu people are living now was earlier known as Dandakaranyam. Itareya Pramanam, Ramayanam, Skandapuram all state that the people of Andhra (Andharar) was a name of a caste. After the reign of Andhrudhu, his kingdom was known as Andhra as per Bhagavatham. Initially this name denoted the people and then later on even the land in which the people lived. Andhra was also known as 'Venginadu'. It was also known by 'Thrillinga' probably because this land was surrounded by the temples Kaleswaram, Srisailam and Trakshramam.

The language spoken by Andhra people is Telugu. This is made of 'then'+ 'Alu' Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada are the most important ones. Robert Caldwell in his work on, 'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family Languages' had pointed out that these are different from Aryan languages. Telugu Pandits felt the Telugu is a mix of Sanskrit and Prakrit. But Caldwell thought otherwise. There are lots of similar groups of words in Telugu and other Dravidian languages. Telugu is not as ancient as Tamil, but it is older than Malayalam and as ancient as Kannada. It is not known when

Telugu originated. The literary works before 10th century are either in Prakrit or Sanskrit. The central parts of India were ruled by Andhras in the beginning of Christian Era. The period it is not known how well Telugu was spoken. May be it was thought that the people were speaking some sort of Prakrit (a dead language without any grammar) and this later on became a factor for the creation of Telugu language.

Brahmi alphabets were in vogue during 4th century B.C. The variation in Brahmi spread to the south and it was known as Dravida Brahmi. Dravida Brahmi is different from Maurya letters. Between 1000 - 1500 B.C., same letters were being used in Telugu and Kannada. During Thikanwar's regime, Telugu letters got segregated and changed to the present one. The history of Kannada literature has this to say, Kannada is one of the Dravidian languages. They do not belong to the language family of the Aryans. The other languages in the same family are Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. If one draws a straight line from Goa in the west coast to Raj mahal in the banks of Ganga, that line clearly bifurcates the languages of the North and the South. There are many Dravidians living on the northern parts of this line. But these people do not speak the Dravidian languages and the other languages prevalent in this world. If one accepts the similarities between Brahmi language spoken in Baluchistan and Dravidian languages, relation between the Finnish language of North Europe and Siberian language and the Dravidian language had to be accepted. Since ancient times, Dravidians have been dwelling in the places where they are now. Tamil is one of the Dravidian languages. The letters of Tamil are also seen on language of Ephireyas. King Solomon (1000 BC) acquired lots of articles from the western parts of India. These articles when notified in Ephireyas language had Tamil letters. Papyrus leaf written in Greek language was found in Egypt and that leaves had some prose written in Kannada.

The old Kannada language is found to be hard and distinct. Jain scholars produced literary works in the language that was in use from 10th century AD till 13th century AD. Then mid period language was originated. In this language literary works were produced by Saiva poets. This language was in use till the 15th century and afterwards this language transformed into the present Kannada language. One can see this style in the poetical compositions of Vaishnava poets. In the 12th century A.D. Kalingathu Parani a great literary work in Tamil was produced. In it, while pointing about Kannada region, mention is made about the usage of Tamil words in Kannada. In earlier days, Telugu and Kannada were known by the name, Vadugu.

Family of Dravidian Languages

Keeping Tamil as the base language, the people who spoke the language were known as Tamils and the area where they lived was known as Tamilagam or Tamil country. Tamilagam is the alternative name of Tamil. Research scholars have clarified that Tamilagam transformed to tamilam, dramilam and dravidian gradually. Dravidian denoted both the language and the place where Tamil is spoken. After the passage of time, language experts and historians started using the word Dravidian for the language Tamil and its allied languages Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Tulu and the places where the languages were spoken, Dravidanadu. The word dravida was used to denote Tamils, Telugus,

Kannadigas, Malayalees and Tulus as a whole. The 7th century Sanskrit language author Kumarilabhatta has used the word Dravidar. Adi Sankaracharya while mentioning Thirugnansambandar has called him dravidasisu (the child of dravida). Dravidam in some places denotes Tamil and in some other places all language of Dravidians. In the 19th century, Robert Caldwell the Missionary scholar has used the word Dravidan as the common name and also as the total name. The author of Tamil work, 'Manonmaniyam', 13 Prof. Sundaram Pillai in the phrase, 'Dravidanattridunadu' has used dravidam as the one denoting Tamilagam (Tamil country) i.e. the place where Tamils in habit.

Three Different Views on the Word 'Dravidam'

Scholars have given three different views about the word Dravidam's origin and meaning. One set of scholars view is that the Sanskrit word, 'Dravidam' has became a Tamil word. The other set feel that the word Tamil has transformed into Sanskrit word, 'Dravidam' and third view is that origin of the word is very different from the above two views. According to Robert Caldwell, the word Tamil has originated from the Sanskrit word, 'Dravidian's. His explanation is as follows: Dravida has changed to thravida > thramila > tamil. In Prakrit language, and in Malayalam literary works, the word Thramila has been used widely. In Pali, the word thamilo has been used. All these words have their root in the word, 'Dravida'. So the word Tamil also has its root in the word, 'Dravida' as per the view of Robert Caldwell. The root 'Thr' with its association with the verb "vit" has become thravit. This word has been used in the context of degraded race. Caldwell also makes a mention that Manu has written that Dravidars, the south Indian race is part of Vishalar (Vratya a degraded race). Even in the epic Mahabharatham, the Dravidar race has been mentioned as degraded race.

Language Explanation

Robert Caldwell has given various examples of the transformation of the word Tamil or Dravida but he has never proved that the word Dravidian has transformed to Tamil. There was no literary work in Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam during the beginning of the Christian era. The literary treatises were only in Tamil during that time. In the 1st century AD, there was a growth of work of Dravidian languages and this work was only in Tamil language. The religious treatise of Buddhism (5th -6th century) also points out the script dravidi prevalent in India during those times. Tamil was the only Dravidian language that had its own alphabets. Therefore the word, 'Dravidi' also refers to the Tamil script as per the inscription technology experts. It is understood that during the Christian era from 19 century till 800 A.D. the Sanskrit language experts used the word, 'Dravida' or Dravidi' for abusing Tamil language.

S.K. Chatterjee says between the words 'Dravidam' (Thramila) and Tamil words Dravidam'should also have existed and during the course of time this only transformed to Tamil Dravidam. His explanation for the origin of the word Tail is thus: Thermilli> thravida>thramila> thamila>thamizha>tamil. Chatterjee's views are in conformity with the views of Robert Caldwell. Ramachandra Diskhidhar feels that this expected connection between Thermilli and Tamil should not make one lead to his conclusion. V.R.Ramachandra

Dishidhar's views are that the word 'Dravida' was originally known as Tamil and the contemporary scholars have given various explanations for the emergence of this word and now this word is used as a common name to denote the South Indians. Stenkonow, the great scholar feels that the word Tamil only got transformed into the Sanskrit word, 'Dravida'. In Prakrit language, the word Tamil has transformed into thramila, and then it became 'Dravidam' as per the view of A.P.Karmarkar²³, A.L.Basham feels that the emergence of Dravidan is as follow: Tamizh>tamizha>Tamil>Thramila>Dharamida>Dravida. View Pavendar has pointed out that Tamil is Dravidam.²⁴ The words Tamil and Tamil Country are known as Thramilam, and Dravidam over a period of time and this fact is corroborated in ancient literary dictionaries.

Newspapers in Twentieth Century History of Tamilnadu

This paper is an attempt to expose the role of newspapers which helps the researchers in constructing the twentieth century history of Tamil Nadu. It examines the utility and reliability of the newspapers as Primary Source and also the problems being faced by the researchers in collecting the required news from the old newspapers including the vernacular. "A Direct personal encounter with the past comes through consulting primary sources; there the history student finds the past speaking for itself in its own language and in the light of its own concerns rather than through those of subsequent generations. Such an encounter is a very exciting experience, especially if one has already enjoyed and been stimulated by the conversations with the past that he has listened in on." One may agree with these remarks of John Webster in measuring the degree of mental satisfaction which a research student derives from consulting primary sources. The experience is really "exciting" when one scans through the columns of daily newspapers while working on topics covering from nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. An attempt is also made to discuss some of the issues that arise in consulting news-papers for the modern history of Tamil Nadu. These problems are common to, histories of other States as well as India.

What is the utility of newspapers as primary source material when compared to other primary sources? How far are they reliable? Can the information found in them be accepted in toto? How are historians to maintain objectivity? How are historians to study newspapers from the point of view of methodology? What is the role of libraries in preserving newspapers for research? In this paper an attempt is made to answer these fundamental questions regarding reliability of the newspapers. The study of two English dailies published from Madras-The Madras Mail and The Hindu-from the latter half of the nineteenth century till to-date are noteworthy examples to give answer to the questions raised regarding the utility of the newspapers.? A perusal of the references cited in the footnotes of the published works on topics relating to the first half of this century on the history of Tamil Nadu from various approaches show the importance of these two dailies.

As a matter of fact the newspapers supply vital information of varied nature for the research. These may not be obtainable from any other source. For example the reporting of the various meetings of caste associations, literary circles and political clubs in Madras City

as well as districts indicates the intensity of caste-consciousness, Tamil renaissance and nationalism respectively. Further the 'Letters to the- Editor' columns enable us to feel the pulse of the readers on various issues. Even though such views expressed by the readers may not speak for the entire people, yet they indicate the trend of thinking and the prevalence of different points of view on certain issues of significance. These may not be apparent from any other source. The newspaper which gives coverage of incidents of violence are mostly correctives to confidential or secret police reports often cited in the fortnightly reports of the Madras Government. Official versions of violent incidents during the national movement were often suppressed, distorted, coloured, biased and prejudiced. In certain cases it can be the other way about and the official reports may be correctives to newspaper versions. In questioning the reliability of the newspaper information one may agree with John Webster's analysis of "three attitudes which historians have brought to their sources." Some accept them at face value, believing everything they say; some accept everything in them that does not conflict with their views about what historically possible; and some question their sources by placing them against the total environment out of which they came and then, by applying a number of critical tests to them, determine the limits of their reliability".

An objective and impartial research scholar cannot have the first two attitudes as pointed above. It would be dangerous to have such attitudes particularly in studying newspapers. A sincere research scholar should develop the third attitude as explained by John Webster-particularly so while working on recent past. The reliability of a newspaper information can be tested by a study of related and other contemporary newspapers, by checking the information with government records and by comparing with the information found in private papers of leading contemporary personalities. It is not possible a newspaper maintaining cent per cent objectivity in supplying news. None can deny the fact that the views expressed in editorial columns definitely reveal one kind of bias or other, for the editors are controlled by proprietors (in some cases the proprietors themselves were editors) who have party or communal or caste or ideological leanings. Often news-papers are founded for projecting one or more of such leanings.

The bias that could be felt in the editorial Columns (some call them 'leading articles) may also be felt in reporting. The two English dailies-The Madras Mail and The Hindu- which a research scholar working on any topic relating to Tamil Nadu history in the first half of the twentieth century would often be found to express diametrically opposite views on major political and communal issues. This may be baffling to a re-searcher and often leave him in a quandary. The Madras Mail founded by the British elite in the city was pro-British, anti-nationalist, Christian and pro-non-Brahmin since the founding of the South Indian Liberal Federation in 1916 (which later came to be called the Justice Party). The Hindu established by the South Indian Hindu Tamil Brahmin English educated elite of Madras was pro-Indian, nationalist, anti-British, pro-Brahmin and anti-non-Brahmin. Such an identification of the two dailies could be understood from a few editorial references on certain important issues relating to national as well as provincial politics during 1920's.

Under dyarchy the first Madras Legislative Council met in February 1921 and separate seats were provided for members elected on the basis of communal and other representations, Referring to this, The Hindu in a caption observed: "Distinct blocks of space are allotted to Brahmins, non-Brahmins, Muhammadans, Zamindars and Depressed Classes ...One might wonder if His Excellency is holding an exhibition in South Indian social fossils.6". But The Madras Mail appreciated the arrangement in a leader entitled 'A Good Beginning?? The Hindu Religious Endowment Bill was introduced by the Justice Ministry in 1922 in the legislature, for the better administration of religious endowments in the Madras Presidency. A provision was made in it "for the diversion of the surplus funds of religious endowments for purposes of public utility other than those for which they were originally intended". The Madras Mail commended this provision and wrote: "A more radical aim is the diversion of surplus income to objects which, though not identical with the intentions of the donors, fulfil a charitable purpose. Amongst such objects are the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries and the foundation of schools and other institutions and works of public utility and benefit." But The Hindu voiced "the widespread apprehension that has been roused in the Hindu community" regarding the provision as to the disposal of surplus funds and said: "Some endowments contemplate the advancement of learning; reasonable excuse might be found for encouraging indigenous medicine with the funds of others; but you cannot, however much you may strain it, draw support from the cypres doctrine to expend Hindu endowment funds on roads and sanitations of which other communities as well as Hindus will be equal beneficiaries.

From the beginning of the Hindi Movement in South India in the 1920's, the one point on which sharp differences began to arise was whether the study of Hindi should be compulsory or optional. T. Vijayaraghava-chariar, a member of the Public Services Commission, Government of India, speaking at Madras observed that both from the practical and academic point of view the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory second language in schools and colleges would be of benefit to the community at large. 11 Supporting the views of Vijayaraghavachariar, The Hindu wrote that "his views, which are based upon mature experiences of conditions both in India and abroad, are entitled to considerable weight". 12 But The Madras Mail in an editorial entitled 'Hindi's Advance', questioned thus: "But does he (Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar) then propose that Tamil or Telugu should be cut out altogether Or does he propose that the average educated person should be trilingual? Probably this is the best course, but is it practical? If there had to be a choice which of the languages of India was to be recognized as the national language Hindi would be the only contestant with a hope of success... but it can never take the place of English as a medium of international communication."

Thus dia-metrically opposite views could be gathered from the newspapers on one and the same issue. The research scholar will be puzzled and will be in a dilemma as to which version he should rely upon if he studies more than one newspaper. If he studies only one newspaper he may be committing the mistake of arriving at his conclusions on the viewpoints expressed in that particular daily. Therefore a research scholar working on a topic covering the recent decades... may have to study as many dailies as are available, to arrive at the truth. In case he is not able to arrive at a definite conclusion on certain issues, he may just cite the different viewpoints and leave them for the reader to judge. There are a few ways to

tackle the problems relating to methodology in collecting materials from newspapers. In citing newspapers one has to be very meticulous in noting down the date, month and year of the daily. While taking notes on slips or cards this vital information should be noted down first. Failure to do so would result in wasting time in reading through several days or months or even years again to find out the date of the reference noted down. In citing the date the following model may be adopted: The Hindu, 11 Oct. 1917; The Madras Mail, Nov. 1925. The date and the year can be given in numerals and the month in between in abbreviated form (with the exception of May, June and July-for others: Jan., Feb, Mars, Apr., Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec.). Using numerals for months also may lead to too many numbers being used with every possibility of errors creeping in while typing or printing thus: The Hindu, 11.10.1917; The Madras Mail, 4.11.1925.

Further in some of the Western countries people have the habit of indicating the month first in numerals, followed by the date and the year. In such places the numerals may entirely lead to a wrong reference. For example, the above references may mean The Hindu, November 10, 1917; The Madras Mail, April 11, 1925. Therefore it may be better to follow the first model suggested above. Some readers may cite the page number and column number also. But this is not very essential. Given a particular date it may not be very difficult to find out the reference quoted. In recent days most of the leading dailies simultaneously print copies from different centres through facsimile printing process and also speedily circulate them by air. But in the beginning of the twentieth century when these modern facilities were not available the newspapers were printed at one point and sent to the districts by rail or road. So they brought out 'dak' editions. In such 'dak' editions, 'late news' found in City editions may be found reported in the next day's issue. Therefore when a scholar refers to the newspapers preserved in the libraries he should find out whether he uses the (Madras) City edition or dak edition. There may be variation in date in the reporting of some items. Scholarsnews It will be a boon to research if the leading national dailies compile a quarterly index. In the absence of an index one has to spend hours together to get at a single reference. Here also certain methods could be adopted to locate the date of a reference quickly. From other sources it may be possible to know the year (or even the month) of a particular Incident and from that clue the search for newspaper reference could be minimised. For example, it is generally known that the Congress ministries in various provinces resigned soon after the outbreak of the Second World War in protest against the Viceroy's act of declaring India a belligerent country. without consulting either Central Legislature or the Provincial Governments. This happened immediately after the outbreak of the war in September, 1939. From this it can be inferred that the news and editorials relating to the resignation of the Congress ministry led by C. Rajagopalachari in Madras Presidency could be gathered from the Madras dailies of September-October, 1939.

As far as there is rarely any library in Tamil Nadu preserving vernacular newspapers which have played an important role in bringing about the national awakening and political opinion during the freedom 'Struggle. It is possible that some individuals may have preserved some of the issues of vernacular newspapers. 24 Organisations, such as the Indian Historical Records Commission can make microfilm copies of old vernacular newspapers

and supply them to the leading libraries. Certain mechanical aids, such as photocopying will be immensely helpful to a researcher, particularly when he has to copy long editorials or extracts of news items.

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13. The Madras Mail was started in Madras by Europeans in 1869, while The Hindu was founded by G. Subramania Iyer and two others in 1878. The Madras Mail was renamed as Mail from 28 May, 1939.
14. John C. B. Webster, op. cit., p. 19.
15. The caste breakdown of the Council was as follows: 65 non-Brahmin Hindus, 22 Brahmins, 5 Muslims, 14 Indian Christians and 5 depressed classes. Eugene F. Irschick, op. cit., P. 178.
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17. Madras Mail, 15 February 1921
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20. The Hindu (Weekly), 16 Augst 1928. The first language compulsory in schools and colleges then was English and the second language which was also compulsory was usually a vernacular or a classical language.
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22. Madras Mail, 9 August, 1928.
23. Eugene F. Irschick, University of California, Berkeley, has microfilmed Kudi Arasu (1929-44) published by E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, the founderleader of the Dravida Kazhagam, and willingly made copies of it at a nominal cost for the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.