

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Several aspects of Nineteenth Century Indian society under colonial rule are still unexplored. It was a period of transition. Economic, social and educational reforms introduced by the British resulted in structural changes in Indian society. The outcome of these changes is significant as the reaction from indigenous society started building up along with them. A study of this transition becomes a significant area for the historian.

At the outset, the consolidation of political power by the British was not smooth. The ruling authority in the indigenous society was characterised by multiple centres of dominance. This plurality of political power was represented by local ruling chiefs or the big Zamindars or the local military potentates like poligars or the village level officers of traditional power structure. The acquisition of political control by the British invariably meant a total disruption of these multiple centres of power. In other words it was a change of power from indigenous feudal classes to colonial state. During this crucial period of transition the British did neither lose sight of the earlier administrative practices nor ignore their importance. Also they were cautious in introducing new processes of their power.

1 For details see Barun De, "Indigenous Governance in Early Modern India : Continuity and Change", Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Memorial Lecture, A.P.History Congress, XVIII Session, Tenali, January 1994.

2 Ibid. The British encroached upon the set of loose and inter-locked structures of dominance in society and established their supremacy by breaking them.

Rather they adopted some of the earlier administrative practices from 18th century administration. For example, during the consolidation of colonial power in Madras Presidency Thomas Munro couldnot ignore the influence of village officers like Patels and Karnums in the Ceded districts of Andhra and he personally tried to settle their claims to land rights in an amicable manner.⁴

Despite sincere attempts at adjustment by the British, the dispossessed rulers in society were agitated over the loss of power. The deprivation of power led most of these rulers to take resort to revolts against the immediate British authority.⁵ The British conquest and consolidation of India experienced severe protest and, for nearly a century till 1857, the discontentment took the shape of armed struggles. The Andhra region of Madras Presidency witnessed revolts in the territories of Ganjam, Parlakimidi, Goomsur, Vizagapatam, Palkonda, Godavari and the most far reaching revolt among these was that of Uyyalavada

3 For more details see Rosalind O Hanlon and David Washbrook, "Histories in Transition : Approaches to the Study of Colonialism and Culture in India" in History Workshop, No.32, Autumn 1991, pp.124-25.

4 J.C.Dua, "Position of Patels and Karnums in the Ceded districts during the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress. 34th Session, 1973, pp.104-118. The influence of local village officers and their relations with colonial authorities are analysed in R. E. Frykenberg, Guntur District: 1788-1848 - A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India, Oxford, 1965.

5 The early resistance to the British rule has been discussed in detail in S.B.Chaudhuri, Civil Disturbances During the British Rule in India. 1765-1857. Calcutta, 1955.

6 Andhra region under Madras Presidency during the period of our study comprised the districts of Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Krishna, Nellore, Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Chittoor. The present day Telangana region was under the rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Narasimha Reddy in 1846 in the Rayalaseema region. All these rebellions may be described as feudal in nature, scattered, localised and motivated by specific interests of the ruling elites. Nevertheless, they reflect two significant facts. First, most of these rebellions received popular support and

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hence can be termed 'mass-based' outbursts. Secondly, these outrages unmistakably symbolise the quest of the people for a new identity under the changed political circumstances of the colonial rule. It is to be seen that the colonial rulers couldnot afford to lose the support of landed magnates after 1857 Revolt and infact the earliest nominations to the Legislative Councils in the three Presidencies of British India were mostly made from this section.⁹

7 For details see M.Venkatarangaiya (ed.), The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh. Vol.1 (1800-1905 A.D), Hyderabad, 1965, pp.23-38. For a detailed discussion of Narasimha Reddy Revolt see N.Raghavendra, "Narasimha Reddy Rebellion of 1846 - A Study of a Peasant Revolt in Rayalaseema", M.Phil Dissertation, University of Hyderabad, 1986; T.Venkata Subba Rao, "Uyyalavada Narasimha Reddy Kadha" in Bharati (Telugu monthly), June 1969, pp.50-66; J.C.Dua, "Poligars - Their Rise in the Ceded Districts" in PIHC, 33rd session, 1972, pp.467-75 and "Nature of the Poligar Revolts in the Ceded Districts During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: A Case Study" in Ibid., 35th session, 1974, pp.235-44; B.Sobhanan, "Narasimha Reddy of Nossam - A Forgotten Hero of Andhradesa" in Itihas, Vol.XIV, No. 2, July 1988, pp.76-81; M.Pattabhirami Reddy, "Peasants Revolt in Rayalaseema, 1846" in Ibid., Vol.XIII, Nos. 1-2, pp.89-100 and D.Subrahmanyam Reddy, "The Ryotwari Land Revenue Settlements and Peasant Resistance in the Northern Division of Arcot of the Madras Presidency During Early British Rule" in Social Scientist. Vol.16, Nos.6-7, June-July 1988, pp.35-50.

8 S.B.Chaudhuri, Op.Cit., p.205. The mass character of these rebellions is clearly brought out in the case of Narasimha Reddy's revolt in N.Raghavendra, Op. Cit., pp.97-103 and 107-18.

9 For example the Zamindar of Venkatagiri (Nellore district) was among those who was appointed a member of Madras Legislative Council. However, his apathy towards public cause came under attack. See for details

The consolidation of political power was accompanied by new revenue policies. Though in the initial stages the new revenue arrangements like Permanent settlement and Village Lease settlements were tried, the Ryotwari settlement became the predominant mode of assessment and 17 districts out of 21 in the Madras Presidency were settled under Ryotwari tenures. Though the system appeared to be democratic it proved more oppressive in

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its actual working. The heavy incidence of taxation, the torture employed in the collection of rents, vagaries of nature and incidence of famines left the peasants in a chronic state

Hinduianasamskarini (Telugu monthly), January 1889, p.64. In course of time the landed aristocrats who were on good terms with the British government were subject to a paradoxical dilemma whether to support the colonial state or nationalists. This confusion resulted from a fear of insecurity as they were not certain who among the colonial rulers and the nationalists would protect their interests. For a discussion on this see William Roy Smith, Nationalism and Reform in India. Yale (USA), 1938, pp.40-41.

10 This is mentioned by the 1852 Memorandum submitted by the Madras Native Association to the British Parliament. Vide paragraph No. 5 in the memorial. I thank Dr.M.P.R. Reddy, former Principal of Jawahar Bharati, Kavali for the source.

11 John F.Thomas, "Notes on Ryotwar, or Permanent Annual Money Rents in South India and on the Duty of Government in Periods of Famine" in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science. Vol.XI, January-June 1839, p.58.

12 Vide paragraph No. 29 in the 1852 Memorial of MNA, Op. Cit. A contemporary autobiography vividly brings out the melancholic state of ryots in society even by late 19th century. See Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham, Sweeyacharithramu. (autobiography in Telugu) Bezawada, 1944, p.11.

13 The occurrence of famines was witnessed throughout the century. Apart from natural factors, the new revenue policies and destruction of indigenous industry contributed to the outbreak of famines. B.M.Bhatia, Famines in India: A study in some aspects of the Economic History of India (1860-1965). Bombay, 2nd edition, 1967, p.14 ff. Also see N.Neelakanteswar Rao, "A Critical Assessment of the Administration of Famine Relief during the Famine of 1876-78 with special reference to Andhra Region" in PIHC, 40th

of poverty and suffering. Added to this the superimposition of more exploitative capitalist economy particularly in the post-1857 period further precipitated the misery of ryots.¹⁴ These discouraging economic conditions and the most fluctuating variable of taxation did not encourage the accumulation of agrarian surplus.¹⁵ The creation of national market along with the exploitative capitalist economy extinguished the fire of indigenous economic enterprise. All these changes led the people towards agitational modes of protest. The activities of Madras Native Association and its famous memorandum of 1852, submitted to the British Parliament visibly brought out the bleeding realities of peasant economy in the Madras Presidency. The countless number of petitions addressed to the Government of Madras from the inhabitants of various parts of Andhra region protesting the economic hardships bear further testimony to this. The economic discontent drove the people towards struggle against the colonial authorities and the first political movement was initiated by the Madras Native Association. The Association had its branches spread throughout the Presidency including Andhra. The social base of the activities of the Association was

session, 1979, pp.908-10. The vernacular press came down heavily on the unsatisfactory relief operations of the Madras Government and its famine policies. It was stated that the colonial authorities instituted famine on a permanent basis. See Jarida-i-Rozgar. dt.3.5.1879 in the Native Newspaper Reports. TNA.

14 Barun De, Op. Cit.

15 In case of Andhra this is discussed in G.Niranjana Rao, "Changing Conditions and Growth of Agricultural Economy in the Krishna and Godavari Districts 1840-1890", Ph.D Dissertation, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam, 1973, pp.286-94.

16 Details of various petitions are discussed in succeeding chapters.

wide and represented both middle and lower classes of people in society. This is attested by the fact that the Association received support from the rural poor including the ryots when it tried to establish its branches at various places in the Presidency and sought support of people.

Along with changes in economic life, the Company administration introduced new education. However, the interest of the government in its promotion was highly discouraging. The public apathy in this field gave upper hand to Christian missionaries and private individuals like a few enlightened Zamindars and civil servants in establishing and managing educational institutions. The lion's share in this activity had gone to Christian missions whose primary objective was proselytisation and preaching Biblical morals. Another important aim of the new education seemed to be the creation of educated people to fill up lower rungs in the administration. Attempts at proselytisation were made through religious instruction in educational institutions always with an eye on new converts. The government also supported the activities of missionaries, sometimes covertly and at times overtly. The aim of such instruction was intended to inculcate ideas of faithfulness and obedience among the learners. On the other hand the employment opportunities created by new education displaced many people from traditional avocations. The growing demand for English education and jobs under the Company government lend support to this fact.¹⁸

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This aspect is discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

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For an account on the changing popular perception in this regard see Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry, Anubhavaloo = Jnapakalunu (Autobiographical Reminiscences in Telugu),

The growth of towns and education in Andhra from the mid 19th century witnessed the rise of new professional classes mainly drawn from the middle classes of society.¹⁹ The new educated middle classes comprised mainly of people belonging to different professions like teaching, law, medicine and civil service.²⁰ They symbolised a new spirit of social mobility and intellectual freedom and shouldered the responsibility of disseminating new ideas in the society. They formed the social basis for reform movements in Andhra. Kandukuri Veeresalingam became a pioneering leader of social reform in Andhra and was responsible for far reaching changes in the contemporary society.

Growth of education and new middle classes in Andhra became one of the most important factors in the growth of journalism. In the initial stages the vernacular press remained confined to specific middle class concerns. However, it soon emerged into an effective instrument of public opinion. It assumed the historical role of enlightening people on issues of public concern including reform issues and acted as an instrument of

Vol.1, Rajamahendravaram, 1955, pp.37-41. He describes how the traditional Brahmin sections were increasingly changing over to new education and employment under the Company during nineteenth century.

19 V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform in Andhra. New Delhi, 1983, pp.34-35.

20 For details see B.M.Bhatia, "Growth and Composition of Middle Class in South India in Nineteenth Century" in the Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.11, No.4, October 1965, pp.345 ff. Also see P.Subramanian, "Tamil Society in Nineteenth Century" in the Journal of the Madras University. Vol.LII, No.1, January 1980, pp.73-89.

21 B.B.Misra, The Indian Middle Class, OUP, 1961, pp.5-7.

22 V.Ramakrishna, Op. Cit., pp.35-36.

public protest of repressive colonial rule.²³ Apart from being one of the potent factors in the growth of press, the educated sections were actively involved in establishing public societies, debating clubs and public libraries where public issues were discussed.²⁴ These two developments provided a platform for people to demand their rights from the colonial state.

Another fact of the spread of new education was the popular resistance to the teaching methods in the system. The religious instruction in schools by Christian missionaries invited severe opposition from all classes in the society. The religious propaganda in schools and the support of the government to these activities were criticised by people and protested by public bodies.²⁵ When the Madras Government paid scanty attention to the public protest, people began searching for alternatives. As a part of this programme they established separate Hindu schools and withdrew children from missionary schools. Though by no means these efforts did equal the educational activities of the

23 From mid 19th century there was a vigorous growth of Telugu press. Some of the journals like Vivekavardhani of Veeresalingam were devoted to reform issues. For example see Vivekavardhani, February 1878, pp.28-34. The vernacular journals served as effective tools for people to discuss their problems in their columns and generated a public awakening in society.

24 In Andhra there were a number of these public bodies by late 19th century. For details on one such society see V.Ramakrishna, "Kakinada Literary Association - A Study in the Stirrings of Early Political Consciousness in Modern Andhra" in the Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress. 8th session, Kakinada, 1984. More details about various public societies are discussed in Chapter IV.

25 For example see Paragraph No.17 in G.O.(Public), No.1044, 9.7.1859, TNA and G.O. (Education), No.142, dt.26.5.1871, APA.

missionaries, they timely warned the government about the undesirable religious interference. The resistance to the proselytising educational activities formed one of the important aspects of modern education. Apart from these, the establishment of Rate Schools which were supported by voluntary popular contributions in the form of additional land or water tax was one of the significant aspects of modern Andhra as this experiment was first initiated in the Godavari region of Andhra.²⁷ Most of the people who voluntarily contributed to these Rate Schools were drawn from agricultural non-Brahman castes and this voluntary effort symbolised the growing urge among these sections of society towards self-enlightenment and social improvement.

The growth of non-Brahman consciousness under the changed socio-economic conditions in the 19th century was a significant development. It assumes importance in the light of the growth of new education free from the ideological influence of Brahmins and creation of employment opportunities under the Company government irrespective of religion and caste. The completion of Godavari and Krishna anicuts by the middle of 19th century witnessed the rise of economically dominant non-Brahman castes in coastal Andhra.²⁸ All these factors created a social awareness among

26 G.O.(Public), No.1044, Op. Cit.

27 See Papers Relating to the State of Education in the Provinces Subject to the Government of Madras, 1854. Also see for more details on this system J.Mangamma, The Rate Schools of Godavari. A Monograph of A.P.State Archives, Hyderabad, 1973.

28 See G.N.Rao, "Canal Irrigation and Agrarian Change in Colonial Andhra : A Study of Godavari District" in IESHR. Vol.XXV, No.1, January-March 1988, pp.25-60. Also see Ramakrishna, "A Background Study to the Emergence of Caste Consciousness in Coastal Andhra Pradesh" in Suranjan Das and

non-Brahman castes in demanding equal opportunities with Brahmins in education, employment and local bodies like Local Fund Boards and Municipalities. This social awareness had different characteristics under the new colonial set-up, when compared to earlier forms of non-Brahman protest, which most often criticised external aspects of Hindu religiosity.²⁹ It is argued by some scholars that under the Company administration the preponderating influence of Brahmins on Hindu Law and the Imperial system of dispute management viz., the Anglo-Indian Legal System which initially associated Brahmins in its formation, were responsible 'or supremacy of this caste in 19th century. For them, hence, nineteenth century was a 'Brahmin Century' which represented the 'Brahman Raj',³² and the twentieth century which witnessed the emergence of non-Brahman movement against the dominance of Brahmins was an 'Anti-Brahmin Century'.³³

It may not be denied that Brahmins were associated with Company administration not only in the field of dispensing law

Sekhar Bandopadhyay (ed.), Caste and Communal Politics in South Asia. Calcutta, 1993, pp.99-118.

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V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform, Op. Cit., pp.42-47.

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D.A.Washbrook, "Law, State and Agrarian Society in Colonial India" in Modern Asian Studies, Vol.15, No.3, 1981, pp.652-53. The argument is further reiterated in Rosalind O' Hanlon and David Washbrook, Op. Cit., pp.115-116.

Washbrook, Law. State. Op. Cit., p.653.

This expression is used in Pamela G.Price, "Ideology and Ethnicity Under British Imperial Rule : 'Brahmins', Lawyers and Kin-Caste Rules in Madras Presidency" in Modern Asian Studies, Vol.23, Part I, 1989, p.162. It is argued that utilisation of Brahminical codes in the legal system under the company administration resulted in the supremacy of Brahmins and often times they alone benefited from the system.

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David Washbrook, Law, State. Op. Cit., p.653.

but also in various other capacities such as dubashees and other small job holders under the new administration. It is unhistorical to label periods of history on the basis of caste as it is equally erroneous to compartamentalise it on the basis of religion. The non-Brahman protest was not a unique phenomenon under the East India Company administration and this form of social protest was witnessed both during the Ancient³⁴ and Medieval periods.³⁵ Under the British rule there was a perceptible change in the socio-economic conditions. The new education, social and moral values introduced by the colonial state created an altogether different atmosphere where one has to look for and carefully analyse the new social interactions and relationships. Increasing dependance on a single set of factors in our analysis of social set-up may often lead us towards developing historical inattitudes in our conclusions. On the other hand the growth of non-Brahman consciousness was fairly witnessed during nineteenth century in Andhra. There are a few

34 See for example R.S.Sharma, Sudras in Ancient India, Delhi, 1980, p.200 ff; Romila Thapar, "Social Mobility in Ancient India with Special Reference to Elite Groups" in R.S.Sharma and V.N.Jha (ed.), Indian Society - L Historical Probinas, New Delhi, 1977; B.N.S. Yadava, "The Accounts of Kali Age and the Social Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages" in Indian Historical Review, Vol.V, 1978-79, pp.31-63 and R.N.Nandi, "Client, Ritual and Conflict in Early Brahmanical Order" in Ibid., VolVI, 1979-80, pp.64-118.

35 See V.Ramakrishna, Social Re-form. Op. Cit., pp.37-48. Taking the example of Andhra the author tried to show how social protest movements of Medieval Andhra which, drawing their sustenance from non-Brahman lower castes, were increasingly attacking the traditional and caste-ridden Hindu society. But under changed economic conditions during the colonial era the upper caste non-Brahmans emerged as dominant economic groups and their demands disputing equal status with Brahmins were different from earlier period. Apart from questioning the superiority of Brahmins, they started adopting Brahminical rituals and began to demand equal opportunities in education and employment.

significant aspects of this. The demand for equal rights in education, jobs and local bodies was a major factor in the emergence of non-Brahman consciousness and this was witnessed more among the upper non-Brahman castes like Reddy, Vaisya, Balija, Kapu, Kamma and Velama. The non-Brahman consciousness during nineteenth century was not influenced by narrow casteist tendencies despite the fact that the non-Brahman sections of the society stood opposed to Brahminical influence. Such consciousness was positive in the sense that its attack was not aimed at a particular caste and it remained mainly as a social protest measure. Moreover, there was no interference of the colonial authorities during nineteenth century unlike in early twentieth century when they extended their indirect support to the non-Brahman movement. The non-Brahman consciousness during the entire nineteenth century didnot fructify into a caste movement. It is attested by the fact that non-Brahman sections worked together with Brahmins when both of them were demanding a relative autonomy to local bodies on the eve of Local Self-Government campaign. This multi-class approach to a public issue rules out any assumption that non-Brahman consciousness was

36 Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry, Op. Cit., Vol.III, 1966, pp.99-100. The author took part in the Godavary District Social Conferences during late 19th century. Being a participant analyst he threw much light on contemporary political life in Andhra. He says that, "the political life was not yet poisoned by partiality of social approach and didnot still assume the narrow casteist nature." Added to this even some of the prominent non-Brahman intellectuals of late 19th century didnot encourage such tendencies in public life. A prominent lawyer, P.K. Pillai (Popularly known as Gutti Kesava Pillai) even disclaimed the non-Brahman Manifesto in early 20th century. See for details the correspondence from Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao, dated 23.2.1917 in P.K.Pillai Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

37 This aspect is discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

narrow in its nature and scope.

II

A brief account of socio-economic conditions during nineteenth century would further enrich our understanding of the broad changes that have been discussed in the foregoing pages. The supremacy of the British over South Indian region culminated in 1763 with the decline of French authority. However, this did not immediately lead to the annexation of the territory of Andhra. From early decades of the 18th century, most of the parts in Andhra were under the direct rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad.³⁸ In 1765, Robert Clive, the Governor of Bengal, could secure a firman from the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam which gave away the Circar districts to the British. In the following year the Nizam reluctantly confirmed the cession of these areas through a treaty with the British. Under this treaty the British acquired important areas such as Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Eluru, Mustafanagar (Kondapalli) and Murtazanagar (Guntur).³⁹ These areas later formed into the districts of Vizagapatam, Ganjam, Godavari and Krishna. At the end of Anglo-Mysore wars the Nizam entered into the subsidiary alliance with Lord Wellesley and ceded those areas which were acquired during the earlier Mysore wars in 1792 and 1799. The areas thus ceded to the British were Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool which came to be called Ceded Districts.⁴⁰ In 1801 the Nawab of Carnatic was relieved of his Subah and Nellore and Chittor districts were added to the

38 M.Venkatarangaiya (ed.), Op. Cit., p.11.

39 B.H.Baden - Powell, The Land Systems of British India. Vol.III, London, n.d., p.6.

40 Ibid., p.8.

British territory.⁴¹ With the inclusion of these areas Andhra came under the British rule.

At the time of the British conquest the Andhra region was under the management of squabbling crowd of local chieftains like Rajas, Zamindars and Poligars. They regarded themselves as petty kings and exercised the most arbitrary authority. In order to enforce their power they maintained armed men and the Munro Report put their number at 30000 in Ceded districts alone.⁴² In the absence of any powerful controlling authority these local chieftains became free-booters. Munro imposed an armed peace upon these unruly group of local rulers.

Society in Andhra during nineteenth century was based on the hierarchical order of various castes and sub-castes.⁴³ Each caste group followed its hereditary calling and enjoyed a fixed social status. Within the society the lines of orthodoxy were rigidly drawn and caste distinctions persisted. The differences that existed between the 'Right hand' and 'Left hand' castes among non-Brahmans are an example.⁴⁴ Each village was a corporate unit comprising within itself the entire machinery of local administration. Each village was headed by a village headman

41 A.Sarada Raju, Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency.1800-1858, Madras, 1948, p.9.

42 Cited in Ibid., p.6.

43 For details see V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., pp.2-9.

44 For a detailed description see Petition Registers, Vol.59, No.2787 and No.537, dated 3.3.1857, TNA; H.D.Love, Vestiges of Old Madras. 1640-1800. London, 1913, pp.141-42; Arjun Appadorai, "Right and Left hand Castes in South India" in IESHR. Vol.11, Nos.2-3, June-September 1974 and V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., pp.8-9.

belonging to castes such as Reddy and Naidu and other important village officials were Karnum and the moneylender.⁴⁵ The village justice was dispensed by the headman and assisted by other officials. The introduction of new judiciary by the Colonial state resulted in far reaching changes in village administration. Except the office of Karnums all other earlier offices connected with village administration were abolished. Provincial and Circuit Courts were established, the Governor of the Presidency being the final court with a proviso that an ultimate appeal could be made to the Crown.⁴⁶ The new judicial system proved to be very costly, time-consuming and multi-layered when compared to the earlier system. It had baneful effects particularly on the cultivating classes. For example, under the new administration the number of officers with whom the cultivators had to communicate in respect of the revenue, civil and criminal affairs

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Various administrative aspects of villages are discussed in Bundla Ramaswamy Naidoo, Selections From the Records of the South Arcot District, No. II : Memoir on the Internal Revenue System of the Madras Presidency. Madras, 1908, p.50 ff.

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During this period there were altogether two different courts at Madras which used to hear appeals from lower courts. One was the Supreme court which functioned according to the English law and was under the direct control of the Crown. The second was called Sadr Adalat which followed Hindu and Mahomedan laws and used to possess superior authority over the district and other lower courts in the Presidency. Each Court was presided over by a chief justice and two other judges. ' Digavalli Venkata Sivarao (ed.), Enuctula Veeraswamaiah - Kasiyatra Charitra (Telugu), New Delhi, 2nd Edition, 1991, Introductory Essay on the life on Veeraswamaiah by K.S.Pillai, p.2 (first edition 1941).

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One of the popular Madras civil servants, Thomas Munro was in favour of a status quo in the earlier system. When he was made a special Commissioner in 1814 to revise the Madras Judicial System he favoured the idea of the revival of village judiciary under the overall supervision of the district collector. T.H. Beaglehole, Thomas Munro and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras. 1792-1818. Cambridge, 1966, pp.83-104.

increased to twenty five as against the earlier five.⁴⁸ As a result the poor peasants were often placed at the mercy of courts where moneylenders could get favourable decisions by engaging lawyers.

The break-up of village as a unit was further enhanced by the introduction of new revenue policies, the dominant one being the Ryotwari system in the South. The initial history of revenue settlements in Madras Presidency was characterised by glaring inconsistencies as evidenced by constant shifts in policy formulations.⁴⁹ Apart from Ryotwari, there were other revenue settlements like Zamindari (Permanent) and village Lease Settlements. In course of time, the Ryotwari system became the predominant mode of assessment and, under the Governorship of Thomas Munro, the chief architect of Ryotwari, rapidly spread to most parts of the Presidency. Even some parts of the estates, under the control of local Zamindars who became defaulters in paying peshcush to the Company like in Northern Circars, were settled on Ryotwari system. This is because of the fact that there was no hard and fast rule, as in Bengal, that the landlord estates sold for arrears must again be permanently settled with the purchaser. As a result, in the districts that were mostly

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B.Ramaswamy Naidoo, Op. Cit., pp.52-53.

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Ibid., pp.31-32.

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Right from the beginnings Munro and his colleagues argued in favour of Ryotwari system. On the other, people like Hodgson strongly favoured the Permanent Settlement. When Munro left Madras in 1807 the Board of Revenue tried its hand in Zamindari and Village Settlements under the influence of Hodgson. For details see Nilmani Mukherji, The Ryotwari System in Madras, 1792-1827, Calcutta, 1962, pp.65-99.

made up of Zamindari estates, there were considerable tracts of Ryotwari lands. Moreover, many of the Zamindari estates began to collapse in districts like Godavari, Krishna and Ganjam where lavish expenditure of Zamindars coupled with excessive demands from the Government enhanced their rate of decline.⁵² The Zamindars could not always cope with the liability to pay peshcush as their expensive life style and discouraging revenue collections from the ryots had a severe impact on the treasury. Furthermore, the cultivators of land were subjected to unmitigated exploitation as their rights on lands under Zamindari estates were not clearly defined. The Zamindars sometimes forcibly collected land rents from ryots for two or three years in advance when they fell short of revenue collections in order to meet the demand of the government. All these combined to keep the state of affairs in the zamindaries in a highly discouraging economic set-up.

The spirit behind the Ryotwari system was to benefit the individual cultivator by recognition of his right to land and the elimination of all intermediary levels of revenue exploitation. However, the actual operation of the system proved to be more repressive in nature. The recognition of peasant's right to land at a fixed assessment proved illusory. Land rent was very high

51 B.H.Baden-Powell, Administration of Land Revenue and Tenure in British India, New Delhi, 1978, pp.111-12.

52 Cited in V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform, Op. Cit., p.29.

53 A few reliable accounts on this aspect are available from the histories of local zamindaries compiled by some of their ruling members. For example a few details in this regard can be obtained from Vastavaya Raya Jagapati Varma, Peddapura Samsthana Charitramu (Telugu), Rajahmundry, 1934, p.131.

per each acre. The report by the collector of Masulipatam, Russel stated that a ryot on dry land could raise crops worth Rs.99.⁵⁴ After meeting the government's demand and cultivating expenses, the ryot was finally left with a paltry sum of Rs.9 and 12 annas.⁵⁵ Likewise, a ryot who could produce a crop worth Rs.160 on wet land would be left with Rs.10 and 5 annas. The revenue demand under Ryotwari was such that the Madras Presidency became the highly taxed of all the three Presidencies and the tax collected in Madras for every one lakh of people was more than the double that collected in Bengal.⁵⁷ The following table of revenue collections further attests this fact.

YEAR	ALL VALUES IN RUPEES				
	Total Income India General	Collection From Madras	Proportionate share of Madras According to Population	Difference in excess	
1860-61	305404720	56616050	45335365	0.296	
1869-70	351491160	69004310	45336174	0.726	
1874-75	353095050	73870182	45335730	1.657	
1879-80	413767980	82513675	45336715	1.536	
1885-86	417241400	83537703	45336290	2.063	

The high rates of land revenue became one of the potential

54 The Report is cited in the 1852 memorandum of Madras Native Association, Op. Cit., Paragraph No.29.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 A. Sarada Raju, Op. Cit., p.50.

58 The table is based on the statistics provided by B.N.Sharma in his Presidential Address to the 21st Madras Provincial Conference, Annie Besant Papers. Reel No.3, NMML.

factors in the spread of poverty among the peasants. Most often the ryot had been in a state of chronic incapability to meet the demand of the government. The ryot was even prohibited from conversion of land from wet to dry under the Ryotwari. Hence, the peasant was tied to the plough till a time when he had to dispose the land in lieu of land rents. Under these discouraging economic conditions the agricultural sector came to throw up a few characteristic developments. There was an increase in the number of agricultural labourers. Most of the peasants either sold or mortgaged their lands to moneylenders. They have been reduced to landless agricultural labour from land-owning tillers. Their percentage rose from 12.6% in 1871⁵⁹ to 19.61% in 1891.⁶⁰ It shows the upward move in their number. The growth of agricultural indebtedness was noticed. In such a state of affairs the peasant was incapable of reaping any benefits even during the few intermittent favourable periods. The low percentage of purchasing population under the exacting conditions of Ryotwari and absence of any outlet for the peasant to sell his grain in market were two important factor* of this. The discouraging agriculture and constant growth of poverty often resulted in the outbreak of famines. Heavy taxation and growth of rural indebtedness ruled out any capital formation in the agricultural sector. This in turn effected the introduction of capitalist agriculture. All these factors had a cumulative effect on society. The seemingly democratic Ryotwari system

59 W.R.Cornish, Census of the Madras Presidency - 1871. Madras, 1874, p.12.

60 Census of Madras Presidency - 1891, Vol.XIII, p.330.

61 John F.Thomas, Op. Cit., pp.53-56.

ultimately proved to be a major colonial experiment in exploitation. The gradual growth of economic discontent in the society was beginning to find expression in popular memorials. The Madras Native Association finally put the economic sufferings of people on its agenda of political struggle by the middle of **nineteenth** century.

The introduction of new English education also resulted in far reaching changes like in the case of new revenue policies. Education at the beginning of 19th century still remained confined to indigenous methods of teaching and the system was known by the name, Pail School system.⁶² It was calculated that out of 12,500 schools in the Presidency 750 were Vedic schools and the rest were village schools.⁶³ Being unaltered in methods of teaching and subjects these schools became outdated. On the other hand, the Company administration did not shoulder the responsibility of popular education. As a result the earliest efforts in the field of new English education were confined only to Christian missionaries and their activities were motivated by religious considerations.

Till the end of 18th century all the educational activities were in the hands of Christian missionaries and their influence was to continue in 19th century also.⁶⁴ Various mission schools were established in Andhra from the beginning of 19th century.

62 For a description of the system see Charles E. Grover, Results of Educational Census. 1871. Madras, 1872, pp.2-4.

63 D.V. Siva Rao, 1857 Poorvarangamulu (Telugu), Bezawada, 1957, pp.105-07.

64 Y. Vittal Rao, Op.Cit., p.29.

By 1806 the London Missionary Society established a school at Visakhapatnam and within a few years it opened two more schools in Bellary district. In course of time missionary educational institutions were established in many districts of Andhra like Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary by the London Mission Society. The first female school also was opened by the Society at Visakhapatnam.⁶⁷

The Church Missionary Society began its work in Machilipatnam in 1841 and later on spread its activities to other coastal towns like Vijayawada and Eluru. The Pennsylvania Synod Society under the leadership of C.F.Heyer organised by 1841 various schools in Guntur, Prattipadu and Nallapadu.⁶⁹ Around the same time the American Baptist Missionaries began their work in Guntur district establishing their centres at Guntur, Gurajala, Palanadu and, Ongole town soon became one of the most prominent centres of their activities. The American Baptist Mission and the Free Church Mission initiated their work in the neighbouring Nellore district also. In the Godavari region the North German Missionary Society was active in its work by 1840 and Rajahmundry

65 Ibid., pp.35-36.

66 S.Sathianathan, Op.Cit., p.52.

67 Ibid.

68 V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform, Op. Cit., p.52.

69 Ibid.

70 For details on the activities of Baptist Mission see Anima Bose, Higher Education in India in the 19th Century : The American Involvement. 1883-1893. Calcutta, 1978, p.223 ff.

71 Kenneth Ingham, Reformers in India. 1793-1833: An Account of the Work of Christian Missionaries On Behalf of Social Reform, London, 1956, p.48.

became their centre.⁷² The work of North German Mission was later continued by the American Lutheran Mission with its branches spreading over rural places like Palcole and Nurasapore.⁷³ Almost all these missionary societies clubbed their religious propaganda with their educational activities.

Though the work of the Christian missionary societies cannot be underestimated, their educational activities invariably concentrated on religious teaching and conversion of people under instruction. The educational institutions readily helped them as the ideal centres of social intercourse. The Madras Government extended its support to the missionary activities in the field of education as the inculcation of Christian morals among the beneficiaries of English education would ultimately serve their imperial political interests. It is argued that the educational institutions of the missionaries did spread enlightenment among certain sections of society by dispelling their superstitions and making them self-respectful in society.⁷⁴ Nevertheless most of the time their activities, both social and educational, have been exaggerated, ill-informed and hostile towards indigenous traditions. Consequently there were objections and organised protests against the missionary activities. The introduction of new English education with its attendant missionary aspect provided ample scope for germination of counter reaction from society.

⁷² For details see Henry Morris, Descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavari District in the Presidency of Madras, London, 1878, pp.24-38.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ V.Ramakrishna, Op. Cit., pp.54-55.

The foregoing brief account of changes effected in the contemporary society by the colonial rulers indicate that there was a break-up in the earlier political and social order. Different social groups were agitated over economic, social and political issues. All these groups were struggling for a new identity under the over powerful alien colonialism and looking for new alternatives to situate themselves against the colonial government. So far there is no comprehensive work on nineteenth century Andhra which tried to establish linkages between these different strands and analyse the growth of political consciousness resulting from social discontentment. The present work endeavours to study these changes in a historical perspective and to construct a discourse on the growth of political consciousness in the contemporary society of Andhra. While trying to analyse changes adequate care has been taken to maintain the chronological sequence in the text.

III

Review of Literature

Interest in the history of various aspects of society in Andhra was generated in the early decades of twentieth century. R.Venkata Ratnam Naidu, the leading Brahmo Samajist of the Andhra region, in one of his letters to his friend enquired whether he could get a copy of the book entitled "Nineteenth Century and After." ⁷⁵ About the same time and under the impact of Indian

⁷⁵ Naidu to Ramakrishna Rao, dt.2.9.1929, R.Venkata Ratnam Naidu Papers. NMML.

National Movement, various books dealing with local history, geography, culture and a few books glorifying Indian past began to be published. Being pure narratives they throw negligible light on aspects such as social, administrative, cultural and religious.

The book by V.V.L. Narasimha Rao, The History of Coconada (Telugu)⁷⁶ deals with growth of the town, revenue administration and various business houses located therein. The book entitled Gunturu Zillah Bhuqolamu (Telugu)⁷⁷ was written as per the syllabus requirements for fourth standard. Authored by Ch.Sundara Ramaiah, Machilipattana Bhuqolamu (Telugu)⁷⁸ was meant to cater to the needs of students at the elementary and secondary levels of education. The book not only deals with details of geography but also with transport and communication, religion, languages, education, women's education, handicrafts and municipal administration. On the same lines the geographical aspects of Madras city were published in Telugu and it was written by D.Satyanarayana Murthy entitled Chennapuri Raiadhani Bhuqolamu.⁷⁹ This was also a part of syllabus requirements of primary and secondary schools. The book by P.Satyanarayana Sarma, Nutana Ganjam Zillah Bhuqolamu (Telugu)⁸⁰ also was prescribed for students of fourth and fifth standards. Though most of these

76 Published at Coconada, in 1923.

77 Published at Eluru in 1929. Bhuqolamu means geography. The name of the author is not available.

78 Published at Machilipatnam in 1929.

79 Published at Eluru in 1929.

80 Published at Kakinada in 1929.

regional geographies were compiled as a part of school curriculum they throw light on a few regional aspects such as transport, communication, rain fall, crops and the like.

Along with these books, histories of various regions and local zamindaries were published. Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry's Chittoru Raiula Kadhalu (Telugu)⁸¹ is one of the earliest works in this direction. This was followed by other books like Bhogaraju Narayana Murthy, Andhra Rashtram (Telugu),⁸² G.V.Appa Rao (ed.), Annals of Handeh Anantapuram⁸³ and Akkaraju Narasimha Rao, Ongolu Raiva Charitra (Telugu).⁸⁴ The book entitled Karnoolu Mandala Charitra (Telugu)⁸⁵ deals with the history of Kurnool district from earliest times to the revolt of Narasimha Reddy, the well known poligar chief in Rayalaseema region of Andhra. Though this is a brief history it may be considered one of the earliest books dealing with the district or regional histories. This healthy trend continued in later period too.

81 Published at Rayavaram in 1916.

82 Published at Madras in 1918.

83 Published at Madras in 1920.

84 Published at Ongole in 1926.

85 Published at Eluru in 1929. The author's name is not available.

86 Some of the works of the same genre may be mentioned. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, Andhradesa Charitraka Sangrahamu (Telugu), Madras, 1950. It deals with the history of Andhra in the pre-1857 period; N.Chandrasekhara Reddy (ed.), Sri Vikrama Simhapuri Mandala Sarvaswamu (Telugu), Nellore, 1963. This is a comprehensive work on the history of Nellore district; M.D.Sampath, Chittor Through Ages. Delhi, 1980 and A.V.Dattatreya Sarma, Vilavanagaram Zillah Charitra-Sanskriti (Telugu), Vijayanagaram, 1983.

The compilation of the histories of local zamindaries in Coastal Andhra was initiated by early 20th century. The book by Vastavaya Raya Jagapati Varma, Peddapura Samsthana Charitramu (Telugu)⁸⁷ deals with the history of Peddapuram Zamindari. The author belongs to the ruling family of Peddapuram. The book by Alladi Jagannadha Sastri, A Family History of Venkataqiri Rajas deals with detailed biographical sketches of various Zamindars of Venkatagiri in Nellore district down to 20th Century. A few other works of this category are Sriram Veerabrahma Kavi, Sri Peethikapura Samsthana Charitramu (Telugu)⁸⁹ and Nilakkan Perumal, Bobbili.⁹⁰ Most of these works are pure narratives and full of eulogising descriptions. However, they provide useful information about life and society in the respective zamindaries, throw light on the interrelations with other ruling families and give useful genealogies. Coinciding with the publication of the early books on zamindaries a few books glorifying Indian past were brought out in print. These books could be considered as a part of nationalist historiography under the impact of Indian National Movement.⁹¹

87

Published at Rajahmundry in 1934. A few pieces of research work are carried out on the history of zamindaries. In case of Peddapuram see D.S.Krishna, "The Vastavai Family of Peddapuram, 1550-1850", Ph.D Thesis, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam, 1986.

88

Published at Madras in 1922.

89

Published at Machilipatnam in 1938.

90

Published at Coimbatore in 1960.

91

To mention a few Jonnalagadda Satyanarayana Murthy, Maharashtra Jeevana Prabhatamu (Telugu), Kakinada, 1926; Gadepalli Suryanarayana Sarma, Bharata Swarajva Yuddhamu (Telugu), Rajahmundry, 1928; S.Sayam Varada Dasu, Bharateeya Prabodhamu (Telugu), Bandaru, 1929 and N.A., Four Indians

Research and publication of works of various aspects of the history of Madras Presidency and Andhra region started by the middle of the present century. Economic aspects of colonial rule attracted the attention of historians in the initial stages. The works by A.Sarada Raju, Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency, 1800-1858,⁹² A.V.Ramana Rao, Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh⁹³ and Nilmani Mukherji, The Ryotwari System in Madras. 1792-1827⁹⁴ are some of the authoritative accounts of this period. They are useful as source books and provide us with massive information along with useful insights into the economic history of the period. The scholarly work by G.Niranjana Rao, Changing Conditions and Growth of Agricultural Economy in the Krishna and Godavari Districts. 1840-1890⁹⁵ is an important addition to our knowledge of the economic history of Andhra. It deals with agrarian changes in the post Godavari and Krishna anicuts period and the rise of new economic groups from among the non-Brahman castes. While doing so the work provides a comparative study of pre and post anicut conditions.

Distinguished For Different Services (A brief sketch of Rammohan Roy, J.C.Bose, J.N.Tata and G.K.Gokhale in Telugu), Bezawada, 1929; Digavalli Venkata Siva Rao, Bharatadesa Sthiti Gatulu (Telugu), Bezawada, 1933. This trend was to continue later till mid 20th century. An example for this is the book by Puripanda Appala swamy, Veera Bharatam : 1857 Bharateeya Swatantrya Samaramu (Telugu), Rajamahendravaram, 1957.

92 Published at Madras in 1948.

93 Published at Bombay in 1957.

94 Published at Calcutta in 1962.

95 Ph.D Thesis, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam, 1973.

On the history of education one of the earliest source books is by S.Sathianathan, History of Education in Madras Presidency.⁹⁶ This book provides us with massive emperical data and various educational activities, throughout the Presidency. The work by Y.Vittal Rao, Education and Learning in Andhra Under the East India Company⁹⁷ is a standard work on education in Andhra in the pre-1857 period. It presents a detailed picture of the growth of education and the efforts of various agencies which promoted education during the period of its study. A few articles dealing exclusively with the growth of education in coastal districts are published. Mention may be made to the articles by P.Manikyamba, "Early Educational Institutions in Visakhapatnam"⁹⁸ and "Educational Progress and Social Change in the Godavari District, 1850-1900."⁹⁹ The article by P.Sivasankar Reddy, "Influence of Social Reformers on Women's Education in Andhra During Second Half of 19th Century"¹⁰⁰ deals with the activities of social reformers like Veeresalingam and R.Venkata Ratnam Naidu in promoting Women's education. An important work dealing with the impact of education on society is written by Y.Vaikuntham, Education and Social Change in South India : Andhra. 1880-1920¹⁰¹ and it deals more with late 19th century and early 20th century developments.

96 Published at Madras in 1894.

97 Published at Secunderabad in 1979.

98 Itihas. Vol.VIII, No.2, pp.115-121.

99 Ibid., Vol.XI, Nos.1-2, pp.81-97.

100 Ibid., Vol.XII, No.1, pp.21-30.

101 Published at Madras in 1982.

Growth of the press was one of the off-shoots of new education. The history of journalism engaged the attention of various scholars and there are a few informative works on the growth and development of printing and journalism. The book by J.Mangamma, Book Printing in India With Special Reference to the Contribution of European Scholars to Telugu. 1746-1857¹⁰² is a valuable work which deals with the history of printing in Telugu down to the mid 19th century. The book edited by K.R.Seshagiri Rao, Studies in the History of Telugu Journalism¹⁰³ deals with several facets of Telugu journalism. A brief but interesting work by Bangorey, Brown Jabulu Telugu Journalism Charitra (Telugu)¹⁰⁴ throws light on some of the unexplored areas of Telugu journalism and brings out a few important aspects of the earliest Telugu journals like Vrittantini and Vartamanatarangini which have been hitherto unknown. The work by V.Lakshmana Reddy, The Origin. Growth and Development of Telugu Journalism (Pre-Independence) (Telugu)¹⁰⁵ provides a detailed account of various Telugu journals published from around 1840. The book by D.Padmavathi, Women's Journals in Telugu - A Review (Telugu)¹⁰⁶ deals with Women's journals published in Andhra from late 19th

¹⁰² Published at Nellore in 1975.

¹⁰³ Published at New Delhi in 1968.

¹⁰⁴ Published at Nellore in 1973.

¹⁰⁵ Ph.D Thesis, Nagarjuna University, 1980. The work is recently published under the title Telugulo Patrika Rachana (Telugu), Vijayawada, 1988.

¹⁰⁶ M.Phil dissertation, University of Hyderabad, 1987. It is recently published under the title Aspasta Pratibimbalu : Telugulo Streela Patrikalu - Oka Pariseelana (Telugu), Hyderabad, 1989.

century.

The social history of Andhra attracted serious attention of scholars. From 1950 onwards serious and earnest attempts were made to study and analyse various strands in social history. The book by R.E.Frykenberg, Guntur District. 1788-1848 : A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India¹⁰⁷ throws light on various aspects related to society at regional level. It is a scholarly work which deals with the linkages between Company administration and local village officials. One of the earliest works in Telugu on social history of Andhra is the book

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by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Andhrula Samghika Charitra. This is a narrative work on social history of Telugu people dealing with various aspects of society upto the beginning of modern period. It presents a dynastic-wise history of the society. The importance of the work lies in the fact that it is based on extensive use of literary and inscriptional sources for the reconstruction of social history. The work by K.V.Ramana Reddy, Mahodavam (Telugu)¹⁰⁹ is an authentic biography of the well known reformist writer, Gurajada Appa Rao. Though it is biographical in nature it provides very useful insights into aspects of social history of Andhra during the nineteenth century. A scholarly work in this respect is V.Ramakrishna's Social Reform in Andhra. It is a significant contribution to the knowledge of social

107 Published at Oxford in 1965.

108 Published at Hyderabad in 1950.

109 Published at Vijayawada in 1969.

110 Published at New Delhi in 1983.

history of modern Andhra. It deals with various reform endeavours in society from medieval times and discusses in detail the reform efforts of Veeresalingam, the pioneer of social reform movement in modern Andhra. The spread of social awareness and its legacy in influencing the intellectual make-up of Andhra are clearly brought out in the work. There are a few other attempts in discussing the details of social change at the local level. The book by Fatima Kutty Kapil, District Administration and Social Change in India - A Study of Vizagapatam District. 1794-1898¹¹¹ is an example.

Aspects of political history and the spread of political awareness in Andhra during the nineteenth century didnot receive even that much of attention as social history did. The book by S.B.Chaudhuri, Civil Disturbances During the British Rule in India. 1765-1857¹¹² deals with various civil rebellions in the country before the Crown took over the Indian administration. It mentions the poligar revolts in South India including Andhra. The book by D.V.Siva Rao, 1857 Poorvarangamulu (Telugu)¹¹³ is a general review work based on some serious study and deals with a few Telugu leaders actively engaged in public life. It provides

111 Published at Delhi in 1990.

112 Published at Calcutta in 1955. See also K.Rajayyan, South Indian Rebellion - The First War of Independence. 1800-1801. Mysore, 1971. This book deals with the poligar revolt of Marudu Pandyan of Sivaganga in Tamilnadu region. The revolt has been projected as a war of independence. Though Marudu Pandyan was supported by local inhabitants like in the case of other such revolts, the revolt is not anti-colonial as most of these rebellions aimed at restoring the power of local feudal chiefs.

113 Published at Vijayawada in 1957.

a few interesting details into the life of the earliest popular agitator in the Presidency, Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty.¹¹⁴ The book by D.Sadasivan, Growth of Public Opinion in Madras Presidency, 1858-1909¹¹⁵ is first of its kind in this direction. However, it concentrates mainly on the public activities at the Presidential capital. The book edited by Nitish Ranjan Ray, Growth of Public Opinion in India : 19th and Early 20th Centuries. 1800-1914¹¹⁶ is an important work dealing with the spread of public awareness in the contemporary Indian society. However, it has no useful information on the growth of public opinion in Andhra region of Madras Presidency. The book by Sudhir Chandra, Dependence and Disillusionment : Emergence of National Consciousness in Later 19th Century¹¹⁷ is a valuable work dealing with various aspects of public protestations in the three principal Presidencies of India. It deals more with problems relating to the middle classes such as civil service, income tax, entry into legislative bodies and the like.

The works on political consciousness in Madras Presidency are a few. The book by B.B.Majumdar, Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature, 1818-1917¹¹⁸ is an important work and discusses the details regarding various

114 First hand information on Lakshminarasu Chetty is provided by a contemporary intellectual, G.Parameswaran Pillai in his Representative Men of Southern India, Madras, 1896 and Representative Indians, London, 1897.

115 Published at Madras in 1974.

116 Published at Calcutta in 1989.

117 Published at New Delhi in 1975.

118 Published at Calcutta in 1965.

political associations established by the educated middle classes in the three Presidencies. The book by R.Suntharalingam, Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India. 1852-1891¹¹⁹ is a substantial contribution in this regard. However, it deals mainly with the activities of educated sections and professional elites at the Presidential capital. It reflects colonial notion of the growth of nationalism in trying to equate it with Western impact. The work by D.A.Washbrook, The Emergence of Provincial Politics : The Madras Presidency. 1870-1920¹²⁰ deals more with the late 19th century and early 20th century public life. So also the work authored by Eugene F.Irshick, Politics and Social Conflict in South India¹²¹ throws much light on the aspects of non-Brahman movement in the early 20th century. In all these works Andhra region is considered as an appendage to the mainstream history of public activities at the Presidency level. Most of the scholars failed in exploring source materials which would help us in analysing the regional and local developments. Moreover, some of these works are heavily dependant upon official records and vernacular sources are seldom consulted. Nevertheless, there are a few works which provide more information on the political life in Andhra region. The book edited by M.Venkatarangaiya, The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh. Vol.I. 1800-1905 A.D¹²² is an important but primarily a survey and source volume dealing with the earlier revolts of

119 Published at Delhi in 1980.

120 Published at New Delhi in,1977.

121 Published at Berkely, USA in 1969.

122 Published at Hyderabad in 1965.

Zamindars and poligars of Andhra against the British. Furthermore, it also throws some light on aspects of public life in 19th century Andhra. The book by B.Kesavanarayana, Political and Social Factors in Andhra. 1900-1956¹²³ is an important piece of work and provides a brief backdrop to social aspects of late 19th century.

On the history of the growth of local government in Madras Presidency there are only a few works. One of the earliest works in Telugu is by T.Siva Sankaran, Sthanika Kootamulu.¹²⁴ However, the work by M.Venkatarangaiya, The Development of Local Boards in Madras Presidency¹²⁵ is a pioneering work in this field. It deals with a detailed history of Local Fund Boards and Municipalities in the Presidency. A work of similar importance is the one by Hugh Tinker, The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India,

123 Published at Vijayawada in 1976.

124 Published at Anantapur in 1935.

125 Published at Bombay in 1938. There are a few other works of this genre and the book by V.Venkata Rao, Administration of District Boards in the Madras Presidency, n.p., 1953 deals with various aspects of district administration from late 19th century onwards. Works of same nature are also brought out on other regions in India. For example see Niru Hazarika and V.Venkata Rao, Local Self-Government in India With Special Reference to Assam and North East India, 1986 (No.V2,6 N86, TNA). A few pieces of research work are conducted on local administration. In case of Tamilnadu see P.Surianarayanam, History of Local Government in Ramanathapuram District With Special Reference to Municipal Government and Its Relations With the District Administration and State (No.V21196, 62 N63, TNA). A similar work is carried out on the Telangana region by B.Bhanumathi, The Development of Local Governments in the Nizam's Dominion. 1869-1948, M.Phil Dissertation, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1980.

Pakistan and Burma. It also deals with the evolution of local government. However, the wide canvas of the work reduced the scope for detailed account of the development of local self-government in the three Presidencies of India. The work reflects notions of colonial historiography and tries to project the demand for local self-government as emanating under the Western impact. A few other works dealing with aspects of local administration in the Madras Presidency are - K.Jayaraman, A Study of Panchayats in Madras¹²⁷ and G.Venkatesan, Development of Rural Local Self-Government.¹²⁸ In respect of Andhra there are very few works dealing with local administration. One of the works is in the form of an article authored by John G.Lenard, "Urban Government Under the Raj : A Case Study of Municipal Administration in 19th Century South India".¹²⁹ It throws light on the administrative aspects of Rajahmundry Municipality and is rich in its local sources. Another work of this nature is by T.Appa Rao, Municipal Government in Visakhapatnam.¹³⁰ It deals with the origin and growth of the Municipality of Visakhapatnam. However , major part of the work is devoted to the developments during 20th century. Most of these works paid no attention to people's perception of local administration and failed to analyse their response to the proposals of Ripon on Local Self-Government. An analysis of such response provides us

126 Published at Bombay in 1967.

127 Published at Madras in 1947.

128 Published at Coimbatore in 1963.

129 Modern Asian Studies, Vol.7, No.2, 1973,

130 Published at Visakhapatnam in 1974.

interesting insights into popular thinking which the present work attempts to provide.

The foregoing brief survey of various sources, by and large, an exhaustive list of the existing works, is intended as a backdrop to the present study. It also suggests the areas where more efforts need be made in analysing the growth of political consciousness in the 19th century Andhra. Apart from these sources there are articles and essays published in various Telugu and English journals briefly touching upon the history of Andhra society. All these sources will be acknowledged in the thesis wherever they are used. In the light of the absence of any scholarly work, the present piece of research makes a serious attempt in constructing the discourse on the growth of political consciousness in the 19th century Andhra looking afresh at the changes effected under the colonial administration. For this purpose important changes brought out under the colonial state in the areas of education, journalism, public grievances, non-Brahman consciousness, public associations and local self-government are considered for our analysis.