

entirely of these duties or else paid directly by the government act of a special cess collected from peasants.¹¹

From 1920 onwards Dalits were also asking for government waste lands and other lands for cultivation. They asked for land at concessional rates in the newly irrigated tracts of the Irwin canal, but this was refused. In October 1931 the Dewan made a major speech claiming that the governments programme of settling Adi-karnatakas and land and giving them a proprietary interest is making very satisfactory progress, with 9,763 acres given that year. In this case murugesh pillai also appears as a spokesman for getting such benefits as rights and not grants for uplift remarking that a large proportion of the land revenue... is on account of the labourers who are all panchamas, and it is but right that the government give them all the required facilities. But such language of rights was rare. Even in the assembly debates, Dalits Spoke out very little themselves on social issues; they were more vocal on economic issues such as land, education traditional caste duties, while the social issues were presented in a conservative, Hinduizing fashion, with Brahman dominant as spokesmen and non-brahman silent or opposing. There was no organizing of any campaigns though some local clashes had been reported over the issue of tank water by the late 1920s in the various villages.¹²

Conclusion

Among other organizations that worked in the field of welfare of panchamas mention may be made of civic and social progress association established in Bangalore. This organization was mainly involved in organizing lectures on temperance, sanitation, hygiene and cleanliness. The yuvaraja was one of the patron of this organization and was keenly interested in the activities of the association. The kengeri Gurukula Ashrama was another organization which had opened a free boarding home and was running a school for panchama students. The deena seva sangha established at malleshwaram in Bangalore was involved in welfare activiries of panchamas who were working in textile mills oft bangalore. The sangha started its work in slums inhabited by mill workers. The sangha started a day and night school in bangalore which had a strength of 225 bys and 60 girls. The kaniyara sangha organized for the social upliftment of kaniyara community was established by some liberal broad minded Brahmins.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 132.

¹² Ibid, p. 133.