

ORIGINS AND GROWTH OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN ANDHRA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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BY

K.H.S.S. SUNDAR



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
P.O.CENTRAL UNIVERSITY
HYDERABAD 500 046
NOVEMBER, 1994

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
HYDERABAD - 500 046.

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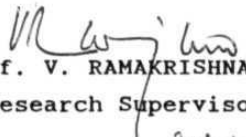
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(K.H.S.S. SUNDAR)

Ph.D Reg.No.PS 5878

University Enrollment No.LS 2731



(Prof. V. RAMAKRISHNA)
Research Supervisor
28/11/94



Head

(Department of History)



Dean

(School of Social Sciences)

PREFACE

Nineteenth Century was crucial in Indian History as it was a period of transition. It was an important historical phase both for the Colonial state as well as the Indian people. The colonial rule was consolidated during this period and such consolidation was accompanied by the introduction of new social and cultural policies. These policies brought about structural imbalances in society. The unification of the country, creation of a national market, attempts at superimposition of a capitalist economy in the post-1857 period and tampering of indigenous cultural practices were some of the concomitant results of the new policies. The introduction of English education and other related measures brought with them new Western values. Under their impact a new educated middle class emerged which was responsible for the dissemination of ideas in society. These educated sections were associated with reform endeavours and professions like journalism, teaching and law. Though they were subject to a 'false consciousness' under the powerful colonial ideological influence, they played a leading role in founding various debating clubs, public libraries and public associations which moulded public opinion in the contemporary society.

Apart from the educated sections; the impact of colonial policies was seen among different social groups in the society. The present study seeks to analyse the response of all these segments of society and tries to reconstruct a discourse on the growth of political consciousness in the Andhra region (consisting of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, Masulipatam,

Krishna and Nellore districts in the East Coast and Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur districts in Rayalaseema) of the erstwhile Madras Presidency during the nineteenth century.

The term 'consciousness' is employed in the present work in a broader sense which reflects the sprouting seeds of resistance and protest among different social groups in the society. Though the scope of these emerging strands of public reaction was stratified and segregated among different groups, the social base of such trend in public life had a wide canvas. This is borne out by the involvement of almost all sections of Andhra society in public activities during the period of present study. Our work is related to an analysis of the nature and scope of public reaction to colonial policies and how such a reaction was gradually assuming political character during this important historical phase of transition in nineteenth century.

The break-up of old political and social order under the colonial rule affected both social and traditional relations in society. The new revenue, social and cultural policies dislocated people from their occupations and social positions. Amidst these changes various social groups in the indigenous society began an intense quest for new identities and new alternatives. During this process their reactions to the colonial rule were multi-dimensional. The growth of public consciousness and the consequent political awakening emerged out of these reactions. Since public life in general was less organised during this period, it can be seen that emerging consciousness was found scattered among various social groups.

In the absence of a strong ideological force to channelise this sprouting consciousness the latter remained isolated at different levels. The available evidence suggests that people were reacting both at individual as well as collective planes and their reaction moved along the lines of petition, protest and demand. Popular reaction attained definite organisational shape by the middle of 19th century as represented by the founding of various Public Associations throughout Andhra region. It can be further seen that public life in the area under our study was gradually assuming anti-colonial nature by late 19th century when people began to claim control over local governments on the eve of Ripon's proposals. This demand in a colonial society testifies that various strands of earlier public consciousness were slowly merging with the mainstream of political protestations.

The present work makes a serious attempt in establishing linkages between these different levels of consciousness in the nineteenth century Andhra society. In doing so the work covers and tries to analyse various variables like education and its differential impact, journalism, public grievances and popular petitions (seeds of protest), non-Brahman consciousness and its complementary role, early public and political associations and popular perceptions of self-government and civil rights. An earnest attempt is made in trying to verify the hypothetical assumption that the spread of political consciousness in Andhra during the nineteenth century was fairly witnessed and paved way for the emergence of nationalist awakening by the end of the century.

I am deeply indebted to many people during the course of my research work. Foremost among them is Prof. V.Ramakrishna for his enlightened guidance and his sympathetic help throughout the present course of work. I record my deepest sense of gratitude to my parents whose unflinching support allowed me to successfully complete my work. I thank the faculty of the History Department, University of Hyderabad for their constant help during my academic career in the University. Particular mention must be made to Dr.K.S.S.Seshan and Dr.R.L. Hangloo whose benevolent attitude provided a constant source of inspiration for me. I thank Dr.M.P.R. Reddy and Sri Chalasani Prasad who gave me access to their personal libraries. I thank Dr.V.Lalitha whose personal attention and help always encouraged me throughout my research programme. The fraternal care of my friend, Inna Reddy and his wife, Prakasamma throughout my research programme cannot be adequately acknowledged. The sympathetic help of V.Rajagopal provided me the required encouragement during the last stages of my research work. Above all, the unfailing moral support of V.Sreenivas has been a great boon throughout my student life till now. I thank other friends, Sudhakar, Anthony, Raju, Pitchahari, Gandhi, Kumara Raja, Rajeswar and Madhusudhana Reddy for their support during the course of my research work.

During my field work a number of people extended their help. I thank Professor Barun De with whom I had a detailed discussion which helped me in sorting out issues relating to my topic of research. I wish to thank the authorities and staff of the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad, Sundarayya Vignana

Kendram, Hyderabad, the Telugu University Library, Hyderabad, Sree Krishnadevaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam, Hyderabad, the Tamilnadu State Archives, Madras, the Madras University Library, the Madras Literary Society Library, the Madras Mahajana Sabha Library, the Connemara Library, Madras, the Theosophical Library, Adayar (Madras), the Andhra University Library, Visakhapatnam, the Gautami Grandhalayam, Rajahmundry, the Saraswata Niketanam Library, Vetapalem, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, New Delhi, the National Archives of India, New Delhi and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi for providing me with necessary records and books. I thank the celebrated Telugu poet and scholar, Dr.Arudra for his guidance in locating some of the source materials in Madras. I thank Sri K.V.Anjaneyulu, Sri I.S.S.Naresh and Smt. I.Sailaja for their help during my field work and the personal care of my uncle, Sri Sankar Rao and aunt, Smt. Sundari during my stay at Madras. I equally thank, Smt. Mani and Mr. Sekhar for their affection and help during the course of my work. It is unbecoming on my part if I fail to acknowledge the patient help of all those countless employees of various Archives and Libraries who ungrudgingly supplied scores of valuable records and books for my research.

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K.H.S.S. SUNDAR

ABBREVIATIONS

APA	Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad.
CDR	Cuddapah District Records.
DPI	Reports of the Director of Public Instruction, Government of Fort St.George.
GDR	Godavary District Records.
KDR	Kurnool District Records.
LSG	Local Self-Government Committee, Madras.
MDR	Masulipatam District Records.
NAI	National Archives of India, New Delhi.
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.
NNPR	Native Newspaper Reports.
PET. REG.	Petition Registers.
POL. DEPT.	Political Department Consultations.
PUB. DEPT.	Public Department Consultations.
PUB. SUN.	Public Department, Sundry Volumes.
P.W.D.	Public Works Department Consultations.
REV. DEPT.	Revenue Department Consultations.
SEC. DEPT.	Secret Department Consultations.
TNA	Tamilnadu Archives, Madras.
VDR	Vizagapatam District Records.

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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 Chittor. 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.LIII, 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, 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 for 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.

29

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 compartmentalise 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, Baliya, 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

45

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.

46

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).

47

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

48

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

49

Ibid., pp.31-32.

50

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.

ALL VALUES IN RUPEES				
YEAR	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, Pial 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 didnot 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 Poorvaranqamulu (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.⁶⁸ 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 propoganda 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 indigenus 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 Rashtramu (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-Samskriti (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

108

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 did not 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.Surianarayanan, 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.

CHAPTER 2

ASPECTS OF NEW EDUCATION : CHANGE, RESISTANCE AND SELF-RELIANCE

The history of education and its growth in 19th century have been influenced by colonial considerations of country's administration, cultural dominance and political requirements. At the outset the new education was intended to secure educated Indians to fill the subordinate ranks in civil administration. Culturally it was believed by the architect of the new educational policy, Macaulay, to create Indians who would be Indian "in blood and colour" and European by nature and thinking. However, more important consequences were to follow through the introduction of new education system.

The political undercurrents of the new education cannot be ignored. The new education was implicitly intended to induce a psychology of subordination among Indians. This process was effected at two different levels. First, diffusion of Western knowledge through education. It was favourable to the maintenance of British rule and the infusion of European ideas would render the Indians dependant on English protection. More so, it was believed that popular English education would secure

1 Many contemporary British civil servants and policy makers entertained such views who further substantiated the thought of Macaulay school. A former Madras Governor, Charles Trevelyan, may be quoted as an example here. He was even more calculative in his estimate and was of opinion that independence to India, which was a certainty in future, could be gradually extended without any trouble through instrument like education. Such a step would be favourable to the British commercial interests in future when India attained independence. For details see Syed Mahmood, A History of Education in India. Aligarh, 1895, pp.233-37.

the loyalty of the Indian army whose strength by the middle of 19th century was six times more than the European soldiers. The colonial authorities were confident of this since it was only the British government that first made education accessible to common people from which section many ordinary Indian soldiers were recruited into the army.

Secondly, Western religious ethics were being imparted through the new education. It was tried by way of religious and moral instruction in various schools run by the government as well as Christian missionaries. The proselytisation measures undertaken by various missionary societies, the establishment of schools with an eye on detailed Biblical instruction and the support of the government to these activities specially from the mid 19th century bear out this fact. This process was even more visible in the Madras Presidency and will be discussed in the pages to follow. By and large, it was believed that the new education would pave the way for the Indians to embrace Christianity and thus the space for the cultural antagonisms would be reduced.⁴

² It was estimated that by the end of 18th century there were 122 battalions of army with thousand soldiers in each battalion. By the first decade of 19th century Indian soldiers numbered at 1,54,000 while the Europeans at 24,500. And this would work out a ratio of 6:1 between the Europeans and the Indians. See Richard Temple, Progress of India. Japan and China in the Nineteenth Century. Delhi (Reprint), 1985, pp.63-66.

³ Syed Mahmood, Op. Cit., pp.236-37.

⁴ Richard Temple, Op. Cit., pp.147-48.

These two strands had a greater influence on the new education system. In Madras Presidency too the guidelines for the system were dominated by these colonial considerations. Though the efforts of Madras government in the promotion of education were very few it extended support to missionaries and a few private institutions. The uncertainty in policy formulation led to a slow growth of education. However, the support extended to the missionaries helped them in looming large over this field. The excessive indulgence of missionaries in the propagation of Biblical morals in the schools met with severe resistance from indigenous society. Apart from these the growth of press and the ideas of self-reliance among people in establishing Rate Schools characterised the history of education in the Presidency and Andhra also was influenced by these currents.

Education, at the beginning of the 19th century, was confined to Prial School System. These institutions used to teach theology, law, astronomy and Puranic literature.⁵ Almost all the teachers were Brahmins and they were either given land grants or monetary allowances for their service.⁶ All these institutions were traditional in character. The students used to enter these

⁵ For details see Godavari District Records, Vol.4637, p.218, APA. Infact this information was asked by the college Board at Fort St.George and a communication was sent to each collectorate on this matter. For example see Cuddapah District Records, Vol.4583, pp.220-226, APA.

⁶ For example, out of 279 teachers in Rajahmundry district 69 were enjoying land grants, 13 teachers were enjoying grants from Zamindars and the rest used to teach the scholars without any fee. See GDR. Vol.4637, OP. Cit. Also see Charles E.Grover, Op.Cit., p.60. In Nellore district the Brahmin teachers were given land grants by the Carnatic government. See Ibid.

institutions on "the fifth day of the fifth month of the fifth year" of the student's age as it was considered as the 'lucky day'.⁷ These students continued under instruction for a period of five to seven years.⁸ They were generally made to learn the alphabet in order and would sing it like a song again and again without paying slightest attention to the letters.⁹ Brahmin scholars were more in these 'colleges' or institutions of theology and next came Vaisyas and others.¹⁰ There were a number of text books prescribed from traditional literature. For example in the district of Rajahmundry fifty five selections were identified from among the Vedas, Sastras, Law, Puranas and others.¹¹ In Vizagapatam district sixteen selections were recommended.¹² Education was very elementary in nature and was strictly confined to reading of traditional lore, writing and fundamentals in arithmetic.¹³ The education among Muslims also

7 GDR, Vol.4637, p.218. The initiation of the student into learning is known as 'Aksharabhyasamu' in Telugu.

8 Ibid.

9 A Lady, Letters From Madras during the years 1836-1839, London, 1846, pp.21-25.

10 When calculated in Rajahmundry district Brahmin students were 907 in number and the Vaisyas and Sudras numbered at 653 and 472 respectively. Scholars belonging to all other castes were 574 in number. There were only 37 female scholars from among all the castes. The total number of colleges of theological instruction was 1454. For details see GDR, Vol.4637, pp.218-19.

11 Ibid., p.221. Molla Ramayanam, Bhaskara Satakam, Vasu Charitra, Amaram, Rigveda etc are some of these selections.

12 Vizagapatam District Records, Vol.4757, p.34, APA. Some of there are Bala Ramayanam, Sumati Satakam, Mahabharatam, Ramayana in Telugu etc. In Cuddapah district 28 selections from traditional literature were recommended. Others like arithmetic and writing exercises remained very simple in almost all the districts. See Cuddapah District Records, Vol.4601, pp.160-162, APA.

13 VDR, Vol.4757, Op.cit., p.36.

was traditional in nature and teachers of Persian and Arabic languages were paid by land grants or cash payment.¹⁴ Most of these schools existed for a long time and there were no changes effected in their style of functioning. They gradually became irrational and outdated. It took a long time to get out of such unimaginative and unscientific method of learning. The introduction of English education resulted in the break-up of traditional methods of teaching.

The report of the Collector of Cuddapah, Ross, was one of the earliest proposals which recommended English education to the people by the second decade of 19th century.¹⁵ He sent a report on corruption and bribery among the revenue servants in 1815 the causes for which were believed to be smallness of pay, uncertainty of tenure and promotions in employment and above all defects in education.¹⁶ Moreover, due to economic constraints the boys were asked to look after their own life after 12 or 13 years of age. He suggested that the government "will provide for the proper education and moral instruction of young men, particularly, though by no means exclusively, Bramins, from the age of 12 or 13 to that of 18 or 20, is a great desideratam".¹⁷ To carry out this object schools might be established in every

14 Charles E.Grover, Op.cit., p.60.

15 The report of the Collector was cited by the Board of Revenue in its communication dated 11.12.1815. The extracts from the B.O.R. report are seen in Cuddapah District Records, Vol.n.a., APA. The same report can be seen in R.E.Frykenberg, 'Education as an Instrument of Imperial Integration during the Company's Raj in South India' in Indo-British Review. Vol.XIII, No.2, June 1986, pp.62-63.

16 Report of Ross, Cuddapah District Records, Ibid.

17 Ibid.

district to turn out 50 or 60 young men educated under Government care and morally upright.¹⁸ These people were believed to fill up the posts under government service.¹⁹

The Governorship of Thomas Munro in 1820 initiated efforts in the direction of enquiring into the state of education. He ordered for reports on indigenous system of education from various district collectorates. Accordingly reports on education were sent to the government. The following table gives the details and statistics of education in various districts of Andhra.²⁰

Place	Number of Schools	Number of Colleges	Male Scholars	Female Scholars	Total
1. Ganjam	255		2965	12	2967
2. Vizagapatam	914		9412	303	9715
3. Rajahmundry	291	279	4075	37	5112
4. Masulipatam	484	49	5249	33	5282
5. Guntur	574		7622	102	7704
6. Nellore	804		7563	58	7621
7. Bellary	533		6581	60	6641
8. Cuddapah	494		5892	108	6000

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 The table is compiled from the statistics provided by the reports of District Collectors. This statistics can also be had from the publications of contemporary journals. See Edward Balfour, 'Remarks on the amount of Education in Madras' in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol.XVI, 1850, pp.394-95, TNA.

As already stated in all the above institutions learning was elementary and was confined to traditional literature. It was found out from these reports that the general ignorance of the teachers,²¹ poverty of parents,²² want of all control on inspection by the authorities in the taluqs,²³ low salaries to the instructors²⁴ and, interestingly the importance still attached to learning Persian language by the sons of wealthy cultivating castes like Reddies which they believed was 'still regarded as a recommendation for public employment' were some of the important reasons which combined to keep education in a low state under the Company government.²⁵

During the same time Munro encouraged the formation of the Madras School Book Society in 1820, and Vennelacunti Soob Row, a Telugu Brahmin from Ongole was appointed a member of the society.²⁶ The Society was a voluntary body which used to publish books for use in English and vernacular language schools throughout the Presidency.²⁷ Soob Row also was asked to report on

21 GDR, Vol.4647, p.33, APA.

22 Charles E.Grover, Op.cit., p.63.

23 CDR, Vol.4599, p.51, APA.

24 Y.Vittal Rao, Op.cit., p.58.

25 The desire to learn Persian was perhaps due to the remnants of the influence of Carnatic nawabs. This was expressed in the Cuddapah region of Rayalaseema. See CDR, Vol.4604, pp.42-43, APA. However, such desire was not wide spread. The knowledge of English was already recognised. It may be noted that ryots from the same district approached the collector, H.Lacom, as early as 1832 wishing that their sons to be instructed in reading and writing to secure employment under the Company. See CDR, Vol.4599, pp.52-53, APA.

26 See Venelacuntty Soob Row, The Life of Vennelacuntty Soob Row (Native of Ongole), Madras, 1873, p.64.

27 The list of books prepared by the Society was published and

education in 1823 and he accordingly presented a report on the existing educational system.²⁸ His report revealed that knowledge of English was regarded as an important requisite for public employment, the contemporary schools were already using printed books containing spelling exercises, readers with various tales from traditional literature and serious efforts in learning English would begin after getting a small position under the government.²⁹

On the basis of all these reports Munro recommended that the schools should be supported by the government, a teacher training institute should be established at Madras, one school each for Hindus and Muslims should be there in each collectorate and a Committee of Public Instruction should be formed soon.³⁰ However,

copies were sent to various towns in the Presidency. For details see VDR, Vol.4751, pp.229-33 and CDR, Vol.4604, pp.9-10, APA.

28 V. Soobrow, Op.Cit., p.64. In his report he brings to light the deficient mode of education in society where the learners would learn by rote without knowing the meaning of the words. There was no sound instruction in grammar and moral lessons to the students. The knowledge of English was highly unsatisfactory and its teaching "is inconsistent with the just principles of affording education". After learning a few words in English the students would generally try for a situation where their relations were already in service. Hence, Soobrow recommended the publication of grammar books, vocabularies and moral lesson text books in both vernaculars and English. He further emphasised that English grammar books should contain explanations in the regional languages which, he believed, would definitely improve the knowledge of learners.

29 Ibid., pp.65-75.

30 He further recommended the establishment of 40 collectorate schools (two each for the existing 20 districts) and 300 thasildari schools. He suggested that an amount of Rs.48,000 might be sanctioned for education. For details see H.Sharp, Selections From Educational Records: Part I, 1781-1839. Calcutta, 1920, pp.73-75.

the death of Munro adversely affected the proposals. The government did not pay much attention either to the recommendations of Ross or Munro.

The role of the Madras Government in the promotion of education was very lukewarm. The Charter Act of 1813 was the first official attempt on the part of the government which recommended an expenditure of Rs.1 lakh each for three Presidencies towards the promotion of education. However, till the time when Munro took initiative the government did not move further in this direction. The recommendations of Munro report were given a partial effect when the Madras Government formed the Committee of Public Instruction with H.S.Greame, W.Oliver, John Stokes and A.D. Campbell as members.³¹ Its aim was the general improvement of education and an amount of Rs.45,000 was authorised towards this end.³² Even now the Company government didnot accept the direct responsibility of educating the masses and this amount stipulated for education almost remained the same even after two decades.³³

Until 1836 the educational operations of the Madras Government were confined to the maintenance of Collectorate and Thasildari schools.³⁴ The publication of the famous Macaulay

31 Charles E.Grover, Op.cit., p.64.

32 H.Sharp, Op.cit., p.195.

33 Even by 1850 the amount of expenditure on education in Madras Presidency was Rs.43,558. See Y. Vittal Rao, Op.cit., Appendix IV.

34 J.A. Richey, Selections From Educational Records: Part II, 1840-1859. Calcutta, 1922, p.178.

Minute brought about a slight change in the attitude of the government. Macaulay's recommendations received the immediate support from the government. Following this a Committee on Native Education was appointed by the Madras authorities in the place of earlier Board of Public Instruction. The Committee suggested the formation of four English schools and a teacher training institute. The Governor, Elphinstone, ignored these proposals who inturn suggested the establishment of a central collegiate institution and the reconstitution of the Committee on Native Education. Subsequently the University Board was organised with George Norton as the President. By June 1843 the University Board prepared a report which was unhappy with the condition of the Madras High School established in 1841. The report further pleaded for the opening of new colleges.³⁵ The then Governor, Tweeddale, who occupied the office in 1842 took this opportunity to review the state of education. He was opposed by the native community in his moves since he was increasingly showing a personal interest in the religious instruction in schools.³⁶ Amidst various controversies the existing Board was dissolved and a new Council of Education was organised in 1845. The Council was in favour of opening nine Provincial schools at place like Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Cuddapah, Nellore, Chittor, Bellary and three places in Tamilnadu.³⁷ Though the Governor

³⁵ J.A.Richey, Op.Cit., pp.179-180.

³⁶ Tweeddale became the Governor in 1842. He was known for his bias towards Christianity. His educational schemes were vehemently opposed by the 'Native Community' of Madras which severely criticised him in their 1846 memorandum. Details are discussed in the succeeding pages.

³⁷ J.A. Richey, Op.Cit., p.180. For the proposals of the Council in detail see Pub. Dept., No.28, dt.15.9.1846, TNA.

agreed to the proposals they were rejected by the Court of Directors as they were worried about the ongoing controversies. The earlier University Board was revived now.

By the time the University Board was revived, Henry Pottinger became the Governor of the Presidency. He now proposed the appointment of a new Council with Elliot as President and 19 other members.³⁸ He suggested the establishment of schools only at a few places, a normal school and the introduction of the system grants-in-aid.³⁹ The members of the new Council of Education differed with the Governor and consequently the plans were shelved. The University Board was reorganised for the third time in 1852 by the Governor.⁴⁰

The period until 1854 accordingly was characterised by mere resolutions, recommendations and reorganisations. It led critics to remark that it was a sad saga of fermented consultations and tortured deliberations which every time ended in frustration.⁴¹ All these activities reveal the apathy on the part of the colonial government. It was due to a few important factors. As such, the presence of colonial rule had limited scope on its agenda for public good. Moreover, any large scale effort in the promotion of popular education would involve enormous costs. The

38 George Norton was made Vice-President of the Council along with three other Vice-presidents. For a detailed account of the proposals of Henry Pottinger see his 'Minute on Native Education' in Pub. Dept., No.35, dt.15.8.1851, TNA.

39 Ibid.

40 J.A.Richey, Op.Cit., p.180.

41 R.E.Frykenberg, Education, Op.Cit., p.68.

government was not prepared to commit itself to this. Moreover, they believed in the 'downward filtration' which would relieve the government from the financial burden. However, their hopes were belied and after Wood's Despatch in 1854 there was a change in their policy of education. As a result, private efforts of both Hindus and Christian missionaries loomed large over the field of education. The Wood's Despatch of 1854 gave a big jolt to the sluggish educational activities of the Madras government. Apart from private agencies the government now began to show a little interest in education on its own part. Department of Public Instruction was established now and A.J. Arbuthnot became the first director of the department. The Madras High School established in 1841 was remodelled under the name of the Presidency College. Provisions were now made for the establishment of a Law College, teachers - training school, four Provincial schools, eight Zillah schools, hundred Taluq schools, a depot to supply school books, printing presses and an amount of Rs.12,000 for scholarships.⁴² Accordingly Provincial schools at Bellary and Rajahmundry and Zillah schools at Chittor, Cuddapah and Berhampore were established.⁴³ The real beginnings of the progress of education began after mid 19th century. It may be noted here that the private efforts contributed to the spread of education more than the efforts by the government. A few

42 Y. Vittal Rao, Op.cit., p.188.

43 Ibid., pp.208-10. The Provincial School at Rajahmundry particularly was recommended by the Commissioner of Northern Circars, Walter Elliot. Anticipating an excellent growth for the town he said that it was the fittest place in the entire Northern Circars for the establishment of a Provincial School. For details see GDR, Vol.6752, pp.457-59, APA.

enlightened Zamindars like Vizianagaram, Venkatadri and Pithapuram, Intellectuals and reformers like Muthunarasimha Naidu and Veeresalingam promoted the private institutions. While the growth of enlightenment, through new education was one of their aims, It may also be observed that the employment opportunities to the English educated people influenced certain individuals in promoting education. Added to these, the increasing religious instruction of Christian missionaries in various schools motivated some of the influential members of Hindu community to establish separate schools. Above all, missionaries were already successful in establishing various educational institutions in the Andhra region by late 19th century. By the end of the century the growth of education in Andhra consequent upon all these efforts was phenomenal. The following table shows this.⁴⁴

DISTRICT	Total Number of Institutions				Total Number of Scholars			
	1860-61	1869-70	1879-80	1884-85	1860-61	1869-70	1879-80	1884-85
Ganjam	29	67	560	1177	973	2367	11760	26407
Vizagapatam	06	67	195	720	347	2586	10147	18506
Godavari	117	134	701	966	2718	4018	17450	26532
Krishna	06	64	730	1184	473	2377	12819	25612
Bellary	07	158	488	624	533	3096	7973	12694
Cuddapah	01	167	308	535	70	3318	4716	8843
Kurnool	01	108	227	372	120	2105	3667	6652
Nellore	13	303	554	467	323	5657	9685	10229
Anantapur	-		-	311	-	-	-	5488

⁴⁴ The table includes all kinds of schools, both English and Telugu. The figures are compiled on the basis of the Reports on Public Instruction for the corresponding years.

The growth of female education also was showing signs of improvement. By the mid 19th century female schools were established by missionaries. The local Zamindars from Vizianagaram and Pithapore supported a few girls schools in their regions. For example, the girls schools at Vizianagaram, Bimilipatam, Anakapalli, Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry and Cocanada were supported by the Maharaja of Vizianagaram and Pithapore Zamindar.⁴⁵ Christian missionary societies and Zenana mission also worked in the field of female education. By 1885 Godavari, Vizagapatam, Krishna and Nellore made considerable progress in the field of female education. The following table attests this.⁴⁶

45 See DPI, 1874-75, Appendix A, P.cxciii.

46 The figures in the table are compiled from the Reports of the DPI relating to the corresponding years. Among the schools there were more vernacular schools of lower class. However, it includes all other schools where instruction was carried both in English and Telugu.

DISTRICT	Total Number, of Institutions			Total Number of Scholars		
	1873-74	1878-79	1884-85	1873-74	1878-79	1884-85
Ganjam	2	4	11	56	126	515
Vizagapatam	7	6	19	638	319	1095
Godavari	5	17	61	528	747	2240
Krishna	4	14	58	316	635	2172
Nellore	3	31	17	140	647	839
Cuddapah	01	03	04	04	81	131
Kurnool			01			21
Bellary	6	7	13	220	329	315
Anantapur			02			86

The growth of secondary education was gradually showing signs of progress. At the Matriculation level most of the high schools were under the control of missionaries. By the end of 1880 there were 23 high schools in Andhra giving instruction at Matriculation level. Of these seven were government high schools.⁴⁷ The following table shows us the number of candidates appeared and passed in the examination at the end of 1880 from various high schools.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ DPI, 1879-80, p.57.

⁴⁸ Ibid. The first seven schools in the table were under the direct control of Madras Government. the rest of them were private schools under the government inspection.

Name of the Institution	Matriculation Examination	
	1079-80	
	No. of Pupils Examined	No. of Pupils Passed
1. Rajahmundry High School	73	24
2. Kurnool High School	10	03
3. Chittoor High School	19	06
4. Berhampore High School	28	06
5. Bellary High School	09	05
6. Cuddapah High School	06	03
7. Chicacole High School	02	01
8. Free Church Mission High School, Nellore	41	15
9. Hindu High School, Masulipatam	36	14
10. Maharaja High School, Vizianagaram	33	13
11. London Mission School, Bellary	22	09
12. Noble High School, Masulipatam	19	08
13. London Mission School, Vizagapatam	18	08
14. Hindu High School, Nellore	26	06
15. Church Missionary Society High School, Bezawada	07	03
16. Hindu High School, Cocanada	19	02
17. Central High School, Narasapur	07	02
18. American Mission High School, Guntur	04	01
19. Church Mission Society High School, Ellore	04	
20. Mission High School, Narasapur	21	06
21. St.Aloysis School, Vizagapatam	03	01
22. Chicacole Christian High School	06	01
23. London Mission Society School, Vizianagaram		

The growth of higher education above the level of Matriculation was rather slow but significant. By 1877 a first grade college was established at Rajahmundry and by 1885 second grade colleges were founded at Vizagapatam, Vizianagaram, Cocanada, Masulipatam, Bellary and Berhampore. The progress of these colleges is shown in the following table.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The statistics are compiled from the Reports of DPI for the corresponding years. First Grade College had classes upto the level of B.A. and the Second Grade Colleges used to teach upto the level of F.A.

TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOLARS IN COLLEGES

YEAR	I GRADE		II GRADE					
	Rajahmundry College		Berham-pore College	Hindu College Vizagapatam	Maharaja College Viziana-garam	Pithapuram Raja's College Cocanada	Noble College Masuli-patam	Bellary College
	B.A.	F.A.	F.A.	F.A.	F.A.	F.A.	F.A.	F.A.
1877-78	23	43			17		29	08
1878-79	17	32	06		12		15	03
1879-80	18	31	05	10	15		16	07
1880-81	15	50	09	22	24		23	19
1881-82	22	44	14	23	26		23	15
1882-83	19	40	24	21	34	19	30	13
1883-84	23	55	16	19	57	19	31	19
1884-85	30	70	23	19	56	26	31	24

It may be noted that most of the high schools and colleges were located at semi-urban and urban areas. Consequently education and higher education in particular was urban-based. The spread of higher education was confined only to upper and middle sections in the society. The higher education was more dominated by Brahmins and this can be shown from the following table which considers the same collegiate institutions listed out in the preceding table. The figures of caste-wise representation in the colleges are as follows.

50

This was the strength of scholars in various colleges at the end of 1884. There were many other students who were educated at Madras in the presidency and Law Colleges. They are excluded from this table. For details on the present table see DPI, 1883-84, subsidiary Table, p.2.

Name of the College	Total Students	Euro-peans	Musiims	Brah-mins	Vaisyas	Sudras	Others
1.Rajahmundry College	78	2	2	61	5	5	3
2.Berhampore College	16			14		2	
3.Vizagapatam Hindu College	19	3		13		3	
4.Maharaja's College Vizianagaram	57			53	2	2	
5.Pithapuram Raja's College, Coconada	19			17		1	1
6.Noble College Masulipatam	31			26	3	1	1
7.Bellary College	19	2		15		2	

It becomes clear from the above table that Brahmin students dominated the higher education. Among others, children of rich landlords and Vaisyas were seen in the colleges. The 'low caste' Hindus were almost negligible at higher levels of education. Giving the reason for this a Fellow of the Madras University, P.Chentsal Rao, divulged before the Education Commission in 1882 that 'their poverty compels them to employ their children as labourers from a very early age'.⁵¹

It can be observed that the growth of education made rapid strides by the end of 19th century. The ratio between population and pupils was increasingly becoming favourable to the latter. Almost every district in Andhra reaped the benefits of the new

⁵¹ This extract is cited in V.Ramakrishna, Op. Cit., p.23.

education. The following table showing the proportion of population to one pupil may be a convincing proof in this direction.⁵²

DISTRICT	PROPORTION OF POPULATION TO ONE PUPIL			
	1871-72	1874-75	1880-81	1884-85
1. Ganjam		218	119	66
2. Vizagapatam	511	328	166	134
3. Godavari	203	152	82	67
4. Krishna	485	130	94	60
5. Nellore	256	173	120	119
6. Kurnool	273	166	131	106
7. Cuddapah	331	171	167	126
8. Bellary	380	155	111	58
9. Anantapur				109

The table reveals that the coastal districts of Godavari, Krishna and Ganjam were more benefitted. In Rayalaseema, Bellary established its supremacy over others. But it can be observed that every other district in the state showed signs of progress as revealed by the decreasing proportions of population to one pupil between 1871 and 1885. Apart from all these the cumulative effect of the new education can be gauged by the satisfactory increase in the percentage of literacy in various districts. Though these percentages reflect a slow growth the difference

⁵² Figures are compiled on the basis of the Reports of DPI for the corresponding years.

between literacy percentages between a period of two decades is commendable. The growth in the percentage of literacy between 1871 and 1881 is shown in the following table.

DISTRICT	Percentage of Persons to Population who are able to read and write	
	1871	1881
1. Ganjam	2.5	3.7
2. Vizagapatam	2.3	2.5
3. Godavari	3.0	4.5
4. Krishna	4.0	5.5
5. Nellore	4.0	5.9
6. Kurnool	3.7	5.1
7. Cuddapah	3.3	4.8
8. Bellary	4.2	6.1

A careful look at the table suggests that Rayalaseema districts showed an impressive growth of literacy. Infact they even exceeded some of the coastal districts. While the increase in the percentage of literates was 1.2 and 0.2 in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts, Godavari and Krishna districts were equally good in their performance. It is interesting to note that Kurnool and Cuddapah districts of Rayalaseema region also showed the same progress as that of Godavari and Krishna. It is highly significant that out of two districts which recorded highest increase in the percentages of literacy (1.9), Bellary is in Rayalaseema and Nellore is the border district of the same

53 For more details see DPI, 1881-82, pp.3-7,

region. The period between 1871 and 1881 witnessed the establishment of various colleges in the state. The growth of secondary education too was impressive during this period. Consequent upon these changes there was a gradual increase in literacy level. The present datum proves that Rayalaseema was not lagging behind other coastal districts.

II

The immediate result of the growth of English education was the emergence of new middle classes drawn from upper castes. Most of these people were urban-based and shouldered the responsibility of disseminating new ideas acquired through the liberal Western learning in the society. The activities of these people were varied and diversified into different fields.

Most of the new educated sections either took to law or teaching or journalism. The people from the first generation of educated sections were invariably seen in these three professions. Even Veeresalingam was a teacher in Dhawaleswaram before he embarked upon social reform. Discouraging job opportunities drove most of the educated people to take to other professions.

The significant contribution of the new educated middle classes was seen in their efforts in spreading enlightenment in the society. Again this is best represented by the activities unleashed through the reform efforts of these sections. The reform tendency of this period was undertaken from two different angles. First, the introduction of reformist ideas in

literature. Perhaps, the earliest work in this direction was Hitasoochane written by Samineni Muthunarasimha Naidoo of Rajahmundry.⁵⁴ It was a monograph in spoken form of Telugu written around 1853 and published in 1862.⁵⁵ This work best represents how the newly educated intelligentsia was drawn towards social problems under the influence of emerging social and intellectual movements across the country. The monograph contains eight 'prameyas' (subjects or issues) and in the discussion of these issues the author displayed high rationality of mind and scientific look on all matters relating to society like women's education, superstitions, attack on supernatural powers, modern approach towards medicine, advanced ideas on mutual consent of bride and bridegroom in marital alliances and the like.⁵⁶ It is stated that Veeresalingam, the pioneer of social reform endeavours in Andhra, owed much to this monograph and a critical scrutiny of his writings would bear out this relation.⁵⁷ This tendency was to continue later. By late 19th century literary works with specific reform issues were written. Gurajada Appa Rao's epoch-making work 'Kanyasulkam' (Bride Price) has been considered as one of the master pieces in Telugu literature till date. The book was written in the form of a play which pleaded for abolition of the evil practice of 'Kanyasulkara' and

54 For more details see V.Ramakrishna, "Literature and Social Consciousness: Examination of a Lesser known Telugu Monograph of the Early 19th century", a paper presented to the A.P.History Congress, 18th Session, Tenali, 1994.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

liberation of women.⁵⁸ It is estimated that Gurajada, through his writings and ideas on women, was the real founder of feminism in modern Andhra.⁵⁹

The second sphere of reform activity was social reform. Undoubtedly, the father of social reform in Andhra is Veeresalingam.⁶⁰ He was influenced by the prevailing social conditions and the Brahmo Samaj movement of Bengal. He, like others, evinced keen interest in the spread of scientific knowledge and rational thinking. Being himself a great literary figure he used literature to spread reform ideas among people. The central concern of his reform movements was the emancipation of women since he believed that unless the status of women improved society could not register any progress.⁶¹ His efforts in the field of women's education and widow remarriages left behind them a great legacy which had its influence on the reform efforts

58 See for details K.V.Ramana Reddy, Mohadayam (Telugu), Op. Cit., pp.453-68. Also see by the same author "Veeresalingam Gurajada" (unpublished).

59 Ibid. Gurajada Appa Rao once said that modern woman would rewrite history. The influence of these modern ideas on women and their liberation left their deep impress on a few contemporary intellectuals. R. Venkata Subba Rao edited and published a bunch of letters entitled Kamala's Letters to Her Husband, Madras, 1902. Infact, t(ese letters have been authored by the editor himself. The author expresses very progressive ideas on women, their status, their treatment in the domestic front and their emancipation from the clutches of orthodox society. For example see Letter No.XXXIII, pp.129-134 wherein the author takes strong objection to the abusive form of addressing the females in the houses of orthodox families.

60 Ibid. For an estimate of his ideas see V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform, Op. Cit., pp.78-86.

61 Ibid., pp.206-07.

in 20th century also.⁶² Being a teacher, Veeresalingam could easily extend his deep influence over a generation of students. It was reflected by some of the contemporary autobiographies of his students. Under his influence his students also began to attack the social evils. Some of these students at times showed over enthusiasm to express their wish for social reform. To exhibit this a few of the students used to "hang their sacred threads to a tree outside the college premises in order to provoke the passers by".⁶³ When the first widow marriage was performed in 1882 most of Veeresalingam's students attended it violating the orders of elders.⁶⁴ The performance of the marriage created a great stir among the orthodox sections of the society and tension mounted up so much that 500 students of Veeresalingam were on the watch during the entire night in the town fearing an attack on Veeresalingam. Instances such as these give us a hint at the strong influence of Veeresalingam's reform endeavours.

62 For details on the influence of Veeresalingam's reform legacy see S. Inna Reddy, "Social Reform Movements in Andhra, 1920-47", an unpublished M.Phil dissertation, University of Hyderabad, 1992. Vide chapter on "The Women's issues: The Reform and the Legacy".

63 Valluri Suryanarayana Rao, Suryanarayaneeyamu (Autobiography in Telugu), Kowur, 1936, pp.165-167. It is interesting to note the reason given by the author in naming his autobiography under the present title. The author used to publish articles in a contemporary journal, Trilinga, which criticised the misconceptions and illusions propagated by Hindu Puranas. An orthodox Hindu, being agitated over these articles, began sending rejoinders and made a mockery of them using the title Suryanarayaneeyamu. Valluri Suryanarayanarao chose this as a title for his autobiography.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid. The number of students may be an exaggeration. But it is a proof to the gradually spreading social awareness among students.

Contrary to reform trends in the society some of the educated people took to a defence of orthodox values. This was because of two reasons. First, these educated people still remained orthodox in their views and hence they opposed the reform tendencies of Veeresalingam and others. Secondly, the onslaught of Christian missionaries who looked down upon indigenous traditional practices drove these people towards a counter attack. For this a defence of their own religion became unavoidable. In this process they criticised the reform endeavours of Veeresalingam,⁶⁶ argued for the status quo in the society and tried to revive Sanskrit literary tradition.⁶⁷ Though these activities were temporary in nature they too represented a different stream of thought in the contemporary society.

The activities of the educated middle classes were more visibly reflected in journalism and various public associations after the middle of the 19th century. These two spheres of activity truly became organs of public opinion in the

⁶⁶ Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, Kasibhatta Brahmayya Sastri, Vedam Venkataraya Sastri and others were critics of Veeresalingam. For example Venkataraya Sastri was asked to give counter lectures to Veeresalingam's propagation of reform ideas and he did so accordingly. For details see Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, Vedam Venkataraya Sastrula Vari Jeevita Charitha Sangrahamu (Biography in Telugu), Madras, 1949, pp.36-37. The biographer is the grand son of the famous Venkataraya Sastri who opposed Veeresalingam's efforts. Veeresalingam was criticised by other orthodox people for his widow marriages. A.Narayana Dasu described Veeresalingam as 'Vichitra Vivaha Karta' which means that he was the performer of abnormal marriages. See S.V.Joga Rao (ed.), Adibhatla Narayana Dasu, Naa yeruka (Autobiography), Guntur, 1976, pp.154-55.

⁶⁷ The details on such activities can be had from contemporary Telugu Journals. For example see Purusharthapradayini, May 1876, p.79.

contemporary society. Though they were limited to a few concerns of the educated sections they also covered various other issues of public importance.

The growth of English education, the quest for knowledge and growing realisation of the importance of knowledge resulted in the establishment of public libraries by the end of 19th century. Their successful functioning further revealed the urge for knowledge prevalent in the contemporary society. As early as 1839 a public reading room was established at Rajahmundry.⁶⁸ The Venkatagiri Zamindar, Kumara Yachendra, organised a library in 1850 called 'Saraswathi Nilayam' at Venkatagiri.⁶⁹ Under the same title of 'Saraswathi Nilayam' a public reading library was established in 1886 at Visakhapatnam and it was said to be the first public library organised by a single individual on modern lines.⁷⁰ However, the Theosophical Society at Guntur, Sri Krishna Lodge, established a library in 1882 and this was the first library in the district.⁷¹ By 1890 another library came into being at Ongole in the same district and was called C.V.N.

68 A.A.N. Raju, History of Library Movement in Andhra Pradesh. 1900-1956, Delhi, 1988, p.233.

69 Velaga Venkatappayya, Prasidha Grandhalayalu (Telugu), Guntur, 1976, pp.96-97. It is, however, further revealed by some contemporary reports that a Christian missionary worked as a librarian under the Venkatagiri Zamindar around 1730 and transferred a few palm-leaf manuscripts relating to Vedas to the French Oriental Library. See Ibid. Velaga Venkatappayya was one of the founders of library movement in Andhra.

70 Paturi Nagabhushanam, Andhra Pradesh Grandhalayodyamamu (Telugu), n.p., 1957, pp.1-2. This library was established by a local school teacher, Manthina Adinarayana Murthy.

71 A. Sreenivasa Rao, "Gunturu Zillah Grandhalayodyama Sangraha Charitra" in Guntur Zillah Paura Grandhalayamula Sadassu - A Souvenir (Telugu), Tenali, 1964, p.25.

Library and Reading Room.⁷² The efforts of Kallakuri Narasimham Pantulu resulted in the opening of a library in 1894 at Rayakuduru in Godavari district under the name 'Sujananda Grandhalayam'.⁷³ In the very next year he established A.O.Home Reading room at his native place, Kopalle in Godavari district.⁷⁴ In the same year another public library was established (1895) at Undi and this was named after Dadabhai Nauroji as 'Nauroji Club'.⁷⁵ Kallakuri extended his help in the formation of this library. Around the same time Simhachalapati Rao Library was established (1894) at the Zamindari town of Vizianagaram.⁷⁶

One of the most well known libraries in Andhra, 'Veerasingalinga Kavi Samajam', was established in 1897 at a small village, Kumudavalli near Bhimavaram in Godavari district.⁷⁷ It is very significant to note that the library was founded with the twin objectives of spreading knowledge and social reform in the contemporary society.⁷⁸ The efforts of Vadrangi Chinna Raju, Bhupatiraju Rama Raju and Bhupatiraju Tirupati Raju went into the

72 Ibid.

73 Velaga Venkatappayya (ed.), Jeevitha Charitra Kosam - Grandhalaya Karyakartalu (Telugu), Vijayawada, 1986, pp.48-49.

74 Ibid.

75 Velaga Venkatappayya (ed.), Grandhalava Jyoti (Telugu), Vijayawada, 1967, p.279.

76 A.A.N. Raju, Op. cit., p.223-24. By the late 19th century there was a vigorous proliferation of public reading rooms. It was mentioned in one of the contemporary accounts that Kakinada had a public library in almost every sub-division of the town. See V.V.L. Narasimha Rao, Op. Cit., p.29.

77 Yatagiri Lakshmi Venkata Ramana, Grandhalayodyamamu (Telugu), Bezawada, 1923, pp.20-21.

78 Hari Adishesuvu, Grandhalayodyama Tapasvi Sri Bhupatiraju Tirupati Raju (Telugu), Eluru, 1971, pp.29-30.

make-up of this library.⁷⁹ Initially this library started with a collection of fifty books donated by Chinnama Raju and later on the library procured various contemporary Telugu journals under the inspiring leadership of Tirupati Raju who was also the secretary of the library.⁸⁰ Another significant aspect is that all the people who were behind this library were staunch believers in Veeresalingam's reform efforts and hence wanted this library as a repository of knowledge on these issues.⁸¹

One year after the establishment of the above library Komarraju Venkata Lakshmana Rao, a famous figure connected with the library movement in Andhra, established 'Vijnana Chandrika Mandali' library in 1898 at Munagala, the Zamindari seat of Nayani Venkata Ranga Rao.⁸² This is perhaps the second library established in a Zamindari area after Venkatagiri. One of the most famous research libraries, 'Gautami Grandhalayam' was established at Rajahmundry in 1898 and it is in existence even today. This library was started as a small reading room in the local Nalam Choultry by Nalam Krishna Rao in the same year.

79 Velaga Venkatappayya (ed.)/ Jeevitha Charitra Kosam, Op.Cit., pp.48-49.

80 Hari Adishesuvu, Op.cit., pp.30-35. Kallakuri Narasimham Pantulu also extended his help and guidance to these people in strengthening the library.

81 Ibid.

82 Velaga Venkatappayya (ed.), Jeevitha Charitra Kosam. Op. Cit., p.56.

83 Velaga Venkatappayya, Pannendava Andhradesa Grandhalaya Sevaka Mahasabhalu, a review report on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of Library Movement, April 27-28, 1975, n.p., pp.4-6. This report contains speeches of various people connected with the movement. The report is in Telugu.

Velaga Venkatappayya, Prasidha, Op.Cit., pp.112-113.

This public reading room was developed into a big library and in the process it was called by different names such as 'Veeresalinga Grandha Bhandagaram', 'Vasuraya Grandha Mandali', and 'Sarvajana Grandha Bhandagaram'.⁸⁵ Apart from being one of the excellent repositories of valuable sources in Telugu, the members of the library undertook the task of women's education by supplying them books and conducting annual exams to these learners mainly drawn from the rural areas surrounding Rajahmundry.⁸⁶ Even today the library caters to the needs of general public as well as researchers. By the year 1899 L.V.R. Sons Reading Room and Library was established at Guntur and this was perhaps the last library to be established in the century.⁸⁷

The Rayalaseema region in Andhra also had a public library established in 1892 at Pulivendla in Cuddapah district and it was called 'Saraswathi Vilasamu'.⁸⁸ By the same time the beginnings of library movement started in the Telangana region of Andhra and an Aradhya Brahmin, Mudigonda Sankararadhya, established a library in the last decade of 19th century with aim of propagating tenets of Saivism in the society.⁸⁹

85 Velaga Venkatappayya(ed.), Jeevitha Charitra Kosam. Op. Cit., pp.116-17.

86 Ibid.

87 A. Sreenivasa Rao, Op.Cit., pp.25-26.

88 A.A.N.RajU, Op. Cit., p.223.

89 The library was called 'Sankarananda Grandhalayam' and established at Secunderabad. For details on the movement in Telangana region of Andhra see Kodati Narayana Rao, "Telangana Grandhalayodyamamlo Chirasmaraneeya Ghattalu" (Telugu) in Andhra Pradesh Grandhalaya Sanahamu. Guntur Zilla Sakha - Swarnotsava Sanchika (Telugu), Guntur, 1964, pp.9-12.

The growth of the library movement in Andhra was one of the off-shoots of the growth of educated middle classes. The movement and the architects of the movement⁹⁰ signify the rapid spread of newly acquired knowledge. The growth of library movement assumes importance on a few accounts. The opening of various public libraries is an indication to the rapidly spreading enlightenment in society. It can be observed that the growth of these libraries was initially witnessed in rural areas of the state which suggests that there was an urge among the new educated sections to take the message of knowledge and development to the people at grass-roots level. Almost all these libraries served as public platforms to discuss various issues of public importance. Some of the libraries as in the case of Rajahmundry undertook the task of spreading message of reform through their programmes on education and in particular women's education. These activities indirectly contributed to social awakening in the society. It is interesting to note that reformers like Veeresalingam associated themselves with these public libraries.

90 It may be noted here that all the authors of Vernacular sources mentioned in the foot notes of the present Chapter (No.72 - 92) were active members of the library movement in Andhra. The library association published a journal of its own entitled Grandhalaya Sarvaswamu. Various other people like A. Venkata Ramanayya contributed to the movement. Added to these efforts the famous Vavilla company helped the movement in publishing numerous tracts in Telugu right from the middle of 19th century. For more details on the contributions made by this publishing house see Paturi Nagabhushanam, "Grandhalayodyamamlo Vavilla Patra" (Telugu) in Vavilla Venkateswara Sastrulu - Centenary Volume, Madras, 1986, pp.118-125.

The diversified activities of the educated middle classes in the spheres of journalism, education, library movement and public libraries contributed to the general spread of enlightenment in society. The new education was partially successful in inducing a psychology of subordination as is revealed by the fact that the educated sections were easily coopted into colonial hegemony in the initial stages. Most of these people believed in the benevolence of the British rule. Through its initial support to social reform campaign and liberal Western education the colonial state could circumscribe the newly generated enlightenment in society within the colonial framework. The cultural synthesis that was attempted under the British was dominated by Western ethics under the guise of civilising mission. As a result, this process was one-sided and partial and the educated sections were left mid way who neither realised the historical role of Western ideological invasion nor the need to initiate an indigenous reaction against it. This 'false consciousness' resulted in many ambiguities in the mental make-up of the educated and the pioneer of modern Indian awakening, Raja Rammohan Roy is an example for this.⁹¹ In Andhra too the leaders of the new enlightenment were subject to this. For example, Veeresalingam believed in 'Divine

91 For details on ambiguities in the views of Rammohan Roy see Barun De, "A Biographical perspective on the political and Economic Ideas of Rammohan Roy" and Sumit Sarkar, "Rammohan Roy and the Break with the Past" in V.C.Joshi(ed.), Rommohan Roy and the Process of Modernisation in India. New Delhi, 1975, pp.46-89 and 136-48. For a detailed discussion on tradition and modernisation see Bipan Chandra, "Colonialism and Modernisation" (Presidential Address) in the PIHC, 32nd Session, Jabalpur, 1975. The concept of 'false consciousness' is discussed by K.N.Panikkar in his Presidential Address (Modern Section), Indian History Congress, 36th Session, Aligarh, 1979.

Dispensation' of the British rule⁹² and G.V.Appa Rao was strongly given to the impression that the colonial rule was an embodiment
93

of 'Dharmarajya'. These educated leaders from the emerging middle classes were confined to an overall colonial influence and remained between tradition and change. Such an ambiguity was also due to the fact that the break-up of old social order was not complete and the social change stopped midway leaving the country subordinated to powerful ideological influence of colonialism.⁹⁴

III

As already discussed, the spread of new education was dominated by the Christian missionaries. The apathy on the part of Madras government in pre-1854 period provided ample scope for missionaries to indulge themselves in educational activities. Their primary concern was proselytisation. Initially the Madras government was apprehensive of state's support to missionaries, and their educational activities which invariably involved preaching of Biblical morals. Gradually they changed their attitude from a stage of caution to that of explicit support to the missionary activities.⁹⁵ When their political authority was not consolidated in the Presidency they were generally reluctant

92

V. Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., pp.79-86.

93

K.V.Ramana Reddy, Veerasingam - Graiada. Op. Cit.

94

Bipan Chandra, Colonialism, Op. Cit.

95

This is discussed in R.E. Frykenberg, "Crises of Conscience: Conversions Under the Company Raj in India" in Indo-British Review, Vol.IX, No.1, pp.45-48.

to interfere with the social traditions as they feared vehement opposition from Indians which might pose serious problems to the process of political consolidation.⁹⁶ They, instead, professed principles of religious neutrality in the Carnatic Treaty of 1801 and were even taking part in indigenous cultural practices.⁹⁷ In the course of time the Government began extending open support to the educational activities of the missionaries.

Even from late 18th century onwards the colonial government took an official stand in extending an indirect support to the missionaries. In an early 19th century despatch from England, the Court of Directors communicated their wish to the Madras Government that the missionaries should be given due protection and asked to intimate their mind to all district collectors.⁹⁸ They stated in their despatch that "so long as the missionaries conduct themselves in a prudent and upright manner, as they appear hitherto have done, their persons and office will be duly respected".⁹⁹ By the time the Madras Government received this despatch from England that it was already extending financial aid

96 Richard Temple, Op. Cit., pp.150-51.

97 Frykenberg, Crises of. Op. Cit., pp.48-49.

98 VDR, vol.3721, pp.171-73, APA. Taking the excuse from the Tinnevely riots in early 19th century the Court of Directors issued the present despatch. Stating that they never preached religious intolerance towards Hindus or Muslims or Parsees, they asked the Government to allow the missionaries also enjoy the same privileges like other religious groups. They intimated further that all the officers of the Government should observe these rules and "any deviation from this must excite our disapprobation".
Ibid.

99 Ibid.

to the educational activities of missionaries like Schwartz and it almost assumed the role of a guardian of Christian missionaries working in the Presidency.¹⁰⁰ with the support received from the government the missionaries successfully conducted their activities and began openly preaching Christian morals to people.¹⁰¹

The Charter Act of 1813 removed even the few restrictions on the entry of missionaries into India and with the passage of this Act the Christian missionaries were freely operating in the Presidency. Their activities during this period may broadly be divided into two categories. First, evangelical activities represented by missionaries and supported by Governors like Lushington, Tweeddale and Harris. Most of the missionaries who took up educational activities later launched their efforts initially on a purely evangelical basis. The Baptist Missionary Society of America and its activities may be cited as an example.¹⁰² So also the work of Christian missions was initiated

100 Schwartz was working in Tamil - speaking areas of the Presidency. For details see William Meston, Indian Educational Policy - Its Principles and Problems. Madras, 1936, pp.6-7.

101 Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, Op. Cit., pp.9-10. His father, Venkataramana Sastri, used to regularly observe the conduct of missionary conferences and their religious preaching during his boyhood.

102 For a detailed account on their activities See Anima Bose, Op. Cit., pp.220-40.

long ago in the districts of Cuddapah¹⁰³, Kurnool,¹⁰⁴ Krishna,¹⁰⁵ Godavari,¹⁰⁶ Vizagapatam,¹⁰⁷ Nellore¹⁰⁸ and Bellary.¹⁰⁹ Madras Government extended its support to the missionaries specially in the post-1835 period under the aegis of Governors like Tweeddale and Harris. By this time the Christian missionary societies were slowly getting out of financial problems as both their home countries and converts in Indian society came to their rescue.¹¹⁰ After the death of Thomas Munro, the Madras Government could not formulate a clear policy of education due to the compulsion from the Court of Directors who pinned their faith in 'downward filtration' theory. Consequently the educational operations were dominated by missionaries and the efforts of a few public minded private Indians.

Secondly, the British officials imbued with utilitarian principles and liberal values like Munro and George Norton in the

- 103 J.D.B.Gribble, A Manual of the Cuddapah District in the Presidency of Madras, New Delhi, Reprint, 1992, pp.348-54, first edition, 1875.
- 104 N.Gopalakrishna Chetty, A Manual of the Kurnool District in the Presidency of Madras. New Delhi, Reprint, 1992, pp.193-94, first edition, 1886.
- 105 G.Mackenzie, A Manual of the Krishna District in the Presidency of Madras, New Delhi, Reprint, 1990, pp.275-90, first edition, 1883.
- 106 Henry Morris, Op. Cit., pp.24-38.
- 107 Fatima Kutty Kapil, Op. Cit., chapter VII.
- 108 V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., pp.48-50.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 For example, William Carey, the Baptist Missionary from Serampore received an aid of approximately 11,000 American dollars by 1810. He later worked in South Indian regions also. See Anima Bose, Op. Cit., p.93.

Madras Presidency were actively associating themselves with the activities of public interest. After the death of Munro, it was George Norton who was associated with the activities of education and social problems undertaken by the indigenous leaders.¹¹¹ These liberal civil servants showed much enthusiasm in extending their support to the reform campaign in early 19th century. However, they too were constrained in their outlook to the extent that they believed in the 'civilising mission' of the British rule. The speech of George Norton at the time of laying foundation stone for Pachayappa's Hall at Madras reflects this strand.¹¹² The ambiguities in their liberal attitude didnot serve as an effective check to the missionary educational endeavours.

Among the private agencies the Christian missionaries dominated the field of education. Their efforts invariably were fixed around conversions and inculcating a sense of subordination to the Raj among the people under instruction. The role of the

111 George Norton's association with Veeraswamaiah, Srinivasa Pillai and Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty proved to be very fruitful in public life. For details see D.V.Siva Rao, "Yenugula Veeraswamaiah, A Great Andhra of old Madras" in Chennapuri Andhra Mahasabha - Golden Jubilee Souvenir. 1916-66, Madras, 1966, pp.148-55.

112 N.A., Speeches on the Occasion of Laying Foundation Stone of Pachayappa Hall, Madras, n.d., pp.25-26. The source is located in Saraswata Niketanam, Vetapalem. During the speech Norton Said "..... amongst all expressions of feeling that have characterised the ceremonies of this day, none have afforded me higher gratification than those which I have been informed testified the loyal affection of the native public towards our gracious sovereign Victoria, and ... these are feelings, which it has always been my aim to inculcate among you. They are as such I consider most due to the quality of that Government and I am sure they are such as will most conduce to the prosperity of this vast country". Ibid.

government was highly contributory in this regard since it believed that these feelings of subordination would not result in any friction between the colonial government and Indians in political terms. Rather these efforts would minimise the room for cultural antagonisms between the two.

State-sponsored religious interference started with the decision of Tweeddale to introduce Bible as a text book in the Madras High School. In a Minute he said that, "I have no wish, as I believe, it is not my duty, to encourage the conversion of the natives by the influence of the Government. At the same time I can see no sufficient reason for objecting to the Bible being made a class book in her public schools under the rule laid down by the council".¹¹³ Tweeddale's view was strongly supported by some of the members of the Governor's Council. One of them, I.J. Thomas, recorded in a Minute that there was a need to adopt some plan "by which the moral character of the youths under instruction in the Government institution may be improved... . I am unable to see any force in the objection, that this optional study of the New Testament, could be viewed as a measure specially hostile to the religion of the people".¹¹⁴ Another

113 For a detailed text of his Minute see Pub. Dept., No.29, dt.15.9.1846, TNA. For his private views on this subject see Frykenberg, Education, Op. Cit., pp.75-76.

114 For more details see the Minute of Thomas in Ibid., NO.36, dt.15.8.1851, TNA. It may be noted that there was a time gap of five years between the preparation of these two Minutes. Meanwhile the Native Community of Madras raised a hue and cry over the decisions of Tweeddale and convened a large protest meeting in 1846 against the intentions of the Government. Such religious interference invited serious objections from the Andhra region too. Even after the

member of the Council, Elliot, concurred with the views of Tweeddale and Thomas.

The decisions of the government in favour of religious instruction found echo in the question papers of the first examination of Madras High School which had specific questions on Christianity like the following.

- " i) Why do Christians attach superior importance to the sacred history of the Bible?
- ii) Is the Bible more ancient than any other extant book of History?
- iii) Is any argument to be drawn from history in general, or from Indian History in particular regarding a superintending Providence?"

people made their protest known there was no change in the Government's attitude. This is reflected by the above Minutes.

115 For the text see his Minute in Ibid., TNA. He stated that, "For my part however I have never been able to perceive why the principles of neutrality we profess, the Bible should be excluded from the libraries of our Educational establishments as if it were proscribed". Under the pretext of optional books, he strongly pleaded that Bible should be made available in all the schools to those who wish to study it. When the colonial authorities published Selections from Educational Records they consciously excluded these foregoing three Minutes on education fearing that their publication would bring in popular protest from the indigenous society. See J.A.Richey, Op.Cit. The Minutes by Tweeddale, Thomas and Elliot are not found in this work.

116 These questions are given in the Appendix to the Memorandum submitted by the Native Community of Madras in 1846. The Memorandum was submitted to the Court of Directors on 7th October 1846. The memorialists gave the title of "The wrongs and oppressions of the Hindus" to their memorial and claimed that it was submitted on behalf of the inhabitants of the Presidency. Thirty five members attached their signatures to the Memorandum. The Chairman of the committee was Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty. The memorial was verbatim recorded in the Public Department consultations for the month of October 1846, TNA. For a few other model questions prepared by the Madras High School (Later Madras University) see First Annual Report From the Governors of the Madras University. Madras, 1842, p.34, TNA.

Such type of evaluation method that had religious undercurrents was to continue for the next few decades. It was 'vehemently protested by the contemporary press. Taking strong objection to the most irrelevant, highly objectionable and unnecessary questions being asked in the Matriculation examination, a contemporary newspaper published in its columns a mock question paper ridiculing the whole thing. One of the questions ran like this "If when sermons are three-quarter of an hour long so people go to Church, how long was the sermon when 30 people went?"¹¹⁷ Even after a decade of this publication and popular resentment the emphasis on moral instruction continued. When the American Mission High School at Guntur conducted its first annual examination the closing exercises of the same in which students were tested related to morality, religion and hygiene. The following shows this.¹¹⁸

<u>Method of Testing</u>	<u>Subjects of the Test</u>
"Recitation	Little Things
Dialogue	Cleanliness
Recitation	The Ant Hill and Its lesson
Dialogue	God, the creator of all things
Recitation	Decision
Dialogue	Quarreling
Recitation	Heritage of Morality
Dialogue	A Scene from King John."

Moral instruction in schools was given to students according

117 The Silent Member of the Club (pseudo.), The Chit-Chat Papers Reprinted From The Athenaeum and Daily News (January 1st to May 31st 1873), Madras, 2nd Reprint, 1893, p.68.

118 Madras Times. 4.1.1875.

to a regular time table like in the case of other subjects. In the High School at Rajahmundry one quarter of regular teaching time was devoted to preaching of morals to the students.¹¹⁹

Apart from all these the grants-in-aid system came under severe criticism from indigenous circles. The main grievance was that the lion's share in the government aid was going in favour of missionary institutions. The guidelines of 1854 Despatch in asking the government to rightfully distribute grants to various schools, both public and private, were ignored. The grudge and dismay of Indian people were visibly brought out by a contemporary Minute by a Telugu person in the Educational Department, V.Krishnama Charry.¹²⁰ He said that the government should "endeavour to promote education by direct action as well as grants-in-aid until the people of the country themselves are able to occupy the field, and not that any extraneous bodies like Christian Missionary Societies, entirely opposed to the native religious, should take the place of Government and have it in their power to offer education on their own terms which are not acceptable to the people, who naturally look up to their rulers to provide for them a fair amount of secular education on terms which are acceptable to them".¹²¹

As already noted the central concern of moral instruction carried out either by the government or missionaries was to

119 Purusharthapradayini, May 1876, pp.74-75.

120 See G.O.142 (Education), dt.26.5.1874, APA.

121 Ibid.

institute a 'dictatorship' of Christian Orthodoxy in the place of Hindu Orthodoxy which would bind the converts to religious morals and make them psychologically dependant upon the colonial state. Some of the contemporary autobiographical accounts of 'low caste' (Madiga or Chuckler) converts from Telugu region reveal such intentions of the missionaries.¹²² In one such autobiographical account the author acknowledges that it was the missionary work which emancipated the 'low caste' Hindus from the clutches of traditional society and caste slavery.¹²³ However, the author was of considered view that Christian missionaries also were no better once they converted these people to Christianity.¹²⁴

The religious interference of the government as well as missionaries were exposed soon. The opposition from indigenus society was almost simultaneous to every move by the authorities.

122 H.Kaveri Bai, Meenakshi's Memoirs. Madras, 1937. In the foreword of the book it is mentioned that the name of Meenakshi has been assumed for the sake of convenience. The suffix in the name of the author, Bai, is a Brahminical name. Under the influence of Sanskritisation process author's grandfather and father were imitating Brahmins. Even after the conversion her grandfather (Murry Jaggayya) retained the Brahminical suffix. The author claims that they belong to the Madiga (Chuckler) community. She was later educated in English and retired from the post of Head Mistress of Government Secondary and Training School at Berhampore. Her autobiography can be said to be the first of its kind compiled by a low caste Christian convert so far. Her account presents us one of the strands of contemporary opinion on the role of Christian missionaries.

123 Ibid., p.14.

124 Ibid., p.15. The author complained that missionaries were dictatorial and patronising in their attitude after the conversions. She stated that, "The workers complain of a new kind of slavery substituted for the old. If the missionary's torch helped the worker to see his own human rights, this knowledge makes him impatient of even the missionary's yoke". Ibid.

The reaction also started with the decision of Tweeddale.¹²⁵ In a lengthy Memorial the Native Community at Madras complained of his bias towards missionaries like Anderson and added that even some of the judicial officers under his administration were open supporters of missionary societies.¹²⁶ It asked the government to take corrective measure failing which the consequences of popular reactions would be very serious.¹²⁷ All these allegations mentioned in the present memorial were proved and corroborated further by a secret report of the government. It was stated by one of the members of Governor's Council, Chamier, that the interference of the government in the education of the people was felt as a blow to Hinduism.¹²⁸ Such interference led to violent attacks on missionaries in places like Cuddapah, Ganjam and Vizagapatam. He finally warned the government that it should always be in a position to say that it had not caused popular movements by its own neglect of its duty of public welfare.¹²⁹ It was further reported that the activities of the Native Community and its public meeting convened in October 1846 also attracted people from 'lower' orders of the society.¹³⁰

125 Tweeddale was known for his decision to introduce Bible as a school book. He decided in the favour of Bible being made a part of school curriculum in 1846. For details see his Minute, Op. Cit.

126 For details see paragraphs numbering 10, 20 and 21 in the memorial, Op. Cit.

127 Paragraph No.26, Ibid.

128 Sec. Dept., No.1, dt.13.7.1847, TNA.

129 Ibid.

130 This was reported by the Superintendent of Police, E.J.Elliot. For more details see Sec. Dept., No.1, dt.17.8.1847. Also see No.3, dt.20.7.1847, TNA.

The protest against the missionary intrusion into education was further carried by Madras Native Association in its 1853 Memorial. The Association convened another public meeting in 1859 to lodge complaints against Christian missionaries. The Memorial prepared in the meeting took strong objection to the activities of the Governor, Harris, and continuance of grants-in-aid because it was highly partial towards missionary schools. Criticising the appointments of missionaries to the posts in Madras University for which they were not qualified the Memorial further stated that this antagonistic feeling was prevalent throughout the Presidency, urban and rural areas.

The opposition to missionary activities led the people to take to agitational methods. At Masulipatam, when a few high caste Hindu students were converted in the Noble High School, there was a popular uproar.¹³⁴ Consequently a large public meeting was called for and funds were collected on the spot to start a Hindu School. The local Thahasildar presided over this meeting

131 See paragraph No. 83 and 85 of the memorial wherein it took strong objection to missionary educational activities and the partial attitude of Madras Government in extending grants-in-aid to them.

132 G.O.1044 (Public), dt.9.7.1859, TNA, see paragraph No.17.

133 Ibid.

134 B.V.Kameswara Aiyar, Sir A.Seshia Sastri. An Indian Statesman (biography), Madras, 1902, pp.99-100.

135 Ibid. It is interesting to note here that a few years before this incident it was reported by the Commissioner for Northern Circars, Walter Elliot, that the scholars instructed in Noble school were unwilling to remain there once they would get public employment. It was seen as an impediment and a serious hindrance to the full success of

and this public initiative was lauded by George Norton too.¹³⁶ Around the same time in Vizagapatam the local Christian missionary, Hay, was becoming notorious for his contemptuous expressions towards Hindus.¹³⁷ All the local Zamindars from Bobbili, Kasimcota, Madagol, Salur and Jeypore decided to open a Hindu Anglo-Vernacular school and this was intimated to the Director of Public Instruction, Arbutnot.¹³⁸ The school was established soon with an initial enrollment of 130 boys.¹³⁹ As a protest measure sometimes students were withdrawn from the missionary schools. It was reported around 1871 that most of the girls at Bezawada Church Mission Girl's School left the institution because of a religious panic.¹⁴⁰ Despite the known opposition to the preaching tendencies of Christian missionaries in educational institutions they continued unabatedly and the government behaved in an indifferent manner. Around 1872 Sunku Narayanaswami Setty was appointed as First Assistant Headmaster in the Free Church Mission School at Nellore. He was totally disillusioned when he realised that Biblical teaching became the main pivot around which the school curriculum was built.

all seminaries in the mofussil. This implies that the students of this high school were given instruction with an idea of sending the same to carry on the work of R.T. Noble and his plans in the rural areas of the district. For details see GDR, Vol.6752, pp.454-55, APA.

136 Ibid.

137 DPI, 1859-60, pp.53-58. This was reported by local inspecting authority, Alexander Grant.

138 Ibid.

139 Ibid.

140 DPI, 1871-72, Appendix A: No.V, P.Xlii. This was reported by the Acting Inspector of Schools, W.B.Kershaw.

Protesting against this he resigned his job and established a Hindu High School in the town. The high school was later taken over by the Venkatagiri Zamindars. Upgraded as a college, it is still in existence as Venkatagiri Raja's College.

142

Along with the people in mofussil areas and towns, the vernacular press was also attacking the activities of the missionaries.¹⁴³ Some journals began to publish a series of articles condemning the Christian morals.¹⁴⁴ The Masulipatam Association went to the extent of organising public lectures against Christianity and these were readily published in Vernacular Press.¹⁴⁵ Even the reform journals like Vivekavardhani were deeply agitated over conversions to Christianity and, in particular, to the activities of Zenana missions which were .converting the Hindu females.

141 Ongolu Venkatarangayya, "Nellura Patrika Pracharamu" (Telugu) in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika. Vol.10, No.4, p.143. The formation of the school was helped by some of the influential members of Nellore town like Dr.Chidambaram Pillai, Doraiswami Modeliar, Gundu Rao and Sarabhalingam Naidu. The school was housed in a bungalow donated by Rahamtullah Saheb. In course of time the Venkatagiri Zamindar provided a corpus fund of Rs.15,000 and the interest on this fund was given for the maintenance of the school. Furthermore, the Zamindar gave an amount of Rs.6,000 towards the construction of a new building for the school. For more details see Hindujanaskarini. November, 1888, p.48. The formation of the school was hailed by the press and the Committee Members of the school were requested to introduce technical education in the institution. Ibid.

142 Ongolu Venkatarangayya, Op. Cit., P.143. Today the institution is popularly known as V.R.College.

143 Purusharthapradayini, June 1874 in NNPR, TNA.

144 For example see Purusharthapradavini. March 1876, p.36.

145 Ibid., July 1876, pp.1-2.

146 Vivekavardhani. January 1884, NNPR, TNA.

In the face of popular opposition the missionaries began assuming a role of secondary importance in the field of education after 1870. Moreover, by the late 19th century, they could establish educational institutions in all the prominent places. From now onwards they began to consider missionary education as an auxiliary agency and it was intended to play a preparatory evangelical role in order to diffuse Christian faith. This aspect became more pronounced in the case of Protestant missionaries in South India.¹⁴⁷ To achieve this they were exerting indirect pressure on the decisions of the government. This may be seen from the selection of books of vernacular schools. Missionaries influenced the members of selection committees to include such books which were in direct opposition to traditional Hindu faith. The controversy regarding the selections from the verses of Vemana may be cited here.¹⁴⁸ It was reported that the book, Selections From Vemana, was originally "adopted on the recommendation of the Missionaries; that it teems with views quite repugnant to Hindu feeling, and is calculated to create an

147 For details see A.Mathew, "Protestant Missionary Attitudes towards Higher Education and Nationalism in Madras Presidency, 1872-1930" in Indian Dissertation Abstracts, Vol.XVI, NO.2, April-June 1987, pp.220-21.

148 Vemana was a poet-philosopher of medieval Andhra. He hailed from Reddy community of Rayalaseema and renounced worldly pleasures after leading the normal life for some time. He attacked social inequalities and external aspects of Hindu religiosity. He expressed his views in a simple and lucid style. For details see V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., pp.42-45. It has been estimated by others that Vemana even analysed aspects of political economy and class domination through his verses. For details see M. Pattabhirama Reddy, Vemana and His Times, Kavali, 1988, pp.12-13.

impression that the Government is trying to proselytise the Hindu boys to Christianity".¹⁴⁹ But when Brahmin teachers protested its inclusion and demanded its exclusion from the curriculam, the book was finally dropped form the syllabus.¹⁵⁰ This emphasis on moral instruction was reiterated by the colonial government after a few years. The committee on school text books in 1878 reaffirmed its faith in moral instruction to the students in schools though it didnot agree to open reading of religious books in any school receiving aid or subsidy from the government.¹⁵¹ The committee was of the opinion that " the present school-books in some provinces are defective in moral teaching. We recommend that every series of vernacular readers for primary instruction should contain lessons on . . . i) Reverence for God, parents, teachers, rulers, and the aged. ii) A simple sketch of duties of good citizen, and universally admitted principles of morality and prudence".¹⁵² It need not be emphasised again that the opinions of

149 Selections From the Records of the Madras Government. No.XLIV: Report of the Committee For the Revision of English. Telugu and Tamil School Books in the Madras Presidency. Madras, 1875, p.52. It is to be noted here that the British Government was full of praise for missionary activities around the same time. It felt that "They (the missionaries) constitute a valuable body of education. They have prepared hundreds of works . . . and have given to the people at large new ideas not only on religious questions, but on the nature of evil, the obligations of law, and the motives by which human conduct should be regulated . . . The Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligations under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions made by them". This extract is cited in Richard Temple, Op. Cit., p.155.

150 Ibid., Appendix, p.XXXVIII - XI.

151 Report of the Committee Appointed to Examine the Text Books in Use in Indian Schools, Calcutta, 1878, p.14.

152 Ibid., p.15. The agencies of colonial state, both private and public, secular and missionary, tried to project

the Committee were indirectly reflecting the concerns of missionary educational endeavours in the society. As the emphasis on moral aspects in education was renewed the opposition from Indian society also was recurring.¹⁵³

The introduction of Western education was successful in creating an urban based educated middle class whose members were kept under false consciousness and subordinated to the colonial ideological hegemony. Such an influence was atleast intact till the end of 19th century. Whereas attempts to intrude into Hindu tradition and break it through moral instruction didnot materialise as it was hoped. The reason being that the social space of interaction in the latter was very wide and it included all people in the society outside the structure of education. Moreover, any attempt to undo the importance of indigenus religious traditions could easily motivate the people irrespective of their educational status. Hence, moral instruction and proselytising activities of the missionaries in the field of education had to face severe opposition in the realisation of their goal.

education as a kind of 'spiritual operation' on Indian mind. It was hoped that this process would create a strong impression among the beneficiaries to regard it as a cultural transaction while ignoring other currents involved in the process of Western education. For details on this discussion see Ranajit Guha, An Indian Historiography of India: A Nineteenth Century Agenda and Its Implications. Calcutta, 1988, pp.4-16.

153 This is reflected by the criticism of the missionaries and the policy of the Government towards these agencies in the columns of press. For example see Hindujanaskarini. May 1887, pp.254-55; January 1889, p.63 and Raiavogi. 10.6.1894 in NNPR, TNA.

IV

While the missionary aspect of Western education caused a furore in the entire society, embracing almost the whole of Hindu community, at the same time it drove the people towards establishing schools run by their own contributions. This was proved by the emerging new trends in educational history in the form of Rate Schools. These schools were maintained by voluntary contributions to which teachers and inspectors would be appointed by the government. The idea of Rate Schools initially emerged from the middle peasant and trading castes in Godavari delta region. There are a few significant aspects of this system. The experiment of Rate Schools was initiated in Andhra to start with, and later on spread to the entire Presidency. The motivation for the system was purely indigenous reflecting the inherent urge of the people towards self-improvement. This idea of self-help had gone a long way in spreading enlightenment among middle peasant sections of the society mostly drawn from non-Brahman agricultural castes. The experiment gave them fruitful experience in managing their educational requirements under the changed socio-economic conditions of the colonial era. Perhaps this legacy was to continue for long and the emerging mid peasant castes increasingly associated themselves with popular movements by late 19th century.

The experiment was first tested in the Nursapore division of Rajahmundry region. Three schools were established in 1826 at

Coconada, Nursapore and Rajahmundry by the Collector, Bayard and they lasted for ten years.¹⁵⁴ Of these three schools meant for primary education of children in those places the Nursapore school was successful and the urge for education among the people remained intact. Another school was established at Nursapore in 1852 by T.Durmaroya Mudaliar and it began to flourish.¹⁵⁵ The Sub-Collector of the region, G.N.Taylor, assessed their progress and wanted to introduce elements of civilisation into a system of indigenious education which made the people "regard book learning as the privilege of one favoured caste...".¹⁵⁶ He further noticed that other sections of people were "slow to comprehend the benefit of extending education to all classes of people" and "this is the natural result of a influence of sound instruction....".¹⁵⁷ Taylor now convened a meeting of principal inhabitants of the town and enquired how far they were disposed to aid in the work of education.

Encouraged by Taylor and inspired by the importance of education, the inhabitants of Nursapore founded a society in 1853, Native Educational Society, and adopted unanimous resolutions at a meeting in May in favour of Rate School experiment.¹⁵⁸ Thanking Taylor for his help, the Society requested

154 Henry Morris, Op.Cit., p.92.

155 Communication from G.N.Taylor, Sub-Collector, Rajahmundry dt.28.11.1853 in Papers Relating to. Op. Cit.

156 Ibid.

157 Ibid.

158 Ibid. Taylor adopted the idea of Subscription or Rate Schools from North Western Provinces where the village schools under the system of Hulkbandee were maintained by

him "to permit them to meet and contribute by subscriptions among themselves to the support of the Central School at Nursapore and of minor schools in the principal villages of the sub-division".¹⁵⁹ The Society asked Taylor to be their president since they were ignorant of the new system and submitted him a list of villages in which "immediate establishment of schools appears to the Society to be necessary". The list contained the following recommendations.

Name of the place	English Schools	Hindustani Schools	Telugu Schools
1. Nursapore	01	01	01
2. Asunta	01		01
3. Tanuku	01		01
4. Attili	01	01	01
5. Veeravasaram	01		01
6. Yernagudem	01		01
7. Gootyala	01		01
8. Polavaram	01		01
9. Palcole	01		01
10. Penugonda	01		01

On their part the people already accumulated an amount of Rs.1005 by the end of November 1852 in support of Nursapore

subscriptions from the people. Such a system was found successful. For details see Henry Morris, *Op. Cit.*, p.95.

Taylor's communication in Papers Relating to. *Op. Cit.*

Ibid.

Ibid.

school.¹⁶²

Two years after this initial experiment the local peasants who frequented the markets at these places were attracted by the novelty of the experiment. They also expressed a desire to establish such schools in their respective villages. Such an initiative came from Cuddapah district also.¹⁶³

Edward Porter of London Mission Society in Cuddapah informed the government in 1854 that the Christian converts from weaving and cultivating families along with their Hindu neighbours living in various villages of Cuddapah "are very anxious in the elements of a plain secular education".¹⁶⁴ He further said that he received a contribution of Rs.1200 from the people towards the cause of education and he wanted some piece of land in every village to build rooms for the school and a house for the school master.¹⁶⁵ However, this ambitious plan was shelved as is revealed by separate applications for Rate Schools in the district by people of different villages individually.

162 Ibid.

163 Pub. Dept., Vol.932, No.46, dt.31.10.1854, TNA. It is wrongly claimed by some scholars that Rate Schools were special to Godavari district and it was the only district in the Presidency which was assessed by a rate for the purposes of education. See J. Mangamma, The Rate Schools of Godavari. Op. Cit., p.1 and p.50. The system of Rate Schools, on the other hand, was found in all the linguistic regions of the Presidency. For example see Indexes, Education Department, 1867, 1869 and 1870.

164 See for his communication dated 3.10.1854 in Pub. Dept., Vol.932, Op.Cit.

165 Ibid.

The experiment in Godavari district was launched successfully despite the opposition from the Company government. Initially people from 24 villages from Mogultur taluq applied for these schools.¹⁶⁶ They proposed to contribute an amount of Rs.736 towards the maintenance of the school. Taylor was of the strong opinion that this voluntary spirit without the direction and sanction of authority would fall to the ground because people supporting the present system were purely agricultural and ignorant who had been let too long alone in matters of education.¹⁶⁷ Taylor strongly recommended the system and further stated that he was receiving applications from villages in the other taluqs also, but without definite proposals.¹⁶⁸ Hence he favoured the establishment of schools initially in 12 villages which promised largest contributions ranging between Rs.30 and Rs.60 towards these schools.¹⁶⁹

Taylor proposed that a native inspector on a salary of Rs.50

166 Walter Elliot to Montgomery, Chief Secretary to Government in Pub. Dept., Vol.932, No.29, dt.24.10.1854.

167 Most of the people were drawn from agriculture as far as Godavari district was concerned. According to Taylor all these ryots were already benefited by the works of irrigation on Godavari river and were the first to come forward to beg permission to contribute towards the expense of their children's education. See Henry Morris, Op. Cit., p.94.

168 See for details Selections From the Records of the Madras Government. No.XXVI: Papers Relating to the Establishment of Village Vernacular Schools in the Sub-Division of Rajahmundry. Madras, 1856, pp.2-3.

169 These villages are Yelamanchili, Nadapudi, Karugumilly, Kavetam, Bheemalapore, Doddipatla, Podor, Punditavillor, Deva, Mulaparru, Kodamanchili and Ilapakurru. All these villages promised an amount of Rs.511 p.m. towards the proposed Rate Schools. For details see Ibid., pp.18-19.

may be appointed to supervise the activities of the schools.¹⁷⁰ So also two tahsil masters on a pay of Rs.15 and six ordinary visiting teachers on a pay of Rs.15 may be recruited and distributed throughout the three delta taluqs where the schools would be initially established.¹⁷¹ Apart from this a small sum would be required to procure books and school houses upon which the total cost of each school per year would amount to Rs.3500.¹⁷² However, the government expressed doubts over the proposals of Taylor as the salaries suggested by Taylor would not secure competent teachers and in the absence of a training institute the cost of producing school masters would be very high.¹⁷³ Taylor tried to solve this problem and a normal class for village teachers was set on foot in the month of December 1854 and it was attended by school masters chosen by villagers and volunteers who offered themselves as candidates for future employment in education department.¹⁷⁴ The training programme was highly successful with the hard work put in by Ramaswamy Iyer who was

170 Henry Morris, Op. Cit., p.99.

171 Ibid.

172 Ibid. This amount was estimated to procure a school inspector, two tahasil school masters, six visiting teachers, a school building and a few books.

173 Papers Relating to. Op. Cit., p.37.

174 Ibid. It can be observed that by the end of the first year of the scheme sixty five teachers were sent out to village schools after training. By that time eighty five more teachers were under the same programme. These people were kept in training until they were declared competent to instruct pupils in reading and writing in Telugu, rudimentary exercises in grammar, simple arithmetic and elements of Geography. For details see J. Mangamma, Op. Cit., pp.30-31.

engaged by Taylor for this purpose.¹⁷⁵

As for the instruction part of the subjects, the books published by the School Book Society at Madras were suggested for use in the schools. Moreover Taylor established a printing press attached to his office at Nursapore and it used to publish pamphlets in Telugu for use in various village and vernacular schools under the titles like 'The People's Magazine' and 'The Daily Lesson Books'. At the same time the Fort St. George Government used to publish a weekly vernacular newspaper in Telugu and Tamil under the editorship of the Professor of Vernacular Languages in the Madras Presidency College.¹⁷⁸ The journal was secular in contents furnishing news of the day and general information on useful subjects to instruct the readers.¹⁷⁹ Along with all these, already existing vernacular books on various topics like tales, poems, mythical stories etc could be initially used in those schools before new books were printed.

After everything was set ready for the launch, the Governor of the Presidency declined to give permission to go ahead with the experiment because of two reasons.¹⁸⁰ First, it was not at all

175 Papers Relating to, Op. Cit., p.37.

176 GDR, Vol.6755, pp.150-52, APA.

177 Henry Morris, Op. Cit., p.102.

178 DPI, 1856-57, p. 59. Name of the journal is not mentioned. It had a circulation of thousand copies.

179 Ibid.

180 GDR, Vol.6755, P.437. The Governor of the Presidency during this period was Lord Harris. This communication was dated 27.7.1855.

the duty and concern of the government to accept the responsibility of purely local improvements. Secondly, the experiment would undoubtedly be a burden to the ordinary revenue of the government. He categorically stated that "...if the government now began to enter on this new career of expenditure for purely local and social objects, that habit would be much strengthened and the feeling of self-reliance . . . the rise of which is favoured (sic) by the circumstances of the Rajahmundry District, would be powerfully checked".¹⁸¹ In the same communication the Governor seems to contradict his own statement when he said that public feeling was unfortunately absent among people and for this reason "the government must decline to accede to the recommendation" sent by the Northern Circars Commissioner which was in favour of Taylor's system.¹⁸² The colonial government, it can be observed, wanted to disown the responsibility of local developments. The official machinery hoped to extinguish the public spirit as evidenced by their present attitude. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The Madras Presidency between 1842 and 1859 was governed by five Governor viz., Tweeddale, Dickinson, Henry Pottinger, D.Elliot and Lord Robert Harris.¹⁸³ Of these five, Tweeddale, D.Elliot and Lord Harris openly patronised Christian missionaries and their educational endeavours. As already mentioned there was a big hue and cry from Hindu community over the activities of these three Governors who almost behaved like official sponsors of missionary

181 Ibid., pp.438-39.

182 Ibid., p.440.

183 For details see John Murray, Op. Cit.

activities and granting a lion's share from grants-in-aid scheme to their educational institutions. Given this background, the intentions of Harris in declining the proposal of Rate Schools become clear. The public spirit and ideas of self-reliance would pose problems to government in future. More so they would check the missionary educational endeavours and as they progress they would definitely demand the aid from government. An analysis of these issues suggests that Lord Harris rejected the plan in the initial stages.

In spite of this official resistance both the ryots from the delta talugs and Taylor persisted with their proposals. Taylor again sent a memorandum to the government expressing the strong desire of the people. Under the growing pressure, both from the people as well as the liberal bureaucrats like Taylor, Walter Elliot and Goldingham, the government was compelled to grant its approval to the new system.¹⁸⁴ Taylor was permitted by the government to proceed further with his system provided that the cost of their maintenance should be defrayed from a permanent fund by a fixed annual addition to the public demand on the village,¹⁸⁵ that the inspectors of schools should be under the direction of the sub-collector and that the people of all castes, including pariahs or 'low castes', should be allowed to get admission into these schools.¹⁸⁶ As a result the Rate Schools in

184 Walter Elliot and Goldingham served as Commissioners for Northern Circars and extended their help to Taylor in his efforts.

185 VDR, Vol.6754, pp.369-70, APA.

186 GDR, Vol.6755, pp.150-53, APA.

Godavari came into operation from the year 1855-56 onwards.

Once the system was formally introduced, the number of Rate Schools showed gradual increase over the next few years. The following table reveals this.¹⁸⁷

YEAR	GODAVARI DISTRICT - RATE SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS	
	Number of Schools	Number of Scholars
1. 1856-57	86	1352
2. 1857-58	91	2000
3. 1859-60	102	2122
4. 1860-61	102	1957
5. 1861-62	99	1705

It is observed from the table that the number of Rate Schools showed a constant increase between 1856 and 1861. Along with it the number of students under instruction also increased. This is an indication to the idea of self-improvement that had been generated among the emerging mid peasant castes of Godavari region.

However, when there was a slight decline in the number of schools by 1862 a question arose regarding the voluntary character of rate or subscription paid by the villagers. Officers felt that there was much difficulty in collecting the rate and hence the Director of Public Instruction recommended

¹⁸⁷ Figures are compiled from Reports of DPI for the corresponding years.

that the rate should be converted into a tax.¹⁸⁸ But government was initially not prepared to do this on the plea that it would excite distrust and suspicion among the people.¹⁸⁹ Taylor was of the opinion that the rate or subscription, when once agreed to, should become a fixed permanent addition to the village demand.¹⁹⁰

On full consideration of the issue, the Director of Public instruction proposed a Bill which was intended to legalise the rate and this was based on the Municipal Act of 1850.¹⁹¹ The Bill had two proposals.¹⁹² First, rate should be immediately legalised in all those places where rate schools were already existing unless majority of the rate payers opposed it. Secondly, this provision should be applied to new places until majority of the inhabitants made an application to that effect. The Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council and with its approval it became the Education Act of 1863 which was to be applied not only to Godavari district but to the entire Presidency.¹⁹³

At the same time new rate schools began to be established in other districts like Vizagapatam, Krishna, Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary. Though the number of schools established was not high, it shows that people were prepared to educated their

188 Henry Morris, Op. Cit., p.106.

189 Ibid.

190 Ibid., p.107.

191 Ibid.

192 Ibid.

193 For details see J.Mangamma, Op. Cit., pp.34-43.

children even at the cost of an additional tax. The legacy of public spirit and idea of self-reliance that took its origins in Godavary district were kept alive by people in other districts of Andhra. Between 1863 and 1870 there were many applications from people of districts other than Godavari to establish rate schools in their locality for which they were prepared to contribute certain fixed amount of money.

In Vizagapatam district applications for Rate Schools were received from Achalapalem (Sarvasidhi block, Narsipatnam taluq), Salur, Parvatipur, Gajapatnagaram, Rajam, Rayavaram, Pandranki, Kottam, Meranghi and Rayagada.¹⁹⁴

In Krishna district similar initiative came from places such as Avaniigadda, Jaggayyapeta, Purushothamapatnam, Kaikalur, Gudivada, Nizampatnam, Mangalagiri and Repalle.¹⁹⁵

People from the places of Kavali, Chinaannalur, Allur, Kaligiri, Brahmanakraka, Gudur, Udayagiri, Rapur, Naidupeta, Kandukur, Varigonda, Nellore town, Kullur and Venkatagiri of Nellore district requested the government to apply the education Act of 1863 to their places.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Information is culled from Reports of the DPI and Education Department consultations, No.8, dt.4.1.1866, No.43 and No.44, dt.18.3.1867 and G.O.(Education), No.26, dt.25.1.1869 and Petition Register, 1863, TNA.

¹⁹⁵ The details are based on Reports of the DPI and Edu. Dept., No.67, dt.11.3.1868, No.68, dt.26.3.1868 and G.O. (Education), No.276, dt.20.8.1869.

¹⁹⁶ The information is obtained from the Reports of the DPI; Edu.Dept., NO.54 and 56, dt.20.4.1866, NO.49, dt.17.10.1866,

In Cuddapah district requests for Rate Schools were obtained from Jammalamadugu, Proddutur, Pullampet, Sidhout, Madanapalli, Kadiri, Voilpadu, Royachoti and Wontimetta.¹⁹⁷ It is very significant that people from 108 villages surrounding Jammalamadugu and 64 villages surrounding Proddutur sent request petitions to establish two schools at the aforesaid towns.¹⁹⁸ This enthusiasm emanating from rural areas of Rayalaseema dispels all doubts that it was backward in social and public spirit. The people from these villages were drawn from all castes and in particular agricultural communities.

In Kurnool district there were applications from Cumbum, Pattikonda, Yeldurty and Nandyal.¹⁹⁹ In Bellary district requests for Rate Schools were received from Gutti, Kudlighi, Tadipatri, Harpanhully, Hindupur etc.²⁰⁰ Most of the places in Rayalaseema exhibited the same kind of public spirit in demanding the establishment of Rate Schools like in the case of coastal districts.

All these Rate Schools formed committees of Commissioners

No.3, dt.2.3.1867, No.72, dt.24.4.1868 and G.O. (Education), No.353, dt.21.10.1868.

197 The details are collected from the Reports of the DPI; Edu. Dept., No.50, dt.22.6.1868; G.O.(Education), No.225, dt.27.7.1869 and No.308, dt.22.9.1869.

198 The list of those villages is given in the Appendix at the end of the thesis.

199 Information is based on the Reports of the DPI after 1860.

200 Details are culled from the Reports of the DPI and G.O.(Education), No.82, dt.19.3.1867.

who have been appointed with the consent of local inhabitants and the approval of district collectors. Elaborate guidelines were devised guiding the work, management and accounts of these schools. However, there were minor variations in these guidelines from region to region. In Vizagapatam district, for the purpose of tax, inhabitants of the places where Rate Schools have been proposed were divided into four classes on the basis of annual income.²⁰¹ Slab rates of tax were imposed voluntarily on these four classes in the range of Rs.1, 12 annas, 8 annas and 4 annas per annum respectively.²⁰² The collected amount through these taxes should be deposited in the accounts of local school commissioners under the name, School Fund.²⁰³

Within the district of Nellore more comprehensive guidelines were formed for each and every region where the schools were established. In Allur it was proposed to raise a total amount of Rs.5550 per annum from all the sections in the village proportionate to their incomes.²⁰⁴ Lands given for religious purposes would be exempted from tax and in all other cases such exemption was not allowed even during unfavourable times like failure of monsoon and the consequent failure of crops.²⁰⁵ This clause is an indication to their commitment to the cause of Rate Schools. The 'bazar men' (traders) were asked to contribute Rs.25

201 Edu. Dept., NO.8, dt.4.1.1866.

202 Ibid.

203 Ibid.

204 Ibid., No.49, dt.17.10.1866.

205 Ibid.

and public servants in Sub-Magistrate's Cutchery would be charged at the rate of one percent on their annual incomes.²⁰⁶ The members on the Rate School Committee were unanimous in their resolve that pariahs and chucklers (Madigas) would not be taxed.²⁰⁷ The guidelines for tax collection at Kavali, Chinaannalur, Kaluvoya and Chejerla were the same like in Allur except that public servants were charged at the rate of 2% on their annual income.²⁰⁸ At Kullur the wealthy merchants proposed to voluntarily contribute 8% of their annual income for the maintenance of the local Rate School.²⁰⁹ But the government rejected this proposal as the proposed amount was very high and asked the local commissioners to follow the guidelines framed in other places like Allur.²¹⁰ At Varigonda nine paise in every rupee was proposed on the income of only those people who possessed pattah lands.²¹¹ The commissioners of Gudur Rate School proposed to raise an amount of Rs.750 per annum at the rate of four paise in every rupee of land tax or whose annual income was not less than one hundred rupees.²¹² These variations in the amounts of tax proposed

206 Ibid.

207 Ibid.

208 Ibid., No.10, dt.2.3.1867.

209 G.O. (Education), No.220, dt.21.6.1869. However, the collector favoured the present tax as most of the merchants (trading in pearls) were very rich.

210 Ibid.

211 Edu. Dept., NO.7, dt.4.7.1868 and No.23, dt.10.11.1868. Interestingly the commissioners in this village also proposed 9% of their annual income on Pattah lands as the voluntary rate for the establishment of schools. However, the Government advised all the village Rate School Committees to be moderate in fixing the rates of voluntary contributions.

212 G.O. (Education), NO.142, dt.29.4.1869.

depended on the general level of economy of the village, the initiative of the inhabitants and the preparedness of the people to help the cause of new experiment.

In Cuddapah district the tax proposed was two paise from the inhabitants of the villages and it is to be noted that the number of villages from Jammalamadugu and Proddutur were numerous for which reason the proposed rate was less.²¹³ A tax of one paise on every rupee of assessment was proposed at Sidhout and this was the lowest minimum in the case the Rate Schools in the state.²¹⁴ In Bellary district the rate was 1% on annual income and all those people with an annual income less than Rs.100 were exempted from the tax. Finally, the commissioners in Krishna district fixed the rate at 6 paise per annum in every rupee of land assessment.²¹⁶

All the above schools were maintained by the commissioners from the society of respective places with the assistance from Inspector and Deputy Inspector of Schools of the division concerned. In all the places the tax collected from the people was deposited in a School Fund account in the near treasury. All the transactions in money were to be conducted after taking opinion of the majority of the commissioners.

213 Edu. Dept., No.50, dt.22.6.1868.

214 G.O. (Education), No.225, dt.27.7.1869.

215 G.O. (Education), No.82, dt.19.39.1867.

216 G.O. (Education), No.276, dt.20.8.1869.

Most of the schools established under the Education Act of 1863 worked well under the voluntary management of the school commissioners. But in Godavary district the number of schools began to show a constant decline.²¹⁷ The reasons put forward by the government were that the commissioners were ill-educated and that the voluntary spirit in contributing towards Rate Schools was gradually declining in the agricultural population.²¹⁸ However, increased taxation in the post-anicut period led to a decline of such spirit. For example every putty of land under new irrigation in Godavari delta was charged an extra rate of one rupee and fifty paise.²¹⁹ The abrupt increase in taxation after the construction of anicuts is further attested by the difference in revenue collections between pre-anicut and post-anicut periods. For example, land revenue collection amounted to Rs.4,83,277 during 1847-48 and it showed an enormous increase within a decade when the amount of land revenue collected was

²¹⁷ The Director of Public Instruction recommended the abolition some Rate Schools in the district for want of support. The collector of Godavari informed that during the time of Jumabandy (revenue assessment) most of the ryots in Tanuku region expressed sentiments against the continuance of the schools. Out of 860 ryots the collector (Fraser) met 729 were against the Rate Schools and only 131 were in favour of the schools. For details see Edu. Dept., No.25, dt.12.12.1867. Even the Deputy Inspector of Schools for the division, S.Nadamuni Modely, reported unfavourably on the state of schools stating that a number of schools were abolished. See Ibid., No.52, dt.17.12.1867.

²¹⁸ Henry Morris, Op. Cit., pp.106-07.

²¹⁹ The sudden increase in water rates after the completion of Godavari anicut deeply agitated the ryots. They began sending protest petitions which condemned the new rates on irrigational facilities. For details see GDR, Vol.6747, pp.75-82, APA.

Rs.10,66,005 during 1857-58.²²⁰ Though civil servants like G.N.Taylor claimed that Rate Schools were a result of new irrigational works it was paradoxical that they themselves formed one of the potent reasons for declining voluntary spirit. Added to this the attempts at legalising the voluntary rate into a permanent one in the Education Act of 1863 created fear among the peasant castes who suspected that they were being compelled to pay new taxes on a permanent basis. As a result the voluntary spirit among these people showed signs of clear decline and the number of Rate Schools in Godavari region began to dwindle. The following table suggests this.²²¹

DISTRICT	1864-65		1866-67		1868-69		1869-70	
	Sch- ools	Scho- lars	Sch- ools	Scho- lars	Sch- ools	Scho- lars	Sch- ools	Scho- lars
Godavari	72	1288	68	909	59	911	58	969
Vizagapatam			02	69	02	76	09	75
Nellore			09	N.A	14	248	13	312
Cuddapah			08	N.A	09	N.A	10	N.A
Kurnool			02	N.A	03	N.A	03	N.A
Bellary			03	N.A	03	161	05	N.A
Krishna							08	N.A

²²⁰ Godavari anicut was complete in all respects by 1854. Within a few years of its completion the land revenue figures began to exhibit an upward trend. In the present case it may be observed that there was an increase of more than 150% in land tax within a short span of ten years. See General, Territorial and Political Journals, Vol.93, pp.2-3 and Vol.103, pp.1-2, TNA.

²²¹ The table is compiled from the Reports of DPI for the corresponding years mentioned in the table.

The table reveals that there was a gradual decline in the number of schools as well as scholars in Godavari between 1865 and 1870. However, the other districts showed a slight increase in the number of schools. The reason for this is that Rate Schools in other districts began to be established after the introduction of 1863 Education Act unlike in Godavari delta. Only after agreeing to the regulations of the Act the people in other districts shouldered the responsibility of the Rate Schools established in their respective localities.

However, the Towns Improvement Act and Local Funds Act of 1871 brought major changes in the Rate school system.²²² The Act had two main proposals.²²³ First, all those schools hitherto known as Rate Schools would be paid from the Municipal funds in the urban areas. Secondly, in rural areas a separate tax was imposed under the name of House Tax to maintain these schools and they would henceforth be known as union schools and situated at a distance from the village not more than two miles and a half.²²⁴ It was also provided that new schools of elementary character might be established as union schools at the request of the inhabitants of the villages. The reaction for these proposals was mixed. After the introduction of the Act there was again an increase in the number of schools in Godavari district and there was no perceptible progress in other districts. As noted earlier

222 For details on the Act see J.Mangamma, Op. Cit., pp.56-63.

223 DPI, 1871-72, pp.69-73.

224 For more details see Ibid.

people in rural and urban tracts of Nellore opposed the tax and even abolished schools as a symbol of protest. The following table shows the mixed reaction of the people after the introduction of the Act.²²⁵

District	Number of Union Schools	Number of Scholars	Amount of 'School Fee Fund' as on 1.4.1871		
			Rs.	Anna	Paise
Vizagapatam	01	40	2286	11	11
Godavari	162	3814	3431	0	10
Krishna	03	102	1690	3	9
Nellore	09	308	150	5	7
Kurnool	04	157	3239	9	10
Cuddapah	03	113	5037	2	7
Bellary	08	297	7415	13	5

These Union Schools (Rate or Subscription Schools) were in existence for sometime and we hear of the last of such schools being closed around 1884 in the town of Vijayawada.²²⁶

In conclusion the notice may be drawn towards the composition of the rate school committees and the students under instruction in those schools. It is significant to note that majority of the school committee members as well as the students

²²⁵ The table is based on DPI, 1871-72 and G.O. (Education), No.143, dt.26.5.1871.

²²⁶ Peddibhotla Veeraiah, Sweeyacharitra. (Autobiography), Vijayawada, 1959, pp.2-3.

in the schools belonged to the non-Brahman castes. An analysis of the school committees from Nellore district supports this.²²⁷

place of Rate Schools	Total Members on the Committee	Brahmin	Reddy	Baliya	Vaisya	Others
Kullur	8	1	2	4	1	
Kaluvoya	8	2	5		1	
Chejerla	8	1	4	2		1
Brahmanakraka	4	1	2			1
Gudur	4		2	1		1
Varigonda	5	3	2			

In the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary the cultivating castes were more in number among those who petitioned the government for the establishment of Rate Schools.²²⁸ All these facts indicate that the experiment of Rate Schools was more confined to the non-Brahman castes and the association of Brahmins was not significant.

The students under instruction in the Rate Schools also were mostly drawn from non-Brahman castes. It is calculated that out

227 The information is based on Edu. Dept., NO.10, dt.2.3.1867, No.73, dt.2.3.1868, No.72, dt.24.4.1868, NO.7, dt.4.7.1868 and G.O. (Education), No.142, dt.29.4.1869.

228 For details on this see G.O. (Education), No.82, dt.19.3.1867, Edu. Dept., No.50, dt.22.6.1868 and G.O. (Education), No.308, dt.22.9.1869. Non-Brahman agricultural castes like Reddy, Kamma, Baliya and artisanal castes like Weavers and Potters were more in number in requesting the Government to allow them to establish Rate Schools in their places.

of 980 boys under instruction in 55 Rate Schools in the three delta taluqs of Godavari, during the first year of operation of the schools, 284 were Brahmin boys and 696 were non-Brahmans. The following table presents the details.²²⁹

Taluq	No. of Schools	Number of Scholars on 31.10.1855	Brahmin Students
Mogultoor	27	498	128
Undi	13	249	66
Tanuku	15	233	90

Non-Brahman Students								Total No. of Non-Brahmans
Ksha- triya	Telaga & Kamma	Vaisya	Wea- vers	Carp- enter	Viswa- Brahmin	Potter	Others	
82	225	24	4	2	3	3	27	370
89	63	17	2	2	3	1	6	183
39	78	10	4	2	5	1	4	143

It can be observed from the above table that among non-Brahman caste Kshatriya, Telaga (Kapu), Kamma and Vaisyas communities dominated the attendance in these schools. Even in those Rate Schools, some of which have been transferred to the control of the government, non-Brahman boys were more in number. When calculated in eight of such schools in the three taluqs

²²⁹ Papers Relating to. Op. Cit., pp.54-55.

mentioned in the table, during the same time, 290 boys out of 442 under instruction belonged to non-Brahman castes.²³⁰ The preponderance of non-Brahmans on the school committees as well as on the rolls of attendance in Rate Schools unmistakably refer to two significant aspects. It indicates strong sentiments of self-reliance and an urge towards social improvement among non-Brahman sections without the aid of external agency. It reveals the slow but significant spread of public spirit among the non-Brahman sections. Infact the educated members from these sections increasingly associated themselves with future reform movements and took active part in establishing public libraries, popular associations and the public meetings during the campaign for the introduction of local self-government. These aspects further indicate that the emergence of non-Brahman consciousness during the nineteenth century was highly contributory in its nature and role.

In conclusion it may be said that the growth of new English education in Andhra during the 19th century presents a complex picture. It created a new urban-based middle class which was responsible for the growth of journalism, spirit of public consciousness, social reform, public associations and ideas of protest though in a mild form. The missionary aspect of new education resulted in a strong resistance and protest from all sections of Hindu society as religion was a sensitive aspect

²³⁰ Ibid. Muslims are not included in the calculation. However, there were 36 students from Muslim community in all the eight schools.

given the complexity of contemporary social conditions. Such religious protest drove people in some areas towards establishing their own educational institutions. Above all the Rate Schools and their operation reveal an altogether different motivation emanating from the neo-rich mid-peasant castes among non-Brahmans in the post-anicut period. This was soon to spread to other areas in Andhra. The legacy of this novel experiment percolated down to some of the most backward social groups is attested by the fact that the tribal groups inhabiting Godavari delta region, Koyas and others, requested the Madras Government in 1889 that arrangements should be made to educate their children. An analysis of these three different strands in the history of education in 19th century help us in concluding that Western education not only acted as an instrument of change but more so its contents acted as a tool which created resistance and protest in society. The consciousness emerged out of these changes was reflected in future social and political developments in Andhra.

231 Hinduianasamskarini. January 1889, p.69.

CHAPTER 3

GROWTH OF THE PRESS AND THE SPREAD OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The growth of journalism in 19th century India was influenced by many social currents. The growth of modern education brought with it new ideas from the West. The English education resulted in the emergence of a new section of educated middle classes in the society. The press developed as a representative of these educated sections. Coupled with the growth of education the socio-religious reform movements of 19th century influenced the press as the educated sections were involved in both of these activities. Moreover, the intense missionary propaganda and its criticism of indigenous religious practices provided a motivation to Indians who began counteracting the missionary activities through the columns of press. Above all the healthy growth of Bengali vernacular journalism had its influence spread over other parts of the country. All these pervasive influences had a direct bearing on the growth of the press. The early journals established by the educated sections of Indian society in the three Presidencies of British India reflect this. These early efforts in the field of

¹ Sambad Kaumudi of Raja Rammohan Roy in Bengal was established to spread new knowledge in society and in due course of time it began to propagate reform ideas and oppose the missionary activities. See for a detailed account of early Bengali journals Smarajit Chakraborti, The Bengali Press (1818-1868) - A Study in the Growth of Public Opinion. Calcutta, 1976, pp.10-13 and p.29ff. So also the Marathi journal, Durpan, established by Balshastrri Jambhekar concentrated on issues of reform. See Vasant D.Rao, "The Beginning and Growth of the Marathi Press" in S.P.Sen(ed.), The Indian Press, Calcutta, 1966, pp.53-55. The press in Madras Presidency was slow in its growth. However, it also was reflecting the same concerns as in the other parts of

journalism broadly reflected two significant trends. First, in the light of new Western knowledge and liberal values the early journals initiated a discussion on Hindu society, its religious practices, age old traditions and the evils inherent in them. Some of the journals further advocated the reform of the old traditional values. These new ideas invited immediate protest from orthodox sections in society and they began to counter the reform efforts initiated by the emerging middle classes who were imbued with Western liberal values. However, the vigorous reform campaign attracted more attention from the press. Secondly, the uncontrolled missionary activities and their criticism of Hindu traditional observances deeply hurt the feelings of indigenous people. On their part they unleashed a long process of severe antagonism to Christian missionary efforts in the realm of religion. This religious controversy and theological tussle between these two groups often found an expression in the columns of press during the nineteenth century.²

These two broad strands influenced the growth of press in Madras Presidency also. The development of press in Madras Presidency is significant in some aspects. The beginning of English press owned by Indians was witnessed as early as 1844. Also, the initiation of the Indian - owned English press was

the country. For an estimate of the 19th century press in the Presidency see C.J.Nirmal, "Nineteenth Century Press and the Development of Indian Nationalism" in the Journal of the Madras University. Vol.XLII, Nos.1 and 2, January - July 1970.

2

For example see Purusharthapradayini (Telugu), March 1876, p.36. The journal published a series of articles criticising the missionaries. See Ibid., September 1876, pp.133-34.

necessiated by unhindered missionary criticism of Hindu religious practices in the journals published by Christian missionaries. Further it sowed the early seeds of protest and tried to build up public opinion against the colonial rule and generate anti-British feeling by resorting to a criticism of missionary activities.

The three earliest English journals in the Presidency viz., The Native Circulator (1844), Crescent (1844) and The Rising Sun (1857) were owned by Telugus in the Presidential capital of Madras the details of which are discussed in the following pages. Apart from the English press, the vernacular press made its beginnings around the same time. When compared to the Bengali,

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Marathi and Gujarati press, the development of Telugu press was rather slow. The differential and late impact of colonial rule in the Presidency was mainly responsible for this. It is further viewed that the highly complex Telugu script was also a major

³ As early as 1818 Vernacular journalism emerged in Bengal with the establishment of journals like Bengal Gazette, Digdarsan and Samachar Darpan. See Smarajit Chakraborti, Op. Cit., pp.18-19. Persian journals also started around the same time in Bengal. Rammohan Roy's Mirat-ul-Akbhar of 1821 may be cited as an example. For details see S.B.Singh, "Growth of Public Opinion in India, 1835-1861" in Nitish Ranjan Ray(ed.), Op. Cit., pp.9-10. On the early activities of Bengalees in the field of vernacular journalism see Hemendra Prasad Ghose, The Newspaper in India. Calcutta, 1952, pp.24-25; M.Chalapathi Rau, The Press. New Delhi, 1974, pp.25-34 and Sushila Agrawal, Press. Public Opinion and Government in India. Jaipur, 1970, pp.32-35.

⁴ Vasant D.Rao, Op. Cit., pp.54-55.

⁵ The first Gujarati journal was published in 1822 under the name Shree Mumabaina Samachar by Fardunji Marazban. It was devoted to cover routine news of the day. For details see R.D.Parikh, The Press and Society - A Sociological Study. Bombay, 1965 (Saka 1887), pp.10-15.

factor in the late beginnings of cutting and preparing Telugu print types.⁶ However, The School Book Society, Madras, established in 1820 was already successful in preparing Teluguprint and the same method was used in printing Telugu journals a little later.⁷ The early efforts in bringing out a Telugu journal were made by Christian missionaries in the Presidency. Indian - owned Telugu press was to develop later as a counter to these missionary efforts.

The efforts of Telugu people in English journalism established high standards even by mid 19th century. Crescent was the first popular English journal owned by Indians. The journal was intended to counter the religious propaganda of the missionary journals. The period between 1840 and 1860 was characterised by the state support to missionary activities in the Presidency. During this period of powerful missionary influence Christian preachers in the metropolis realised the importance of journalism. One such missionary, Anderson, began to publish an English journal Record and it was intended to criticise Hindu beliefs and propagate the Christian faith. By

⁶ Sarogini Regani, "The Growth of the Telugu Press" in S.P.Sen (ed.), Op. Cit., p.93. However, newspaper in Kannada language, the script of which resembles Telugu, was published by 1812 by the German Missionaries at Bellary under the name Kannada Samachar. See B.Muddachari, "The Role of the Press in Mysore" in Ibid., pp.104-05. Before print letters were cut separately for each language the Christian Missionaries used to publish regional dialects like Tamil and Telugu in Roman script. For details see J.Mangamma, Op. Cit., pp.4-11.

⁷ This has been already mentioned in the preceding chapter. The Society used to publish books for use in schools in major languages of the Presidency viz., Telugu, Tamil and Kannada.

1845 the Record had a sufficient number of copies circulated throughout the Presidency.⁸ The intense propagation of Christian faith sent alarming signals in the society and counter propaganda began.

In order to counteract the religious onslaughts on Hinduism and the propagation of Christian faith by Anderson, the well known Telugu merchant of Madras, Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty,⁹ founded the English journal Crescent. He bought this journal from a resident of Madras, Narayana Swamy Naidoo, who was the proprietor of the English journal, Native Circulator and the name was changed to Crescent.¹⁰

The first copy of Crescent was issued on 2nd October 1844.¹¹ It was published from the Hindoo Press owned by G.Lakshminarasu Chetty.¹² The press was looked after by his relative, G.Saravappa Chetty.¹³ The journal was known also by the name Madras Crescent.¹⁴

⁸ By 1845 the journal had a circulation of 7,396 copies and it was subscribed from various parts of the Presidency. See Pub. Dept., No.58, dt.17.4.1846, TNA.

⁹ His activities along with Madras Native Association are discussed in the succeeding chapters.

¹⁰ The exact date of establishment of Native Circulator is not yet known. But it is significant to note that an English journal owned and run by a Telugu gentleman was already in existence by the time Crescent began its publication in 1844.

¹¹ D.V.Siva Rao, "Telugu Journalism : Past and Present" in K.R.Seshagiri Rao (ed.), Op. Cit., p.24.

¹² Pub. Dept., Nos.25 and 26, dt.18.5.1858, TNA. This press also published another journal (bi-weekly), Carnatic Telegraph.

¹³ Ibid. The press was located in Armenian street of Black Town, Madras.

¹⁴ Pub. Dept., Nos.62 and 63, dt.7.2.1861, TNA.

To start with, the journal was bi-weekly published on Wednesdays and Saturdays with a special half-sheet edition on the evening of every Monday.¹⁵ Each copy of the journal was priced at four annas or a monthly subscription rate of two rupees.¹⁶ Lakshminarasu Chetty appointed a European, Harley, as the editor of the journal and the latter was known for his utilitarian ideas and powerful writings.¹⁷ In no time Harley became most controversial in the eyes of the colonial government. The government was immediately cautioned that Harley was wilfully misrepresenting the measures of government and took every opportunity to excite discontent and promote agitation by inflammatory paragraphs addressed to the natives.¹⁸ The authorities were warned that he was disseminating 'articles of most seditious tendency' through the columns of Crescent.¹⁹

The object of the journal was stated to be the amelioration of the conditions of the people.²⁰ The copies of the journal are not available today. Though they are not preserved the details

15 Madras Almanac. 1853, p.393.

16 Ibid., 1850, p.160.

17 Sec. Dept., No.1, dt.17.8.1847, TNA.

18 For example, in the issue of Crescent dated 4.8.1847, Harley wrote in the editorial that the natives may consider the European judges in the Sadr and Mofussil courts as "specimens of what they have to expect from irresponsible magistrates and judges; especially from those imbued with evangelicalism, when under a Missionary patronising Government. We repeat the advice (to the people) to stand by their own interest, and help themselves——— for due protection against the ignorance, the wilfulness, and the religious prejudices of the Company's dispensers of Mofussil Law". Sec. Dept., No.1, dt.17.8.1847, TNA.

19 Ibid.

20 G. Parameswaran Pillai, Op. Cit., p.196.

regarding the contents of the journal can be obtained from other sources.²¹ On the basis of these sources it may be stated that the journal focussed its attention on the missionary activities, the unjust judgements in the courts, the anti-Hindu nature of Madras Government and preaching of Western religious ethics in the educational institutions.²²

The journal became highly popular within a few years of its establishment. Lakshminarasu Chetty could win over a few British

21 For example see Sec. Dept., No.1, dt.17.8.1847, No.3, dt.12.10.1847, Nos.2 and 4, dt.11.1.1848, Pub. Dept., Nos.25 and 26, dt.18.5.1858, Sec. Dept., No.6 (Anonymous Letter), dt.11.1.1848, No.11 (Anonymous Letter), dt.11.1.1848 and Pol.Dept., No.2, dt.21.3.1848, TNA.

22 Ibid. It may be mentioned here that the educated Indians and employees of the Company used to contribute articles to Crescent on various social aspects. Madhava Rao, Seshia Sastri, Sadasiva Pillai and Rama Iyengar were some among them who wrote articles in the journal. For details see C.Karunakara menon, A Critical Essay on Sir A. Seshia Sastri. Madras, 1903, pp.7-8. Some of these people mentioned above advocated ideas of reform even during their studenthood. In an essay "On the necessity of Educating the Hindu Females" written during the high school days in the Madras High School, Sadasiva Pillai asserted that every opportunity should be taken to persuade orthodox Hindus that female education was of the highest importance. For more details see Third Annual Report From the Governors of the Madras University. Madras, 1844, pp.20-21. So also Madhava Rao in the "Essay on Native Education" said that "among the uneducated Indians there prevails an opinion that males alone are entitled to enjoy the benefits of education. This prejudice, we will hope, may soon be eradicated by the progress of liberal opinions. Already there is an advance and many Hindoos send their female children to school. So, all that is left to us now is to follow up what has been already commenced. And it must be the united efforts of all natives of whatever rank and caste to make a great push in favour of liberal opinions". See The Fifth Annual Report from the Governors of the Madras University. 1845-46, Madras, 1847, p.42. These people used to propagate these advanced ideas through their writings in the columns of Crescent. It shows that the journal apart from being anti-missionary in nature, also encouraged ideas of reform by providing space in its columns for writings on the same.

civil servants to his side. Malcolm Lewin, a civil servant and a judge, joined hands with Lakshminarasu Chetty as he believed in principles of religious neutrality.²³ The Madras government, under the Governorship of Tweeddale became highly controversial as it extended open support to the activities of Christian missionaries. Malcolm Lewin was opposed to any kind of religious interference by the government. When Tweeddale proposed the diversion of Hindu pagoda (temple) funds towards the maintenance of the Provincial schools Lewin took a strong objection. Tweeddale further proposed to introduce Bible as a text book in the government schools. These two measures alerted the Hindu community. Though Tweeddale tried to disown responsibility in this matter, Lewin believed that these measures would be implemented.²⁴ Added to these efforts, the judgements in judicial courts were increasingly becoming favourable to missionaries and converts. At the height of conversion controversy at Tinnevely, in 1845, the judges in the Sadr court delivered judgements in favour of missionaries.²⁵ Lewin could perceive a blatant bias in these judicial proceedings and opposed them as injudicious. When the local inhabitants of Madras approached him with regard to this undesirable part of the colonial authorities he came heavily

²³ Sec. Dept., No.2, dt.13.7.1847, TNA.

²⁴ Lewin was of the opinion that "although the Marquis of Tweeddale has disclaimed these views, experience has abundantly proved that there are parties connected with the government who had the will and means to carry them out". See Ibid.

²⁵ R.E.Frykenberg, *Crises*. Op. Cit., pp.52-54. Earlier Lewin served as a collector of Bellary and Canara districts. Later he was transferred to the Sadr Court at Tinnevely as the second judge in the court. Of the three judges two were in favour of the missionaries and the Chief Judge, Dickinson, also was a party to this.

upon the government. He warned them that 'had the government met with no resistance in their attempt to coerce the judges of the Sadr court into measures fatal to impartial justice, it is probable the next attempt would have been an open and undisguised one to force Christianity upon Hindus'.²⁶ Lewin was vexed with the policies of the government as he was a 'vehement and vocal Unitarian' and began to voice his dissent openly.²⁷ Since he came to the Presidency he began privately contributing radical writings to Crescent.²⁸ It was reported that he had an unbreakable connection with the journal and for such an act of violation of civil code he should be punished by the government.²⁹ Finally the Governor, Tweeddale dismissed Lewin along with two other judges from civil service.³⁰

The activities of these public spirited people strengthened the hands of Lakshminarasu Chetty. The journal was growing in its popularity and soon it became a popular journal throughout the Presidency which is vouched by the circulation figures as shown below.³¹ It was the only journal owned by Indians that

26 Sec. Dept., No.2, Op. Cit.

27 R.E.Frykenberg, Crises. Op. Cit., p.54.

28 Ibid.

29 It was reported that "he was long known to be a great supporter of Crescent, and in fact his connection with and influence over that paper is notorious at the Presidency". For details see Sec. Dept., No.1, dt.17.8.1847, TNA.

30 R.E.Frykenberg, Crises, Op. Cit., F.N.No.77 on p.56.

31 It may be noted that the list excludes the number of copies circulated in Madras town. The tables gives us the details about the number of copies despatched through the Madras General Post-Office. The table is based on the reports of Post-master General for the corresponding years. The are as follows:

appeared in the reports of the government. Out of more than ten journals, that were in circulation during this time in Madras Presidency, Crescent was the only journal in English run by Indians.³²

YEAR	No. of Copies Despatched Through the Madras General Post-Office
1845	8,457
1846	10,809
1847	10,704
1848	9,738
1849	7,869
1850	5,395
1852	4,910
1853	4,794

The method by which news items were obtained by the journal forms an interesting chapter in the study of early journalism. Lakshminarasu Chetty successfully obtained the favour of a few public employees in order to supply him news from government files. In other words they were employed by the proprietor of the journal as secret agents. For the first time, M.Vencataroylu Naidoo was employed as an agent.³³ He was working as a Telugu

Pub. Dept., No.58, dt.17.4.1846
 Pub. Dept., No.35, dt.27.4.1847
 Pub. Dept., No.23, dt.28.3.1848
 Pub. Dept., No.10, dt.8.5.1849
 Pub. Dept., Nos. 30 and 31, dt.8.4.1850
 Pub. Dept., No.21, dt.14.10.1851
 Pub. Dept., No.11, dt.15.2.1853
 Pub. Dept., No.43, dt.14.3.1854, TNA.

32 The English journals which were in circulation during this period were Fort St. George Gazette. United Service Gazette, Athenaeum, Spectator. Record. Crescent. Circulator. Christian Herald. Advertiser. Monthly Times. London Mail. Native Herald. Western Mail. Church Man and Madras Examiner. For details see the sources mentioned in Ibid.

33 Sec. Dept., No.4, dt.11.1.1848 and No.8, dt.11.1.1848, TNA.

translater in the petition department in 1842 and later he was transferred to Chingleput's Collectorate in the same capacity.³⁴ Vencataroylu Naidoo was handsomely paid by Lakshminarasu Chetty for supplying the necessary information from the public records. Vencataroylu inturn employed a few others for the purpose of obtaining information from other public departments. Iyaswamy Modely, Vencataramaiah, Varadarajulu Naidoo and Lakshmipathi Naidoo³⁵ were connected with the supply of news to Crescent in a secret manner.

The way in which Vencataroylu prepared news items for favour of publication in Crescent is significant.³⁶ He was in the habit of bringing home papers from public records in his pockets and used to take down copies of the same. Likewise he secured papers from other departments through the people who were inturn employed by Vencataroylu for this purpose.³⁷ Vencataroylu, his brother and Lakshmipathi Naidoo used to prepare copies of all

34 Ibid., No.3, dt.12.10.1847. Earlier he failed in obtaining the position of Inspector in the Court of Commissioners for the recovery of small debts. Even before he was employed Vencataryoulu was in good relations with a few contemporary editors of English journals. He infact was recommended to the above post by the editors of Athenaeum and Spectator. For details see Sec. Dept., No.4, dt.11.1.1848, TNA.

35 See for details sec. Dept., Anonymous Letter, dt.3.10.1847; Nos.2,7 and 11, dt.11.1.1848 and No.1, dt.8.2.1848.

36 Vencataroylu was already contributing to various English journals. His pen came down on all those who were either corrupt or not to the liking of people. One Ranganada Sastry lodged a complaint with Police Superintendent of Madras that remaining incognito, Vencataroylu was publishing scurrilous letters against him. See for details Ibid., No.4, dt.11.1.1848.

37 Ibid., Anonymous Letter, dt.3.10.1847. He obtained, for example, important public papers from political department through Iyaswamy Modely.

these papers in a secret manner during nights. All the original papers were to be restored to their respective departments by the 3next morning.³⁸ It is needless to state that this involved great risk under the colonial rule.

This process went on for a long time unnoticed. But when Crescent published the confidential remarks and decisions made by the Governor, Tweeddale, the authorities were shocked. Decisions regarding the diversion of Hindu temple funds and the introduction of Bible in the schools were published in the columns of Crescent even before these decisions were ratified by the Governor's Council and the Court of Directors.³⁹ Tweeddale himself took notice of the publication of these items in Crescent and agreed that the papers connected with his decisions were "purloined from the office, and_____appeared in a grabbed form in the public papers".⁴⁰

The Madras government initiated an immediate enquiry into the whole incident. In the course of investigation an employee of Crescent. Samuel Bowie gave a few clues and the whole affair came to light.⁴¹ The report by the Police Superintendent,

38 Ibid.

39 For details see Minute by Tweeddale in Sec. Dept., No.2, dt.13.7.1847, TNA.

40 Ibid. This view was endorsed by H.Chamier, a member of Governor's Council. For details see Ibid., No.1, dt.13.7.1847.

41 Sec. Dept., No.4, dt.11.1.1848. Bowie was an employee in the Spectator press and later he was engaged in the Hindoo Press by Lakshminarasu Chetty. As a result he was aware of the activities of the Crescent as well as the secret agents employed by its propreitor.

E.J.Elliot, stated that Vencataroylu was found guilty along with others mentioned above.⁴² The evidence of Samuel Bowie revealed that Vencataroylu used to publish letters containing information from public records under the titles Vindex and Plain Speaking Man.⁴³ Elliot expressed his inability in finding out further details about the present case from any of the local members. He reasoned out that the "feelings of the natives attached to the Public Office and the restrictions imposed on them by their respective castes didnot allow them" to come forward to give evidence against the activities of those who were involved in the present affair.⁴⁴ It was further made known to the government that the person who would produce evidence against Vencataroylu would be excommunicated from his caste.⁴⁵

Once this affair came under serious consideration of the Madras government the people began to react on it. They addressed a series of anonymous letters to the government. Some of them pointed their accusing finger at Vencataroylu and advanced further evidence to his activities.⁴⁶ However, most of these letters argued that Varadarajulu Naidoo was innocent and he

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid. Bowie deposed before the Governor himself that Vencataroylu was a writer in the Government Office and was seen constantly at the Press. He further added that Vencataroylu used to bring letters for publication under the signature of Vindex and Plain Speaking Man. For details see Ibid., No.3, dt.12.10.1847.

44 Sec. Dept., No.4, Op. Cit.

45 Sec. Dept., Anonymous Letter, dt.3.10.1847. Because of restrictions like the present one the Police Superintendent couldnot obtain evidence against others like Vencataramaiah involved in this affair.

46 Ibid., No.7, dt.11.1.1848 and No.8, dt.11.1.1848.

should not be taken to task. A few letters strongly supported Vencataroylu.⁴⁸

On receipt of the investigation report, the Chief Secretary, I.J. Thomas, summarily dismissed all those people connected with this affair.⁴⁹ Vencataroylu Naidoo was further declared disqualified from holding any office under the government for a period of seven years till 1855.⁵⁰ Dismissing Varadarajulu Naidoo, the Chief Secretary opined that being aware of the systematic misconduct and of the malpractices of his relative, Vencataroylu Naidoo, the former did not inform the government of the same.⁵¹ He said that unless such stringent action was initiated the public documents would not be safe.

47 Ibid., No.4, dt.11.1.1848. These letters also pleaded that Iyaswamy Modely too was innocent and that he should not be punished in this regard.

48 In one such letter it was claimed that Vencataroylu consciously supplied public documents to the press out of 'Patriotic Zeal'. Ibid., No.5, dt.11.1.1848. Another letter stated that if punishment was to be accorded for this the Marquis of Tweeddale should be brought to the book first since he was also expressing scornful ideas about Hindu society in the columns of Athenaeum. Ibid., No.6, dt.11.1.1848.

49 Ibid., No.11, dt.11.1.1848.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid. This was decided by the Chief Secretary after he personally conducted the investigation and questioned Varadarajulu Naidoo in the police station of Chief Police Superintendent of Madras. Varadarajulu was cornered from many sides and he answered all the questions about his role, his acquaintance with Lakshminarasu Chetty and his father Sidhulu Chetty and about the activities of Vencataroylu. The suspicion of I.J.Thomas was confirmed beyond doubt when Varadarajulu, replying a question why he did not inform him the activities of Vencataroylu, said that "you didnot ask me and I didnot tell you". For details see Pol. Dept., Nos.15 and 16, dt.9.5.1948.

The government now turned its attention to Crescent and Lakshminarasu Chetty. The journal was put under immediate watch of the police. The Government started muzzling the Crescent. All the privileges which the government willingly accorded to other newspapers of the day were denied to Crescent.⁵² Moreover, strict and secret police watch was ordered on Lakshminarasu Chetty and his activities.⁵³ It may be noted here that Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, stated that a "free press and the domination of strangers" were two opposing things.⁵⁴ Believing that the first duty of the press was to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, Munro suggested that 'the press must be restrained by a censor or by the power of sending home at once the publisher of any libellous or inflamatory paper'.⁵⁵ Munro was obviously referring to the Anglo-Indian Press run by Europeans and he never expected that a challenge would emanate from the Indian-owned English Press.

The strict measures adopted by the government checked the growth of Crescent. As indicated by the declining circulation figures from 1849 onwards shown in the preceeding Table the

52 G.Parameswaran Pillai, Op. Cit., p.196. The privileges were such as the supply of newsprint at concessional rates, supply of official data and giving official advertisements to the journal.

53 D.V.Sivarao, Poorva Ranqamulu, Op. Cit., p.165.

54 Extract from Munro's Minute is cited in Merrill Tilghman Boyce, British Policy and the Evolution of the Vernacular Press in India. 1835-1878. Delhi, 1988, pp.31-33.

55 Ibid. Munro, infact, was reiterating the imperial notions of a free press. Even by the beginnings of 19th century Lord Wellesley suggested effective checks on the *whole tribe of editors'. His suggestions, made in 1799 were immediately put into action. For details see Mrinal Kanti Bose, The Press and Its Problems, Calcutta, 1945, pp.47-48.

journal began to show signs of clear decline. By 1861 the journal almost lost its prominence and the contemporary sources reveal that the Crescent was confined only to Madras and its circulation capacity touched an all time low figure of 150 copies in the town.⁵⁶ Added to this the losses incurred in the business due to Lakshminarasu Chetty's total involvement in public activities resulted in the closure of the journal. Crescent. after two decades of active existence became defunct in 1863.⁵⁷

Crescent was a pioneer in the history of South Indian journalism which symbolised the beginnings of Indian-owned English Press. The contributions of the journal are very significant. It was the first journal to initiate modern techniques of investigative journalism as seen by the employment of secret agents. Given the hostile atmosphere under the colonial government, it was a daring step made by Lakshminarasu Chetty during the early 19th century. Amidst conflicting interests and the dichotomous relations between the state and indigenous people such methods were constructively used with a strong conviction for societal welfare. In this manner Lakshminarasu Chetty can be considered as the first strategist in political journalism and an initiator of a new tendency in the history of English press which was to continue for a long time to come. These pioneering efforts paved the way for nationalist journals like The Hindu by late 19th century.

⁵⁶ Pub. Dept., Nos.62 and 63, dt.7.2.1861, TNA

⁵⁷ By 1863 the Hindu press which was publishing Crescent stopped the publication of the journal. It was using the press only for job work. See Pub. Dept., No.176, dt.28.11.1863, TNA.

On being dismissed from the service, Vencataroylu Naidoo began practising law in the Sadr court of Madras.⁵⁸ His fascination for journalism didnot disappear and he established his own press under the name of Rising Sun and began publishing the journal Rising Sun.⁵⁹ It was a bi-weekly. By the year 1861 six hundred copies of the journal were circulated.⁶⁰ The aim of the journal was to focus discussion on the social problems affecting Hindu community. Vencataroylu soon joined hands with Srinivasa Pillai who was a close associate and former colleague of Lakshminarasu Chetty. But Vencataroylu Naidoo didnot live long. He passed away in 1863. By that time the journal also on the wane and only eighty copies were circulated.⁶¹ With his death its publication came to a close.

II

The printing process in vernaculars began much before the publication of vernacular journals. The Telugu script was introduced to the West by European travellers.⁶² In the initial stages Telugu was printed in Europe in Roman script as there was

58 Pub. Dept., Nos.62 and 63, dt.7.2.1861, TNA.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Pub. Dept., No.176, dt.28.11.1863, TNA.

62 John Fryer was the first man to introduce Indian language to the West. Later on missionaries like Benjamin Schultze got acquainted with these languages even before they set their foot on Indian soil. For details see J.Mangamma, Book Printing. Op.Cit., pp.7-8.

no print type in Telugu during 18th century.⁶³ Even in India the use of Roman script was suggested in printing vernaculars as early as the first decade of 19th century.⁶⁴ However, the earliest efforts in printing Telugu were made by Serampore missionaries in Bengal.⁶⁵ Apart from Christian missionaries print work in Telugu was undertaken by Fort St.George College and the Madras School Book Society.⁶⁶

Religious tract societies like the Madras Bible Society and the Vernacular Tract Society of Bellary brought out a number of tracts in the local languages of the Madras Presidency during the

63 Ibid., pp.7-8. The first dictionary in Telugu was printed in Roman script in 1747. Ibid., p.125.

64 Ibid., pp.9-11.

65 Ibid., p.75. Telugu translation of New Testament and a grammar book in Telugu were brought out by Serampore missionaries like William Carey, William Ward and Marshman.

66 Fort St.George College was established in 1812 to encourage civil servants to learn vernacular languages. Accordingly various scholars were appointed to teach Telugu language. Venkatanarayana, Ravipati Gurumurthi Sastry and Juluri Appayya were some of the earliest scholars in Telugu who taught in the college. The College Board used to publish books in vernacular languages and advertise the same in the Gazette. For details see Kottapalli Veerabhadra Rao, Telugu Sahityamu Pai Englishu Prabhavamu (Telugu), Secunderabad, 2nd Edition, 1986 (first edition, 1960), p.156ff and Vizagapatam District Records, Vol.4751, pp.229-33, APA. Depending on the need the teachers in the collectorate schools placed orders for these books. See Cuddapah District Records, Vol.4604, pp.28-31, APA. Around the same time Telugu grammar works were printed by William Carey, William Brown and A.D. Campbell in 1814, 1816 and 1817 respectively. Another grammar work by Mamidi Venkayya of Masulipatam was procured by Madras Government. However it was not printed. See J.Mangamma, Book Printing. Op. Cit., p.179 and Masulipatam District Records, Vol.2983, p.29 and pp.79-80, APA. The Madras School Book Society also brought out various Telugu primers, stories, prosodies and vocabularies after the Society was established in 1820.

first half of 19th century.⁶⁷ Around the same time British civil servants like C.P.Brown began compiling, writing and publishing Telugu works.⁶⁸ These efforts were followed by the publication of books on medicinal herbs, philosophy, geography and general administration.⁶⁹ Along with these books the Sataka literature (books containing hundred verses) was published in easy Telugu.

The Madras Upayukta Grandhakarana Sabha,⁷¹ established by the students passed out of the college at Madras, began publishing Telugu books from 1847 onwards. The proliferation of these printing works was greatly facilitated by the growth in the number of printing presses and printing technology at Madras. For example, by 1857 twenty English presses, thirty six native presses, twelve English lithographic presses, Ten native lithographic presses and one copper plate printing press were located at Madras only.⁷² The establishment of district presses

67 For a detailed account of their activities see J.Mangamma, Book Printing. Op. Cit., pp.67-75.

68 Brown brought out the first verses of Vemana, a poet-philosopher of Medieval Andhra, in print by 1829. Ibid., p.202.

69 Ibid., pp.205-17.

70 Ibid. Though only a few Satakams were published, many more Satakams were already in use in the schools. For example Krishna Satakam, Sumati Satakam, Janaki Satakam, Prasanna Raqhava Satakam, Ramataraka Satakam, Bhaskara Satakam, Bhushanavikasa Satakam, Bhumalingeswara Satakam, Suryanaravana Satakam and Narayana Satakam were use in the schools and Hindu theological colleges in Rajahmundry region. See GDR, Vol.4637, p.221, APA. Also See VDR, Vol.4757, p.34, APA.

71 For more details see J.Mangamma, Book Printing. Op. Cit., p.113.

72 This Sabha prominently appeared as a literary society in the contemporary public records. See for example Indexes to the Public Department, 1854, 1855 and 1856, TNA. Also see Pub. Dept., Nos.25 and 26, dt.18.5.1858, TNA. Various details

also coincided with this period. The Nursapore press established by G.N.Taylor may be cited as an example here.⁷³

All these early activities in printing Telugu works provided a congenial background to the evolution of vernaculars journals in Telugu. A bilingual journal in Tamil and Telugu was contemplated in 1832 and Rev. J.Long mentioned that the first newspaper in Telugu and Tamil was published in 1833 at Madras.⁷⁴ However, details about this journal are not available. Around the same time Fort St.George Gazette was published in 1832 from the Madras government press.⁷⁵ This Gazette used to insert notices in regional languages from 1834 and since 1835 Telugu and Tamil items became a regular feature in the Gazette.⁷⁶ But most of the insertions in regional languages related to various Acts, tender notices and translations of other important official items.

There is no unanimity about the next journal in Telugu. It was a journal by name Satvadoota and believed to have been

regarding the propeitor, address and publications from different presses are given. For more details on the working of various presses located at district towns see Manual For District Presses in the Madras Presidency. Madras, 1901. This provides us details regarding the working, work force and matters related to printing at the district press establishments in the Presidency.

73 J.Mangamma, Book Printing. Op. Cit., pp.115-16.

74 It was known as Madras Chronicle. For details see Ibid., pp.278-79.

75 Ibid. By 1856-57 District Gazettes also were printed and local languages were used in them depending on the district from where they were issued.

76 Ibid.

published by the Bellary missionaries.⁷⁷ But there has been no specific evidence to ascertain the fact about the existence of the journal. The next journal in Telugu was published in 1838 from Madras and it was called Vrittantini.⁷⁸ The journal was edited by Mandigala Venkataraya Sastry and in the present case also copies of it are not available.⁷⁹ From other sources it is known that it published letters which were highly critical of social evils like nautch programmes.⁸⁰ Though the journal was published for only three or four years it was popular during the time of its publication and the Madras Government asked its translator in Telugu wing to prepare and send reports on the journal.⁸¹ The journal came to an end by 1841.

The next well known journal in Telugu, Vartamanatarangini was published in 1842 from Madras.⁸² It was a weekly in the early days of existence and printed by K.Sitayya Naidu at Vartamanatarangini Press.⁸³ It was published after some time by Syed Rahmatullah of Madras.⁸⁴ The journal was edited by Puvvada Venkata Rao and used to contain articles by contemporary Telugu Pandits like Ravipati Gurumurthy and Chinnaya Suri.⁸⁵ This

77 Ibid.

78 K.R.Seshagiri Rao (ed.)/ Op. Cit., pp.10-11.

79 Ibid.

80 For a detailed account on this see Bangorey, Op. Cit., pp.22-27.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., pp.12-14.

83 J.Mangamma, Book Printing, Op.Cit., p.180. It was later published thrice in a month.

84 Ibid.

85 V.Lakshmana Reddy, Op. Cit., pp.62-67.

journal was a land mark in the history of vernacular journalism. A few extracts were collected and preserved by C.P.Brown.⁸⁶ They throw light on the nature and critical tone of the articles, letters and other correspondence published in the columns of the journal. It was circulated in various parts of the Madras presidency inhabited by Telugu-speaking people. Circulation figures of this journal are available in the despatches of the Madras General Post-Office. The Government of India asked the Post-master General at Madras to send reports on the copies of various journals received and despatched through the general post-office.⁸⁷ Pursuant to the Government Order in 1843 the Post-master General used to send the total number of copies for various journals received and despatched at his office on monthly basis. This was followed for two years during 1843 and 1844.⁸⁸

86 C.P.Brown was the Post-master General at Madras General Post-Office between 1848 and 1853. In this capacity he had access to various journals despatched through the Post-Office. Being a Telugu scholar himself he could collect and preserve a few extracts from this journal. His health broke down in 1853 and hence he was replaced in the post by R.H.Williamson. See Pub. Dept., No.11, dt.15.2.1853 and No.43, dt.14.3.1854, TNA.

87 Sending the report on the circulation figures of various journals to the Chief Secretary to Madras Government the then Post-master General, A.J.bruce mentioned that following the "directions contained in a letter (30th September 1843) from the officiating secretary to the Government of India, to your address, I have the honour to transmit, herewith, for submission to the Government of India, a statement exhibiting the number of Newspapers, of all descriptions, which were, daily despatched from this office, distinguishing the Native from the English language, and to observe that pamphlets and periodicals, though forwarded at the Newspaper rate of postage, are not included in the statement". See Pub. Dept., No.33, dt.23.1.1844, TNA.

88 Ibid. Also see Pub. Dept., No.19, dt.21.1.1844, TNA. During 1843 the total number of English papers received and despatched was 1,88,372 and for vernacular papers it was 9,453 the grand total of which was 1,97,825. For 1844 the

From 1845 onwards these figures are available for each and every journal. The following table shows the figures for vartamanatarangini for eight years with a gap in between.⁸⁹

YEAR	No. of Copies Despatched Through the Madras General Post-office
1845	1,279
1846	1,331
1847	1,554
1848	1,563
1849	1,197
1850	1,007
1852	1,026
1853	1,661

Vartamanatarangini touched upon a number of aspects of the society, customs, traditions and political affairs of the country. It used to publish letters from readers and one such a letter in February 1841 critically viewed the unnecessary and

numbers were 1,95,590, 8,377 and 2,03,967 respectively. But this method was objected to by the Government as there was no scope to assess journals and hence circulation figures for each individual journal began to be reported by the Post-master General from 1845 onwards.

89

The table is based on the sources mentioned in f.n.30 of the present chapter. During this period one Persian journal (Auckbar) and three Tamil journals (Desabhimani, Rajathany and Dravida Deepika) were in circulation. while Auckbar continued till 1853, the Tamil journals ceased their publication at different periods of time. Desabhimani did so in 1850, Raiathany in 1848 and Dravida Deepika in 1852 respectively. However, Desabhimani was highly popular during its early years of existence as shown by its circulation figures. They numbered at 3027, 2407 and 2280 for the years 1845, 1846 and 1847 respectively. But, the number declined to 756 by 1849 and the publication ceased in 1850. Dravida Deepika showed a uniform circulation figures till it disappeared in 1852. Auckbar was very popular and its circulation figures exceeded all other vernacular journals. Never during this period its circulation figure was less than 1734, the number for the year 1850. Above all, it is to be noted that all these circulation figures excluded the number of copies distributed in Madras town.

extravagant expenditure during the time of Hindu marriages.⁹⁰ The journal in course of time published highly critical articles about the role of the British in India. It protested against the missionary activities. One of the issues stated that the missionaries were trying to subvert Hindu religion in an unscrupulous manner.⁹¹ It felt that it was the duty of the journalists to express their views in a frank and candid manner and make people conscious of these attitudes of the Britishers.⁹² Another issue during 1851 took strong objection to the attempts by colonial authorities to Christianise the country and asked the people to abstain themselves from the missionary activities and their institutions.⁹³

It is interesting to note that during the same period the Madras Native Association launched a struggle against the activities of Christian missionary societies in the Presidency and attacked the Madras Government for its support to their proselytising activities.⁹⁴ Moreover, the Association was endeavouring to organise public agitation. All these activities and the consequent public awareness were reflected in the columns of Vartamanatarangini.

For the first time, in the history of Telugu journalism,

90 The letter is cited in Bangorey, Op. Cit., pp.22-27.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., pp.91-93. These are discussed in the issue dated 11.7.1851.

94 There is a detailed account of these activities in Chapter IV.

Vartamanatarangini initiated a discussion on social evils, social reform and political affairs. The Madras Government became cautious of these tendencies and used to obtain information about the journal.⁹⁵ Another significant aspect is that the circulation figures of the journal exceeded even those Telugu journals brought out between 1860 and 1885 published from various parts of Andhra. Not even a single Telugu journal except Messenger of Truth equalled its circulation figures.⁹⁶

Vartamanatarangini introduced spoken dialect in its columns. It was first issued as a weekly and later on three issues were released in a month. By 1858, its circulation slightly declined and only six hundred copies were issued.⁹⁷ However, the existing evidence shows that the journal was still active by 1879 and had a long lease of life for more than three decades.⁹⁸

Before 1860 two more journals came into being viz., Hitavadi (1848) and Dinavartamani (Bilingual in Tamil and Telugu with a separate edition of Telugu started in 1856).⁹⁹ Hitavadi was edited by Edmund Sharkey and propagated Christian faith.¹⁰⁰ It was

95 Bangorey, Op. Cit., pp.9-14.

96 A comparison between the circulation figures makes this clear. For example see NNPR. 1874-1885, TNA.

97 V.Lakshmana Reddy, Op. Cit., pp.68-7 2.

98 See Asylum Press Almanac and Compendium of Intelligence For 1879. Vol.11, No.lxx, p.459, TNA. For a brief period after 1879 the journal ceased its publication in 1882 and was revived again in 1887. See NNPR, 1882 and 1887, TNA. However, some scholars suggested that the journal became defunct by 1858 and ceased its publication. See J.Mangamma, Book Printing, Op. Cit., p.280.

99 V.Lakshmana Reddy. Op. Cit., pp.72-82.

100 Ibid.

issued every month from the American Press at Madras, Dinavartamani was a weekly edited by Peter Percival and issued from Madras.¹⁰¹ Its Telugu edition was issued in 1856 and it had a circulation of 700 copies.¹⁰² The journal covered routine news, science, tales and a few essays on topics of general interest.¹⁰³

In the post 1860 period the number of Telugu journals grew in number and they were increasingly published from mofussil areas of the Presidency. It testifies and strengthens our assumption further that the spread of enlightenment in the society by educated middle classes gained a satisfactory momentum after the mid 19th century. The rapidly spreading enlightenment joined the main national stream by 1885. The establishment of the first political journal in Telugu, Andhra Prakasika in 1885 symbolises this. Another journal, Hindujanasamskarini that came into being in the same year also voiced its protest against colonial policies in clear political terms. Incidentally they coincide with the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885 and, moreover, these two journals were most popular which had the highest circulation figures when compared to other Telugu journals except Vivekavardhani of Veeresalingam.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand Vivekavardhani, a premier social reform journal, established by Veeresalingam was still very active and carried on its programme of social reform effectively through its columns. This journal also was equally popular along with the two others

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 This is revealed by NNPR, 1874-1890.

mentioned above.¹⁰⁵ Viewed from this angle it is desirable that our discussion of the contribution of Telugu journalism to 19th century society is confined to the aforesaid period.

The following table gives us various details pertaining to Telugu journals published in the Madras Presidency between 1860 and 1885.¹⁰⁶

Name of the Journal	Place of Publication	Year of publication	Average Circulation	Remarks
1. Sri Yakshini	Bellary	1863	N.A.	Fortnightly
2. Sujanaranjani	Madras	1864	N.A.	
3. Tatwa Bodhini	Madras	1864	N.A.	Influenced Veeresalingam
4. Godavari Vidya Prabodhini	Rajahmundry	1870	N.A.	Veeresalingam wrote articles
5. Andhrabhasha Sanjivani	Madras	1871	150	Organ of Orthodox people
6. Purushartha-pradayini	Machilipatnam	1872	500	Monthly
7. Vyavahara Tarangini	Madras	1872	N.A.	
8. Swadharma Prakasini	Machilipatnam.	1872	300	Monthly
9. Lokaranjani	Madras	1874	N.A.	Bi-monthly
10. Brahmanda Ranjani	Madras	1874	N.A.	

105 Ibid.

106 This table is based on Lakshmana Reddy, Op. Cit.; Reports on the Administration of Madras Presidency between 1870 and 1885; N.S.Krishnamurthy, Vyasarachanala Suchi : 1875 - 1972 (Telugu Patrikala Nundi). Hyderabad, 1977; Ongolu Venkatarangaiah, Op. Cit.; Bharati (Telugu), January 1930; Grandhalaya Sarvaswamu (Telugu), July - September 1916; K.R.Seshagiri Rao (ed.), Op. Cit.; Edhardhavadi (Telugu), 1874 and the Native Newspaper Reports between 1874-1890, TNA. The table excludes the English journals published by Telugu people before 1885. For example the collectorate servant at Nellore, Dampuru Narasaiah, published three journals in English viz., Native Advocate (Madras), Nellore Pioneer (Nellore, 1869) and Peoples' Friend (Madras, 1881). Of these three the last one lived for 17 years and it was unhesitating in its criticism of colonial policies. After Crescent this can be said to be a political journal in English published by Telugu people. For details see Ongolu Venkatarangaiah, Op. Cit., pp.138-39. So also mention may be made to the publication of another English journal, The Observer around 1883. See NNPR, 1883, TNA.

Name of the Journal	Place of Publication	Year of publication	Average Circulation	Remarks
11. Vivekavardhani	Rajahmundry	1874	500	Weekly - Fortnightly
12. Sudheeranjani	Kakinada	1874	N.A.	Monthly
13. Vidwanmanoharini	Narasapuram	1874	N.A.	
14. Bharati	Bellary	1874	N.A.	
15. Janavinodini	Madras	1875	N.A.	Monthly
16. Budhipradayini	Gudiwada	1875	N.A.	
17. Sakalavidyabhi- vardhani	Visakhapat- nam	1875	120	Monthly
18. Swadesi	Berhampore	1875	N.A.	
19. Hasyavardhani	Madras	1875	N.A.	
20. Jnanavinodini	Madras	1875	N.A.	Monthly
21. Telugu Baptist	Bezawada	1875	N.A.	Monthly
22. Hasyasanjivani	Rajahmundry	1876	N.A.	
23. Jnanabhanu	Madras	1876	100	Weekly
24. Viswakarma Kula Sampradaya Prabodhini	Visakhapatnam	1876	40	Monthly
25. Rayabari	Butlavagallu	1877	N.A.	
26. Janmabhumi	N.A.	1878	N.A.	
27. Vartalahari	Berhampore	1878	175.	Bi-monthly
28. Mandara Manjari	Kakinada	1879	N.A.	Bi-monthly
29. Phoenix Srimut Amrutavalli	Visakhapatnam	1879	N.A.	Bi-monthly
30. Vartamanaratna- karamu	Madras	1878	206.	Weekly
31. Analpajalpita Kalpavalli	Machilipatnam	1880	N.A.	Monthly
32. Janavinodini	Madras	1880	200.	Monthly
33. Prabandha Kalpavalli	Peddapuram	1880	170	Monthly
34. Sri Sujana Pramodini	Merangi	1881	180	Monthly
35. Chintamani	Rajahmundry	1881	400-500	Monthly
36. Nyayadarsini	Visakhapatnam	1882	125	Bi-monthly
37. Kalanidhi	Kakinada	1882	N.A.	
38. Vidyarthi Kalpabhujamu	Nellore	1882	N.A.	
39. Hindudesabhimani	Machilipatnam	1882	400-700	Weekly
40. Edhardhavadi	Visakhapatnam	1883	200	Monthly
41. Satihita Bodhini	Rajahmundry	1883	250	Monthly
42. Srimanmanoranjani	Tuni	1883	200	Irregular
43. Sri Gayatri	Chicacole	1883	100	
44. Sri Sanmargadarsini	Pithapuram	1883	200	Monthly
45. Sujanamanoranjani	Jaggayyapeta	1884	N.A.	Fortnightly
46. Vrittantini	Madras	1884	N.A.	
47. Sri Prakasika	Vizianagaram	1884	400	
48. Vinoda Chandrika	Visakhapatnam	1884	N.A.	Fortnightly
49. Amudrita Grandha Chintamani	Nellore	1885	N.A.	Monthly

Name of the Journal	Place of Publication	Year of publication	Average Circulation	Remarks
50. Neeti Darpanamu	Julumuru	1885	N.A.	Monthly
51. Sujana Manollasini	Madras	1885	Around 70	weekly
52. Neeli Prakasika	Madras	1885	N.A.	Monthly
53. Hindujana Samskarini	Madras	1885	500-600	Monthly
54. Andhra Prakasika	Madras	1885	500	Weekly

As the table indicates there was a wide publication of Telugu journals during this period. It is observed that out of a total of fifty four journals seventeen were published from Madras and the rest from mofussil towns of Andhra including some small places like Chicacole, Tuni, Pithapuram, Peddapuram, Jaggayyapeta and Merangi. It is also observed that twelve journals out of thirty seven published from mofussil places were from Godavari region. The intense social reform campaign of Veeresalingam was a major contributory factor for this. Godavari region was followed by Visakhapatnam and Krishna district areas with eight journals each. Twenty journals were published from Godavari and Krishna regions alone which fact suggests that the rapid development of these two areas in the post Godavari and Krishna anicut period, resulted in the speedy progress of enlightenment and the consequent growth of Telugu journals. The rest of the Telugu journals were scattered throughout the state.

Majority of the journals published during this period didnot live long. Though the rapid proliferation of these journals symbolise the bubbling enthusiasm of the educated middle classes, they suffered from the lack of patronage. Most of them didnot go

beyond the reaches of educated sections.¹⁰⁷ Apart from the educated people, a few enlightened Zamindars extended their patronage to these journals.¹⁰⁸ However, this patronage, limited to a few sections, was not adequate to run the journals for a long time. Moreover, some of the journals regretted that Vaisyas, the rich trading community in the society, didnot patronise them despite the fact that they could afford to do so. Sri Sakala Vidyabhivardhani was unsparing in its criticism of Vaisyas and said that business was their sole concern and they did not bother about any other social concern.¹⁰⁹ It further stated that even the educated people among Vaisyas were indifferent toward journals.¹¹⁰ While the English merchants were displaying keen interest in getting more commercial news through journals, the Indian commercial class didnot realise this and they were behaving in an ignorant manner.¹¹¹ This argument was most logically explained by Purusharthpradavini. It declared that the foreign merchants equipped themselves with all aspects of other countries before they embarked upon an ambitious promotion of their commercial interests.¹¹² Analysing this complimentary and productive relationship between acquisition of knowledge and commercial prosperity, the journal advised the

L07 For example see the subscribers' lists published in the journals during this period. Prabhandha Kalpavalli. September - November, 1881, Edhardhavadi, November, 1884 and Hinduianasamskarini, March, 1887.

108 Ibid. Most of these lists show that educated Brahmins, local Zamindars and a few others from other castes were contributing to these journals.

109 Sakalavidyabhivardhani. January 1876, pp.1-4.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 Purusharthpradayini, March 1872, pp.5-9.

Vaisyas to come forward and patronise vernacular periodicals.¹¹³

It lamented that, though the journal was established with public welfare as its aim, people were evincing only lukewarm interest. Being irritated over such an attitude, it informed the people that "if you cannot help at all to send us aid either from your pen or purse, we have no reason to remain your persuaders or petitioners any longer".¹¹⁴ However, such a cry didnot yield much needed help from the people and this is proved by the fact that these appeals for subscription were echoed even by late 19th century.¹¹⁵ It was paradoxical that the immense enthusiasm in establishing a number of Telugu journals was mismatched by discouraging social response. It was but natural that the sphere of influence of educated middle classes was limited in scope and hence their specific concerns didnot immediately draw the required response from the entire society. As a result many of the journals were compelled to close down within a short span of time.¹¹⁶ Only a few journals with a broad canvas of social and

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid., p.9.

115 For details on this see Sri Sarada, May-June 1896, pp.59-60, Sarada (Godavari Journal of Education), April 1897, p.1 and Prabhavati. 18 June, 1897, pp.46-49. Despite the fact that some of the journals offered lowest possible subscription rates to different classes in society the response was not encouraging. For example Sri Sarada offered the following rates for different categories - For students, teachers, poor people and women Rs.1 p.a., for general subscribers Rs.2 p.a. and for patrons Rs.8 p.a.

116 For example Sri Yakshini. established in 1863 ceased its publication in 1868. Weekly Messenger from Visakhapatnam was published for only one month between August and September 1876 and Visvakarmakula Sampradava Prabodhini existed only for six months from July to September 1876. See for details on the last two journals Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency. 1876-77, Appendix, pp.ccxlviii - ccxlix.

popular concerns had a long lease of life.¹¹⁷ Before the discussion is closed it may be mentioned that the problem of subscribers was acutely faced by those journals published from mofussil areas of the Presidency. Apart from the limited number of educated middle classes, the geographical location of these Telugu journals hindered a healthy growth of the same. Our estimate of these journals, hence, should take this factor into consideration. Whereas journals like Hindujanamasmarini and Andhra Prakasika published from Madras didnot face such a problem as is revealed by the figures of their circulation noted earlier. The metropolitan - mofussil divide was one of the major factors behind the running and the life span of the journals. The only mofussil journal that could withstand the problem of subscriptions is Purusharthapradayini and it almost equalled the metropolitan Telugu journals in circulation figures.

Though the subscription phobia could act as a check on the life of many of the Telugu journals, it did not come in the way of propagation of their views during the period of their existence. These numerous periodicals concentrated on various issues affecting social life. Only a few journals had specific and exclusive aims and objectives like Andhrabhasha Sanijivani.¹¹⁸

117 See NNPR. 1874-1885. Purusharthapradayini (despite its initial problems with subscribers), Vivekavardhani, Hindujanamasmarini and Andhra Prakasika were a few journals that belong to this category.

118 For example the Andhrabhasha Sanjivani, published from Madras and edited by Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, remained very orthodox in nature. His argument in favour of Sanskrit education may be cited to support the statement. People like Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, a well known Telugu pandit supported the orthodox tendencies. A few other 19th century intellectuals from Andhra were favourably inclined

The fight against the missionary activities and their educational programmes were carried forward without a break from the past.¹¹⁹ At the same time the orthodox tendencies in the contemporary Hindu society also came under attack. It was criticised that in India "Custom has superseded nature and reason. When nature tells to eat punctually, it (custom) advises some fasts on certain days——-. We must abandon such pernicious customs and begin reformation at once by educating females first ——-. Instead of inventing a new Religion, let us revise and reform our existing Vedantic religion".¹²⁰ It was further said that "the bonds of custom still tie down many——-. Some of our brethren are sleeping with closed doors. Let the brightness of the dawn reach them".¹²¹ Apart from condemning the blind beliefs and customs all such fundamentalist activities were criticised. Taking objection to Hindu Tract Society and its publications, one of the journals advised the Hindus that they should shed narrow Hindu attitude and try to initiate the process of internal reform of their society.¹²²

towards this. For example C.Karaeswara Dikshitulu of Machilipatnam even met the Prince of Wales during his visit to Madras and requested him to suggest to British Parliament and the Queen to take "legal measures to suppress the prevailing atheistic lore and to give an impetus to the cultivation of Sanscrit literature——-". For more details see Purusharthapradayini, May 1876. p.79. So also Amudritra Grandha Chintamani, published from Nellore was exclusively devoted to classical literature.

119 This aspect has been discussed in detail in both the preceeding as well as succeeding chapters.

120 Purusharthapradayini, May 1872, pp.11-12.

121 Ibid., April 1872, p.8.

122 Hinduianasamskarini, May 1888, p.242.

The condemnation of blind beliefs and age old customs was followed by a cordial support by various journals to the issues of reform. It is to be remembered that the later part of 19th century was characterised by an intense social reform campaign by Veeresalingam. He even published a journal, Vivekavardhani in 1874 to propagate his views in the society. Such a vigorous campaign received immediate support from other journals. Along with Vivekavardhani, they too were campaigning for reform issues. The central concerns of this reform programme were widow marriage and women's education. Articles and ideas forcibly arguing in favour of these two issues were fairly propagated through the columns of the vernacular press.¹²³ It may not be an exaggeration to note that almost all journals barring a few supported the social reform campaign.

The widow marriage campaign became one of the prime concerns of Vivekavardhani. Right from the inception of the journal it published views which strongly supported the cause of women.¹²⁴ These views were supported by some of the contemporary journals including a few orthodox ones.¹²⁵ Apart from fighting for the cause of women these journals tried to offer a few solutions to

123 For example see Edhardhavadi. January 1884, pp.7-8.

124 Vivekavardhani, February 1878, pp.27-32.

125 For example see Andhrabhasha Sanijivani, September 1883 in NNPR. TNA. Adducing the reason for child marriages to acute poverty, it was said that the Hindu traditional sections were selling their daughters in a shameful and immoral manner which was leading to the growth of both child and infant widowhood. See Hindujanasamskarini, September 1887, p.30; May 1888, p.239 and Sri Sarada, May-June 1896, pp.49-53.

the problems faced by women in society.¹²⁶ Some of them even requested the government to interfere in the problems of women and grapple with the evils like widow and child marriages by legislation.¹²⁷ The fight for the cause of women culminated in the establishment of women's journals in Andhra. The lead was taken by Veeresalingam and he published the first women's journal in Andhra in 1883, Satihitabodhini.¹²⁸ This was followed by the publication of a few other women journals during late 19th century and early 20th century.¹²⁹ The unique contribution of these journals lies in the fact that they took reform ideas to women and were responsible for the spread of enlightenment among them.

126 In case of Widow marriage problem Vivekavardhani offered two solutions. First, limiting a time after which married men shouldnot appear for entrance examination of Madras University and disallowing scholarships to married students. Secondly, preferring unmarried candidates for public employment. It pleaded with the government to give effect to these two measures. Vivekavardhani, November 1884, NNPR, TNA. Some journals suggested that choice should be given to the girls of specific age in selecting their husbands. Budhavidheyi April 1888, NNPR. TNA. A few others opined that education would solve all the problems for women and suggested that girl children also should be initiated into the process of education at young age along with boys. See Vivekavardhani, May 1883, NNPR. TNA and Upadhyavopavogini. February 1893, pp.65-67.

127 Sanmargadarsini, January 1885, NNPR, TNA. Some journals made passionate appeals through their columns to strengthen the hands of Veeresalingam and contribute generously towards the widow marriages being organised by him. Hindujanamasmarini, January 1889, p.72 and March 1889, p.95.

128 See for details Vivekavardhani. January 1883, NNPR. TNA.

129 Some of these journals are Telugu zenana (1893), Hindusundari (1902), Savitri (1904), Vivekavati (1908), Stree Dharroa (1917) and Soundarya Valli (1917). For more details see V.Ramakrishna, "Women's Journals in Andhra during the late 19th Century : A Study of the Reflection of Reform issues" in the PIHC. Goa, 1987, pp.524-31. Also see D.Padmavati, Op. Cit.

It is interesting to note that when a vigorous campaign for social reform and a rigorous attack on social evils were being carried out in a meticulous manner the evil of dowry was rising its head slowly. Though the problem didnot pose any serious threat during this time, but the first dowry death was reported around 1865 from Nellore district of Andhra.¹³⁰ It was not noticed by any journal of the period as there were no local journals in the district during this time. But the incident of dowry death was lately protested by the local people and it was brought to the notice of the Madras Government through an anonymous petition which sought stringent action against the culprits.¹³¹ This indicates two important aspects. First, it reveals that the growth of modern education, though slow, was beginning to throw another social problem.¹³² Secondly, the protest by the local people would indirectly indicate the future course of social action programme against this evil.

¹³⁰ See Petition Register, 1874, TNA, No.2090, dt. 22.7.1874. Since this incident escaped the searching eye of contemporary journals the whole petition is given (verbatim) in the Appendix at the end of the thesis.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² A few contemporary vernacular writings reveal that the dowry was gradually becoming a serious problem for middle class people. It is reasoned out that the new employment opportunities created by the English education displaced many people from traditional occupations. When the educated people could secure a job with a fixed amount of salary they began to feel that they were relatively safe in the discouraging economic conditions under the colonial rule. Precisely these people began to demand dowry at the time of marriage and this problem was acute in case of Brahmins among whom there were more educated and employed people. For details see Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry, Op. Cit., Vol.1, pp.37-41.

Apart from social issues the Telugu journals concentrated on matters of public importance. The mismanagement of administration at local levels,¹³³ the taxation policy of the colonial government and the consequent drain of wealth from the country,¹³⁴ the partial pronouncements of the government on the Uncovenanted Civil Service¹³⁵ and the repressive policies of the colonial authorities towards vernacular press¹³⁶ came under severe

133 For example see Purusharthpradayini. January 1872, p.15, February 1872, P-25, April 1872, pp.4-5 and Dinavartamani, July 1874, Swadesi. May 1876, Vivekavardhani. January 1878, September 1883 and, Andhraprakasika, July 1885 in NNPR.

134 Of all the taxes salt tax was seen as highly repressive by the journals. See Andhraprakasika. July 1886, NNPR, TNA. The land tax on ryots also attracted the attention of the journals. See Lokaranjani, May-June 1875, NNPR. TNA. The immoral Abkari Policy was protested tooth and nail by the press. See Andhraprakasika, December 1885, NNPR, TNA. The journals took a strong objection to the resultant drain of wealth from the repressive taxation system. It was estimated by one of the Telugu journals that the amount of annual drain to England around 1881 was Rs.20 crore rupees per annum. See Vivekavardhani, January 1881, NNPR, TNA.

As early as 1874 local people began protesting against the recruitment policy of the government. In an anonymous petition addressed to the Governor of Madras in that year it was complained that the Government of India cheated the candidates for civil service and other examinations. See Pet. Reg., No.2111, dt.20.7.1874, TNA. For a comment and criticism on this see Vivekavardhani, February 1878, p.23 and Purusharthpradayini, March 1876, pp.1-2. When the age question in civil service examination became highly controversial the press voiced its protest against the unmending attitude of the government. One of the journals stated, "it was ruled in 1854 that natives may be admitted to the civil service examination, the age being limited to 22. In 1866 the age was reduced to 21, and to 19 in 1876. It was evidently not the intention of the authorities to admit natives, like europeans, to high offices, and the age was in consequence restricted to 19. It seems that the admission of natives to the civil service examination was only intended as a 'nominal measure'". See Sri Prakasika, April 1884 in NNPR, TNA.

The attitude of the government towards vernacular press became a topic of discussion even before the 1878 Act. The press regulations of the 1878 Vernacular Press Act were strongly objected and the same tone was to continue later.

attack in the columns of the journals. These issues suggest the fact that the vernacular press too was, in course of time, taking active part in discussions on public affairs and the issues affecting common people. Our assumption is further strengthened by the fact that the vernacular press also joined the national stream as revealed by the repeated appeals made to the people asking them to support Indian National Congress.¹³⁷ Such appeals were made right from the inception of this national body. Furthermore, the immediate support extended to the issue of Local Self-Government scheme of Ripon is a conclusive proof that the Telugu journals were beginning to take more interest in issues affecting public life.¹³⁸

One of the singular contributions of Telugu journals was a growing realisation of the importance of vernacular languages. Such a realisation was preceded by an acute criticism of some of the misleading and sensually provocative Sanskrit texts. It was criticised that under the influence of these texts, erotic themes were adopted into literary genres of Telugu.¹³⁹ Hence, a few

For example see Sakalavidyabhivardhani, January 1876, pp.4-6.

137 For details on this aspect see Hindujanamasamkarini. March 1887, p.183, April 1887, p.236, April 1888, p.232 and March 1889, p.93. The other journal of the period, Andhraprakasika went a step ahead in demanding the introduction of panchayat system to assure democracy at grass-root level. See the issue dated 5.10.1889 in NNPR. TNA. Support to Indian National Congress was gradually growing over a period of time. Within a decade of its establishment appeals in support of the organisation were repeatedly made in the columns of vernacular press. For example see Raiavogi. 20.8.1884; Vartadarsani, 15.9.1884 and Gnanodayamu, 15.9.1884 in NNPR. TNA.

138 This aspect is discussed in detail in Chapters V and VI.

139 Vivekavardhani. February 1878, pp.24-25.

contemporary Telugu journals advocated the need for original books in Telugu.¹⁴⁰

Another aspect of the demand for publishing works in Telugu is that spoken dialect (Vyavaharika) should be encouraged in the place of traditional style (Grandhika).¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the journals favoured translations from other language works into simple Telugu. It was argued that the transmission of knowledge of science and society through translations would sufficiently strengthen the awareness of Indian people.¹⁴² An appeal was made to rich people in society to come forward, encourage translations and print the same in Telugu which would immensely benefit the new learners.¹⁴³ The second aspect of the demand for translations

140 Hindujanasamskarini. September 1887, pp.32-33.

141 Ibid., November 1887, p.89.

142 Isolated demands for printing books in vernaculars can be dated back to still earlier period. One such demand asked the Madras Government to print Almanacs in vernacular languages. The request to bring out Almanacs in regional languages of the Madras Presidency is significant because they are a compendium of knowledge on all affairs of society. For details see Pet. Reg., Vol.20, NO.90, TNA. This demand received further support by 1850. The newly educated youth persistently demanded that diffusion of knowledge of science from the West should be conducted "through unlimited number of translations" into vernaculars. See The Fifth Annual Report_____Madras University. Op. Cit., p.43.

143 Hindujanasamskarini. November 1887, p.90. It may be noted that from mid 19th century onwards there were published a number of translations into Telugu. Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, Op. Cit., Introduction p.1. The efforts of Veeresalingam and Lingam Lakshmajji Pantulu are noteworthy in this respect. Veeresalingam, for the first time began translating Rigveda into Telugu. His work was given much publicity in the contemporary journals. See Hindujanasamskarini. August 1887, p.20. Translation of Vedas into Telugu was never attempted before for the fear of backlashes from orthodox sections. Moreover, Veeresalingam's initiative could be seen as a counter effort to nullify the impact of Atmuri Lakshminarasimham who was

is more significant and helps us in the assessment of contemporary Telugu Press. It was argued that the translation of books from Indian languages into English provided ample scope for the Britishers to understand the religion and society in India. With this knowledge they easily identified some of the shortcomings in Indian society. Taking advantage of this "they were successful in proselytising large sections of Indian society and consequently instituting their (political) power."¹⁴⁴ The press asked the people to be conscious of this and find remedies to counteract the influence of the British rule.¹⁴⁵ It may be averred that the contemporary Telugu press could successfully probe into some of the intricate and difficult aspects of the colonial rule as shown in the foregoing analysis. Aspects such as this played a contributory role in the rapid spread of

then rigorously campaigning for an access to Vedas to all sections in the society. Another intellectual in Andhra during the same period, Lingam Lakshmajji Pantulu published a book entitled A Dissertation On the Method of Rightly Using Reason and Investigating Truth in Sciences. This work in English was a direct adaptation of Decarte's method. See Selections From the Records of the Government of India. Home Department : Report on Publications Issued and Registered in the Several Provinces of British India during the year 1892. Calcutta, 1893, p.7. This work was intended to serve as a practical guide to young Hindus in their dealings of every day life. Lakshmajji Pantulu was well known in contemporary society and his public activities were spread over three coastal towns viz., Machilipatnam, Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram. His increasing popularity sent caution signals to the government and consequently he was implicated in a fabricated forgery case in Machilipatnam which was severely protested by the press as a 'public calamity'. See Purusharthapradayini. June 1878, NNPR. TNA. In spite of appeals from the people the government did not concede their request and Lakshmajji Pantulu was imprisoned for a period of nine years. For more details on his activities see A.V. Dattatreya Sarma, Op. Cit., pp.65-67 and S.V.Joga Rao (ed.), Op.Cit., pp.225-26.

144 Sri Prabandha Kalpavalli, September - November, 1881, n.p.

145 Ibid.

enlightenment in the 19th century society.

The foregoing account suggests that the press served as an effective instrument of public opinion. The English Press as represented by Crescent was highly vocal in generating political awareness among the people. The activities of the journal make it clear that it heralded, for the first time, an era of investigative journalism in the Madras Presidency. This is an important contribution to the development of the South Indian Press. The vernacular press in Telugu was reflecting middle class concerns in the initial stages. Nevertheless, it did not remain so throughout the 19th century. While in the initial stages, spread of general enlightenment was its major concern, it increasingly concentrated on issues of public importance by late 19th century. The realisation among the vernacular press that there was an intimate and inextricable relation between the acquisition of knowledge and the retention of political power is the unique contribution of Telugu press. Added to this the repeated calls and appeals of the press to the people in invoking their support to National Congress reveals the growing nationalist consciousness among the Telugu journals. All these strands of isolated evidences help us assume that the role of press and the contribution of Andhra intellectuals, drawn from middle classes, in the field of journalism are highly contributory to the spread of political awareness among the people.

CHAPTER 4

THE GENESIS AND GROWTH OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The rumblings of discontent as expressed and reflected by the people symbolised their growing awareness in the society of Andhra during the 19th century. The canvas of such consciousness was wide and covered almost all aspects of the colonial society under which it was made to operate. The reaction of the people was changing from milder forms of protest to much vigorous forms of organisational fight in the course of time. Such reaction and popular protest involved both educated and other sections of the society. These two parallel streams had their own modes of petition, protest and fight. They were neither contradictory nor conflicting to each other in their objectives.

The urge towards knowledge and self-improvement was present in the Andhra society even at the beginning of 19th century. When the Madras Literary Society was established at Madras in 1812 there were seven members on the rolls of the Society from Masulipatam.¹ Most of the members of the society were residents

¹ The society had a library of its own and various journals were procured from England as well as India and supplied to members. For outside members they were sent either by sea mail or regular post. In course of time the library collected a number of books, reports, collections and other such interesting documents. Noted scholars like C.P.Brown and Col.Mackenzie contributed in a large measure to the library. Even by 1850 the collection of Telugu books donated by Brown formed the major part of the library collection. The Society, which was amalgamated with the Auxiliary branch of Madras Royal Asiatic Society in 1829, is still functioning. See N.S.Ramaswami, Madras Literary Society - A History, 1812-1984, Madras, 1985, pp.35-85, passim. Also see The Hindu, 17-7-1994, Literary Supplement, P.XII.

of Madras. The intellectual curiosity of the British people in exploring and mastering the knowledge of various aspects of society in the sub-continent was the moving spirit behind the formation of the Society. For all those people interested in the pursuit of learning, the Society served as a store-house of Knowledge. On one hand the beginnings towards such intellectual pursuits can be observed² and, on the other, common people were on the forefront protesting the abnormal revenue exactions by the colonial government. As early as 1821, people from Andhra were prepared to lodge complaints in person with the Governor of Madras.³ These are two separate streams (the educated and commoners) which symbolised two important aspects viz., knowledge

2 This process was more visible in the activities of the Hindu Literary Society established at Madras in 1830s. The efforts of Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty, J.B.Norton, Komaleswarapuram Srinivasa Pillai, Enugula Veeraswamaiah, Vennelacanti Subba Rao and Vembakam Raghavacharlu were behind this. The Society was highly instrumental in generating political consciousness among the people by arranging periodic lectures. For details see Digavalli Venkata Sivarao (ed.), Kasiyatra Charitra (Enugula Veeraswamaiah). (Telugu, 3rd Edition, Reprint), New Delhi, 1991, Introduction, pp.1-9. Also see V.Ramakrishna, "Traveller's Tales and Social Histories" in PIHC, Gorakhpur, 1989-1990, pp.574-78.

3 For example a peasant from the Nuzivid taluq of Masulipatam district complained that the collector's revenue servants were harassing him and that he was prevented from proceeding to Madras to lodge his protest. See Pet.Reg., Vol.7, No.431 of the year 1821, TNA. Such protests through petitions were very common and a study of these will throw much light on the thinking and activities of the people as distinct from the learned sections of the society. Further, they help us in providing clues to understand the movements of different social groups. This point becomes all the more important because these people were very particular that their protest should be invariably known to the Government. When some of the collectors consciously suppressed these petitions from reaching the Madras Government, such actions were vehemently opposed. For example, the indifferent attitude of Ambrose Crowley, Collector of Rajahmundry, in this regard was strongly objected. For details see Pet.Reg., Vol.22, NO.1561, TNA.

and protest. The growing knowledge through education helped the people evaluate themselves and society critically. The new developments under the colonial rule in society, economy and polity induced the common people to protest against the misdeeds and oppression of those policies. The merger of these two streams by the end of 19th century in Andhra prepared the much needed ground for the rise of a broad-based popular movement during the time of the expression of their readiness to participate in the scheme of local self-government. This issue is taken up for discussion in the succeeding chapters. This process, however, was initiated by the efforts of Madras Native Association by 1850s. This was furthered by the agitation during local self-government campaign. In the earlier chapters we have seen the growth of education, the consequent development of educated middle classes, their activities and an urge towards ideas of self-reliance as expressed by peasant castes of Andhra for the establishment of Rate Schools. These developments are a convincing proof to the rising level of consciousness. The momentum of such a public spirit gained further acceleration by the middle of the 19th century which witnessed the beginnings of organisational aspects of public life.

The beginning towards the establishment of a public debating society was made in 1851 at Masulipatam. Seshia Sastri, the Thasildar of the town established the Debating Society.⁴ The

⁴ See B.V.Kameswara Aiyar, Op. Cit., pp.81-89. Seshia was born into a Tamil brahmin family of Tanjore and came to Andhra at the young age of twenty three. His first appointment was to the post of thasildar, Masulipatam. He worked in various capacities and his services lasted for about ten years in Andhra between 1850 and 1860.

Society was established with the avowed objectives of self-improvement and cultural development. The Society used to subscribe for various papers and periodicals. In the organisation of the Society, Seshia was assisted and helped by the then Assistant Collector, G.A.Ballard. Besides he received cooperation from other members of the town. The Society organised meetings often and these were chaired both by English people as well as India members.

The establishment of branches and the support extended to the agents of Madras Native Association at Guntur, Chirala and Sarvepalli (Nellore district) brought the common people and peasants into the arena of public life. A study of the establishment, nature and objectives of the Madras Native Association further helps us in consolidating our position on the growing awareness in the society.

The Madras Native Association was established in 1852 by Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty and his friends. He was born in 1806 into a rich merchant family. His father, Sidhulu Chetty, was by then an established indigo merchant of the city. His business firm was the only one which could be compared to the British business firms in Madras in those times.⁵ They belong to Gajula Baliya caste of Andhra Pradesh.⁶ Their ancestors migrated from

⁵ The contemporary directories and documents attest this fact. For details see Madras Almanacs, 1839 onwards.

⁶ This is stated in D.V.Siva Rao, Poorva Ranganulu. Op.Cit., p.16. Gajula Baliya caste is one of the trading castes. The Baliya community had been a traditional trading community from the medieval times. See for details K.Sundaram, Studies in Economic and Social Conditions in Medieval Andhra. A.D.1000-1600. Machilipatnam, 1968,

Andhra region and settled at Madras. Following the traditional family line, Sidhulu Chetty intended his son to look after the family business. However, Lakshminarasu Chetty was made of different material and, right from his childhood, he evinced a predisposition to that remarkable individuality and fearless independence which characterised his subsequent career.⁷ Right from his early studenthood he used to attend the debates in debating and literary societies of that period and gave vent to

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his personal ideas. This contact with learned societies brought him within the hold of reformist tendencies. He became well versed in Tamil and English. He even translated Stranger's

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Manual of Hindu Law into Telugu and Tamil. After the death of his father he inherited family trade and soon cut a very impressive figure in trade and commerce. He was one of the very few Indians to be represented on the Madras Chamber of Commerce.¹⁰

His earlier training in various societies and his urge towards social and political reform changed the commercial nature of his avocations to more useful public and political performances. He was already in touch with the contemporary

Chapters II and III. Some authors, however, are misled and equated Lakshminarasu Chetty with 'Vaisya' category. See R.Suntharalingam, "The Madras Native Association: A Study of an early Indian Political Organisation" in Indian Economic and Social History Review. Vol.IV, No.3, September 1967.

7 G.Parameswaran Pillai gives more details about Lakshminarasu Chetty's life in his Representative Indians, Op. Cit.

8 D.V.Siva Rao, Poorva Rangamulu. Op.Cit., pp.160-62.

9 Judicial Consultations, No.41 and 42, dt.2.3.1858, TNA.

10 See Madras Almanac, 1857, p.438. Another Telugu man, Parthasarathy Naidoo, was there on the Chamber along with Lakshminarasu Chetty.

intellectuals of Madras like John Bruce Norton and along with him used to attend the debates organised by the Hindu Literary Society. He was thoroughly influenced by the inspiring lectures delivered by George Norton the then Advocate General of Madras.¹¹ His son, J.B.Norton, soon became a close friend of Lakshminarasu Chetty.

Soon Lakshminarasu Chetty realised the ineffectiveness of mere literary debates and was becoming more indulgent in considerations of the problems of the people and the promotion of consciousness among them. He came to a conclusion that he would need a forum where he and his fellow countrymen could ventilate their grievances.¹² By this time the Bengal British Indian Association, established at Calcutta in 1851 opened correspondence with Lakshminarasu Chetty since he was already

11 George Norton was invited by the Hindu Literary Society to deliver a series of lectures on the plan of government and the system of administration of justice in India. These lectures were delivered in 1833 and 1834 to a large audience. Norton declared that it was not the object of his discourses to glorify the system of Government of British India, but rather to enable the reader to form an intelligent judgement upon it. Norton belonged to liberal tradition of James Mill. His lectures influenced the Indian mind and Lakshminarasu Chetty was one among those who was thoroughly influenced by them. The lectures were later compiled and edited by John Bruce Norton. The latter claimed that there was an extra ordinary change in the opinions of the natives since the time when these lectures were delivered. For more details see George Norton, Rudimentals: Being a series of Discourses. Madras, Reprint, 1869. Introduction to this book was written by J.B.Norton. The efforts of George Norton and John Bruce Norton were so much effectual and influenced the Indians in such way that they were remembered and praised for their services by the contemporary society. For details see Purushartha Pradayini. February 1890, p.81.

12 See Y.Vittal Rao, "Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty - A Pioneer of the Freedom Movement" in the Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society. Vol.XXII, No.52-52, pp.60-65.'

active in public life. The Secretary of the British Indian Association, Debendranath Tagore, opened communication with Lakshminarasu Chetty seeking his cooperation so that the activities at Madras and Calcutta could be coordinated.¹³ Lakshminarasu Chetty favourably responded to the request and subsequently a meeting was convened at Madras. A branch of the British Indian Association was established at Madras on 26.2.1852. The committee of the branch association informed the formation of this body to the government and deemed it necessary to apply to the latter for official data.¹⁴

The relations between the two soon ran into difficulties. The leaders of the Madras branch thought that their freedom of thought and expression were curtailed and these differences became more pronounced in the course of time over a draft proposal for reforms, which was released in London even before being ratified by the Madras branch.¹⁵ Now a decision was taken by Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty and his supporters to found a separate organisation to fight for public causes. This decision was soon materialised when Lakshminarasu Chetty, along with his friends, founded the Madras Native Association in 1852. The Association developed a well-knit strategy to carry out its programme.

¹³ For more details see B.B.Majumdar, Op. Cit., pp.30ff.

¹⁴ The committee addressed their letter to the Governor of Madras, Henry Pottinger. See Pub. Dept., No.49, dt.27.4.1852, TNA.

¹⁵ Vide S.R.Mehrotra, The Emergence of Indian National Congress. Delhi, 1971, pp.55-60.

The activities of the Association and the techniques used in their struggle may broadly be categorised as organisational and mobilisational. As already stated Lakshminarasu Chetty was actively participating in debating and literary societies such as the Hindu Literary Society. While being a member of the Society he developed an interest in organisational forms of representation. By the time he established Madras Native Association he was highly successful in organising the Indian Community at Madras. He even convened a large public meeting in 1846 to protest the missionary activities.¹⁶ Such organisational ability now helped him in consolidating the Madras Native Association. He realised that the support of the members from Indian society was the irreducible minimum want without which any agitation would be ephemeral. As a result, a number of branches were established at various places of the Presidency. Agents of the Association were employed in these places to collect

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This meeting was convened to protest the missionary activities and the provisions of Lex Loci Act of 1845 which was devised to change the Hindu Law of Inheritance so as to enable the Hindu converts to have a share in their ancestral property. The memorialists wanted to name the petition which they drafted during that meeting as "The Wrongs and Oppressions of the Hindus". The meeting was conducted in a very organised manner. Notices and pamphlets were issued announcing the date and time of the meeting. Further it called upon the people in the name Lord Siva and Lord Vishnu to attend the meeting and protest the actions of the Government. The outcome of the meeting was rather impressive and this protest meeting "could not fail in alarming the most ignorant and lower sections" of the society too. The impact of the meeting in the society was of such extensive nature that one of the members of the Governor's Council, Mr. Chamier remarked "the government should always be in a position to say that it had not caused popular movements by its own neglect of the first duty of all governments". For details on these aspects see the 1846 Memorial, Pub. Dept., TNA, Sec. Dept., No.3 of 20.7.1847 and No.1 Of 17.8.1847, TNA.

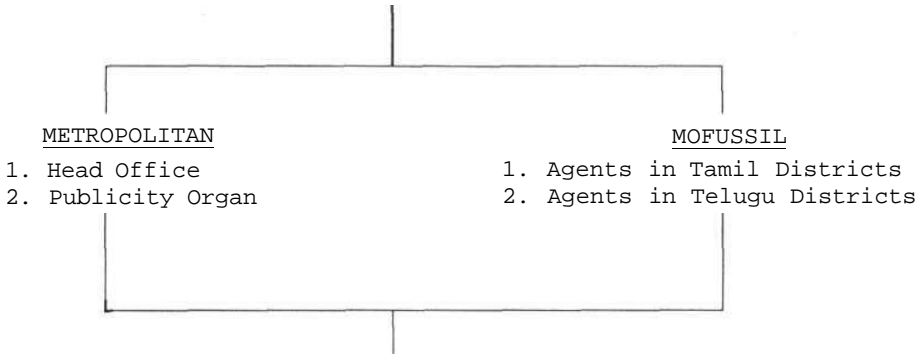
information from the victims of the government oppression. in order to give wide publicity to its programmes the journal, founded by Lakshminarasu Chetty in 1844 viz., 'Crescent', was used as an effective organ.¹⁷

The establishment of Madras Native Association was not an isolated incident. It was rather the culmination of the efforts of the people who had been very active in both intellectual pursuits and the public life. The importance of the Association lies in the fact that it never remained an affair of a few educated and mercantile sections. Neither it confined itself to scholarly debates and pursuit of mere knowledge. Rather it was established with specific political and economic objectives. The common people who had been crushed between oppressive taxation and conscious neglect of basic amenities under the colonial rule began associating themselves with the Association. This aspect becomes vital to our analysis as the entry of such people into agitational modes of representation serves as a fair proof to the level of consciousness prevailing in the society even by the middle of the 19th century.

As stated earlier, the rich and fruitful experience in organisational matters enabled the Madras Native Association to strengthen its base in the society. The following chart gives an idea about the working of the Association.

¹⁷ The details pertaining to this are already discussed in Chapter III.

CENTRAL ORGANISATION



Organised protest
Eg: Petitions and Public Meetings

The Association designed plans to conduct its work through its agents at various mofussil towns with a view to strike deep roots. It became successful in its endeavours as it could establish connections with mofussil areas. The branches were established in areas like Cuddalore, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely and Salem.¹⁸

In the Andhra region of the Presidency, the agents of the Association started working at three different places viz., Guntur¹⁹, Chirala²⁰ and Sarvepalli (Nellore district).²¹ It becomes

¹⁸ S.Gopalakrishnan, Political Movements in South India. 1914-1929, Madras, 1981, p.6.

¹⁹ M.P.R.Reddy and A.Jagannadham, Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty: Life and Times, 1806-1868, Kavali, n.d., p.14. The woes of Guntur peasants about which information was collected by the agents were mentioned at length in the 1853 petition of the Association.

²⁰ GDR, Vol.6753, p.323 and KDR, Vol.5298, pp.447-49, APA.

²¹ See the petition by the ryots of the village. Pet. Reg., Vol.59, No.2933, TNA. It may be noted here that the ryots of Sarvepalli village have been lodging complaints for a long time against frauds by collector's servants through false translations of their grievances. For details see Pet. Reg., Vol.15, No.727, TNA.

significant here that Chirala and Sarvepalli were relatively small villages and the work of the agents in those places show the penetration of the Association to the grass-roots level.

The government machinery in the respective districts of Andhra was highly alarmed by the arrival of the agents. The Acting Sub-Collector of Guntur sent a report to the Commissioner for the Northern Circars upon which the latter issued a lengthy circular to all his subordinates to check any such activities.²² Following the instructions from the Governor of the Presidency, he asked the collector to investigate the matter personally and institute an enquiry.²³ The collector was further asked to obtain, if possible, possession of any writings which the agents of the Association issued at all those villages concerned.²⁴ The collector was ordered that he should examine all those people and obtain information. If he was satisfied from his enquiries that the proceedings of those individuals have been correctly described he should "then publish a proclamation throughout the district warning the ryots against complying with such demands".²⁵ Even after this warning if the agents would still persist on their activities and collect money from the ryots under the promise of procuring the abolition of taxes including Motarpha.

²² GDR, Vol.6753, Op. Cit., p.324, APA.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The ryots in all these places are generally required "to enter into agreements to pay certain sums in the event of the subscribers being through the exertions of the Society relieved from the payment of the Motarpha and certain other taxes". Ibid., pp.324-25.

they should be apprehended and tried in the criminal court.²⁶ The Commissioner for Northern Circars and the Board of Revenue have been asked to find whether similar circumstances exist in other districts of Northern Circars and circulate these proceedings to the collectors in those respective districts so as to avoid any further trouble in this direction.²⁷

As was desired and directed by the Government the order was communicated to the collectors of other districts. Even after this restriction on the activities of the agents, the ryots in Sarvepalli of Nellore district were enthusiastic enough in contributing to the activities of the agents. A ban was imposed then on the activities of the agents and the ryots were strictly prohibited from "lending pecuniary assistance to the Native Association Committee in order to have their grievances redressed before government if they have any to represent".²⁸ Now the ryots represented to the government that they have been facing untold sufferings on account of additional sist (tax) on second crop and the levying of pullery (grazing tax).²⁹

The foregoing details reveal how the Madras Native Association tried its best to draw common people into the fold of

²⁶ Ibid., p.326.

²⁷ Ibid., p.327.

²⁸ Pet. Reg., No.2933 of 1854, Op. Cit.

²⁹ Ibid. The whole body of the ryots of the village submitted this petition to the Madras Government. It was submitted under the leadership of Vadanaroo Reddy of Sarvepalli village. They prayed for abolition of grazing tax and the additional tax levied on the second crop. Their prayer also included a demand for reduction of taxes in general.

its activities. Once these preliminary operations were completed in the organisational process, the Association started preparing plans to counteract the oppressive policies of the colonial government. This is best represented by the comprehensive petition which it submitted to the British Parliament in 1853. A study of various issues raised in this petition prove the concern and commitment of the Association to the cause of popular issues.

Just before it submitted its petition in 1853 the Association called for a full scale enquiry into Indian affairs before the Charter of the East India company was renewed. Danby Semour was consequently appointed chairman of an enquiry committee. The committee visited the Presidency to make an on-the-spot investigation. The Madras Native Association deputed two of its leading members to accompany the team in the mofussil areas. The investigating team covered places like Calicut, Trichinopoly, Cuddalore, Kumbaconam, Salem, Tinnevely, Mangalore and other nearby places. The report on torture employed in revenue collection was prepared and during the same time the Native Association presented its comprehensive petition to the British Parliament.³⁰

By the time the Madras Native Association presented its lengthy petition on the economic conditions in Madras **Presidency** the people of Andhra were already well versed in this method. As early as 1839 more than two thousand people from Masulipatam opposed the dismissal of a popular thasildar, A. Ramaswamy

³⁰ Reddy and Jagannadham, Op. Cit., p.11.

Naidoo, and demanded the reinstatement of the officer.³¹ This example serves as an indicator to the preparedness of the people to take up a popular cause with the government. Given the readiness of the people it was not difficult for the Native Association to get the needed support from the society.

The petition on the economic conditions in the society submitted to the British Parliament by the Native Association in

31 There were altogether three petitions submitted to the government. The commoners in the society under the leadership of A.Sivaramaiah, the employees of the Northern Provincial Court under the leadership of J.Subbarayudu and the Muslim inhabitants under the guidance of Nawab Razah Ally sent their respective petitions to the Governor of Madras Presidency. To be specific, the total number of signatories to all these petitions numbered at 2416 and they represented all sections of society. All those people unanimously demanded the reinstatement of the late thasildar and head police officer of Masulipatam who was dismissed on the charge that he permitted the escape of a prisoner from his custody. Replying to the popular request the secretary to Government, R.Clark, remarked "the number and respectability of persons who have petitioned for the restoration of A.Ramaswamy Naidoo to the office of Head Police has not failed to impress the Government with a favourable opinion of his general conduct". See Pet. Reg., No.137 of 19.7.1839, No.138 of 20.7.1839 and No.139 of 26.7.1839, TNA. Interestingly, during the same period, 70,000 inhabitants at Madras petitioned the Government for the introduction of national and secular education. See R.E.Frykenberg, Education as an Instrument. Op. Cit., pp.71-72 Unfortunately most of the original petitions are not available for study as the colonial government destroyed all those petitions which were not considered important. It even issued orders to various collectorates to prepare a list of records to be disposed annually. See for details GDR, Vol.6762 A, p.59. Accordingly many valuable original petitions have been burnt down and this method of disposal, as remarked by a contemporary thasildar of Masulipatam, became famously called 'Holloway's Method of disposal'. See for this reference B.V.Kameswara Aiyar, Op. Cit. However, the available petitions and the summaries prepared by the Government in the form of Petition Registers are much helpful in our analysis. The few existing original vernacular petitions have been collected and efforts were made to publish them. Reference may be cited here to G.J. Somayaji (ed.), Jaateeva Likhita Bhandagaramandali Telugu Lekhalu. (Telugu), Waltair, 1957.

1853 is lengthy and exhaustive. It touched upon all aspects of economic life and the hardships of the people. The petition was an indictment of the colonial rule and read like a character of rights. It brought out the destructive character of the ill-thought out administrative reforms which at once uprooted the age old village community and threw the mass of peasants into a sea of distress. The oppressive revenue administration, corruption among public servants, expensive and partial judicial proceedings, the notoriety of callous bureaucracy etc., have been visibly brought out by the present petition. All these issues raised by the Native Association have been supported and backed by innumerable number of petitions received from the people of Andhra. A study of these issues bring out the dynamics of popular reactions and movements and support our view on the growth of political consciousness in the 19th century society.

The petition started by saying that the grievances of the petitioners arose principally from the excessive taxation and the vexations which accompanied its collection, insufficiency, delay and expense of the Company's courts of law and their chief wants being the construction of roads, bridges and works for the supply of irrigation and better provision for the education of the people.³² It added that the petitioners also would like to

32

Paragraph No.2 in the petition. The Government's insistence on knowledge of English was strong as early as 1830. Ironically, the Madras Government did very little towards popular education. Yet it was trying to introduce English at every level of administration. Atleast a smattering knowledge of the language was compulsory for the government servants. Otherwise the Government was merciless in taking severe measures in dealing with the cases where the question of language was involved. For example the Zillah Surgeon at Guntur refused to recommend the name of a person,

have a reduction of the public expenditure and a form of local government more generally conducive to the happiness of the subjects and the prosperity of the country.³³

The petition complained that under the Ryotwari system, which was prevalent in seventeen out of twenty collectorates, the agricultural classes had been reduced to the level of deepest poverty and destitution.³⁴ Though this system was introduced for double purpose of preventing the accumulation of landed property by the local Zamindars and of rendering each individual cultivator his own piece of land, necessary precautions were not taken while introducing such an intricate and gigantic plan.³⁵ As a result, people have been suppressed by various Zamindars. This was best exemplified by separate petitions from people against almost every Zamindar in the Andhra region. Such complaints were recurring for almost half a century which vehemently protested the oppression of Zamindars. Over a period of time there have been vociferous protests and complaints against the Zamindars of Bobbili,³⁶ Masulipatam,³⁷ Divi (in the present Krishna district),³⁸

P.Vencataroyloo, to the post of the dresser in the hospital under the pretext that he couldnot write English. See Pet. Reg., Vol.17, No.110, TNA.

³³ Paragraph No.2 in the petition.

³⁴ Paragraph No.5.

³⁵ Paragraph No.14.

³⁶ In an anonymous petition all the inhabitants of Bobbili Zamindari protested the excesses committed by the brother of the Zamindar. Pet. Reg., Vol.50, No.943, TNA. So also the oppression of Zamindari servants was protested. See Pet. Reg., Vol.5, No.10.

³⁷ The protest related to demand of tax on inam lands. See Pet. Reg., Vol.8, No.238 and Vol.39, No.1122, TNA.

³⁸ This protest was related to the grabbing of lands by the Divi Zamindar. See Pet. Reg., Vol.8, No.327, TNA.

Kottapalli, Venkatagiri,⁴⁰ Srikalahasti,⁴¹ Banaganepalli⁴² and punganoor.⁴³ In all these the common grievance of the people related to land and taxes. The revenue excesses of these Zamindars found expressions in the vernacular writings of some 4members of contemporary Zamindari families in Andhra.⁴⁴

The memorial said that the land revenue was demanded in cash. As a result, there was a gradual fall in the prices of all

39 This complaint was regarding the arrears of wages to the people due from the Zamindar. Pet. Reg., Vol.49, No.847 and 2092, TNA.

40 Here the popular protest was about the inefficient administration, cruelty and illegal exactions of the Zamindar and land grabbing. The petitioners went to the extent of demanding the resumption of the Zamindari by the Government so as to protect the interests of cultivating castes. See Pet. Reg., Vol.48, No.723 and Vol.59, No.2806, TNA.

41 This complaint also was related to revenue exactions of the Zamindar. Pet. Reg., Vol.12, No.515, TNA.

42 In an anonymous petition the people vehemently opposed the oppression followed by the Zamindar's revenue servants. The people were desperate in saying that they would leave the Zamindari and come to Madras in case of no redress. See Pet. Reg., No.1535, dt.18.6.1874, TNA.

43 The complaint here too was related to excessive revenue rates. Pet. Reg., Vol.58, No.156 (Anonymous) and 387, TNA.

44 One of the ruling members of the Peddapuram Samsthanam, Jagapati Varma, mentioned this. Whenever there was a shortage of money for the personal use of Zamindars or in case of restrictions of the Company Government on the dues from the Zamindari or any auspicious occasion in the royal family, the Zamindars used to collect land revenue from the ryots in advance for two or three years to come. For details See Vastavaya Raya Jagapati Varma, Peddapura Samsthana Charitramu (Telugu, 6th Reprint), Rajahmundry, 1934, pp.130ff. A former prince of Pithapuram also describes the pompous and extravagant expenditure in the Zamindari necessitating huge amounts of money. See R.V.M.G. Ramarao, Of Men, Matter and Me (Autobiography), Bombay, 1961, pp.5-7. These writings provide us further corroborative evidence to our analysis. The petition of the Madras Native Association was strengthened by these regional evidences in claiming concessions from the colonial administration.

grains. Added to these the ryots were asked to look after the repairs of tanks or reservoirs on their own. The government never bothered whenever these hardships were brought to its notice.⁴⁵ The petitioners complained that the accumulation of wealth through land revenue was the only botheration of the colonial rulers.⁴⁶ As a result the peasants were in a chronic state of suffering. Referring to the report of the Collector of Masulipatam, Russel, the petitioners brought out the bleeding realities of the peasant's life in Andhra.⁴⁷ A ryot with two ploughs would produce four pootties and ten tooms of jowar on one cotty of dry land worth Rs.99.00.⁴⁸ After deductions the peasant was left with a partly sum of Rs.9 and 12 annas. Whereas the ryot who would produce eight Pootties of paddy on wet land worth Rs.160 would be finally left with a sum of Rs.10 and 5 annas.⁴⁹

45 Paragraph No.23

46 Paragraph No. 27 and 28. The drain on the resources of peasants was protested even before the Native Association took up the present cause. The ryots of Pemburthi village in Sarvepalli taluq of Nellore district complained of heavy land assessment which had always a tendency to limit the extent of cultivation and drain on their resources. See for details Pet. Reg., Vol.50, No.1056 and 1289, TNA.

47 Paragraph No.29

48 Pooty and Toom are measurements of grain and Cutty is a measurement of land.

49 Paragraph No.29. These conditions were same in other districts too. Bringing to the notice of the Madras Governor a Brahmin land holder in Sanupudi village of Nellore district said that he had to pay around Rs.22 to the Government as land tax and Rs.24 to the tenant for the cultivation of a small piece of land. Added to these the agricultural operations would require a handsome amount and finally it became very difficult for him to lead the life. See the petition of Machiraju Vencatarayudu, dt.26-4-1852 in G.J.Somayaji (ed.), Op. Cit., pp.56-58. In Tanjore district of the Presidency it was calculated that after deductions the ryot was finally left with 13% of the income on land which was hardly sufficient for the maintenance of family as well as agricultural operations for one year. See

To avoid the troubles in land revenue system the memorialists demanded for the reintroduction of village system free from all these revenue oppressions.⁵⁰

The petition next drew its attention to the excessive taxation on trades and occupations embracing weavers, carpenters, workers in metal and other related economic activities. They said that the trade tax, Moturpha. was particularly oppressive.⁵¹

The weaving community in Andhra was more effected due to heavy trade tax as well as the abolition of some of the commercial factories with which their activities were intimately connected. As early as 1831 some of these factories in Rajahmundry area were abolished by the Company government and this act was detrimental to the interests of the weavers. The members of weaving caste bemoaned that the looms were began to be taxed under Moturpha which tax was not imposed on them till the year 1826. From that time onwards various trading castes from Rajahmundry such as weavers, goldsmiths, stone-cutters, carpenters, corn merchants, washermen began protesting the imposition of Moturpha tax.⁵³ These people were joined by others

John F.Thomas, Op. Cit., pp.56-58.

⁵⁰ Paragraph No.35 in the petition.

⁵¹ Paragraph No.40 and 41.

⁵² Weavers of Amalapuram under Rajahmundry district made this demand. See Pet. Reg., Vol.18, NO.930, TNA.

⁵³ For details see the weavers' petition from Palcole (Pet. No.1633, Vol.20). However, their request was turned down by the Acting Secretary to Government, T.V.Stonehouse. Ibid. Also see the petitions by silver, copper and iron smiths, carpenters and stone cutters from Rajahmundry (Pet. NO.177, Vol.21; No.427, Vol.31; NO.2462, Vol.56; NO.319, Vol.50)

in the state.⁵⁴ All these memorials along with the Native Association demanded that this tax should not be permitted any longer to oppress the people of the Presidency.⁵⁵

Another tax about which the Native Association and the people were concerned was salt tax. The Madras Government decided to obtain a monopoly over salt by the beginning of the 19th century itself and communicated its wish to various district collectors.⁵⁶ From then onwards the monopoly over the item was never interrupted any by late 19th century there was a wide disparity between procurement price (value paid to the manufacturers) and selling price (value realised). The following table shows this.⁵⁷

54 For example the washermen of Pulivendla taluq in Cuddapah district complained of excessive Moturpha tax. See Pet. Reg., Vol.51, Nos.1262, 1409, 1683 and 1838, TNA. Also see the weaver's petition from Patamangalagiri in Guntur district demanding the remission of Moturpha for three years. See Pet. Reg., Vol.21 No.2036 and 2037, TNA.

55 Paragraph No.41.

56 The wish of the Government was intimated by the Board of Revenue. See for example the communication of B.O.R to the Principal Collector, Ceded districts, dt.17.8.1805 in Cuddapah District Records. Vol.633, P.78A, APA.

57 Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1877-78. P.228. Despite the occurrence of famines between 1876 and 1878 the salt income didnot decline. The duties on salt were exorbitant throughout the country. For example it was calculated by the contemporary reports that in Bengal there was 500 to 2500 percent of tax on the production of salt. This inhuman policy of taxing the 'first necessary of life' came under heavy attack even from the Anglo-Indian Press. For details see The Madras Times. 25.3.1875, NMML.

DISTRICT	Value Paid to Manufacturers			Value Realised		
	1875-76	1876-77	1877-78	1875-76	1876-77	1877-78
Ganjam	70,000	77,000	57,000	19,99,898	21,89,356	21,88,828
Vizagapatam	19,000	32,000	17,000	6,66,815	6,14,184	7,88,817
Godavari	43,000	39,000	20,000	6,00,372	6,19,406	7,06,171
Kistna	47,000	54,000	32,000	10,00,665	9,22,733	6,82,374
Nellore	78,000	51,000	12,000	11,41,865	8,31,933	10,22,975

The wide gap between the prices in the production and sale badly effected both the salt merchants and the common people. The discrimination of the government was opposed by the people as well as the press. The manufacturers complained of great losses incurred in the production of salt due to oppressive government policy of salt.⁵⁸ The people complained of exorbitant rates of salt making them incapable of buying an essential ingredient of food.⁵⁹ The press condemned it and advised the Government to tax the luxuries of the rich instead of impinging upon the daily needs of the commoners.⁶⁰

Another evil which attracted the attention of the Native Association was liquor. The immoral encouragement of liquor received a flak from the petitioners. Regarding its consumption

58 Salt manufacturers from the salt kotars at Kothapatnam near Ongole (Pet.956, Vol.33, TNA), Chinaganjam in Guntur district (Pet.420, Vol.12, TNA), Vizagapatam and Coringa (Pet. No.440, dt.8.2.1857, Pet.1692, Vol.55 and Pet.199, Vol.16, TNA) complained about various financial and administrative difficulties involved in the production of salt.

59 See for example the protest petition from the inhabitants of Nellore in Pet.Reg., Vol.39, No.1130, TNA.

60 The contemporary vernacular press was unsparing in its criticism of the salt policy. For instance see Sasilekha. dt.27.12.1895 in NNPR. TNA. The journal even advised the contemporary public and political associations to take up the cause of salt.

the memorial said that the revenue derived from such demoralisation was a matter of deep concern for them and it reminded the government that the consumption of liquor was prohibited both by Hindu and Mohammadan Law.⁶¹ The memorialists linked the present form of the habit of drinking liquor to the policies of colonial government and said that it was relatively unknown before the ascendancy of the European rule.⁶²

The petitioners exposed the shortcomings in the judiciary. Red tapism in the conduct of cases in courts⁶³ and the appointments of persons in courts without any legal training⁶⁴ were particularly protested by the memorialists. Furthermore, the government strictly prohibited the Indian lawyers to represent the cases of ryots and any petition on this matter would not be received by the government.⁶⁵ Moreover the indiscriminate transfer of villages to the jurisdiction of courts at distant places and abolition of certain lower courts without any notice had very serious effects on the people who had to grapple with many civil suits in those courts.⁶⁶ On one hand,

61 Paragraph No.46 in the memorial.

62 Ibid. For details on temperance movement in Andhra during late 19th and early 20th century see V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op.Cit., pp.145-151.

63 Paragraph No.63. Also see Pet. Reg., Vol.49, No.2111, TNA.

64 Paragraph No.73. For more details on the defects in judiciary in the early 19th century in Madras Presidency see D.A.Washbrook, Law. State. Op. Cit., pp.658-59.

65 When the lawyers from Guntur sent a petition to Madras Governor representing the sufferings of peasants the latter rejected to receive it. See Pet. Reg., Vol.52, No.1954, TNA.

66 Examples for this are many from Andhra during this period. The inhabitants of various villages attached to Naidupet (Nellore district), Sattenapally, Kambham, Chendalore (Guntur district), Gurramcondah (Cuddapah district),

these changes proved to be expensive to the common people and, on the other, the transfer or abolition of some of the lower courts resulted in the loss of jobs for many people who were working in those courts at subordinate levels.⁶⁷ As a result, the Native Association threw much light on the judicial aspects of colonial administration in the present memorial.

The Native Association was equally conscious of other issues related to education and religion and, more so, the interference of the latter with the former. The present memorial as well as the 1859 Memorial of the Association took the strongest objection possible to the missionary activities in various parts of the Presidency with the support received from Madras Government.⁶⁸ In the post-1860 period the Association again paid attention to the imposition of new taxes. When the License Tax and Income tax

Amalapuram (Rajahmundry district), Chicacole, Palcondah, Saloor, Kooroopam, Vizagapatam (Vizagapatam district) complained either of transfer or abolition of courts or want of pleaders in courts to defend their cases. See for details Pet. Reg., Vol.55, Nos.1786, 1787, 1749, 1764, 1806, 2038 and 2374; Vol.31, No.307; Vol.16, No.30; Vol.59, No.1954; Vol.69, No.3549; Vol.18, No.944; Vol.21, No.942; TNA.

67 These troubles were brought to notice of the government by the inhabitants of Chicacole and Vizagapatam. For details see Pet., Reg., Vol.32, No.482 and 485, TNA. Apart from the loss of jobs the increasing expenses involved in court cases was becoming a great burden on the people. Realising the gravity of the situation a public-spirited man from Rajahmundry, Singumahanti Veeraswamy, used to intervene whenever he sensed a quarrel between two groups of people. He used to visit every house in the town whichever was planning to approach court to resolve the disputes and plead with them not to do so thus trying to settle the disputes outside the purview of the courts and avoiding unnecessary expenditure. See Vairayudhamu (Telugu journal), December 1925, p.13.

68 These missionary activities in the field of education and popular protest are already traced in Chapter II.

were imposed by the government, as a relief measure to avoid burden on Imperial Treasury, the Association demanded for the repeal of these taxes.⁶⁹ The addition of municipal tax to these existing taxes deeply agitated the people and their severe opposition to this imposition was brought to the notice of the government. There were innumerable number of memorials addressed to the government which strongly pleaded for the abolition of these grinding imposts. Such vehemence in their protest became inevitable as these taxes were inhuman and irrational in their nature. For example, a daily wage earner in Nellore district who was earning two to three annas per day during the days of work was asked to pay an income tax of Rs.20 by the collector for certain stipulated period of time.⁷⁰ The grievances of the people have been constantly represented to the colonial authorities and between 1860 and 1870 people from various districts of Andhra sent their petitions of protest to the government.⁷¹

The activities of Madras Native Association and the reactions of various social groups provide us some interesting insights into patterns of social awareness. The point of pivotal importance is that Madras Native Association was successful in establishing its foothold in small villages like Chirala and Sarvepalli. Such a rural base for a political organisation was

⁶⁹ Y.Vittal Rao, Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty, Op. Cit., pp.65-67.

⁷⁰ See for details the petition sent by G.Veeraragoo, Pet., Reg., No.2675 of the year 1861, TNA.

⁷¹ During this period there were many protest petitions recorded by the government. For details see the petition Registers between 1861 and 1868. For example Pet. 3215, 3216 and 3217 in Petition Register, 1861, TNA.

created for the first time in Andhra. It further enabled constant interaction between metropolitan and mofussil areas. That the cultivating castes such as Kapu, Reddi, Kamma, Baliya associated with the activities of the Association is yet another significant factor to be taken note of. It throws light on the important aspect of increasing consciousness among the agricultural communities. It may be true that such mobility was not seen throughout Andhra. Nevertheless, our observations assume importance because the same kind of social awareness was prevalent in all the districts of Andhra as reflected by countless petitions sent to the Madras Government. As the right step in this direction the Madras Native Association tried its best to provide a connecting link between these agitated social groups even by the middle of 19th century.

The petitions from every corner of Andhra touching upon various economic and social problems are equally important for our study. These petitions are a convincing proof to the growing popular concern as they truly reflected the protesting mood of people. On one hand they opposed the oppressive colonial policies and on the other they really served as instruments of public opinion at the grass-roots level. The use of this instrument more often itself was an evidence to popular reactions. Such popular concern was best reflected by the petition signed by 2416 inhabitants of a mofussil town in Andhra, Masulipatam, as early as 1839 which demanded the reinstatement of a popular public servant. The social character of these petitions again was very wide covering all sections of the society. These petitions, both brief and lengthy, acted as

symbols of protest to the political decisions. The efforts of Madras Native Association coupled with growth of concern for public issues among different sections of the society heralded the era of rudimentary form of protest movements in Andhra. Gradually by the late 19th century this rudimentary form attained the mass character.

II

Another significant development in 19th century society was the growth of ideas of passive resistance. This idea could be seen developing among agricultural communities, artisanal castes and also the educated middle classes. As early as 1852 a Brahmin land holder from Sanupudi village in Chandalur taluq of Nellore district brought to the notice of the government that the public servants were consciously destroying his crops by letting their cattle graze in his field.⁷² Yet he was asked to pay the usual land rent. He found fault with the government which threw its weight behind such excesses of its revenue servants. It was added further that he would desert his village to some foreign place in case of no redress.⁷³ The grievance of carpenters at Vinukonda was about the imposition of License Tax on their income derived from the services to the ryots in that area.⁷⁴ They also informed the government that they would leave the place unless their

72 See the petition by M.Vencatarayudu in G.J.Somayaji, Op.Cit. The petitioner made an interesting comment that he made vain efforts in finding a place for him to migrate where judicious rule of law would prevail since the rule of the British East India company was all pervasive.

73 Ibid.

74 See the petition by Veerabattudu, Cotappah and other inhabitants from Vinukonda (Krishna district) in Pet. Reg., No.2729 of the year 1861. TNA.

problem was solved.⁷⁵ Among other artisanal castes the weaving community of Rajam village in Vizagapatam district were much aggrieved because, under the influence of the officers of civil court and pleaders of the place, the Sub-Magistrate heavily fined them. The weavers wanted a fair enquiry into the incident failing which they would desert the village.⁷⁶

Among the non-Brahman peasant castes the mode of protest was changing from milder forms of passive resistance to much vigorous form of taking recourse to strike. When the Madras Government contemplated the introduction of the Towns Improvement Act of 1871, the ryots in Nundial of Kurnool district feared that it would bring in new taxation.⁷⁷ Hence, the ryots of Nundial who formed 3/4 of the total population resented the introduction of the Act and preferred to remain under Local Fund Circles.⁷⁸ They intimated the government that they would leave the place in protest against the Act, if introduced.⁷⁹ At the same time the peasants in the Nuzivid Zamindari were reacting more sharply to the revenue excesses of the Zamindar. When differences between the ryots and the Zamindar reached an uncompromising stage, the ryots in six paraganahs of the Zamindari struck work and

75 Ibid.

76 For details see Pet. Reg., No.548 of the year 1874, TNA. This petition was first referred to the Judicial department and finally transferred to the Local Fund Board of Vizagapatam Circle for necessary action.

77 See for details Pet., Reg., No.1847 of the year 1874, TNA.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

agricultural operations were abandoned for one year.⁸⁰ The ryots in Duggirala village in Krishna district also took resort to the vigorous method of strike when the village Munisif enhanced the water cess from Rs.4 to Rs.5.⁸¹ The government, instead of addressing itself to the grievances of the ryots, dismissed the Munisif suspecting him of some foul play.⁸² During the same year the ryots in other regions of the Krishna delta were agitating over excessive taxation. It was reported that some people advised the ryots to go on strike, but the opinion existing in some quarters feared that such an action would invite extreme punishment from the government.⁸³ The vernacular press also was against such idea and demanded for an impartial enquire by people unconnected with the administration.⁸⁴

The idea of passive resistance was slowly emerging among the educated middle classes also. Around 1872 the government decided to enhance schooling fees in its English and Anglo-Vernacular institutions. It was objected to by the members of Local Fund Board at Nellore.⁸⁵ After a thorough discussion of the plan of the government, members resolved to abandon the government schools and establish schools under their own management.⁸⁶ These institutions would charge no fees and the students would receive

80 See Purusharthapradayini, January 1872, p.27.

81 See for details Peddibhotla Veeraiah, Op.Cit., p.73. Paraqanah is an administrative division of a Zamindari.

82 Ibid.

83 For details see Sasilekha, 16.8.1895, NNPR, TNA.

84 Ibid.

85 See DPI, 1871-72, TNA, Appendix A; No.VI, p.xlvii.

86 Ibid.

instruction in both Telugu and English.⁸⁷ They took this decision to avoid excessive financial burden on the people of the town who would send their children to these schools.⁸⁸ The Acting Inspector of Schools for the Second Division, J.A.Boyle, communicated to the Director of Public Instruction that the inhabitants of the town were much agitated over the imposition of the house tax which was intended for educational purposes.⁸⁹ When a new house tax was imposed people from this region sent a number of memorials asking for the abolition all the existing schools which were both popular and flourishing.⁹⁰ The new tax was intended for the purpose of converting lower grade schools into Union schools. The petitioners exerted strong pressure on all the private teachers in mofussil areas in order that the schools would cease to exist before the tax was imposed.⁹¹ The Acting Inspector made an interesting observation that the people were of considered opinion that their children should be educated free of cost in case they would agree to pay the new tax.⁹² But, he described it as a mischievous step which arose out of a confusion among the people over the proposed tax.⁹³

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid. The Local Fund Board opined that the already existing two taxes viz., house tax (for Union Schools) and education cess (fee for each scholar sent to school) were oppressive and any addition to the education fees structure would further precipitate sufferings of the inhabitants.

89 Boyle to E.B.Powell, 17.5.1872 in Ibid., p.xlix.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid. The resistance was gradually spreading to student community also. In 1890 the Head Master of the Mission school at Masulipatam asked the students to pass an internal screening test before forwarding their applications for

Along with other social groups the labourers working in Krishna and Godavari anicut projects were voicing their dissent against the policies of government regarding employment of forced labour in the construction of these two irrigational projects. During the time of construction work on Krishna and Godavari rivers the government forced the cultivators and other artisanal communities residing in the surrounding villages either to work in the anicut construction or to send stipulated number of coolies for the same.⁹⁴ People from Rajahmundry and Masulipatam districts expressed their severe disgust for such exertions on the part of the government.⁹⁵ However, all these complaints were

Matriculation examination. The students opposed this and went on a strike. They opened a parallel institution where intelligent students among them used to teach other students and clear their doubts in the prescribed subjects. They planned to appear in the examination as private candidates. The Head Master finally conceded their demand and allowed them to sit for the examination without internal screening test. See P.Veeraiah, Op. Cit., pp.7-8.

⁹⁴ For example the weavers in Peddacoorapadu village in the Guntur region were asked to go to the site of construction and work there at the rate of two persons per month or to send the same number of coolies. See Pet. Reg., Vol.58, No.742, TNA. The practice of compelling people to work received the sanction from Court of Directors too. Having declared this practice as objectionable they still gave their consent to the employment of forced labour "under most urgent circumstances of public necessity". For details see GDR, Vol.6721, pp.397-400, APA.

⁹⁵ The major demands of the people were two. 1) Relief from forced labour and 2) Payment of dues for the work. It was complained that the force used in bringing the people to the site of work hindered the agricultural operations of the people. Moreover the people were much aggrieved because the government compelled them to work in the anicut without any respect to their social status and rank. See for details Pet. Reg., Vol.58, No.297, TNA. The labourers on the site were ill-treated by the supervising officers. Added to these difficulties payments for the work were withheld without assigning any reasons. This caused much concern among the labourers who raised hue and cry over such callous indifference of the officers. The boat drivers on Krishna river and the tank diggers were much affected as they

ignored by the Board of Revenue under the pretext that particular cases of oppression might have occurred when involved in a large scale work and it was not to be expected that abuses could have been completely avoided.⁹⁶ It was claimed by the government that labourers were never defrauded regarding their payments.⁹⁷ However, there have been complaints from the people even after the government tried to prove that they were groundless.⁹⁸

The growth of passive resistance and bringing in use of a novel mode of protest in the form of strike into public life attach greater significance to them. These ideas were not restricted to a particular social group. The peasants, artisanal castes and educated middle classes adopted these measures of protest. The use of these modes was for different purposes in different groups. Yet, they reveal that popular protest was striking deep roots in society and attaining a multi-class social base.

III

The emergence of consciousness among non-Brahman castes was one of the most important developments during 19th century in

depended entirely on their wages. See Pet. Reg., Vol.56, NO.229, 415, 573 and 1954; Vol.57, No.2444 and Vol.58, No.336 and 2841, TNA.

⁹⁶ See the letter from I. H. Bell, Secretary to the Board of Revenue (P.W.D) to Montgomery, Chief Secretary to Government in Rev. Dept., Vol.760, No.2A, dt.2.3.1852, TNA.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ See for example the petition Registers for the years 1853, 1854 and 1859. Chintayya, Venkatayya and other inhabitants of Gudiwada in Masulipatam district sent a memorial to Madras Government requesting that "they may be relieved from doing petty duties forcibly". See Pet. Reg., No.2783 of 1859, TNA.

Andhra. The attack on Brahman community was spearheaded by Kamsali (Viswabrahmins), Reddy, Vaisya, Balija and Velama communities.⁹⁹ Before a discussion is initiated on this three important points deserve attention:

- a) The emergence of non-Brahman consciousness was slow but significant. It gained momentum only by the late 19th century. The attack on Brahmins was carried forward by different castes within the sphere of their own activities.
- b) The attack on Brahman community was three-pronged viz., economic, social and cultural and
- c) The emergence of non-Brahman consciousness was not given concrete organisational shape and hence it didnot shape into a movement. Moreover, the non-Brahman sections joined hands with Brahmins during the time when they were demanding the introduction of local self-government in Andhra. This was seen in the public meetings organised in 1882 and the participants were drawn from all caste groups. This shows the resilience and flexibility of the non-Brahman awareness. Such awareness was given definite institutional shape only during the 20th century with the formation of Justice Party.

99 One of the dominant peasant castes, Kammas which was actively associated with non-Brahman movement in 20th century didnot figure in the list of castes that opposed Brahmins in 19th century. However, there is a stray reference to a village by name Kammavari Brahmanapally in Rayalaseema region which suggests that the Sanskritisation process was, perhaps, initiated among Kammas too. But any conclusive assertion in this regard is not further corroborated by contemporary evidence so far. See Education Department, Consultation No.51, dt.15.6.1868, APA.

100 It has been observed by a contemporary writer who participated in the Godavari District Social Conference meetings in late 19th and early 20th century that the narrow casteist tendencies didnot yet creep into the contemporary political life. He further asserted that there was no partiality in approach to any public concern and people were united in fighting for their demands. For more details see Sripada SuBrahmanya Sastry, Anubhavaloo. Vol.Ill, Op. Cit., pp.99-100. It may be noted here that such unbiased and casteless approach in public life was witnessed in Andhra even during the heyday of non-Brahman movement. Gutti Kesava Pillai, a prominent lawyer in Rayalaseema region disclaimed the non-Brahman manifesto. See the letter of G.Harisarvottama Rao, dt.23.2.1917 in R.K.Pillai Papers, Op. Cit.

With the consolidation of the colonial authority there was a change in land relations. This was effected by various land revenue settlements in Andhra of which the dominant and most influential was the Ryotwari settlement. The change in property relations of land badly affected Brahmins for two important reasons. First, they lost the traditional patronage from the rulers which they were enjoying earlier. This was the first development that had its serious bearing on land. Secondly, political control over land was grabbed by the colonial authority which displaced the local rulers. For the British who were primarily interested in land revenue they were not inclined towards extending patronage to any social group. As a result it was Brahmins who were adversely affected.¹⁰¹ Moreover, under Ryotwari settlement the holder of the land was recognised as its proprietor provided that the fixed amount of land revenue was paid to government. This amount was generally heavy and in practice the Madras Presidency was the highly taxed of the three Presidencies and the amount of tax collected for every one lakh of people was more than the double that collected in Bengal.¹⁰² It means that the ryots, in order to meet the revenue demand, had to

101 This was brought out clearly in the petitions from Brahmin land holders to the Governor of Madras. One such petitioner represented that the references from old documents would reveal that the rulers generously donated lands to Brahmins where as the British government did nothing in this direction. The welfare of Brahmins was completely ignored by the colonial rulers. See for details petitions No.22 and 23 in G.J.Somayaji (ed.), Op. Cit. The neglect of the colonial government in extending favours to Brahmin landlords was a conscious attempt since such favour would ultimately affect the revenue interests of the British.

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

till the land themselves or leave it. These changes had wider implications specially for Brahmin land holders. Most of the time the Brahmins remained absentee landlords renting their lands to other peasant groups. They were at the receiving end only regarding the collection of land revenue and were hardly involved in any agricultural operations. This was possible in earlier period as they received political protection from the local ruling dynasties. But under the colonial rule the land relations of Brahmins were threatened. They began to lose control over their Manyam, Srotrium and Agrahara lands due to the excessive revenue demand from the government.¹⁰³ The loss of political patronage further aggravated the problems for Brahmins. As a result, the relative isolation of these people from land in the earlier period was gradually giving way to their total alienation from the same. When the hold of Brahmins over land relations were weakened under the British rule, some of the non-Brahman Zamindars in Andhra began using force in grabbing the lands held by Brahmins. Such a forceful usurpation was evidenced by the late 18th century and the beginning of 19th century.¹⁰⁴ The non-Brahman castes began, thus, in asserting their supremacy over land. By the middle of 19th century the emergence of non-Brahman castes as landed magnates picked up momentum.

¹⁰³ Manyam, Srotrium and Agrahara denote the land donations to Brahmins.

¹⁰⁴ In an exhaustive report on the economic conditions in Northern Circars, the Commissioner refers to grabbing of Brahmin lands. The Zamindar of Ramachandrapuram, Kochherlamudi Ramachandra Raju, dispossessed many Brahmins and usurped their Inam lands by force. The Zamindar was much despised by the people for such an act. See for details the communication addressed to the B.O.R by the Commissioner for Northern Circars (February 1796) in GDR, Vol.842, pp.313-17, APA.

The construction of Godavari and Krishna anicuts was a major development which largely contributed to the rise of non-Brahman castes such as Reddies and Kammas. The areas which benefitted from these two anicuts were earlier reeling under poverty. The conditions in society were characterised by stagnation, heavy taxation on cultivators, depression in agricultural prices and the like.¹⁰⁵ The construction of Godavari and Krishna anicuts resulted in unprecedented changes in the agrarian economy of Andhra.¹⁰⁶ The net results of the anicut construction were the growth of surplus grain production, increase in the value of land, growth of commercial agriculture, development of market towns etc. It was estimated that the shift from dry to wet crops in the post-anicut period would raise the productivity of paddy and infact rice acted as a catalyst of commercialisation in agriculture.¹⁰⁷ Following these developments in agriculture, the peasant communities such as Kammas, Reddies and trading castes

105 For a detailed description of these conditions see G.Niranjana Rao, "Changing conditions and Growth of Agricultural Economy", Op. Cit., pp.13-78.

106 The construction of the anicuts was accomplished by the brilliant engineering skill of Arthur Cotton. He was already famous by then with the construction of irrigation projects across Coleroon in 1835. Cotton, with his able assistant C.A.Orr, could complete the Godavari anicut construction and the Krishna anicut work was looked after by his other associates including C.A.Orr. For more details see Lady Hope, General Sir Arthur Cotton : His Life and Work. Calcutta, Reprint, 1964 (first edition, 1900), pp.80-90 and 117-130. Also see A.Prasanna Kumar and I.Dosagiri Rao, "Sir Arthur Cotton and the Growth of Godavari District" in Indo-British Review, Vol.VIII, Nos.1-2, pp.116-120.

107 For details See G.N.Rao, Changing conditions and Growth. Op. Cit., pp.286-294. Also see by the same author "Transition in the Agrarian Economy of Andhra", Presidential Address to Modern Andhra Session, A.P.History Congress, 1988, Passim.

like Vaisyas reaped immense benefits. In the course of time agricultural lands were passing from non-cultivating castes to the cultivating peasant castes like Kamma, Kapu, Reddi and others.¹⁰⁸

Once the economic position of non-Brahman castes was strengthened and secure, they started demanding equal rights with Brahmins in education, employment and executive bodies like Municipalities and Local Fund Boards. As already mentioned in the second chapter while discussing education, the Rate School committees in Andhra were dominated by non-Brahman members and it was an indication to the beginnings of the assertion of their position in matters of social importance. It also shows how they were trying to take appropriate measures in the field of education to counteract the monopoly of Brahmins.

From the mid 19th century till the late 19th century, non-Brahman castes from different regions of Andhra sent a number of memorials to the Madras Government demanding equal rights and share with Brahmins. It is observed that between 1850 and 1880 there were specific petitions addressed to the Governor of the Presidency against Brahmins. The major demands of these petitioners related to employment, share in Local Boards and economic grievances. The following table gives the details of

¹⁰⁸ G.N.Rao, Transition. Ibid. However, middle and rich peasant communities could not emerge in other areas like Rayalaseema due to various factors like heavy land assessment, non-completion of irrigational projects like Kurnool-Cuddapah canal, old agricultural technology etc. For details see Ibid.

these petitions. 109

place of Origin (DISTRICT)	Year	Petition Number	Caste Groups Involved	Nature of Complaint or Demand
Nellore Town	1854	2771	Anonymous From Sudras	For fair share in employment
Nellore Town	1854	2983	Anonymous From Sudras	For fair share in employment
Cuddapah (Doopad Tq)	1859	1545	Reddy	Against Brahmin Curanam and for enquiry by non- Brahman officers
Bellary Town	1861	2965	From Vaisyas and other traders	For equal share in Local Boards
Nellore (Ongole Tq)	1863	2242	Vaisyas and others	For equal share in employment
Bellary (Rayadurgam Tq)	1863	2848	Sudras	Against decisions of Brahmins in Local Board-Request for discontinuance of Brahmans
Bellary Town	1863	3235	Non-Brahman peasant castes	Against revenue payments to Brahmins- Refusal to do so
Cuddapah (Madanapalli)	1879	1928	Not Available	Against Brahmin employees
Vizagapatam (Sarvasidhi Tq)	1879	2113	Not Available	Against Brahmin judge and his partiality in recruitment

The contents of the above table are significant to our analysis since all these memorials have been categorically opposed to Brahmins and every petition specifically mentions the name of Brahmin caste vis-a-vis the non-Brahman castes. This

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The table is based on the Petition Registers, TNA for the years 1854-1879.

awareness was a novel development in the 19th century.¹¹⁰ The vertical division and a broad-based caste opposition between Brahmins and non-Brahmans were recent happenings in the society.

The major demand of the petitioners from Nellore was a fair share in employment and requested that the government "to cause enquiry to be made and a fair distinction of appointments among all castes impartially".¹¹¹ For the people of Cuddapah the Brahmin curnams who were supporting other Brahmins out of fear were causing much trouble. They requested for an enquiry by Europeans or any other officer of non-Brahman caste.¹¹² These people complained of the excesses committed by Brahmin subordinates working under a few corrupt European Officers.¹¹³ The non-Brahmans from Bellary were opposed to the Brahmin monopoly in the Local

110 It is also true that there were a number of conflicts between upper castes (both Brahmins and non-Brahmans) and 'low castes'. Even among the 'low castes' (Malas and Madigas) tensions existed. For example see the protest petition by high castes against paraiahs in Masulipatam in Pet. Reg., No.3339 of the year 1861, TNA. For conflicts between Malas and Madigas see Pet. Reg., No.2227 of the year 1863, TNA. These conflicts were seen more between Right Hand and Left Hand Castes. For details see V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., pp.8-9. Also see the protest letter of Right Hand Caste people who took objection to the use of a palanquin by a Left Hand Caste man and to the interference by the acting Magistrate, G.N.Taylor in Pet. Reg., Vol.59, No.2787, TNA.

111 See Anonymous petition as well as the one by inhabitants of Nellore town in Pet., Reg., Vol.58, No.2983 and Vol.59, No.2771, TNA.

112 A ryot from Kattakindapalli (Doopad taluq) in Cuddapah district complained of the excesses. He infact requested for an enquiry by the sub-collector of Nellore, Minchin. See Pet. Reg., Vol.68, No.1545, TNA.

113 See for details the petition by Venkata Narasu, Madanapalli in Cuddapah district, Pet. Reg., No.1928 dt.17.10.1879, TNA.

Board¹¹⁴ and the adverse decisions taken by the Brahmin members.¹¹⁵ Hence, they demanded for an equal share in the management of Local Boards and the discontinuance of the biased decisions by Brahmins. The ryots in Bellary district also opposed the decisions of the Deputy Collector of Inam Commission which granted patta lands to Brahmins superseding the claims of non-Brahman ryots.¹¹⁶ The Vaisyas, along with the inhabitants of all the villages in Ongole taluq of Nellore district, were much worried that every taluq and village office was filled up by Brahmins and a combination of all Brahmins was playing havoc with their lives.¹¹⁷ For this reason they demanded that "Europeans may be appointed to the above offices or in case of appointing natives, persons may be selected in all classes proportionately".¹¹⁸ In Vizagapatam too the grievance was related to the question of biased attitude of a Brahmin Munisif in appointing his relatives in public offices in the district.¹¹⁹

The study of these petitions and the nature of the grievances show that most of these are related to fair share in

114 The mercantile community launched this protest under the guidance of Narayanaswamy, Kuppaswamy and others. See Pet. Reg., No.2965, dt.29.9.1861, TNA.

115 Ibid. Also See Pet. Reg., No.2848, dt.20.10.1863, TNA.

116 Ibid., No.3235, dt.26.11.1863.

117 The Vaisyas and other inhabitants representing every village in Ongole taluq under the leadership of E.Subbaiah and Kistum Chetty sent their petition to the Government. For details see Pet. Reg., No.2242, dt.28.3.1863, TNA.

118 Ibid.

119 The petitioner complained against the existing District Munisif, Maddirala Sundararao Pantulu, that he was indulging in unfair practices like bias in appointments, amassing huge amounts of wealth etc. See for details Pet. Reg., No.2113, dt.9.11.1879, TNA.

employment and decision making bodies like Local Fund Boards. It is to be observed that the growth of education gained momentum after mid 19th century. Hence, these demands reflect the concerns of the gradually growing members of the educated middle classes among non-Brahman castes. Their fight for employment and a share in Local Bodies on par with Brahmins point out the direction in which they would agitate in future. This growing consciousness among these caste groups formed the backdrop to the emergence of non-Brahman movement during the 20th century. Another important aspect is that these people were ready to shed down, atleast in 19th century, the narrow caste aspirations in the face of a public issue facing all. It was revealed by their association with Brahmins in the public meetings to discuss the issue of local self-government and arriving at unanimous resolutions which will be discussed in the succeeding chapters.

By late 19th century the educated members from among the non-Brahman castes began their attacks on the Brahminical world view. The monopoly of Brahmins over spiritual and ritual spheres was opposed by various non-Brahman castes. Later known as ViswaBrahmins (earlier known as Kamsalis), Gowda, Reddy, Baliya, Velama and Vaisya were the major castes which opposed Brahmins in these fields. The attack was two dimensional. First, most of these non-Brahman castes began undergoing the process of Sanskritisation by adopting Brahminical titles and performing their rituals. It was a process of Brahmanisation of intra-caste rituals of various non-Brahman castes. Secondly, these people questioned the superiority of Brahmins, claimed equal status with them and at times even claimed superiority over them. These two

strands went hand in hand in opposing Brahminical traditions.

The opposition of Viswabrahmin (Kamsali) caste people was not new to 19th century.¹²⁰ It can be traced back to the Vijayanagar period. They claimed equal status with Brahmins by performing rituals like Upanavana and the tendency continued.¹²¹ A new entrant in this field during the 19th century was Gouda caste and it also claimed an equal status with Brahmins by adopting their titles.¹²² The Reddy caste people under the influence of

120 See V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., Chap.I, Foot Note 30.

121 Upanayana means thread marriage ceremony the performance of which alone entitles a person to chant Gayatri mantra in accordance with the Brahminical tradition. That they were still following Vedic rituals is attested by an anonymous petition from Viswabrahmins at Masulipatam who demanded that "in conformity to the proclamation of Her Majesty an order may be issued to the collector to allow the goldsmiths and carpenters to go through all the public streets in procession mounting on palanquin on condition of their paying Rs.8.00 per each marriage ceremony and Rs.4.00 per each Upanayanam ceremony". Pet. Reg., No.1787, dt.4.7.1863, TNA. As per the available evidence it is known that the earliest caste journal was published by Viswabrahmins entitled Viswakarmakula Sampradava Prabodhini. The First issue of the journal was issued in July 1876. However, the journal didnot live long and became defunct within six months. Its last issue was released in December 1876. See Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency During the year 1876-77. Appendix, pp.ccxlviii - ccxlix.

122 This is revealed by a petition by Sunderlala who claimed to be a priest to Gouda Brahmins of Bellary. See Pet. Reg., No.2295, 30.6.1859, TNA. Goudas are a toddy-drawing caste of Andhra. They are called Gamallas in south coastal Andhra. In Cuddapah district they are known as Asilivandlu. 1901 census entered Idigas as a sub-sect of Gamallas. Some times they claimed to be Balijas or Telagas who adopted toddy-drawing as a profession. The above census Report returned some of the Gamallas also as Settigadu or Chetty. They are known as Yatas in Visakhapatnam and Ganjam districts. For more details see Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol.11, Delhi, Reprint, 1975 (first edition, 1909), pp.253-57 and Vol.VII, pp.435-37. The Setti Balijas in Godavari region also claim themselves to belong to toddy-drawing caste. As noted above some of

Arya Samaj began wearing 'sacred threads' according to Vedic rituals.¹²³ A person from this caste, Chinta Raghunatha Reddy of Vayalpadu village in Chittoor district put on 'sacred thread' and came to be called Raghunatha Varma.¹²⁴ He further induced people from Baliijas, Boyas and other 'lower castes' to wear 'sacred thread'.¹²⁵

The efforts of Baliija caste people were reflected in the activities of Kokku Hanumantha Rao. His family migrated from Nellore to Guntur district during the mid 19th century.¹²⁷ He used to chant 'mantras' even during his boyhood and claimed that he had a 'Marshan' of Lord Hanuman in his dream when he was fourteen years of age.¹²⁸ Now onwards he began learning traditional folk arts and concentrated on Brahmanical literature.¹²⁹ Though it is not known whether he adopted Brahmanical rituals he strongly

toddy-drawers were shown in census reports as Baliija and Chetty- Perhaps, Setti Baliija is a corrupt form of Chettu (Tree) Baliija or Chetty Baliija. Thus, Goudas or Gamallas, Idigas, Yatas and Setti Baliijas belong to toddy-drawing caste. The Srisayana (Segidi) caste in Srikakulam area of Andhra also is a toddy-drawing community and belongs to the group of foregoing castes.

123 V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., p.8, F.N.30.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.

126 These are revealed by his Autobiography. Infact it is a pseudonym as the author, Hanumantha Rao, claims that this autobiography narrates the life history of the descendants of his father's second wife to which line he also belongs. This book is entitled "Autobiography By Kokku Hanumantha Rao" and categorised under call number Q22W M71 N37 in Tamilnadu Archives. For other details see K.Hanumantha Rao, Autobiography (pseudo.).

127 Ibid., p.3.

128 Ibid., p.5.

129 Ibid., pp.4-5. By the time he attained thirty five years of age he was initiated into Adwaita Philosophy.

disputed the superiority of Brahmins and on one occasion he even entered into a philosophical discussion with an 'old beggarly Brahmin' at Vijayawada on the issue of Sanatanadharma.¹³⁰ He constantly referred to the existence of non-Brahman opposition to Brahmin monopoly in the contemporary society.¹³¹

The reaction of Velama caste members was more vigorous when compared to other castes. Velamas even claimed superiority over Brahmins and such awareness was percolating down to younger generations too. Such an attitude was reflected by Velama students at Bobbili when they refused to attend the town school because they had to sit on the same benches along with Brahmin boys.¹³² Only with the intervention of the Raja the Velama boys

¹³⁰ Ibid., p.19.

¹³¹ Hanumantha Rao narrates his difficulties in facing the Brahmin domination at Masulipatam. He was appointed as a clerk in the District Munisif Court in 1896 at Masulipatam and for many years his promotion was withheld owing to the "machanisations of Brahmin influence rampant in the district court". He remarks that the Brahmin sect became a "stumbling block in the way of non-Brahman uplift and screened the divine knowledge and philosophic studies from them". Later he got transferred to Munisif Court at Peddapuram where he could get easily promoted with the help of the District Munisif, T.Varadarajulu Naidu of his own caste. See Ibid., pp.10-11. It is to be noted that caste-based patronage was widely prevalent in the society and this tendency was severely protested by the vernacular press. See Vivekavardhani, August 1885 in NNPR. TNA. It took strong objection to caste-oriented favouratism and said that it would create disunion among people.

¹³² This was reported to the Madras Government by the Director of Public Instruction in his communication dated 14.1.1873. It is cited in G.Ranganaikulu Patrudu, A Brief Account of the Bobbili Zamindari Chiefly Compiled From the Samsthanam Records. Madras, 1889, pp.66-68. The author of the book was a manager of Bobbili Samsthanam at the time of compilation. The D.P.I further reported that there was a proposal to establish a school for Velamas only. Raja's interference finally resolved the issue.

reconciled and agreed to attend the school.¹³³

The adoption of Brahminical rituals and questioning their traditional authority could be seen in the efforts of Chilambu Adinarayanappa Naidu.¹³⁴ He was well read in traditional literature and even contributed a few articles to the contemporary Telugu journals.¹³⁵ He often entered into scholarly disputes with Brahmins. On one such occasion differences of opinion over a poem in Mahabharata led to heated exchanges between himself and Somanchi Bheemasankaram Pantulu at Rajahmundry.¹³⁶ As against the traditional practice of consulting Brahmins Chilambu began helping his caste people in fixing auspicious timings (muhurtam) for rituals connected with birth, naming ceremonies, travel and marriage.¹³⁷ The efforts of Venkatagiri Raja, Kumara Yachama Naidu, are more noteworthy in opposing the Brahminical superiority.¹³⁸ In his book entitled

133 Ibid., p.66.

134 He was born into Adivelama caste in 1837. After his education he worked as revenue inspector and police inspector at Pithapuram and Bellary. For more biographical details see Chilambu Chandrasekhara Rao, Chilambu Adinarayanappa Naidu Gari Pavitramagu Charitramu (Telugu), Rajahmundry, 1923, pp.1-4.

135 One of his articles on the nature of atman (soul) was published in Vivekavardhani. See Ibid., pp.9-11. He authored an anthology of poems entitled Vitandavada Madavedanda Kantheeravamu in Telugu touching upon issues relating to morality. However, the book abounds in traditional notions on morality. For example he says in the book that control of women over domestic affairs at home would have ruinous effects. Ibid., pp.43-47.

136 Ibid., pp.17-18.

137 Ibid., pp.54-55. This process came to be famously called Swasana Paurohitvamu and was more visible among Kammas in early 20th century.

138 He is also known as Kumara Yachendra Bahadur. For more details on his activities see Alladi Jagannadha Sastri, Op.

Manassakshi he criticised Brahmanical notions of morality, multiplicity of Hindu Gods and divine origin of Vedas.¹³⁹ He condemned traditional fastings, cumbersome rituals, charity to Brahmins and strongly objected to the prohibition of non-Brahmans from learning Vedas.¹⁴⁰ In order to propagate his views he began delivering lectures on his book at Venkatagiri. For the same purpose a separate society, Manassakshi Kutam, was established at Bobbili by its Raja, Venkata Swetha Chalapati Ranga Rao Bahadur.¹⁴¹

The Vaisyas too did not lag behind in opposing the superiority Brahmins and such an opposition could be seen in the efforts initiated by Atmuri Lakshminarasimham.¹⁴² He was moderate in his views and a staunch supporter of social reform issues like women's education and widow marriage.¹⁴³ At the same time he

Cit., pp.108-110.

139 Ibid. He also authored Gitasara Sangraham and Hindumatha Virodhabhanjani. His books including Manassakshi are in Telugu. The latter was translated into English by two scholars - (a) C.Aravamudu Aiyangar, Manassakshyam (The Mind's Testimony) of Sri Velugoti Sarvajna Kumara Yachendra Bhupala. Madras, 1888 and (b) Sripati Suryanarayana, The Manassakshimatam of Sri Velugoti Sarvajna Kumara Yachendra Bahadur. Madras, 1894.

140 Sripati Suryanarayana, Op. Cit., pp.1-2.

141 Ibid. Ranga Rao Bahadur was the third son of Venkatagiri Raja and was given in adoption to the ruling family at Bobbili in 1872. He was ten years of age at the time of adoption.

142 Ibid.

143 He was all praise for the British rule and his view, like in the case of other educated middle class intellectuals reflects his misguided notion of colonialism. He believed that Britishers were first cousins of Indians as both belonged to the same Aryan stock and hence there was no reason in opposing the colonial rule. However this false consciousness did not influence his activities in supporting social reform endeavours initiated by Veeresalingam. For more details see Ibid., pp.39-41, 131-33 and 168-69.

rebelled against Brahmanical superiority in denying his community access to Vedas. He started studying Vedas and even established a school to teach them to Vaisya students and the teaching started after the celebration of 'Sacred Thread Marriage'.¹⁴⁴ He went on extensive tours lecturing on Vedas at different places like Gutti, Vizianagaram in Andhra and Satyamangalam, Chidambaram, Coimbatore and Kumbhakonam in Tamilnadu.¹⁴⁵ In these lectures he emphasised that Vaisyas should be given free access to Vedas and that the meaning of Vedas should be informed to the entire society.¹⁴⁶ To propagate his ideas he established a Telugu journal, Vedardha Prakasika. in 1901 and various topics relating to Bhagavadgita, Vedas and Upanishads were discussed in its columns.¹⁴⁷ Symbolising his efforts in opposing the upper hand of Brahmins over traditional rituals he performed Agnistoma Yagna at Masulipatam and claimed the title of Somayaji.¹⁴⁸

144 Ibid., p.33.

145 Ibid., pp.70-72 and p.140 ff.

146 Ibid., pp.165-66.

147 Ibid., pp.112-13.

148 Ibid., pp.70-74 and p.87 ff. Agnistoma Yagna is the most important as well as the most intricate Soma (Ritual Liquor) sacrifice in Vedic rituals. These sacrifices would normally incorporate animal sacrifices along with a number of other rites. Agnistoma is an annual ritual in praise of fire God (Agni) and spans over four days "culminating in morning, afternoon and evening soma pressings on the final day and including two goat sacrifices". However, cow is the main animal of sacrifice. Its performance generally includes seventeen Brahmin Priests. The other important and ambitious Soma sacrifices are Aswamedha (Horse Sacrifice), Raiasuya (Royal Consecration) and Vaiapeya (booty or Victory Draft). For details see Encyclopedia of Religion. New York, 1987, Vol.6, pp.339-40 and Vol.15, pp.280-30. Atmuri was condemned by the Sankaracharya of Sringeri Peetham since Vaisyas were debarred from Yagnic rituals. The Peetham sent a court notice to Vaisya community at Satyamangalam whom the notice claimed, were violating the Hindu traditions under the influence of Lakshminarasimha Setty. It may be noted

All these efforts among non-Brahman castes during the 19th century signify the fact that awareness was gradually spreading regarding the issues of social importance. It further reveals that the spread of such consciousness was more rapid among the educated members of non-Brahman castes. This is indicated by their support to the social reform movements of Veeresalingam. On the other hand the growing enlightenment among the educated sections in the society led to the establishment of a number of public associations with clear social, literary and scientific objectives.¹⁴⁹ The proliferation of such forums can be observed in

here that the notice used the suffix, Setty, to his name which is generally used for Vaisyas only. During the performance of Agnistoma Yagna Atmuri Lakshminarasimham deviated from the traditional Brahmanical practice of cow sacrifice for it symbolised an act of violence and instead used a replica of cow made of flour called 'pista pasuvu'. Condemning the practice of cow sacrifice he published a tract entitled 'Pasuvadha Khandanam'. For details see *Ibid.*, pp.70-74, 98-100 and p.259 ff. He delivered a few lectures on caste condemning the hold of Brahmins over Hindu caste structure. For example see his "Lecture on Caste Delivered in the Museum Hall, Rajahmundry in September 1882", TNA (Under the call number Y 592.2 M84). Also see C.J.Baker and D.A.Washbrook, *Op. Cit.*, pp.152-55.

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The growth of public associations in Bengal dates back to early 19th century under the influence of reformers like Rammohan Roy and Derozio. A number of public associations were established in the early decades of 19th century. For details see V.A.Narain, "Public Associations and Social Reform in Bengal in the First Half of Nineteenth Century" in *PIHC*, 28th session, Mysore, 1966, pp.434-39. In Maharashtra the reform zeal of new educated sections initially came into conflict with Hindu traditionalists. For a discussion on this see Richard Tucker, "Hindu Traditionalism and Nationalist Ideologies in Nineteenth - Century Maharashtra" in *Modern Asian Studies*. Vol.10, No.3, 1976, pp.324-48. For more details on the growth of nationalist consciousness in Bengal and Bombay presidencies see Sudhir Chandra, *Op. Cit.*, Chapter II and IV. The Growth of public opinion in mofussil regions was rather late when compared to the Presidential capitals. See for example K.M.Patra, "Growth of Social Consciousness in Orissa in the 19th century" in the Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission. Vol.XL,

Andhra after the middle of the 19th century.

IV

The Diva Samaj Society at Masulipatam, a public body promoted by the proprietors of a journal, Purusharthapradayini was in existence around 1872 and used to arrange discussions on various social and religious matters.¹⁵⁰ Prominent citizens of the town took part in these deliberations and the text of these discussions was published in the succeeding issue of the journal.¹⁵¹ Around the same time the Sanjivani Association, promoted by another Telugu journal, Andhra Bhasha Sanjivani published from Madras, used to involve people in matters of public importance and called upon them to give their opinions on topics such as English education, employment to higher cadres in public service, agricultural expenses and profits, the role of police and judiciary etc.¹⁵²

A reading room was established at Vizagapatam on 1-6-1875 in connection with Total Abstinence Society of the town.¹⁵³ It was promoted by the district judge, E.C.G. Thomas and prominent

pp.146-51. In case of regional princely states educated sections diverted their attention to internal problems before joining the national mainstream. See M.J.Koshy, Genesis of Political Consciousness in Kerala. Trivandrum, 1972, pp.24-40.

150 Purusharthapradayini, January 1872, p.29. This journal in Telugu was also called 'Diva Samajini'. Matters such as nature, morality, health science, concept of happiness and unhappiness were discussed.

151 Ibid.

152 Andhra Bhasha Sanjivani, November 1874 in NNPR. TNA.

153 Sakala Vidyabhivardhani (Vizagapatam Instructor), February 1876, pp.55-56.

citizens of the town like G.L.Narsing Rao.¹⁵⁴ The Society had fifty five members on its rolls and the amount subscription ranged between four and eight annas.¹⁵⁵ For the first time in the history of such Associations women were allowed and enrolled as subscribers to the reading room and it was indeed significant.¹⁵⁶

The Masulipatam Association, established around 1876 was highly critical of the British rule as was reflected by the choice of topics in the lectures arranged by the Association.¹⁵⁷ To illustrate, the Association invited an eminent pleader in the Masulipatam District Court, V.Damodarayya, to give a lecture against Christian religion. Around the same time, another public society, Swadharma Prakasini Society, Masulipatam, was taking an active part in public activities.¹⁵⁹ The nature of its activities was moderate and this can be observed from the eulogising address which the members presented to the Prince of Wales during his visit.¹⁶⁰ During the same period there was, in active existence, at Rajahmundry a society known as Videa Ananda Bharita Samaj.¹⁶¹ The members were exclusively devoted to the educational developments. When the Director of Public Instruction

154 Ibid.

155 Ibid. The Reading Room subscribed for many journals both Indian and British. It served as social intercourse centre for the people of the town.

156 Ibid.

157 Purusharthapradayini, July 1876, pp.1-2.

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid., March 1876, pp.51-53. Such an attitude could be seen in the activities of educated people and reformers too.

161 Ibid.

enquired whether there were liberal people to contribute some amount to the development of the local college, the Samaj requested local Zamindars and other rich mercantile communities to liberally contribute towards this noble cause and appealed to them not to waste money on "feeding lazy and greedy classes".

The Kakinada Literary Association was established in 1877 in the mofussil town of Kakinada.¹⁶² It was initially established under the name of Native Students' Association.¹⁶³ The Raja of Pithapuram was the moving spirit behind this body and donated Rs.1250 towards the construction of a suitable building for the Association and its library.¹⁶⁴ It was committed to social and political development of the people. In 1882 it appealed to the Madras Governor for the introduction of local self-government and pleaded in favour of political education to the subjects of the

162 Kakinada is an important trading centre and port town in coastal Andhra. Though it was a small hamlet earlier the transfer of all European commercial houses from Corangi to Kakinada, under the East India company acted as a catalyst in the rapid development of the town. Soon it became a leading trading centre and made rapid strides in the field of education and journalism. From Kakinada alone more than ten Telugu journals were published between late 19th century and early 20th century. It became one of the important centres of Brahma Samaj in Andhra. For details see V.V.L.Narasimha Rao, Op. Cit., pp.12-20 and 26-35.

163 V.Ramakrishna, "Kakinada Literary Association - A Study in the stirring of Early Political Consciousness in Modern Andhra" in the Proceedings of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress. 8th Session, Kakinada, 1984, p. 58.

164 The Raja of Pithapuram, Venkata Mahipati Gangadhara Ramarao Bahadur, was liberal in his contributions towards public cause. He became a patron of Anglo-Vernacular school in the town and donated a corpus fund of Rs.27,360 in the year 1867. In the very next year he established a separate school for girls and donated Rs.9000 towards school building. For details see Sriram Veerabrahma Kavi, Sri Peethikapura Samsthana Charitramu. (Telugu), pp.251-258.

British.¹⁶⁵ Besides the Association was actively responding to issues of national concern too. When in 1883 people throughout the country were agitating over statutory civil service question it also joined hands with others. The main demands of the agitation were an upper age limit of 23 years and simultaneous exams both in England and India. In favour these demands the Association convened a public meeting at Kakinada and adopted resolutions in tune with other Public Associations in the country.¹⁶⁶ The Association used to arrange lectures on topics of contemporary importance. In the year 1887 two important public lectures were arranged by the Association. One lecture was on 'Duties of the Gentlemen'.¹⁶⁷ Reviewing the conditions in the society under the British, the speaker called upon the educated sections to strive towards the development of society by exposing out the evils of the British rule.¹⁶⁸ Advising them to agitate for their demands, the speaker asked the people to help the cause of mass and women's education, to resist the evils of drink and child marriages, to develop vernacular language and to disseminate new knowledge through it to the people at grass-roots level.¹⁶⁹

Another lecture was about caste reform among Brahmins entitled "Brahmins' Present State and How to Better It".¹⁷⁰ This

165 V.Ramakrishna, Kakinada Literary. Op.Cit., pp.52-59.

166 See Sudhir Chandra, Op.Cit., pp.152-155.

167 Hindunjanasamskarini. November 1887, p.85. The name of the speaker is not available.

168 Ibid., p.86.

169 Ibid., pp.88-90.

170 Ibid., December 1887. The name of the speaker is Palepu

lecture assumes special significance because the speaker called upon Brahmins to give up their traditional occupations and join the mainstream along with others. This lecture coincided with the fair growth of non-Brahman consciousness in Andhra during this period. The speaker briefly reviewed the changing historical importance of Brahmins and the gradual decline in their economic and traditional status.¹⁷¹ He warned that the monopoly of Brahmins over knowledge was challenged both by non-Brahmans and the Britishers.¹⁷² Under the changing conditions he advised Brahmins to take to new professions such as trade, agriculture and industry by forming themselves into cooperative societies.¹⁷³

The above two lectures are important for our study as they provide details about the contemporary thinking in the society. Moreover, they reveal the kind of issues the Association was interested in. The Kakinada Literary Association was active for only a few years and became defunct by 1894.¹⁷⁴

Venkata Suryagopalamu. Other details of the speaker are not given.

171 The speaker opined that the Brahmins lost their economic patronage from the state and hence lost their prominence. Under the British they began to face all kinds of troubles due to loss of economic stability and the introduction of English education which, in principle, was creating equal opportunities for all castes. Under these changed circumstances, non-Brahman castes began to emerge as potential forces and he said that tempers were running so high in the society that Brahmins were being despised by others as 'threaded fools'. See for details Ibid., pp.112-113 and p.118.

172 Ibid.

173 Ibid., pp.114-117.

174 Raiavogi. 20.8.1894 in NNPR, TNA.

The Kakinada Literary Association is significant in several ways. It was the most popular of all the Public Associations established by the educated sections in Andhra. This is attested by the response it received both from the public as well as the press. Furthermore, it was the first of its kind in taking the issues of public importance into the society through its programme of public lectures. Infact, it tried to offer alternative remedies to the problems faced by different social groups as in the case of Brahmins and the importance of mass education. It was during the same time there was a thorough public discussion of the local self-government proposals of Ripon. In tune with popular demands the Association appealed to the Governor for the introduction of local self-government in the Madras Presidency and pleaded in favour of political education to the subjects of the British.¹⁷⁵ This demand symbolises the fructification of enlightenment in the society and shows how public opinion was getting mobilised in demanding specific rights from the colonial government. It drives home the fact that the educated sections were slowly moving towards more comprehensive public demands instead of voicing a few specific concerns of the educated middle classes. Precisely because of this contributory role of the Association the contemporary vernacular press gave repeated calls to revitalise its activities and lead the people in support of Indian National Congress¹⁷⁶ which sums up the

175 V.Ramakrishna, Kakinada Literary Association. Op. Cit., pp.55-59.

176 Rajayogi, 20.8.1894, NNPR, TNA.

importance of Kakinada Literary Association in the sphere of public awareness.

The Adwaitamata Samaj was established around 1881 at peddapuram.¹⁷⁷ The secretary of the Society was G.Sreerama Murthy and it published a Telugu journal, Prabandha Kalpavalli.¹⁷⁸ The aims and objectives of both the Association and the journal were literary, educational, religious and social development.¹⁷⁹ During the same period Kumara Vara Samajam at(Casimkota established by M. Venkatachalam) and Sakala Vidya Samaja Sabha at Chodavaram were in existence.¹⁸⁰ The objectives of these societies were literary and educational improvements among the people.¹⁸¹ The Debating Society at Rajahmundry existing around the same time was taking interest in educational developments in the town and used to pass resolutions towards the same end.¹⁸²

The Vizagapatam Debating Union of the same period also was involved in educational and social activities.¹⁸³ The Society was promoted by M.Vasudevarayulu, Srinivasa Rao Pantulu. V.Ananta Rao Pantulu, A.Srinivasa Iyer and a few others.¹⁸⁴ The discussions

177 Prabandha Kalpavalli. September-November 1881, n.p. Also see for details the February (1882) issue of the same journal, n.p.

178 Prabandha Kalpavalli, Ibid.

179 Ibid., This is revealed by the selection of the topics for discussion in the journal.

180 Ibid., pp.23-24.

181 Ibid.

182 Viveka Vardhani, January 1883, NNPR, TNA.

183 Edhardhavadi. April 1884, pp.13-14.

184 Ibid. The society was supported by the merchants of the town.

in the Society were often lively and continued for longer durations.¹⁸⁵ An important aspect of the Society was that it attached greater significance to vernaculars and the speakers at its meetings were asked to speak in Telugu.¹⁸⁶

The Rayalaseema region of Andhra also was not lagging behind in the growth of public Associations. Bellary had established lead in this field and the first Reading Room was established in the year 1863.¹⁸⁷ In the course of time other prominent places in the region established various organisations. The Native Club of Bellary (1880), The Chittoor Association(1881), Tirupati Literary Society (1885), Sanmarga Samaj Reading Room and Bellary Rate Payers' Association (both in 1886) and the Debating Club at Bellary (1889) were actively involved in public life.¹⁸⁸ Most of them were promoting literary, moral, social and political improvements and used to arrange lectures on these topics.

Apart from all these bodies there were a number of public Associations with definite social, literary and political concerns. The Archival records, along with vernacular sources, reveal that such associations were widely spread throughout Andhra during the second half of 19th century. The following

185 Ibid.

186 Ibid.

187 See P.Yanadi Raju, "'Rayalaseema under the Crown, 1858-1920: A Study in the Origin and Growth of Nationalist Consciousness", Ph.D Dissertation, S.V.University, Tirupati, 1988, pp.212-19. The Rayalaseema region consisted of Bellary, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Chittoor districts.

188 Ibid.

table gives the details.¹⁸⁹

Name of the Society	Object	No. of Members		Date of Establishment
		Male	Children	
COASTAL ANDHRA				
1. Berhampore Association	Political, social and intellectual advancement of the country	47	-	1.8.1880
2. Berhampore Students' Literary Club	Literary improvement of the members	16	-	September 1884
3. Parlakimidi Reading Club	Mutual Improvement	32	-	November 1882
4. Chicacole Newspaper Club	To be enlightened on matters of other parts of India	13	-	June 1884
5. Palkonda Anglo-Hindu Reading Room	The improvement of the knowledge of members	30	-	1.4.1882
6. Parvatipur Native Association	To encourage newspaper reading	25	-	October 1883
7. Vizianagaram Indian Association	Reading and delivering lectures on politics, literature and science	60	-	1883
8. Vizianagaram Vidyabhivardhani Sabha	Reading and deliverig lectures on politics, literature and science	35	5	1883

189 The table is based on DPI, 1884-85, General Tables, p.xii, TNA.

Name of the Society	Object	No. of Members		Date of Establishment
		Male	Children	
9. Bimilipatam Hindu Debating Union	To promote religious, political and social instruction and reading	37		20.8.1882
10. Masulipatam Native Club	Public good and social gathering	22		September 1884
11. Masulipatam Reading Room	Moral, social and intellectual improvement	6		4.2.1885
12. Bezawada Club	For circulating English and Indian papers and discussing public matters	11		August 1884
13. Guntur Free Reading and Book Room	The spread of religious moral, literary and scientific knowledge	60	96	1879
14. Guntur Newspaper Club	For diffusion of knowledge	17		1.1.1885
15. Bapatla Newspaper Club	Reading newspapers and essay-writing	7		5.11.1882
16. Vinukonda Hindu Association	To improve social and moral condition	10		1.10.1883
17. Narasaraopeta Hindu Association	To improve social and moral condition	12		January 1885
18. Dachepalli Hindu Association	To improve social and moral condition	10		4.10.1881

Name of the Society	Object	No. of Members		Date of Establishment
		Male	Children	
RAYALASEEMA				
1. Bellary Native Club	Newspaper reading, discussion, conversational recreation and sports	26	-	1884
2. Bellary Star of Hope Lodge	To read, recite and teach temperance	-	22	1881
3. Bellary Kowl Bazar Reading Room	Newspaper reading and literary lectures	8	-	1872
4. Bellary Union	Newspaper reading and discussion	6	-	1881
5. Anantapur Reading Room	Literary improvement	20	-	January 1883
6. Gooty Literary Society	Self-improvement and promotion of public interests	20	-	N.A.
7. Tadipatri Socialist	Newspaper reading	8	-	January 1882
8. Penukonda Newspaper Club	Literary and social betterment	15	-	1.9.1884
9. Cuddapah Literary Association	Literary and Scientific improvement	60	-	July 1882
10. Jammalamadugu Reading Room	Literary and scientific improvement	8	-	1881

Name of the Society	Object	No. of Members		Date of Establishment
		Male	Children	
11. Proddutur Reading Club	Literary and scientific improvement	41	-	1.8.1884
12. Madanapalle American Mission Free Reading Room	Religious and Literary advancement	6840	1728	1870
13. Madanapalle Literary Union	Mutual improvement	27	-	1.1.1885
14. Kurnool Native Reading Room of the Native Gentry	To be acquainted with the current news	6	-	1874
15. Kurnool Literary Native Gentlemen	To be acquainted with the current news.	4	-	N.A.
16. Pattikonda Literary society	Diffusion of knowledge and introduction of social reforms through periodical lectures	6	-	1.10.1882
17. Pyapali Reading Room	For Widening mental horizons	12	-	1.10.1883
18. NandVal Mutual Improvement Association	Mental, moral and physical improvement	32	-	1.2.1885

Name of the Society	Object	No. of Members		Date of Establishment
		Male	Children	
19. Cumbum Mutual Improvement Association	For mental improvement	20	-	11.11.1884
20. Markapur Reading Room	Literary	9	-	1.3.1885
21. Chittore Native Association	Mental, moral, social and cultural advancement of the members	25	-	18.11.1883
22. Palamaner Literary Association	Moral, intellectual and social improvement of the members	13	-	1.4.1884

Almost all these public societies have been run by subscriptions raised by the members only.¹⁹⁰ It is striking that there were slightly more such public bodies in Rayalaseema region than coastal Andhra as is revealed by the table. It can be observed that while Rayalaseema had twenty one bodies the Andhra region had only eighteen.¹⁹¹ This is an indicator to the level of

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. Such a proliferation of public associations was evident in Tamilnadu region also where almost equal number of such public bodies sprang up covering the entire state under Tamil-speaking area during this period. For details See Ibid. The members on these bodies were only males.

¹⁹¹ The first eighteen public societies mentioned in the table area from coastal Andhra and the rest belong to Rayalaseema area. American Mission Reading Room at Madanapalli is not counted for the present analysis as it was not established

consciousness in Rayalaseema and dispels all doubts about its backwardness in this context. This is corroborated by other evidences too. Before the construction of Godavari and Krishna anicuts it was Rayalaseema which had yielded highest amount of land revenue to the imperial treasury and the following table establishes this.¹⁹² Introduction of commercial elements in agriculture and in particular groundnut sugarcane and indigo was a major factor in yielding handsome amounts of land revenue.¹⁹³

by local Indians. However, the table doesnot include a few other public societies. They have been mentioned in the preceding pages of the present chapter. Including all these societies Andhra and Rayalaseema came to represent almost equal number of these early public associations.

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The values in the table are rounded off to the nearest rupee value. The table is based on General, Territorial and Political Journals, Vol.90, pp.2-3; Vol.95, pp.2-3 and Vol.100, pp.2-3, TNA. The revenue collections in the table excluded income from other sources like Salt, Tobacco, Stationery, Civil Stores etc. It can be seen that the revenue collected from Cuddapah, Bellary and Kurnool exceeded the amount collected from the rest of coastal Andhra during 1844-45 and 1849-50. Furthermore, collections from individual districts like Cuddapah and Bellary exceeded the collection from every single district in Andhra. Even the total collection figures from Rayalaseema exceeded that of the collections from coastal districts. During 1844-45 the revenue yield from Rayalaseema was Rs.21,13,600 and it was Rs.15,26,125 from coastal Andhra. In the financial year 1849-50 the tax collection from Rayalaseema was Rs.28,93,758 while it was Rs.16,90,486 from coastal districts. However, by 1854-55 the revenue collection from coastal Andhra slightly exceeded (Rs.21,20,655) the collection from Rayalaseema (Rs.19,74,876). It may be noted here that the construction of Godavari anicut was complete in all respects by 1854 and the work on Krishna anicut was rapidly progressing. This resulted in commercial cropping pattern, rise in land prices and land revenue collection.

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Though Commercialisation promoted large scale development of commercial crops the peasants in the region were subject to untold suffering for the neglect of food crops. Their disgust and discontentment for commercial crops found vehement opposition in the protest petitions sent to the Madras government. The inhabitants of the entire district in Cuddapah raised a hue and cry over this. In an anonymous petition to the Governor they stated that "in consequence of

Name of the Region	Amount of Revenue Collected (in Rupees)		
	1844-45	1849-50	1854-55
Ganjam	4,65,086	6,89,537	3,66,161
Vizagapatam	4,12,372	2,81,647	3,97,981
Rajahmundry	2,55,896	3,61,908	8,38,328
Masulipatam	1,22,275	1,44,810	1,13,195
Guntur	27,870	12,194	1,09,693
Nellore	2,42,626	2,00,390	2,95,297
Cuddapah	10,66,671	11,79,697	9,79,531
Bellary	5,85,923	12,03,292	6,74,946
Kurnool	4,61,006	5,10,769	3,20,399

Though the commercial agriculture didnot benefit the ryots the revenue figures would suggest that the region was economically vibrant among the Telugu-speaking areas of the Presidency before Godavari and Krishna anicuts were constructed.

That Rayalaseema was equally active was attested by the fact

the great demand for Indigo and Sugar, almost all ryots abandoned cultivation of paddy and other grains, and employed solely in the plantation of Indigo and Sugarcane. Owing to this, the people have been much suffering from want of food". See Pet. Reg., No.1422, 31.3.1859, TNA. The artificial demand created by commercial crops weaned away the ryots from food crops and this was realised very lately when they requested the government "to issue orders directing the cultivators to desist from plantation of those two things for the next two or three years". Ibid. However, the vibrancy in commercial agriculture did not stay for long and Godavari and Krishna deltas became centres of this after the construction of the anicuts. Rayalaseema was pushed to a place of secondary importance in post 1860 period as the irrigational projects like Kurnool-Cuddapah canal were neglected which gradually resulted in the economic backwardness of the region by early 20th century.

that the people were enthusiastic in coining forward to demand "plain and secular education" for their children by mid 19th century.¹⁹⁴ For this they were prepared to contribute from their pockets and the schools which have been managed by these popular contributions were later called Rate Schools. As discussed in the second chapter, the experiment of Rate Schools was equally tested in Rayalaseema too. The popular urge for knowledge and education was responsible for the gradual increase in literacy rates and growth of higher education in the region in the post 1860 period.¹⁹⁵ All these factors would go to contradict the theory of backwardness of Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema region is so far believed to be backward and the evidence available to us indicates that at least during the major part of the nineteenth century the nomenclature of 'backward region' is a misnomer. Also, the region was equally vocal in voicing highly progressive ideas on democratic government during the campaign for local self-government by late 19th century.¹⁹⁶ The developments in Rayalaseema in our study are to be analysed against these evidences.

The time period of these public associations mentioned in the above table coincided with the growth of secondary and higher education in Andhra. Most of the members of these associations

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See For details Pub. Dept., Vol.932, No.46, dt.31.10.1854, TNA. This is already discussed in Chapter II.

195

By 1882 seven colleges were functioning in the state. The literacy level began to show an upward trend in all the districts of Andhra and Rayalaseema. See for details DPI, 1881-82 and 1882-83, TNA. These aspects have been discussed in Chapter II.

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This aspect is analysed in Chapter VI.

were drawn from educated sections of the society. The Kakinada Literary Association had already begun a thorough discussion of public issues including political education to Indians and local self-government. These proposals were further discussed throughout the state in various public gatherings. The vigorous spread of Rate School system which, for the first time, enunciated the idea of self-help in the form of voluntary contributions also coincided with the establishment of various public bodies. All these factors played a major role in mobilising public opinion and the consequent sprouting of public discussion forums in various parts of the Andhra region.

The general spread of enlightenment in the society is visibly reflected by the proliferation of these public associations at the grass-roots level. For example Palkonda (1882), Parvatipur (1883), Bimilipatam (1882), Bapatla (1882), Vinukonda (1883), Narasaraopeta (1885), Dachepalli (1881), Tadipatri (1882), Penukonda (1884), Jammalamadugu (1881), Proddutur (1884), Pattikonda (1882), Pyapali (1883), Nandyal (1885), Cumbum (1884), Markapur (1885) and Palamaner (1884) are all grown-up villages where they were established. It is interesting to note that this was going hand in hand with the establishment of public libraries in Andhra.¹⁹⁷ The members in both these were educated sections of the society. Along with public associations, almost all the libraries served as platforms for dissemination of knowledge and discussion of public issues.

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The growth of public libraries has been mentioned in Chapter II.

The spread of such enlightenment in rural areas played a contributory role in the sphere of public activities during the 19th century.

An analysis of the aims and objectives of the associations mentioned in the table strengthens our argument that the 19th century witnessed a fair growth of public awareness. They relate to intellectual, literary, social, religious and political issues. Three significant aspects stand out from the aims and objectives of these associations.

Some of the associations had specific objective of social reform. In case of Bimilipatam, the Association emphasised on social, religious and political instruction to the members. For Penukonda Club literary and social betterment remained chief objectives. In case of Chittor and Palamaner associations, social advancement along with moral and cultural development occupied their agenda. The Pattikonda Literary Society was specific that diffusion of knowledge and enlightenment on social reforms through periodical lectures should be its main motto. It is important to note that many of the associations which emphasised social improvement and social reform in society are from Rayalaseema region. That the influence of social reform campaign was spreading throughout the state is proved by our study of the objectives of these public Associations in Rayalaseema. It may be noted that social reform in Andhra went hand in hand with religious reform as it was believed that all the social evils had religious sanction. The educated sections who spearheaded social reform movements took the initiative in

the field of religious reform also. The Prarthana- Brahmo Samaj movement in Andhra was a part of such religious reform movement. The efforts of people like Mannava Butchaiah Pantulu, Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu helped the growth of the movement in Andhra and the first Prarthana Samaj was started at Rajahmundry in 1878 by Veeresalingam.¹⁹⁸ Both Veeresalingam and Venkataratnam Naidu (The leader of Brahmo Samaj Movement in Andhra) condemned idolatory, polytheism and varnasrama dharma. They followed congregational prayer methods which were generally followed by sermons in simple Telugu. Since this method was novel and differed from Hinduism it attracted many adherents to the movement and by late 19th century Brahmo Samaj centres were established at a few major towns in Andhra.¹⁹⁹ The combined efforts of Veeresalingam and Venkataratnam Naidu in the sphere of social and religious reform considerably influenced the founders of early public associations throughout Andhra.

Most of these public bodies concentrated on issues of public importance and public good. The Masulipatam Club, Bezawada Club and Gooty Literary Society had on their agenda problems pertaining to the people in society. The Hindu Associations at Vinukonda, Narasaraopeta and Dachehalli aimed at social and moral improvement of the people. The specific emphasis on religious morals, perhaps, was reflecting the concerns of Theosophy which by late 19th century could strike roots in Andhra. By the turn

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p.158.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp.162-76. Also see for the activities of various Brahmo Samaj centres in Andhra Dakarapu Appa Rao, Akhila Bharata Brahma Samajamu (Telugu), Kakinada, 1980, pp.284-86, 524-26, 562-75 and 577-82.

of the century Theosophical Lodges were established at important towns in Andhra. Though Theosophical movement has been viewed by some historians as a revivalist agitation against the social reform movements it could attract the attention of many of the educated sections.²⁰¹ Its emphasis on the rejuvenation of Vedic ideals and Hindu religious morals could draw into its fold

200 By 1890 Theosophical Lodges were fairly spread throughout Andhra, Rayalaseema regions and a few branches were established in the Nizam's dominion. They were founded at Berhampore (1881), Adoni, Bellary, Guntur and Nellore (1882), Gooty and Kurnool (1883), Chittor and Vizianagaram (1884), Anantapur and Kakinada (1885), Cuddapah (1886), Bezawada, Ellore, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry and Visakhapatnam (1887). There were only three branches of Theosophical Society in Nizam's territory at Bolaram, Hyderabad and Secunderabad (1882). For more details see General Report of the Thirteenth Convention and Anniversary of the Theosophical Society. Madras, 27-29 December, 1888. The number of members in these societies showed variations from place to place. For example there were only seven members in Narasaraopeta branch (established 1896) and seventy two members were on the rolls in Kakinada Lodge. More details can be had from Divyagnana Samaja Darsini (Telugu), n.p., 2nd reprint, 1970, pp.10-30, passim. This source is obtained from the Gupta Vidya Theosophical Lodge at Eluru. The list of Theosophical Lodges reveals that the spread of Theosophy in Andhra and Rayalaseema was simultaneous. While Coastal districts had ten branches, Rayalaseema had seven of them. Most of these branches used to indulge in discussions relating to various aspects of Theosophy and religion. However, there was more emphasis on Hinduism and it was reflected by the meetings and proceedings of these societies. For example, subjects like the Revival of Hinduism, Hinduism and Christianity (Anantapur), teachings of Hindu Sages regarding Karma, Gnana and Aryadhrama (Berhampore) were discussed. At Masulipatam recital of Bhagavadgita was a regular feature during the weekly meetings of the local Theosophical Lodge. See General Report of the Thirteenth Convention. Op. Cit.

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V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., p.209. The Theosophical Society along with Arya Samaj served as one of the factors to the decline of reform movements. Though Theosophical Movement concentrated on social reform, it was done so on national lines and attacked the social reform movements in society. However, its political agenda could not attract many adherents as it believed that India should not totally sever its connections with the British Commonwealth.

considerable number of members from the orthodox sections of the society.²⁰² Under its influence a few public associations, unconnected with Theosophical Movement, began to reflect the same concerns of Theosophy. However, their concerns remained to serve the interests of local people and we have no evidence to establish direct linkages between Theosophical Lodges and other public associations. All these issues on the agenda of various public forums are important for our analysis as they primarily concentrated on the general improvement in society and began to sow the seeds of public consciousness at the village level. More so they reflect the gradually widening influence of educated sections and more comprehensive nature of their public role in society.

Some of the associations could raise above mere local concerns and began to advocate higher aims and ideals of the national nature. For example, an urge towards knowledge of other parts of India was the major aim of Chicacole Newspaper Club. The same interest was visible among the members of Kurnool Native Reading Room and Kurnool Literary Society. The Berhampore Association was far ahead in its concern and its sole objective was political, social and intellectual advancement of the country. These concerns reflect the national perspective of

202 For example the Raja of Vizianagaram helped the formation of Theosophical Lodge at Vizianagaram. Educated persons from Brahmin and non-Brahman castes extended their help in establishing Lodges in other places. For example Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu, Kuricheti Ramabrahmam, Veluri Venkataramaiah, Gundu Raju and Balijepalli Sivarama Sastrulu were behind the establishment of Rajahmundry Lodge. See for details Divvaqnana, Op.Cit., pp.10-11 and 26-27.

these bodies atleast in a notional form. It is significant that these societies were reflecting these ideas when the formation of Indian National Congress was on- the anvil. Infact the contributory role of these local associations strengthened the hands of Indian National Congress. Though National Congress was representing popular demands on a pan-Indian scale the need for local public bodies was never lost. This is attested by the fact that the establishment of public forums at regional level was to continue well into 20th century. After 1885 various associations were established at Vizianagaram, Yelamanchili, Kakinada, Gutti, Bobbili, Bhimavaram, Cuddapah, Kundurpi, Atmakur etc.²⁰³ The complimentary and contributory aspects of these associations truly established channels of communication between regional, metropolitan and national levels. Furthermore, some of the

203 The Vizianagaram association was called Anandavardhini Samaj. Hindujanamasakarini. August 1887, 19-20; The Associations at Yelamanchili and Kakinada were known as Union society and Godavari Mandala Mahajana Sabha respectively. Ibid., pp.149-53; The society at Kundurpi was Vijnana Vardhani Samajam. Kundurpi was a small village in Kalyanadurgam taluq of Anantapur district. Inorder to draw common and poor people into its fold the membership fee was fixed at the lowest for them. Ibid., July 1890, n.p; The Budhanandini Sabha at Bobbili was promoted by the Raja of Bobbili. G.Ranganaikulu Patrudu, Op. Cit., pp.50-51; People's Associations in Godavary (Bhimavaram), Cuddapah and Krishna districts were functioning around 1894. Dharmavardhani, 1.1.1894 and Gnanodayamu. 22.12.1894 in NNPR, TNA; The District Social Conferences also were active in public life during this time. Rajayogi, 18.5.1894 in Ibid. For more details on the activities of the district conferences see V.Ramakrishna, Social Reform. Op. Cit., pp.190-95; Two Associations were established in 1901 at Atmakur (Nellore district) by Tumpudi Bhagavantam Gupta and they came to be known as Atmakur Progressive Association and Deena Poshaka Samajam. They were intended to cater to the needs of both rich and poor people of the place. For details see Ambati Subbaraya Gupta, Tumpudi Bhaqavantham Gupta Gari Jeevithamu (Biography in Telugu), n.p., 1954, pp.3-13 and 20-25.

vernacular journals extended their unflinching support to these public bodies and exhorted people to liberally help their cause.²⁰⁴

The public life in Andhra during the nineteenth century broadly reflected three different strands. The spread of enlightenment in society was facilitated by the growth of educated middle classes. They heralded the era of social reform campaign which provided a useful backdrop to the sphere of public awareness. The genesis and growth of various public associations during the later half of the 19th century acted as a powerful factor in organising public opinion. This inturn paved the way for a greater political campaign for public demands in future.

The efforts of Madras Native Association were successful in drawing support from rural Andhra, though the geographical extent of these activities was limited. Besides its activities at the Presidency headquarters it could mobilise common people towards agitational modes of representing popular demands. Above all, it

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For example see Raiayogi, 20.8.1894, NNPR, TNA. However, among the vernacular journals Hindujanasamskarini took the lead in appealing to people to extend their helping hand to public associations. It regularly published news items on the activities of Indian National Congress. Along with other public bodies the journal also launched an attack on the British oppressive policies in India. For example see Hinduianasamskarini. March 1887, p.183; July 1887, p.314; August 1887, p.18; March 1888, p.199; May 1888, p.245; December 1889, p. 59 and July 1890, under the item 'Summary News of the Last Month'. A few other Vernacular journals also were highly critical of British policies. They refuted all the charges on Indian National Congress that it was not a popular body and called upon the people to join hands with the National Congress in demanding the expansion of Legislative Councils. For example See Sujanamanollasini. July 1885; Vartadarsini, 14.5.1894 and 21.5.1894 and Nyayabodhini, 1.10.1894 in NNPR, TNA.

is significant that for the first time rural problems were brought into agenda of political organisation. Along with these activities the countless petitions on the sufferings of people from Andhra throw much light on the hitherto ignored aspect of popular protest. These petitions represent the slowly emerging public consciousness at the grass-roots level.

The growth of non-Brahman consciousness is the last significant strand of public life in 19th century. The non-Brahman castes made earnest attempts in asserting themselves in the sphere of education, employment and power-wielding local bodies. Infact, they began demanding equal rights in society on par with Brahmins. Two aspects assume significance in the growth of non-Brahman consciousness. i) Though the beginnings were made in the sphere of non-Brahman consciousness, it was consolidated into a definite non-Brahman Movement only during 20th century. ii) Such consciousness was more complimentary in its role in society in so far as it was concerned with social reform movements and public protestations. It is attested by the fact that the educated sections from among these non-Brahman castes increasingly associated themselves with the reform endeavours of Veeresalingam. Furthermore, they took active part in the public associations established with specific social and political objectives. They didnot hesitate joining hands with Brahmins in demanding a free hand in the management of local bodies when this question became a bone of contention between Indians and the colonial government. The emergence of non-Brahman consciousness served as yet another instrument of mobilising public opinion and, atleast during the 19th century, it didnot cocoon itself

into a narrow shell of caste consciousness.

All these strands of public life in 19th century played a positive and complimentary role and merged with one another by the end of the century. This paved the way for the rapid spread of political consciousness in society as reflected during the campaign for local self-government.

CHAPTER 5

THE ISSUE OF SELF GOVERNANCE : COLONIAL SUPERVISORY ATTITUDE AND ITS IMPACT

The system of self-governance was not unknown in South India. The experiment of local government under Cholas was successfully tested. The legacy of this Medieval experiment continued later. After consolidating their position in India the colonial rulers could not afford to do away with the indigenous system of management and the people who were already well versed in local management.¹ After centralising the controlling mechanisms the colonial government coopted the existing local management system into the colonial administrative net work. For example, in the Madras Presidency during the early 19th century, the introduction of new judiciary displaced all the officers connected with revenue collection and judicature except

¹ It is, however, to be admitted that the indigenous system underwent many changes under the colonial administration. After the defeat of Tipu Sultan almost the entire Madras Presidency was brought under the British. Changes in revenue and judicial systems were effected. The earlier village units were divested of all controlling power. The transition was towards an all powerful colonial master and concentration of executive power. Yet, most of the subordinates were Indians. Centres of supervision at once changed and the final court of appeal in all matters became the Governor of the Presidency. This was an indication of the direction in which the rulers were diverting their attention. The hold over political power was all the more necessary for it was to be the fountain of other controlling mechanisms. For them, the stratification of power at various levels of the society would always pose a danger and hence the merciless suppression of local landed potentates, poligars, some uncompromising Zamindars and the like. It was but natural for them to manipulate the existing system of power relations and management. For a vivid description of local administration and changes effected under the Company in early 19th century see Bundla Ramaswamy Naidu, op.cit., p.30 ff.

that of Karnums.² Consequently judges were appointed in all districts and provincial courts of appeal and circuit were established. These changes complicated the existing system and the operational aspects were made more difficult for the people. Similarly the changes in revenue administration such as Village Leases, Zamindari, Ryotwari etc proved costly to the cultivators. All these innovations in the management of revenue administration were intended to give the colonial government an undoubted supremacy over the long standing local methods of administration. Underpinning all these changes the only status-quo that remained unaffected was the absorption of all those people into the new administrative structure as subordinates who were already in touch with the local administration and who were skillful enough to carry out orders of the new master. In the course of time, as the educated people increased in number they too were coopted into the administration as subordinate officers. Even by the turn of the century the colonial administration remained the same stuffed with more Indian subordinates and crowned with colonial authorities. Indians were barred from exercising any executive authority in important wings of the government like legislative, judicial and executive branches. However, the colonial rulers always depended on subordinate Indian officials for a smooth

² Ibid. Thomas Munro argued in favour of the old judicial system. He was the special commissioner in 1814 to revise the Madras judicial system. He opined that the native judicial system be revived under the overall supervision of the collector. He argued that lack of local knowledge was most often misleading European judges in delivering erroneous judgements. See T.H.Beaglehole, op.cit., pp.83-104.

functioning of the same. The following table is a proof in this
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 direction.

Year	Department	Provincial Services No. of Indians(Gazetted)
1880	Board of Revenue	44
	Judicial	125
	Education	3
1890	Board of Revenue	9
	Judicial	123
	Education	21
1900	Board of Revenue	71
	Judicial	133
	Education	30

The table establishes the fact that Indians were never totally isolated from the administration. The officers, with the help of a number of subordinate employees in various departments carried the administrative work under the supervision of the colonial authorities.⁴ It becomes clear, on observation, that the changes under the colonial government in the management of administration were not a radical departure from the existing local management system. But the elements

³ These figures are culled from G.T.Boag, The _____ Presidency: 1881-1931. Madras, 1933, p.29.

⁴ For example, 46 relatives of the Naib Sheristadar of Nellore district were employed in government service in mid 19th century. It throws light on the fact that the colonial administration was milling over with a number of Indian employees in the subordinate ranks. See P.Jagatheesan, Law and order in Madras Presidency. 1850-1880, Delhi, 1987, p.16. Such instances are seen in various other districts too. The preponderance of Indian employees at various levels of administration was intact even by the late 19th century. C. Lakshmi Narasimhulu from Timmapuram village of Vizagapatam lodged a complaint against the District Munisiff that several of his relatives were employed in almost all public offices in the district. For details see Pet. Reg., No.2113 Of 9.11.1879, TNA.

of change under the new set up were three dimensional reshuffling the local management, appending it to the new administration and coopting the people from local cadres into the colonial administrative net work. It is true that the new administration brought about sweeping changes in the country which totally disrupted the indigenous system of governance. The earlier village courts were replaced by Circuit and Provincial courts. The relative revenue autonomy of villages was disrupted and there was a change towards the creation of market economy. A careful observation of the operational aspects of the colonial administration and the changes it introduced hint at one interesting point that there was a change only in the morphology of administrative net work and in the methodology of execution vis-a-vis the earlier system of indigenous management. The nucleus of the administration was no more the Indian element and it was pushed into the secondary level of management under the new dispensation without much power to wield and a free hand to take decisions in important matters. Lord Metcalf once remarked that the British got all the credit for better administration which was, infact facilitated by innumerable number of Indians at secondary levels of colonial administration.⁵

The flair for self-management was never lost in the minds of Indians. Though they were divested of the political and executive powers, they were always conscious of self-improvement. As early

⁵ Quoted in John Capper, The Three Presidencies of India: A History of the Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions, London, 1853, p.268.

as 1688 the residents of Madras were willingly prepared to contribute certain amount towards the public good by taxing themselves.⁶ Consequently the Madras Corporation, first of its kind in the country, came into being in the same year. By 1726 another Municipal Charter was issued for Calcutta, Bombay while re-constituting the Madras Municipality. This voluntary spirit was kept alive and in the 19th century such voluntary efforts gained momentum. By 1840, the government gauged the popular spirit and was compelled to lay its hands in enacting laws for Municipal administration. Act X of 1842 and Act XXVI of 1850 were introduced in this direction.

Act XXVI of 1850 was of some importance as it could clearly spell out the ideas of the government as far the local administration was concerned. Section 2 of the Act provided for its introduction wherever it appeared to the Governor that inhabitants of any town were desirous of making better provision for public amenities or for improving the town in any other manner.⁷ The commissioners of the Municipal Boards consisted of the Magistrate and such of the inhabitants as the Governor might appoint, and they were removable at pleasure. For the first time the colonial authorities paid attention to the question of inducting inhabitants of the respective towns in this Act of 1850. These inhabitants were liable to be removed when the Governor so wished. Extreme flexibility in this regard proved ineffective as it was not obligatory on the part of the Governor

⁶ Hugh Tinker, Op.Cit., pp.25-27.

⁷ Section 2, Act XXVI, 1850, Pub. Sun., TNA.

to appoint inhabitants into the Municipal Boards. The limited powers of these boards were strictly controlled and supervised by the government. The Act was very sparingly used and in course of time there sprang into existence, without the sanction of any Legislative Act, a number of purely voluntary associations for sanitary and other Municipal purposes. These associations, based on the voluntary spirit, serve as indicators to the future involvement of people in the affairs of local management.

These voluntary associations were fostered by a grant-in-aid
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equal to an amount raised by private subscriptions. By the year 1863-64 five such voluntary associations in Andhra raised an amount of Rs.22,729 and received an equal amount of matching grant from the government. These associations with their

Vizagapatam Municipal voluntary association was the first of its kind to be established in the Madras Presidency under the guiding spirit of R. Ganapathi Rao. In the first year of its inception a massive Municipal hall was built, apart from carrying out other duties connected with sanitation, drinking water etc. The building housed a library, reading room and a youngmen's literary institution. The establishment of literary institution is of particular importance as it symbolises the growing public spirit. For details see T. Appa Rao, Op. Cit., pp.1-7.

9 Private contributions for public purposes are of special significance. It is interesting to note that it was during the same period that the peasants from Godavary region and later the peasants from other regions of the entire state overwhelmingly came forward asking the Government to open Anglo-vernacular schools for which they would voluntarily contribute certain 'rate' towards their management. These instances clearly indicate the growing awareness among the people of all classes towards the idea of self-help in managing their own affairs. Such an idea was visibly expressed by 1880s during the public meetings that were convened to discuss Ripon's proposal of local self-government. This aspect is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

respective contributions are as follows:-¹⁰

place of the Voluntary Association	Amount of Contribution (in Rupees)
1. Nellore	500.00
2. Kurnool	2,150.00
3. Vizagapatam	10,072.00
4. Bimilipatam	5,384.00
5. Vizianagaram	4,623.00
TOTAL	22,729.00

In the following two years similar associations were formed in the districts of Bellary and Godavary. This aspect throws light on the spreading voluntary spirit throughout the state. The geographical area, where these early voluntary associations were established, fairly represented all the important regions of the then Andhra viz., Coastal Andhra and the Ceded districts. The colonial government readily intruded into these voluntary bodies under the pretext that people were approaching the government for help. The reason for such action lay somewhere. For them the act of self-management of affairs on the part of Indians, in isolation from Europeans, would strike at the colonial foundations. Even the liberal British authorities were not in favour of such idea. ¹¹ They tried to intervene, control

¹⁰ Public Department, Sundries, Vol.133, TNA. There were no specific names for these voluntary associations and became known after the names of the towns where they were located.

¹¹ Charles E. Trevelyan, noted for his liberal dispositions and who served as Madras Governor, asserted in unequivocal terms, during his early career in 1830s, that the inevitability of self-government was to be consciously

and manipulate any such voluntary effort of the Indians in various fields. Their interference in voluntary Municipal associations or the Rate Schools in Godavary region were to prove this. Through their help they were trying to provide an ideological thrust to the concept of self-management. Infact, in the present case, both these voluntary efforts were taken over and brought under Legal Acts by 1870. The scope and space for any voluntary action were totally minimised. Added to this, the heavy incidence of taxation diverted the people from their initiative. This was particularly so in the experiment of Rate Schools.

The next Act of a Municipal nature was the Towns Improvement Act, No.X of 1865. Certain changes were affected in this Act. It was during the same time that A.O. Hume warned the government,

worked for and welcomed. Such an affirmation gradually paled into insignificance and later on he came to believe that the British would have to remain in India indefinitely to ensure good government. For him Indian aspirations were to be represented through Covenanted Civil Servants alone. For details see A.D. Webb, "Charles Edward Trevelyan in India: A study of the Channels of Influence Employed by a Covenanted Civil Servant in the Translation of Personal Ideas into Official Policy" in South Asia, New Series, Vol.11, No.2, November, 1983, pp.15-19. Lord Mayo also echoed the same sentiments. Writing on his resolution on financial devolution he expressed the opinion that local interest, supervision and care are necessary for success in the management of funds devoted to local affairs. The operation of the resolution will afford opportunities for the development of self-government and for the association of Natives and Europeans, to a greater extent than heretofore, in the administration of affairs. See R.J.Moore, Liberalism and Indian Politics. 1872-1922. London, 1966. It can be observed that the British belief in civilising mission was present in the minds of liberals too. The changing attitudes of the Britishers towards Indian administration was in tune with the changing phases of colonialism.

for the first time, that unless appointments were given to all those who had received higher education, they would become discontented with their lot.¹² The colonial authorities now began trying to appease the Indians through the Indian Councils Act of 1861 by providing for the association of non-official English residents and Indians with the process of legislation. With this provision the Governor of Madras was eligible to nominate a maximum number of persons upto eight.¹³ Of these not less than one half were to be non-officials. Under the new arrangement when the first Legislative Council of the Government of Fort St. George was constituted there was only one non-official Indian member viz., Vembakkcam Sadagopa Charlu. But he could not serve on the council for a long time because of his premature death. After Vembakkcam, the government appointed Shurf Ool Omrah Bahadur and Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty as non-official Indian members.

The appointment of Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty, a Telugu person settled in Madras, was a silver lining to the course of public spirit and popular agitation as he symbolised the public demand for elected representatives in local bodies.¹⁴ He was

¹² Home (Education), part A, Consultation 9-10, dt. 8.10.1862, NAI. It may be mentioned here that the Act of 1861 influenced the Provincial Legislative Councils in matters of legislation and appointment of members.

¹³ K.C.Markandan, Op. Cit., p.3.

¹⁴ Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty, as noted in Chapter IV, was the first popular agitator for a responsible government and the first political organiser in the entire Presidency. By 1850s, when he founded the Madras Native Association, the Government of Madras already possessed Police reports pointing to the anti-government and agitational tactics of Lakshminarasu Chetty. The only way for the colonial

appointed to the Legislative Council in 1864 and continued to be a member till his death in 1868. His singular contribution to the public cause during his term was to voice a demand for a share in the local administration for elected representatives from among Indians. In 1865 inhabitants of Madras town sent a petition to the Legislative Council demanding a share in the management of their Municipal affairs. A.J. Arbuthnot observed that the petition was signed by a considerable body of persons.¹⁵ When a discussion was initiated on this, Lakshminarasu Chetty, without any haste and mincing words, informed the Council that the prayer of the petition was most reasonable and proper one. He now proposed that the number of members in the governing bodies of Municipal Boards should be increased from three to six so as to give a share for the representatives from Indian community.¹⁶ The opinion of Lakshminarasu Chetty was discussed at length by other members of the Council. Speaking on the floor R.O. Campbell, another member of the Council, said that the speech of Lakshminarasu Chetty conveyed the idea that elective system must be adopted in choosing the non-official members. The council *suo moto* rejected the idea of elected representatives under the pretext that the system of election was impracticable under present circumstances.¹⁷ When the Council met the next time

government to soothen and pacify such people was to coopt them. And hence his appointment to the council. But their hopes were dashed to the ground when Lakshminarasu Chetty raised the demand for elected representatives in Madras Municipal Board.

15 Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George, 1865, Index, pp.82-87.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

Lakshminarasu Chetty was left without any option but to propose that there shall be six commissioners in the Madras Municipal Board and three of them should be unpaid and were to be nominated by the Governor-in-Council from among the Indian inhabitants of

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the town. These commissioners were removable at the pleasure of the Governor. This motion was put before the Council and was accepted.

To further dilute his stand on his demand Lakshminarasu Chetty was given a berth in all the select committees concerning

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Lakshminarasu Chetty was without support in the Council to get a majority in favour of his proposal of elected representatives. He could be easily outvoted by other members. Moreover, the Legislature under 1861 Act was meant to be an enlargement of the Executive Council and was supposed to pass the orders of the latter. The only power it had was to impose new taxes without the prior permission from the Supreme Council. See R.J.Moore, "The Twilight of the Whigs and the Reform of the Indian Councils, 1886-1992" in The Historical Journal. Vol.X, No.4, 1967, pp.400-401. Though the Governor was allowed to nominate certain non-official members, he often appointed such individuals who would always lend support to measures sponsored by the Government. The distinction, then, between official and non-official, was only superficial. Moreover, the Governor used to appoint members from landed aristocracy or mercantile class who were believed to be pillars of support. Infact, in post-1857 period the Government was no more prepared to ignore the importance of the local rulers who formed one of the strong centres of authority in Indian society. All these considerations led the Governor to search for allies among the Indians to be appointed as members of the Council. For details on this defective working see K.C.Markandan, Op. Cit., pp.12-17. Accordingly most of the Indian members appointed by the Governor either remained silent or supported the Government in the Council. For such an attitude the Zamindar of Venkatagiri in Nellore district, Raja Gopalakrishna Yachendra, who was a member in the Council in 1889 was severely criticised. It was lamented that he was sitting in the council like a mummy. See Hindujanasamskarini, January, 1889, p.64. However, the hopes of the Madras Government were dashed to ground in appointing Lakshminarasu Chetty as the latter was unbending in his attitude and moved the motion for elected representatives.

the local affairs. It was intended to divert him from his irritating demand for elective representation under the guise of associating him with issues of local concerns for which he was waging a relentless battle from the mid 19th century onwards. He was now member of the select committees that were intended to look into and suggest better measures viz., District Road Cess Bill, Municipal Bill, Inams Bill, the Bill concerning the rules for regulating the navigation of rivers, canals and other inland waters¹⁹ and was a non-official member of the Board of Commissioners for the Presidency Town of Madras for the purpose of carrying out the income tax provisions of the Act XXXII of 1860.²⁰

Under these changes the Municipal Act of 1865 could not but consider the appointment of Indians in the Municipal Committees of various localities. It was then stipulated in the Act that the commissioners in the Municipal Boards were to consist of not less than five inhabitants of the town appointed by the government for a term limited to one year only subject to reappointment.²¹ Though the appointment of Indians was favoured, the independence of the commissioners was greatly restricted and the constitution of the commission also was **rendered less** independent with the presence of three ex-officio members viz., the district and local Magistrates and the local range officer of the public works department. Further, the power appointing

¹⁹ Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Op. Cit., pp.96-112
²⁰ Madras Almanac, 1863, p.262.

²¹ Pub. Sun., Vol.133, TNA.

vice-presidents was vested in the district Magistrate for all the Municipal Boards in the respective district. The present Act did not come into operation for a long period. Moreover, the Imperial Legislative Council which explicitly favoured the idea of appointing Indians in the Act of 1861 began to tacitly harp on the notion that elective system and the system of self-governing were not to be taken into practice.²² It was of the opinion that the country was not yet ripe for the application of the elective principle even in specially selected localities. The idea was then forbidden. However, the Act was initially introduced in 29 Municipal towns without the principle of election.

By the time the 1865 Act was brought into operation it was found that the Education Act of 1863, which depended on the voluntary principle, was uncertain and unsatisfactory. Even certain duties under the Municipalities like lighting, sanitation, vaccination etc were either starved or neglected. Accordingly, a new Act, known as the Towns Improvement Act, No.111 of 1871, was brought in and included all the earlier objects. The Act made it binding that the presence of an European officer was compulsory to supervise the operations.

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Ibid. This stand of the Government was to remain intact for a long time to come. As observed earlier, the Government considered only wealth and influence of the persons as the only qualifications for being appointed members in the Legislative Council and later in Local Boards. The Government tried to pacify the influential members of the society through this system. The press, on the other hand, was critical of this policy and it was observed that such a policy would bring incompetent non-official members into various public bodies. It suggested that independent, intelligent and English knowing persons should be appointed. For details see Andhra Prakasica. 29.10.1887, NNPR, TNA.

Therefore, it provided that the government might appoint any person even though the same was not an inhabitant of the town. The qualification for the post was made more elastic and the term of office was increased from one year to three years. The number of ex-officio members was reduced from three to two. For the first time the reigns of executive power were officially given to the collector even in the local bodies. Now the collector substituted the district Magistrate as the president of the Local Boards and the local revenue officer took the place of the local Magistrate and the range officer of the department of public works. The appointment of vice-president of the boards was taken out of the president's hands and vested in the government.

The Act, in principle, provided for the first time the provision for the election of commissioners by the rate payers in the Local Boards subject to the rules of the government. A similar provision was made for the election of vice-president by the commissioners in respective Municipal areas. It is significant to note here that the want of elected representatives was already felt among the people of Andhra by this time. The vernacular press was highly critical of the already existing Local Boards where the members were nominated by the colonial authorities. These nominated members could not freely express their opinion for the fear of incurring displeasure of higher authorities. As a remedy to this the press advocated the idea of elections to the Local Boards in Andhra.²³

²³ For details see Dinavartamani. September, 1874 and Swadesi. May, 1876, NNPR. TNA.

Though the principle of election was stipulated, the facts speak contrary to the principle. Even by 1880, almost a decade after the introduction of the Act, there was no single elected member on the Municipal Boards in Andhra. The table below shows this.²⁴

Municipality	Population as per 1871 Census	No. of members		
		Ex-Officio	Nominated	Elected
1. Berhampore	21670	2	15	NIL
2. Chicacole	15587	2	15	NIL
3. Anakapalle	13044	1	10	NIL
4. Bimlipatam	8744	1	12	NIL
5. Vizagapatam	32191	1	20	NIL
6. Vizianagaram	20169	1	10	NIL
7. Coconada	17839	1	21	NIL
8. Ellore	25487	2	17	NIL
9. Rajahmundry	19738	2	17	NIL
10. Guntur	18033	2	16	NIL
11. Masulipatam	36188	2	11	NIL
12. Nellore	29922	2	11	NIL
13. Ongole	7392	2	13	NIL
14. Cuddapah	16275	2	16	NIL
15. Adoni	22723	2	15	NIL
16. Anantapur	4918	2	12	NIL
17. Bellary	51766	X	22	NIL
18. Gooty	6730	2	11	NIL
19. Kurnool	25579	1	15	NIL

The table throws much light on the intentions of the colonial government. Despite the fact that the elective system was mentioned in the Act it was not made effective for a long time to come. Instead, it coopted many people from the respective localities in the form of nominations. Just as the members were appointed in the Legislative Councils who were

²⁴ Home(Public), Part A, consultation 274-276, May, 1882, NAI.

supposed to lend their support to the motions of government, the members of the Local Boards were intended to cooperate with the district officials. Government always tried to impress upon the people that they were really democratic in functioning. However their strategy of nominated democracy was soon to be exposed. The nature of the members of the local bodies and their scope of real power were exposed by the contemporary vernacular press.²⁵ These local bodies were never spared for their follies. By this time people fully realised that the welfare of the public was to be the most important and urgent task of the government.²⁶ Most of the time the members of the Municipal and other Local Boards came under fire since they remained silent spectators in the

25

One of the Telugu journals published from Machilipatnam came down heavily on the Municipal Board making it public that the non-official members were mere puppets in the hands of their colonial masters. Bringing to notice the need for drinking water for the town it lamented that the popular demands were neglected. Position without power, status without respect and show without responsibility were becoming the norm. It questioned whether they were paying taxes for this negligence on the part of Board. Can this cry of ours reach the mighty ear of the D.P.W? See for details Purusharthapradayini, May, 1872, pp.12-15. The journal is bilingual (Telugu and English). It can be observed that the superficial pretensions of the Government that it was functioning in a liberal democratic spirit which would ultimately favour the interests of the people misled some of the historians in their conclusions. Moreover, these historians had no access to the sources which would expose the real motives of the colonial Government in Madras. They were tempted to conclude that evolution of Local Boards under the colonial government in the Presidency, more or less on a democratic basis, was one of the important characteristic features of the process of evolution. For example see M. Venkatarangaiya, The Development of. Op. Cit., Chapter VI, passim.

26

Popular petitions to the Governor of the Presidency throw light on the notions entertained by the people. One Cameswarudu from Masulipatam sent a petition asking the government that it should call upon all the Local Municipal Boards and make it one of their first duties for making arrangements for the support of the poor, helpless and homeless beggars. See Pet. Reg., No.1130 of 9.4.1874, TNA.

local bodies. Though it was known to people that these nominated members were only denominations without any value, they had to come under the fire of criticism from public as well as press for the virtue of their being members of local bodies.²⁷ Added to these difficulties, the ever increasing taxation with every new Act passed concerning the Local Boards, people began to protest against them. Under the Towns Improvement Act it was proposed to increase the number of Municipal towns throughout the Presidency. The increase in the number of towns was to be accompanied by a great increase in taxation both in urban and rural areas.²⁸ This was protested by the people and warned the government about serious consequences of the Act.²⁹ In the present case the Madras Government, in the face of popular uproar over the heavy increase

27 Commenting on the state of the roads and neglect of the duty by the repairing workers employed by the Municipal Board, Purusharthapradayini lamented that while the people were paying taxes, the authorities were indifferent to popular suffering. It warned that apathy on the part of higher authorities would pose serious problems in future. For more details see Purusharthapradayini. February 1872, pp.15-16.

28 The Sepoy Revolt heavily fell on Imperial treasury. The famines in various parts of the country further precipitated the situation. In Madras Presidency, the Education Act of 1863 by which people voluntarily contributed certain 'rate' was to become ineffective leaving the burden to Government. To avoid all these difficulties the Madras Government embarked upon the expansion of the Local Boards with heavy taxation in store. Most of the political decisions were often preceded by economic compulsions. Some other writers on Local Self-Government also expressed this idea. See G.Venkatesan, Op. Cit., Chapter II.

29 The poor cultivators, along with other inhabitants under the guidance of Nagannah and Nundi Reddy from Nandyal in Kurnool district asked the Governor of the Presidency not to include their village under the head of 'Towns'. In case it was made a town, they could not conduct their cultivation under the new regulations. For this reason they were against the idea of introduction of Municipality. Otherwise, they would desert the village in the case of Government sticking to their decision. See for details Pet. Reg., No.1847 of 2.7.1874, TNA. Also see KDR, Vol.5298, pp.485-87, APA.

in taxation, tried to pretend that these democratic measures were not favoured by people for whose benefits these changes were intended.³⁰ The outbreak of famine in 1876 diverted the attention for a temporary period till Ripon's famous resolution.

The history of the development of the Local Fund Boards or Local Funds circles also was in line with the development of Municipal Boards. The only distinction being that the Local Fund Circles developed at a later date. Both of them had the same underpinning of heavy taxation and exacting colonial economy. The origin of Local Fund Circles dates back to 1854 when the district collector of South Arcot requested the Madras Government to retain some amount from Land Tirvah that was to be given upon the revision and this amount would be set aside as district road fund.³¹ This amount was to be utilised on district roads, and for the main roads and larger bridges the amount was to be drawn from the general revenues. The Madras Government readily accepted and sanctioned it in 1854. At the same time the Godavary ryots requested the government to open Anglo-Vernacular schools for which they would contribute certain amount of rate. The Madras Government gave its consent to this proposal too.

In the next year when the government reviewed various taxes it observed that there was no uniformity in the management and

³⁰ The Government entertained this idea and spoke in terms of the people rejecting the plans for their own good. This idea was conveyed in its G.O. No.2233, dt.19.11.1875. For more details see Pub. Sun., Vol.133, TNA.

³¹ For more details see Pub. Sun., Vol.130, TNA. Land Tirvah means the land tax.

suggested that the revenues realised from any local issues should be brought under a special head such as Local Funds.³² The Revenue Board accordingly submitted certain rules which were immediately sanctioned by the government.³³ Now the money from Local Funds should be expended with the joint approval of the district collector and the district engineer. After all the initial difficulties the government passed two Acts affecting the maintenance of education and roads viz., Education Act of 1863 and District Road Cess Act of 1866.

Under the educational cess, a provision was made for the establishment of a committee in every locality in which a Rate School was started. It consisted of the Inspector and Deputy Inspector of schools and a number of respectable persons of the place, selected by the collector of the district in consultation with the inhabitants. As already stated, by this time the government was forced to consider popular demands in including the Indians in any measure initiated by people themselves. This experiment didnot prove a success. The Act provided for a clause wherein it was stated that a sort of plebiscite was to be undertaken once in five years on the question whether the Rate School in a locality should be continued or abolished. When such a plebiscite was actually conducted people voted against the continuance of the schools. The government accepted it and repealed the Act. For the people the improper burden of taxation

32 P.W.D., No.265, dt.14.6.1855, TNA.

33 Rev. Dep., No.371, dt.11.4.1856, TNA.

in the post-anicut period was the reason for such a decision. For government too the economic aspects of maintaining the schools, after people withdrew from their contributions provided an excuse for the ready acceptance of the popular demand. Otherwise the burden of the schools would be added to the revenues of the government. Consequently the 1863 Act was repealed and education was included as one of the several items of the new boards created for all local purposes under the Local Funds Act of 1871. The spirit of popular initiative was extinguished under the discouraging attitude of the colonial government. This further testifies to the fact how far the colonial government nurtured the spirit of democratic process that was initiated from among the local inhabitants. The maintenance and control of the funds raised by district road cess were vested in the hands of the collector without any say for inhabitants of respective areas.

The government made a clear distinction between administration and executive powers in the Local Fund circles. The government resolved that Local Fund Committees should be responsible for administration, the executive power being kept in the hands of an official. The system of election was not even accepted in principle as in the case of Municipal Boards. The duties of these circles also were stipulated by the government viz., roads, communications, education, sanitation etc. The funds were to be administered by a Local Fund Board consisting of officials and non-officials. The district collector was the ex-officio president and all other members were to be nominated by the Governor-in-Council. The number of nominated members

should not be less than fifty percent of the total strength of the board.³⁴

In all those places where Rate Schools were still existing under the Act of 1863 Union Schools were established. A house tax was collected, instead of educational cess, for maintaining those schools.³⁵ There were 271 such unions in the Presidency by the end of 1880.

The number of Local Fund Circles in the Andhra region of the Presidency by 1880 were Chicacole (Ganjam), Vizagapatam (Vizagapatam), Coconada, Ellore (Godavary), Masulipatam, Guntur (Krishna), Nellore (Nellore), Cuddapah, Madanapalli (Cuddapah), Anantapur (Anantapur) Kurnool (Kurnool) and Chittoor (North Arcot).³⁶ All these boards were under the tight control of the government.

A change in the present set up was to arrive only after a decade with the famous resolution of Ripon on Local Self-Government. He issued the Resolution in 1882 wherein he urged for the extension of Local Self-Government. This resolution opened a new era both for the colonial government and Indian people. The main objectives of this historical resolution were imparting political education to Indians, formation of rural

³⁴ For more details see M. Venkatarangaiya, Development. Op. Cit., pp.40-47.

³⁵ Pub. Sun., Vol.130, TNA.

³⁶ Ibid.

boards which should contain a two-third majority of non-officials, elective system in more progressive towns in the immediate future and gradual extension of the same to country side, choice of chairmen of all Local Boards from non-official members, control of the government from without and not within etc. The package of these reforms was considered by many people as unleashing a democratic era.

The package of liberal reforms under Ripon is not to be considered as a blessing in disguise and it was a forceful concession from the Home Government. By 1880 Indian society was bundled into a complex entity with many problems ready to be exposed even on the slightest provocation. The colonial rule in the country had almost driven the Indians towards agitational methods. The discontentment and disillusionment among Indians were leading them towards a confrontation with their rulers.

The problem was further precipitated by the unemployed and educated youth in the country. Finding it difficult to secure employment commensurate with their talent the educated middle classes began to voice their severe protest against the colonial policies. The proposals of Ripon on self-government were seen as a measure to appease the educated sections by nominating a few influential members from among them to the legislative bodies. But by the late 19th century the problem of English educated people was intensified. Graduates and post-graduates were ready

³⁷ Hugh Tinker, Op. Cit., p.45. Also see R.J.Moore, Op.Cit., pp.27-35.

for employment.³⁸ Added to these the increasing number of unsuccessful graduate students posed other problems. Most of these young graduates found it difficult in securing employment. Entering civil service or covenanted civil service was even more difficult. Consequently these people took to various professions like law, journalism, teaching etc. There were too many graduates with very few opportunities for employment.

The plight of the graduates in arts subjects was miserable. Though they fully qualified for employment most of them were to drift into the 'ignoble army of martyrs' who continually cried for the redress of grievances.³⁹ It was estimated that nearly 3000 of the same class were produced annually in India. The much boasted 'liberal education' was of no use to the recipients of the same.⁴⁰ Finding it difficult to procure employment and embarrassed to enter the society in manual jobs, they had to usually accept some miserable post that would afford no scope for the exercise of their talents. The Government, on the other hand, was facing financial troubles in the form of decreasing revenue and increasing expenditure. The repeat occurrence of famines after mid 19th century and the British war policy in Burma and Afghan regions considerably drained the resources from the imperial revenue in India. To tide over the problems the

38 Their number was constantly growing over a period of time. For details see B.Martin, Jr., New India. 1885 : British Official Policy and the Emergence of the Indian National Congress. Bombay, 1970, pp.4-6.

39 Madras Mail. 19.3.1875, NMML.

40 Ibid.

government retrenched in every direction and as a first step, reduced the number of subordinate appointments. The government was warned of the reverses that would be felt by these measures. It was made clear in the columns of the press that "we have long apprehended that the high pressure of the educational policy of the Madras Government, must in the end defeat their objective, and weaken rather than strengthen the loyalty of those who have been chiefly benefitted".⁴¹ Precisely it was this 'army of martyrs' that was found in all the literary and public associations from the early decades of 19th century and these people were, indirectly and directly, supported by others in society.⁴²

While the impact of English education came under fire in the columns of Anglo-Indian Press, the Indians began to attack the very nature and foundation of 'liberal education' of the British. The leader of Sadharana Brahmo Samaj, Pandit Sivanath Sastri who was generally moderate in tone, was growing irritated from the effects of the education. He delivered a few lectures to the inhabitants of Madras in the year 1881. In these lectures he was highly critical of the destructive aspects of the liberal education and said that English education was creating demoralisation among Indians and people should be vigilant about

41 Ibid.

42 These aspects are already discussed in Chapter IV. The link between the proliferation of various public societies and growth of political consciousness was fairly established by late 19th century.

this and develop a right perception of educational system.⁴³ The Brahma leaders in Andhra too were in the same line of thought. Venkataratnam Naidu was strongly opposed to the use of English in his discourses.⁴⁴ When he recommended the introduction of a full programme on moral instruction in all the college under the auspices of Brahma Samaj in Andhra and considered holding a liberal theology examination in connection with the former, he was unconsciously playing against such demoralisation caused by liberal educational ethics of the British as emphasised by Sivanath Sastri.⁴⁵

Attack on the education system was more direct and spiteful from the areas of North Western Province and Punjab. The public opinion was diametrically opposite to the system. It was criticised for not imparting any useful and industrial skills. It was commented that the educational system "has done more to lower you in our opinion . . . we have lost faith in a nation that thus neglects its own countrymen and we naturally conclude that you English who grudge a small expenditure for the support, education and care of your own poor countrymen and co-religionists, must have some deep and sinister political

43 The Madras Times, 16.3.1881, NMML.

44 Venkataratnam to Ramakrishna Rao, dt.20.1.1929, Venkataratnam Naidoo Papers, NMML. Though most of his writings were in English, Venkataratnam Naidoo made it a point to deliver his speeches in Telugu to enable his audience to understand them better.

45 Venkataratnam to N.jagannadha Rao, dt.8.4.1933, Venkataratnam Naidoo Papers, NMML. These references from early 20th century, however, reveal the influences of contemporary society.

object in spending lakhs of rupees in trying to Anglicise our children with English education."⁴⁶ English language as a communication skill was never attacked, but the British designs through English education were thoroughly criticised.

Added to these the hard economic realities, the squeezing nature of British revenue policies and taxation compounded the problem. The whole society was adversely affected by these vagaries. People were adequately agitated over economic hardships for a long time.⁴⁷ These common people also joined their voice with others in a struggle against the government by late 19th century. Ripon was referring to the new ideas and aspirations of the people of India. The problem for the government was to deal with this spirit of progress, the solution being to direct it into a right course and any attempt to prevent it would become a source of serious political danger.⁴⁸ Under such circumstances the response of the British Government was to be soft and their compromise formula was the provision for Local Self-Government. Even for the liberalist thinkers of the Home Government the formula of Local Self-Government represented a compromise which arose out of the inherent paradoxes and compulsions from elsewhere. For example, Charles wood was instrumental in framing the 1861 Act which touched upon elective principle to popular bodies. But he did not favour the

⁴⁶ The Indian Public Opinion and Punjab Times, 11.3.1875, NMML.

⁴⁷ Some of these aspects are already discussed in the earlier chapters.

⁴⁸ Ripon to Gladstone, 6.10.1882 cited in R.J.Moore, Liberalism. Op. Cit., p.31.

application of the same principle to India and firmly believed that India needed only a despotic government controlled from home.⁴⁹ The doctrine of political liberty was seen incompatible to the imperial interests. The fallacy of liberalism was exposed when Ripon bowed before the Anglo-Indian community in yielding to Ilbert Bill controversy. The colonial rulers were not prepared to sacrifice even a modicum of real power to the local bodies. The principle enunciated in Ripon's proposals was finally defeated when we consider the real impact of the scheme on the society.

Despite the fact that the colonial government did not intend to devolve the executive power in its local self-government proposals, the very announcement of the scheme drew enthusiastic response from the indigenous society. When the Madras Government tried to garner public opinion in this regard people overwhelmingly welcomed the principle of local autonomy. A series of meetings were convened throughout the erstwhile Andhra where unanimous resolutions were passed in favour of local self-government. The next chapter deals with the details of this public response which further consolidates our position on the emergence of political consciousness in Andhra during the nineteenth century.

⁴⁹ Wood was supported in his views by other liberal bureaucrats like Charles Trevelyan. But none of them did favour the application of elective principle to India. Moreover, Gladstone's favourable approach to Irish Home Rule Movement further precipitated their fear of its supposed repeat in India. This made them highly conservative in their views. For details see R.J.Moore, *Liberalism*, Op. cit., Chapters I, II and III, passim. Also see B.Martin Jr., Op. cit., pp.5-10.

CHAPTER 6

THE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT : POPULAR RESPONSE FROM ANDHRA

It is observed from the preceding chapter that how much the colonial government was embarrassed on the eve of the declaration of Local Self-Government scheme. For them it was a necessary evil, as the British government was constantly pressed both by domestic problems and Indian public opinion. It appears that the scheme was intended to be a convenient excuse for the colonial rulers to escape from the growing public pressure for a while. For Indian people this provided the much awaited opportunity to make known their mind to the rulers. The new scheme opened for them an area which was exclusively reserved for European domination and where the role of Indians was consciously avoided. The very announcement of the scheme was to signify the fact that these reservations could not be continued for long. The present chapter relating to popular reaction to the scheme from Andhra testifies this. Furthermore, it reveals how people were demanding control over their own destinies as expressed in their claim to local self-government. Given the colonial backdrop the present demand assumed definite political overtones and stood opposed to the British dominance in this field.

On the lines of Ripon's resolution, the Government of Madras appointed a committee on Local Self-Government under the chairmanship of Sullivan with R.S.Benson as the Secretary. The committee consisted of fourteen members including the chairman

of the committee.¹ Among them only three members were Indians and the rest of them were Europeans.² The committee was asked to submit its report at the earliest. Consequently the secretary of the committee in his letter to all the Presidents of the Municipal Boards throughout the Presidency intimated the proposals of the government.³ He asked the Municipal Board presidents to consider the proposals of the Governor-in-Council regarding the extension of Local Self-Government in the Presidency. The proposals were:

- a) The collector of the district should cease to be the ex-officio president of the Municipal Boards in his district, the idea being that his presence prevents all real freedom of discussion and independence of action on the part of the commissioners, who are, in many cases, his subordinates.
- b) Another proposal was that the collector should continue to be the ex-officio president, but that the vice-president should by law, be made the executive officer of the Board, make appointments subject to the veto of the President, and

¹ Home (Public), Consultation No.87-90, June, 1883, NAI.

² Ibid. The Indian members were - 1) A. Seshayya Sastri who earlier worked in Masulipatam and known for his conservative views, 2) P. Chentsul Rao who also was known for his moderate opinions and 3) A.L. Venkataramana, a Sub-Judge in Vizagapatnam.

³ R.S. Benson to Presidents of Municipal Boards, 20.7.1882, Pub., Sun., Vol.131, TNA. The correspondence, individual opinions and proceedings of public meetings relating to local self-government proposals (all of them in manuscripts) were bundled into three volumes under the head Public Department, Sundries in Tamilnadu Archives with numbers 130, 131 and 133.

correspond direct with Government and Heads of Departments merely keeping the President informed of his acts so as to give the president the opportunity of moving the Government in case of dangerous or illegal action on the part of the Commissioners.

He further asked the Presidents of the District Boards to consult several Municipal commissioners in their respective districts as to whether either of these proposals would, in their opinion, be acceptable to the majority of the rate payers and commissioners or be conducive to the better working of the Municipal Boards.⁴ He requested the Presidents to collect the opinions of the Boards collectively and recorded opinions of any individual commissioner which would appear worthy of attention.

Now the presidents of the Municipal Boards (collectors) throughout the Presidency circulated the proposals to various Municipal commissioners. The Municipal commissioners did not stop with the mere duty of conveying their views and eliciting the opinions of rate payers. Instead, they gave publicity to these and consequently a series of public meetings were conducted in various parts of Andhra where these proposals were thoroughly discussed. It was for the first time that a chain of public meetings were held in the 19th century society and that too in a short notice of time. While these meetings came out with conclusions laying emphasis on self-governance, they also established the fact that the people were prepared to fight for

Ibid.

their rights which have been denied to them so far. The spirit was to soon merge with a nationalist consciousness and join the mainstream struggle.

The opinions, expressions and the proceedings of the public meetings reflected three broad strands on the whole.

- 1) As discussed in the preceding chapter the colonial government didnot really intend to devolve power to local bodies. It is shown that the scheme was announced to appease the rising aspirations of Indians. Proposal b) in R.S. Benson's communication on local self-government reveals the reservations of the government in delegating real power to local bodies.
- 2) The second strand of opinion was reflected by the colonial bureaucracy. Most of the officials didnot favour the change.
- 3) The third and last strand was the popular perception. Among the opinions of the people there were two streams of thought again. a) No-changers who also remained conservative. Most of these people were the members or commissioners of the Local Boards representing the nominated democracy under the colonial government. Most of these were educated and occupied high positions in the Government. People like Seshayya Sastri, Chentsul Rao and a few Zamindars, landed magnates and mercantile classes belonged to this category. b) Another stream was Pro-Changers. Among them there were radical pro-changers and liberal pro-changers. While the former wanted to do away entirely with official yoke, the latter

were in favour of relieving the Local Boards from the influence of the collector. These categories represented common people in the society, drawn from various professions, rate payers, agriculturists, lower grade employees including peons, sanitation workers and, interestingly, unemployed youth also. The views of all the three strands will be discussed in detail in the following pages. These are discussed area wise in Andhra which simultaneously include all these strands. Before that, the following table gives an idea about the dates, places and nature of meetings in Andhra starting from Northern Circars.⁵

Place	Nature of Meeting Held	Mode of expression of the opinion	Date of Proceedings
1. Berhampore	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	N.A
2. Chicacole	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	15.08.1882
3. Vizianagaram	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	3.11.1882
4. Bimilipatam	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	1.10.1882
5. Vizagapatam	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	1.08.1882
6. Rajahmundry	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	8.08.1882
7. Coconada	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	14.08.1882
8. Ellore	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	4.08.1882
9. Masulipatam	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	20.08.1882
10. Guntur	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	N.A
11. Bapatla	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	15.10.1882
12. Ponnur	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	27.10.1882
13. Repalle	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	8.11.1882
14. Ongole	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	9.08.1882
15. Nellore	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	2.08.1882
16. Cuddapah	Public Meeting	Public Resolutions	26.08.1882
17. Kurnool	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	29.07.1882
18. Adoni	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	5.08.1882
19. Dharmavaram		Individual Opinion	5.08.1882
20. Anantapur	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	26.07.1882
21. Bellary	Municipal Board	Board Resolutions	1.08.1882

⁵ These details are culled from Pub. Sun., Vols.130, 131 and 133, TNA.

II

Members of the Hindu Mutual Improvement society of Berhampur, in their meeting in 1882 resolved that the collector should cease to be the ex-officio president and a duly elected vice-president should be vested with all executive power. However, the collector could act as an ex-officio president provided that he should neither attend nor take any part in the proceedings. Similarly one of the Municipal commissioners of Berhampur opined that the collector should not even veto the appointments made by the elected vice-president.⁷ He further said that since the proceedings of the Board would be published in the District Gazette, the collector as well as the whole public were kept informed of the proceedings. The members of the entire Berhampore Municipality submitted a memorandum to the Government in favour of local self-government. Approximately 700 people signed the memorandum.⁸ The special assistant collector reported that these people held 'agitation meetings' and obtained signatures from people by means of industrious emissaries and the signatories had vague knowledge of the document.⁹ He brushed them aside as 'idiot gabble' and strongly condemned the idea of

6 Proceedings of the society, Pub. Sun., TNA.

7 D. Venkataramanaiah to LSG, dt.1.8.1882, TNA.

8 A.E.C. Stuart, Special Assistant Collector to the President, to LSG, dt.31.8.1882, TNA.

9 Ibid.

local self-government under the pretext that majority of the people were illiterate who require no change.

The inhabitants of Chicacole Municipality were unequivocal in arguing for self-governance.¹⁰ A public meeting was convened on 15-8-1882 and adopted various resolutions. They demanded that elective system would be immediately introduced in all local bodies in supersession of the existing nomination method. This system was not utilising the services of people with real worth and the nominees of the collector would not at all represent the people. The collector and official vice-president should cease to be so as they could neither afford time to discharge the multifarious duties of revenue nor could possess intimate knowledge of the real character, manners, peculiarities and state of the people.¹¹ They argued that the insufficient knowledge of these characteristics of people was always making incidence of taxation press unequally on the lower orders of the people. They even went to the extent of saying that even the presiding officer of the election should be elected by the people so as to infuse impartiality into the election process.¹² They were aware of the misconceptions entertained in case of Madras Presidency and asked the government to give all the encouragement in this regard in order that 'this Presidency may before long get rid of the stigma of being called the Benighted Presidency'.¹³

10 Proceedings of the Meeting, dt.15.2.1882, LSG, TNA. Even before this meeting, three such meetings were held in the town to gauge the public opinion.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

The memorandum, containing these resolutions, was signed by around 400 people of the town.¹⁴ One of the Municipal commissioners informed the Government that his consultations with many people revealed that they were in favour of self-governance since they would have more access to elected people to represent their grievances and seek redress in person.¹⁵ He further recommended the elective system as the country was well 'civilised' and the people were well educated.¹⁶ However, another Municipal commissioner suggested that the collector should have control over the affairs though a non-official may get elected as vice-president. This should continue to be so till the 'natives are able to manage their own affairs independently in a satisfactory manner'.¹⁷ The views of tax payers were more interesting. One of the tax-payers of the town asserted that the society had all the requirements of self-reliance and self-confidence and it only would require 'unassumed sympathy' to manifest itself in achieving good development.¹⁸ He asserted 'that society is not yet capable of enjoying independent action has been in many places and ere long will be, in the rest, an exploded theory'.¹⁹ He opined that the aristocratic representatives on the Local Boards were of little use and irresponsible and hence elective system alone would cater to the

14 Ibid. On behalf of the people D.Gopala Rao, C.Venkataratnam, Guravayya, M.Ramanaiah, P.Papaiah, A.Narayanaswamy, Venkata Chalapathi Rao, Ramanujayya etc sent the petition.

15 D.Gopala Rao to LSG, dt.10.8.1882, TNA.

16 Ibid.

17 J.Venkata Rao to LSG, dt.10.8.1882, TNA.

18 B.Rajalingam to LSG, Pub. Sun., TNA.

19 Ibid.

needs of the people.²⁰

The response of the people from Vizianagaram was more comprehensive and it was a microscopic representation of the popular response from a colonial mofussil area. The Municipal Board like in other places, convened a meeting and passed resolutions in favour of local self-government. But some people, remaining incognito, sent a letter to the Government of Madras stating that people in the region were opposed to the system. The letter stated that the opinions of the commissioners were one sided. On knowing this a big public meeting was conducted and the resolutions of the meeting were forwarded to the government.²² The public meeting was attended by more than 1000 people and all of them signed the memorandum containing the resolutions.²³ The resolutions of the meeting are as follows:

- 1) That the Presidents in the Local Fund and Municipal Boards be other than the collector of the district or any other official of similar standing and influence.

- 2) That the Principle of election be recognised and adopted in the formation of the members for the above said bodies.

20 Ibid.

21 Inhabitants of Vizianagaram to R.S.Benson, LSG, dt.3.11.1882, TNA.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid. However, a few people opposed the changes. The Head Master of local Maharaja College condemned the idea of self-government. See Chandrasekharam to LSG, dt.7.8.1882, TNA.

- 3) That retain substantial powers be granted to these bodies that they may make themselves useful to the country by engaging the attention of all the intelligent members of the society.
- 4) That proficiency and intelligence as fixed by the University degrees also be regarded as a qualification for membership or voting along with property and income qualifications with the proviso that the electors or members should have been the residents of the locality for a period of time (say, two years) sufficient to enable them to have the necessary local knowledge.

The public meeting at Vizianagaram was, along with the one at Bimilipatam, was unique in one sense. The memorandum was prepared in a meticulous fashion representing a through knowledge of public agitational meetings. In the proforma appended to the memorandum they mentioned the names of professions and the places from which people attended the meeting. The signatories to the memorandum belonged to the following professions:²⁴

24

Ibid. This reflects the preparedness of the people for the proposed venture and their level of consciousness as to how move about demanding their rights. Such public meetings were held in Tamil speaking areas of the Presidency too. The public meeting held at Chidambaram was attended by more than 1100 people who signed the memorandum. So also, the meeting at Coimbatore was attended by 1000 people approximately. Such public meetings drew crowds only from surrounding villages and it was difficult for others at far flung places to make it to the venue. The meetings at Chidambaram and Coimbatore took place on 20.8.1882 and 5.8.1882 respectively. However, the exercise undertaken at Vizianagaram in meticulously preparing the profession-wise (caste-wise) list of members who attended the meeting was absent. See for details Pub. Sun., Vol.131, TNA.

Profession of signatories	The likely caste of the signatories
1. Head Clerks	Mostly upper castes and brahmins
2. Clerks of all grades	People of all castes
3. Mirasidars	Mostly Sudra agriculturists and a few Brahmins
4. Pleaders	Mostly Brahmins
5. School Masters	Mostly Brahmins
6. Writers	Brahmins and a few Sudras
7. Vaccinators	All castes
8. Municipal Servants	Brahmins and Sudras
9. Inamdars	Sudras and local landed magnates claiming to be Kshatriyas and a few Brahmins
10. Accountants	Brahmins and Sudras
11. Munshees	Mostly Brahmins
12. Merchants	Vaisyas
13. Masonary Maistries (Construction Managers)	Mostly Sudras and a few from 'lower' castes.
14. Gold Smiths	Sudras(Viswa Brahmin or Kamsali)
15. Copper Smiths	Sudras(Viswa Brahmin or Kamsali)
16. Silver Smiths	Sudras(Viswa Brahmin or Kamsali)
17. Peons	Mostly lower castes
18. Weavers	Sudra (Padmasali caste)
19. Native Doctors	Mostly Brahmins
20. Priests	Brahmins
21. Petty Merchants	Vaisyas
22. Native poets (Telugu)	Mostly Brahmins
23. Pensioners	All castes

Profession of signatories	The likely caste of the signatories
24. Money lenders	Vaisyas and Sudras
25. Zamindars	Kshatriyas (Sudras)
26. Sepoys	Lower castes
27. Agriculturists	Mostly Sudras and 'lower' castes
28. Gramarians	Brahmins
29. Vedic Pandits	Brahmins
30. Physicians	Brahmins and Sudras
31. Hospital compounders	Sudras and 'lower' castes
32. Police Constables	Sudras and 'lower' castes
33. Students	All castes (specially Brahmins and Sudras)
34. Unemployed youth	All castes (specially Brahmins and Sudras)
35. Revenue Assistants	Brahmins and Sudras
36. Astronomers	Mostly Brahmins
37. Saucars	Vaisyas and Sudras
38. Sub-Inspector of Police	Brahmins and Sudras

This memorandum is a fair and convincing proof of the emerging public spirit. The memorandum brings out a few significant aspects of the social base of the people who took part in the meeting. First, people belonging to almost all professions down to manual servants working in Municipal Boards took part in the meeting. Secondly, the signatories to the memorandum are drawn from all castes in the society and it is a

true reflection of a multi-caste and multi-class approach to a public cause. Thirdly, the presence of unemployed youth adds a new dimension to the public life as most of them were thoroughly agitated over the policies of the colonial government which failed in rehabilitating them in any job. Fourthly, the participation of students in the meeting is the most significant and unique aspect of public agitational meetings. The evidence dispels all doubts about the role of students in public life which is hitherto believed that they were drawn into active public life only in the early 20th century.

The people who attended the meeting were drawn from various villages surrounding Vizianagaram town. People from Cuspa, Kothapeta, Maharajpeta, Santapeta, Vukampeta, Thotapalem, Cheepurupalli etc attended the meeting.

The Bimilipatnam public meeting too was a great success. The European vice-president of the Municipal Board sent his letter to the government expressing that the people were opposed to the new system. Infact his inordinate delay in passing the information received from the government caused concern among other members of the Board. When they came to know about it, they immediately responded, convened a public meeting and forwarded the resolutions to the government. In the covering letter they informed the government that they were too late in sending their opinion as the vice-president of the Board failed

25 For example the distance between Vizianagaram and Cheepurupalli is approximately 40km. Now, Vizianagaram is the district head quarter.

to circulate the government message and the views expressed by the vice-president belonged to himself and another European commissioner.²⁶

They stated that a meeting of the inhabitants of Bimilipatnam "composed of all classes, Hindus and Mussalmans" was held in the Municipal hall on 1.10.1882 and passed the resolutions.²⁷ They are:

- 1) That president of Municipal and Local Fund Boards should be other than the collector or any other executive official and that he should be elected by members.
- 2) That the members should be elected by the people.
3. That substantial powers be given to the members to enable them to prove their administrative skills.
4. That income, property and University honors be recognised as qualifications for membership and voting.

The signatories thanked the Governor for his 'liberality of statemanship'. Yet they were a little suspicious about the intentions of the Government and opined that "with our natural aspirations in our own native land we humbly hope that the expectations held out to us will not be allowed to end in disappointment from any misrepresentation of our real opinion and capacities."²⁸

²⁶ Their correspondence with the Government was delayed when compared to other regions. See for details Inhabitants of Bimilipatam to C.G.Master (Secretary to the Governor), dt.27.10.1882, LSG, TNA.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

It was signed by people belonging to various professions like village Munisifs, proprietors of land, Magistrates, merchants, clerks of various standings, pleaders, school teachers, inamdars, pandits, physicians, postal employees etc. It becomes very significant to note that this memorandum also was signed by students and unemployed youth and this further asserts our claim \$hat student sections from various castes began to involve in public movements.

The response from Vizagapatam Municipal Board was moderate.²⁹ It thanked the Governor for the great privilege of self-government. One of the Municipal Commissioners was of the opinion that though the British were liberal they always would look down upon Indians and this was a fault more of the ruled. He admitted that Indians couldnot legislate for themselves without the presence of European element. But the foreign element should not be armed with power and patronage. He further stated that they had at a time a Municipality under a private agency before the Municipal Act came into force. Though collector and assistant collector were there as president and vice-president, they along with others from Hindus, Europeans and Eurasians conducted the affairs in a satisfactory way. He suggested the same arrangement for the town.

29 Municipal Board to LSG, dt.1.8.1882, TNA.

30 G.L.Narsing Rao to LSG, dt.1.8.1882, TNA.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

The response from Rajahmundry, one of the most important cultural centres and enlightened places, was against the idea of local self-government. The Rajahmundry Municipal Board consisted of fifteen commissioners. Out of them four were Europeans and the rest of them were Indians.³³ All the European members of the Board were opposed to the idea of collector ceasing to be the ex-officio president. Interestingly all of them favoured the proposal that the vice-president might be elected from among the Indians.³⁴ Out of eleven Indian members on the Board, ten of them opposed the proposal that the collector should cease to be an ex-officio president and seven of them opposed the second proposal. Majority of them desired no change. However, public opinion stood opposed to the opinion of the Municipal Board. It was strongly contended that popular representatives should be elected to the Board and be free from any sort of official interference.³⁵

The Municipal Board of Coconada was unanimous in their idea that the Local Boards should be freed from official tutelage. The collector and the president of the Municipal Board informed the government that the proposal of the Coconada commissioners, if carried into effect, would take all powers out of the president's hands.³⁶ He would be put in the position of a mere casual adviser. It would be an abuse of language to continue to

33 Vice-President, Rajahmundry Municipal Board to the President (Collector), dt.8.8.1882, LSG, TNA.

34 Ibid.

35 For more details see Vivekavardhani, May, 1882; August, 1882 and September, 1883, NNPR, TNA.

36 Happel, Collector to R.S.Benson, LSG, dt.14.8.1882, TNA.

call him president as his powers in regard to the Municipality would be much inferior to those of the vice-president. The collector further reported that majority of the commissioners on the Municipal Board at Ellore were not in favour of any change in the existing system.³⁸

The Masulipatnam town responded in a very enthusiastic manner like Vizianagaram. The inhabitants of this town even formed a Local Self-Government Association under the presidentship of Prasada Naidoo, the Zamindar of Devaracottah and conducted a public meeting on 20.8.1882 to elicit the opinion of people.³⁹ The resolutions of the meeting are as follows:

- 1) That the presidents and vice-presidents of Municipal and Local Fund Boards be non-official members elected by a majority in Boards.
- 2) That 2/3rd of the members of such boards be non-official members elected by rate payers and others residing within the limits of each circle or Municipal town, the qualifications of the electors and the elected being regulated by local circumstances and peculiarities.
- 3) That in other respects the scheme of local self-government as sketched by the Governor may be introduced into the Krishna district.

³⁷ Ibid. The Acting Sub-Judge of Coconada, K.Krishnaswamy Rao, was of the opinion that Collector or his subordinates should not preside over Board meetings and Vice-presidents should be invested with executive powers. Krishnaswamy to LSG, dt.31.7.1882, TNA.

³⁸ Happel to Benson, Op.Cit.

³⁹ Prasada Naidoo to LSG, dt.28.8.1882, TNA.

The meeting constituted a sub-committee to frame a scheme of local self-government for the district.⁴⁰ The significance of the proceedings lies in the fact that the qualifications for electors and voting were kept open unlike in the other places. This shows the required amount of flexibility among the participants in a public movement. However, the trading community of Masulipatam was opposed to the proposed changes and 260 merchants from the town sent a petition to the Committee on Local Self-Government, Government of Madras pleading that the president and vice-presidents of the Local Boards should be European Officers only.⁴¹

The collector of Krishna district favoured the Government with a false report wherein he said that the Municipal Board of Masulipatam was against the idea of self-government.⁴² In assessing the situation he took into consideration the opinions of a few commissioners on the Board and the petition of the merchants. He conveniently ignored any reference to the public meeting and its resolutions though his letter was written at a later date. Moreover, all the commissioners of the Municipal

40 Ibid.

41 For details see Pub. Sun., Vol.131, TNA.

42 Collector to LSG, dt.21.8.1882, TNA. It may be mentioned that the local ryots of Krishna district entertained the idea of sending local ryots to the Local Boards as members. One year before the resolution on local self-government the people from a very small village in Krishna district, Doddipatla, were of the opinion that the ryots of the village might be appointed members in Local Boards as they were better acquainted with the affairs of the society. See Vivekavardhani, March, 1881, NNPR. TNA.

Board were not against the proposals. Some of them were moderate and some were favourable. One such commissioner said that introduction of the change was premature though Indian people were competent to hold self-government.⁴³ Another member opined that the collector should be retained as an ex-officio president while a member from the local society should be the vice-president duly entrusted with executive powers.⁴⁴ He added further that 3/4th of the members of the Local Boards should be non-officials who should possess a colloquial knowledge of English and 1/3rd of non-official members should have sufficient legal training which would enable them to administer Municipal laws and regulations.

The town of Guntur came forward speaking in favour of the local Self-Government. A public meeting was organised and resolutions favouring the self-government were adopted. The sentiments of the public were made known to the government through a petition.⁴⁵ Apart from a public meeting, the merchants of the town convened a special meeting of traders and separately adopted a few resolutions favouring the proposed measures. The meeting was attended by approximately 300 merchants which pleaded that elective system should be immediately introduced. The resolutions further revealed that the object and spirit of local self-government would be achieved only when the collector and other officers would be kept outside these boards.

43 Aga Abbas to LSG, dt.3.8.1882, TNA.

44 I.V.Subbarayudu to LSG, dt.31.7.1882, TNA.

45 For more details see Pub. Sun., Vol.13 0, TNA.

46 Memorial from merchants, Guntur dt.6.8.1882, LSG, TNA.

The people, rate payers and agricultural community at Bapatla town (at present in Guntur district) adopted resolutions in favour of local self-government scheme which were more systematically planned. The people of this small town convened a public meeting on 15.10.1882. The meeting was organised by Annavarapu Pundareekakshudu, Manchalla Jagannadham, Velagapudi Dakshninamurthy, Jagarlamudi Naidoo, Nannapaneni Naganna and Yarlagadda Ramanna. The meeting was attended by more than 300 people drawn from various villages of the taluq. the resolutions that were adopted at the meeting are:⁴⁹

1) Unanimously resolved that as the present boards being established at the rate of one for a very extensive tract of country, it is not easily probable for the members to know what is necessary and what not, for the different places in the various taluqs subject to them; it is conducive to the well being of the country to establish a Local Board for each taluq, as it is necessary to reduce to the narrowest possible limits, the local jurisdiction of boards.⁵⁰

2) Unanimously accepted the idea that the members of the Local Boards should be persons elected by people, as it is desirable that the members of the Local Boards should be

47 Proceedings of the Public Meeting, dt.15.10.1882, LSG, TNA.

48 The people with surnames Jagarlamudi, Nannapaneni, Yarlagadda etc are members of the rich agricultural 'Kanuna' caste. This example, along with others from different towns in Andhra, shows that the educated sections from agricultural communities were in the forefront of the public movements and joined hands with other people for the sake of a public cause.

49 Proceedings of the meeting, Op.Cit.

50 However, a few members in the meeting suggested that it would be much better if there should be two or three boards for every taluq.

persons possessing an attachment to the **respective** localities they represent and interested in doing **things** necessary and convenient to the people.

- 3) Accepted by the meeting, (a) That the voters should be persons selected from the people according to a standard limited by a qualification as to the education or wealth of the person, road cess or other cess levied for the benefit of the people and paid by them; For it would not be possible to obtain the votes of all people, if the suffrage were universal; nor would it be necessary that the suffrage should be so. (b) That it is not necessary to have a restriction as to the qualifications of persons to be elected as members; for, when people freely elect a member, they do select one who is a fit person. (c) That the resolution contained in clause (d) above is necessary to this taluq howsoever it may be to other parts of the country.
- 4) Unanimously accepted that officials should cease to be presidents of boards.
- 5) Unanimously accepted that all affairs which are at present managed by the Local Boards, and that all moneys (sic) collected at present to be expended on those affairs, should be handed over to the new boards.
- 6) Unanimously resolved that as it sometimes may happen to have matters common to the several boards in the district, which **ought** to be considered jointly, that a district board should assemble once a year to consider such matters. Members to the district boards should be deputed by taluq boards at the rate of two per each board.

The public meeting, on the same day, constituted a sub-committee to go into further details and suggest any measures in the way of better working of the new boards.⁵¹ The newly formed sub-committee adopted the following resolutions at its meeting:

- 1) Each taluq board should consist of 25 elected members.
- 2) The proportion of members to be appointed by the Government to the boards, should be as one to five of the elected members.⁵²

The Bapatla public meeting was significant in a few respects. For the first time it talked of universal franchise. However, it felt that it was not necessary at that particular point of time. Further it kept its options wide open regarding the qualifications for the people who would like to contest in the elections. It is a convincing proof to the level of operations of the people in political terms. The meeting as well as the sub-committee systematically tried to evolve a viable system of the Local Boards, their composition and nature of membership in those boards. This entire exercise undertaken at Bapatla is a mini-constitutional exercise trying to chalk out various specificities that characterise local bodies.

~~Bapatla~~ public meeting was preceded by a public meeting at Ponnur, another small town in the Guntur district. This meeting

51 The Sub-Committee held its meeting on 22.10.1882 in the local Anglo-Vernacular School.

52 Proceedings of the meeting of the Sub-Committee formed by the Bapatla Public Meeting, dt.22.10.1882, LSG, TNA.

was convened two days before the meeting at Bapatla. The inhabitants of this place informed the government that the meeting was held on 13.10.1882 to explain to the people the resolution on local self-government scheme and to obtain the views of the inhabitants of the sub-district.⁵³ They stated that the meeting was attended by more than three hundred people and consisted of mostly ryots who came to attend the meeting from the surrounding places.⁵⁴ The resolutions of the meeting were almost the same as in other such meetings. One significant aspect of the meeting is that the people demanded a total transfer of authority in the issues relating to religious life, minor irrigation and dispute management in the supply of water to the local bodies. On the same lines the public meeting conducted at Repalle, a small village near Tenali, on 8.11.1882 reiterated the same concerns as at Bapatla.⁵⁶ This meeting proposed that all eligible voters in the elections to local bodies should attain the age of twenty.⁵⁷ This aspect is very significant in the sense that it really provides us a vital clue in to the minds of people and shows how progressive they were in adopting resolutions like the present one.

53 Inhabitants of Ponnur to LSG, dt.27.10.1882, TNA.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid. These demands reflect the concerns of the people in general and agricultural castes in particular.

56 Inhabitants, Repalle to LSG, dt.8.11.1882, TNA.

57 Ibid. Aspects like these throw much needed light on the constitutional thinking of the people at grass-root level. These scattered strands from public life might have favourably influenced the future leaders of freedom struggle too.

The public meeting at Ongole (Guntur district) was attended by more than 700 people drawn from all castes of the society.⁵⁸ A number of people signed the memorandum and a sample study, like at Vizianagaram, reveals for us that the composition of people at meeting fairly represents all castes. The following table gives the details.⁵⁹

Name of Signatory	Profession	The likely Caste of signatory
1. S. Narayana Swamy Chetty	District Munisif	Vaisya
2. Tiruvengada Pillai	Sheristadar	Sudra
3. Sreenivasa Ranga Rao	Thahasildar	Brahmin
4. C. Kotaiah Chetty	Dy. Inspector of Schools	Vaisya
5. G. Narayana Iyer	Head Clerk	Brahmin
6. K. Viswanatha Iyer	Municipal Commissioner and pleader	Brahmin
7. K.V. Charyulu	Municipal Commissioner	Brahmin
8. V. Ananda Rao	Municipal Commissioner	Brahmin or Sudra
9. N. Suryanarayana Rao	Municipal Commissioner	Brahmin or Sudra
10. K.L. Narasimha Rao	Municipal Commissioner	Brahmin or Sudra
11. K. Subba Rao	Teacher	Brahmin or Sudra
12. V. Ranganadam Pillai	Sub-Registrar	Sudra
13. C. Kumaraswamy Pillai	Hospital Assistant	Sudra
14. D. Sundarasia	Head Master	Christian Convert
15. N.V. Rangacharlu	Teacher	Brahmin
16. N. Narsimha Charlu	Teacher	Brahmin
17. Dhara Markandeya Sastrulu	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner	Brahmin
18. K. Veeraswamy Naidu	Municipal Commissioner	Sudra
19. K. Pitchaiah Chetty	Merchant	Vaisya
20. Mohammed Ghouse Sahib	Merchant	Muslim

The above table gives us the idea about the social composition (like at Vizianagaram) of the people who attended the

⁵⁸ Proceedings of the meeting, dt.9.8.1882, LSG, TNA.

⁵⁹ These names and professions are culled from the signatures attached to the memorandum with details about professions. Ibid.

public meeting.⁶⁰ All the resolutions of the meeting were put before the gathering, discussed and unanimously adopted.

It was resolved in the meeting that there should be one Local Board in each taluq and a central district board. Persons paying a land tax of Rs.50/- or Municipal tax of Rs.3 or whose annual income was more than Rs.200 and persons who passed UCS middle school higher examination could be eligible voters. The rest of the resolutions in the meeting were similar to those adopted in other places.

The conveners of this meeting possessed a good knowledge of administrative aspects as is revealed by a close scrutiny of resolutions pertaining to the details of sub-divisions too. Though they prescribed certain rules guiding the eligibilities for voting, they had an open mind regarding the qualifications of the contestants. However, in one instance, they resolved that pandits and sastris, learned in oriental literature, were also eligible for voting and membership. This vaguely gives us the idea of certain qualifications guiding the rules of contest. On the whole, they were in line with others in the state in voicing a strong appeal for local self-government. However, the European officers in the board were opposed to the idea. The vice-president of the Ongole Municipal board informed the

⁶⁰ The names of persons ending with the suffix 'Rao' denote the people belonging to both Brahmin and Sudra communities. Persons belonging to various sub-castes under Sudra varna (Kamma, Baliya, Kapu, Telaga etc) bear the suffix of 'Rao'. Hence, those people mostly belong to either of the two communities.

⁶¹ Proceedings, 9.8.1882, Op.Cit.

collector of Nellore under whose jurisdiction Ongole town fell, that many of the Municipalities had no conception of the leading ideas of self-government and hardly ripe for any Municipal institutions at all.⁶² Hence, the present system should invariably continue till a time when these institutions would get qualified for local self-government.

The Municipal Board at Nellore unanimously resolved that the collectors of districts should cease to be the ex-officio presidents of Municipalities in their districts.⁶³ Their resolutions are as follows:

- 1) Proposed and resolved by a majority that in cases where suitable presidents are not otherwise available, the collector should be requested to accept the office.
- 2) Proposed and resolved by a majority that if the clause 'subject to the veto of the President' be excluded the suggestion may be entertained.

The above clause relates to the veto power vested in President to reject any proposal of the board forwarded by the elected vice-president. Moving this resolution the Nellore board went a step ahead and didnot even accept the controlling power of the president in case he happened to be the collector. While giving their personal opinions the commissioners also expressed

⁶² W.J.Jake, vice-President to Lee Waurer, Collector, dt.3.8.1882, LSG,TNA.

⁶³ Proceedings of the Municipal Board Meeting, dt.26.7.1882, LSG, TNA.

the same sentiment. One of them felt that since it was very difficult for the officials to conduct or enquire any matter, it was desirable to have the entire Municipal business conducted by people.⁶⁴ The head master of local Hindu High School was more forthright in his attack on the existing system and informed the government that as the subordination (of the Indians) and freedom of action cannot coexist, the higher officials in the boards would certainly curtail liberty of the people.⁶⁵ The only remedy for this was self-government. Though it could be argued how far they were fit for this, they were to be trained in this direction which would make them ready to undertake any measure. He asserted further that 'There must be a series of tentatives for everything. There will be many shortcomings at first, but we must put up with them, as it is due to every new and difficult undertaking. It is only after repeated trails and repeated failures that we can arrive at the stage of perfection'.⁶⁶ However, he was a little bit cautious in saying that the president should be selected from among those, not to mention their nationality, who was not vested with peculiar powers and the collector should be informed about the proceedings of the boards so as to intervene in any undesirable act on the part of the Local Boards. The European opinion too coincided with this view. One of the European commissioners on the board informed the collector of Nellore that district collectors should continue to be board presidents since they were neutral in their

64 Kompalli Viswanathaiah to LSG, n.d., Pub. Sun., Vol.131, TNA.

65 D.N. Venkataramaiah to LSG, n.d., Ibid.

66 Ibid.

attitudes.⁶⁷ However, majority of the members endorsed the proposed plan of local self-government. Informing the Government of the same the collector of Nellore mentioned that the collective opinion of the Municipal board was in favour of a complete severance of the board from officials. Interestingly the collector also was in favour of the popular view for disassociating district collectors from all official interference with Municipal Boards.⁶⁸ The collector's opinion from Nellore was the only exception to the otherwise negative attitude of European officers from other regions of the state.

Like elsewhere the opinion was vertically divided between Europeans and Indians at Cuddapah, a prominent town in the Rayalaseema region of Andhra. Cuddapah was the only town in Rayalaseema where a public meeting was convened to discuss the proposals on local self-government. The meeting was conducted on 26.8.1882 and attended by more than 400 people.⁶⁹ Some of the significant resolutions are:

- 1) The Local Fund and Municipal Acts should be consolidated into one Act such as may be common to both.
- 2) Election system should be at once and immediately introduced in Cuddapah town.

⁶⁷ Sharkey to Lee Waurer, Collector of Nellore, n.d., Pub. Sun., Vol.131, TNA.

⁶⁸ Lee Waurer to Benson, LSG, dt.2.8.1882, TNA.

⁶⁹ Proceedings of the public meeting, Cuddapah, dt.26.8.1882, LSG, TNA.

- 3) Persons paying not less than (a minimum of) Rs.6/- per annum to Municipality or a land tax not less than Rs.50 are eligible to vote.

The Cuddapah public meeting and its resolutions assume greater significance as they symbolise the solid spirit of the people behind their public activities. It is significant to note that they demanded the merger of Local Fund and Municipal (Towns Improvement) Acts. The reason behind such demand was to avoid abnormal taxation in the Local Boards. It is to be mentioned here that the people of Rayalaseema protested the introduction of 'Towns' Act into new villages primarily because of this reason.⁷⁰ It becomes even more valid in the face of implicit intentions of the colonial government. The chief value of the Act, it was stated, in the eyes of local authorities, has evidently been the relief afforded under its provisions to Imperial and provincial revenues.⁷¹ When this statement was made in an official letter, the author of the communication received mild chiding from higher authorities who feared that such official communications were sure to be published in Gazettes and they would certainly confirm the worst anticipations of the vernacular as well as Anglo-Indian press. The press, both Anglo-Indian and vernacular, was already vehemently protesting that the intentions of these new Acts were

70 Such protest was lodged with the Governor of Madras when the Government was contemplating the introduction of 'Towns' Act in the Nundial segment of Kurnool district. This is already discussed in the preceding chapter. See Pet. Reg., No.1847, dt.2.7.1874, Op.Cit.

71 Home (Public), Part A, Consultation 274-276, May 1882. NAI.

to be found elsewhere and not in the popular welfare.⁷² It asserted that these Acts would further tax the people so as to relieve the burden on Imperial and Provincial revenues. The press held Sir John Strachey totally responsible for such evil designs.⁷³ The intentions of the colonial government were further attested by the Government of Madras. In his letter to the Board of Revenue, the officiating Accountant General of Madras asked the Board what re-distribution of items was desirable in order to transfer them to Local and Municipal Bodies.⁷⁴ He further added that regarding the expenditure on communication net work, the greatest assistance afforded to Imperial resources was that it was now shouldered by public works and to this extent the Imperial Exchequer had been relieved.⁷⁵ Infact the Government in Madras laid more stress on the amount and variety of charges that were debited to local funds and there was a little emphasis on the actual working of the Local Boards.⁷⁶

The revenue collected from the people and a constant increase in taxation with the introduction of every new Act @in the Presidency are a conclusive proof in this regard. The Educational Cess Act of 1863, the District Road Cess Act of 1866 and the Local Fund Boards Act of 1871 resulted in an upward revision of the local taxation. The following table attests

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 H.F.Clogstoun to B.O.R., dt.18.1.1882, LSG, TNA.

75 Ibid.

76 A.Mackenzie, Secretary to Government of India to The Secretary, Government of Madras, dt.31.5.1882 in Home (Public), May 1882, Op.Cit.

this.⁷⁷ It can be seen that in a period of 20 years the local taxation was enhanced by 75 times.

RECEIPTS IN RUPEES

Year	Rates and Taxes	Other Sources	Total
1. 1856-57	32,399	73,749	1,06,148
2. 1860-61	1,04,494	2,76,444	3,80,938
3. 1862-63	1,33,065	2,50,048	3,83,113
4. 1864-65	1,39,926	4,04,249	5,44,175
5. 1866-67	3,04,526	5,76,284	8,80,810
6. 1867-68	12,19,935	6,05,438	18,25,373
7. 1871-72	23,45,721	15,04,094	38,49,815
8. 1872-73	38,83,766	19,28,176	58,11,942
9. 1875-76	37,69,645	23,70,646	61,40,291
10. 1878-79	39,69,170	36,41,108	76,10,278

These astronomical figures of taxes that were realised by the Madras Government made the people most cynical of the colonial rule. The impending economic hardshi's of the people were visibly reflected by the people at cuddapah and hence their first demand was the merger of Municipal and Local Fund Acts so as to avoid double taxation that was at once heavy and most oppressive. It is much more interesting to note that the present demand fell much outside the scope of discussions on local

⁷⁷ These statistics are based on a report on the "Historical Sketch of the Development of Local Fund Boards" in Pub. Sun., Vol.130, TNA. As there are no other evidences further break-up of the table is not attempted. However, from other revenue records it can be seen that taxes on items like salt were separately given from the general revenue. For example see General, Territorial and Political Journals, TNA.

self-government proposals. Above all it reveals that the people were conscious of the colonial mechanisms and proves the fact that people were increasingly becoming aware of their duties and demands. This was proved in more emphatic terms in their resolution on voting rights and eligibility for the same. The meeting resolved that persons paying a minimum of Rs.6 per annum in the form of Municipal tax or a land tax not less than Rs.50 were eligible voters. The former part of the resolution had wider implications. Rs.6 per annum means a person had to pay fifty paise per month to the Municipality. This proposal, if put into execution, would encompass almost all the residents of the town above a certain age. This amounts to universal franchise. Though this implication was indirect in the resolution adopted in the meeting it was a highly progressive and far advanced idea in the contemporary times. Moreover, given the state of affairs in the society this demand was far ahead of the times. This resolve of the people was further proved by the demand that elections should be at once and immediately held in the town of Cuddapah. These evidences throw much focus on the dimensions of popular agitation by late 19th century in Andhra.

While the people of Cuddapah were highly conscious enough in demanding certain things which have been unique in the then Andhra society, the Commissioners on the Municipal Board were moderate in their views. The president of the Board communicated to the Government that a majority of the commissioners were in favour of retaining collector as an ex-officio member and not as

an ex-officio president.⁷⁸ The European members on the board were opposed to any change in the existing system.⁷⁹

The response from Kurnool town to the proposal of local self-government was moderate. In his letter to the Government the collector and president of the local Municipal board informed that the commissioners were, fairly unanimously, of the opinion that the suggestion of electing a Vice-President from among the non-official members was acceptable to them.⁸⁰ However, they were silent on the position of collector in the Local Boards.

The Municipal commissioners of Adoni, a town in Rayalaseema region, were favourably inclined towards the system of local self-government. In the board meeting held on 29.7.1882 majority of them resolved that the district collector should cease to be the ex-officio president of the Municipal Board.⁸¹ They felt that the object of the Viceroy to impart training to the members of Indian Community in the art of self-government would not be realised to its full extent without making tangible concessions like devolution of real power to local bodies, free exercise of their discretion and relative financial autonomy subject only to the veto of the Government.⁸² The opinion of the board was fairly

78 L.K.Burrows to R.S.Benson, LSG, n.d., TNA.

79 The Vice-president, Mr.Elliot and another Commissioner, Mr.H.S.Taylor were of this opinion. Pun. Sun., Vol.131, Op.Cit.

80 The Collector, Kurnool to LSG, dt.3.8.1882, TNA.

81 The President, Municipal Commission to LSG, dt.29.7.1882, TNA.

82 Ibid.

moderate as far as its notions on self-government and a little bit conservative so far they agreed and accepted the veto power of the Government.

In Dharmavaram, another small town in the Rayalaseema region, the acting inspector of schools of the second division consulted people in the town and communicated the same to the Committee on Local Self-Government. In his letter he mentioned that there was the general prevalence of the impression that the president's (collector's) presence would restrict (if not prevent) the freedom of discussion on the part of many members, non-officials as well as officials subordinate to him, and therefore the proposal that the collector should cease to preside over the Municipal Board, was worthy of adoption.⁸³

The Municipal Board of Anantapur, a prominent town in Rayalaseema, unfavourably reacted to the proposals. Like in Rajahmundry, the Board here rejected the scheme of local self-government.⁸⁴ Forwarding the proposals of the Municipal Board meeting convened on "6.7.1882, the Vice-President of the board intimated that the commissioners of the Board were unwilling to adopt any proposal of the government pertaining to the local self-government scheme.⁸⁵

The Bellary Municipal Board decided in favour of the

83 Acting Inspector of Schools to LSG, dt.5.8.1882, TNA.

84 Proceedings, Municipal Board Meeting, dt.26.7.1882, LSG, TNA.

85 B.Taperumal Chetty, the Vice-President communicated this.

proposals contained in the government communication on Local Self-Government. The meeting of the Municipal Board took place on 1.8.1882 and majority of the commissioners present in the meeting opined that the collector should not be a member of the Municipal Commission.⁸⁶

III

These regional aspirations of the people were truly reflected in metropolitan centres too. It can be said that the regional strands of public opinion formed the real backdrop to the meetings, resolutions and agitations at the metropolitan centres. The Madras Native Association, a premier political organisation, first of its kind in the Presidency, convened a public meeting at Madras. This association was revived again by a prominent lawyer of Madras, V. Bhashyam Iyengar in 1882 under the same name.⁸⁷ As soon as Ripon's resolution was published the Association sent a delegate to the southern and more advanced parts of the Presidency to gauge the feelings of people and to ascertain how far they were prepared to take part in local self-government. A general meeting was held on 26th and 27th December, 1882 and a memorandum was prepared.⁸⁸ The important resolutions are as follows:

⁸⁶ Proceedings, Municipal Board Meeting, dt.1.8.1882, LSG, TNA.

⁸⁷ This association became defunct after the death of its founder, Gajula Lakshininarasu Chetty. The details of this association are already discussed in Chapter IV.

⁸⁸ See for details Memorandum on Local Self-Government by Madras Native Association, Pub.Sun., Vol.131, Op.Cit. Also see B.B. Majumdar, Op.Cit., pp.60-70.

- 1) To have atleast one Local Fund Board in each taluq conducting its proceedings in vernaculars and controlled by the District Board in all matters of detail.
- 2) The elective system should be introduced in all parts of the country except the hilly tracts dotted by wild tribes.
- 3) The election should take place by wards or divisions representing nearly equal area, population and revenue.
- 4) It was not desirable to make the collector the chairman or even a member of a Local Board and all magistrates and police officers should be excluded from boards.
- 5) A Presidency Local Fund Council should be formed with government officials and representative members elected by each district board.

The overwhelming response from the people in mofussil areas didnot fail to attract the attention of the press, both vernacular and Anglo-Indian. As already noted, the Anglo-Indian press was either very moderate or reactionary to the proposals. But they had to recognise the fact that people were prepared to take part in local self-government. Acknowledging this fact, one of the newspapers mentioned that "we are receiving numerous and very voluminous reports of the proceedings of meetings held in the mofussil in connection with this most important and interesting topic".⁸⁹ It further said that it was gratifying to find the countrymen interesting themselves in the political advancement of the land and it was no doubt that the present

⁸⁹ Madras Native Opinion, 6.9.1882.

agitations would carry great weight and significance.⁹⁰ However, it ruled out the introduction of the local self-government as most of the people had greater confidence in members of 'ruling race' still and the present system might be hoped to lead the people to some real good in future.⁹¹ Another newspaper was more caustic in its attack and brushed the idea of local self-government aside saying that people could not perform this function of which they knew nothing either from training or tradition and hence the present experiment was a 'most dangerously unwise experiment'.⁹²

The Government of Madras, which received the proceedings of various public meetings and board meetings which unhesitatingly resolved in favour of the immediate introduction of local self-government, conveniently ignored and paid scanty attention to these sentiments in its report on local self-government.⁹³ The committee recommended that the system should proceed on the same lines as the general scheme of revenue administration prevailing in the Presidency in which village was the unit of government.⁹⁴ The report proposed to assign all villagers the 'elementary duties' of sanitation which would avoid recurrence of epidemics like cholera. The committee felt that the people in the villages should have their own funds and committees, purely native,

90 Madras Native Opinion. 6.9.1882.

91 Ibid., dt.8.11.1882.

92 Athenaeum and Daily News, dt.28.10.1882.

93 Home (Public), Consultation No.87-90, Op.Cit.

94 Ibid.

nominated by the taluq committee, to whose general supervision they might be subject.⁹⁵ The report of the committee came under severe criticism from the vernacular press. It levelled a scathing attack on the Government of Madras from the time of submission of the report. The control and the unnecessary influence of the bureaucracy of the government, stuffed with the Englishmen who were 'nobodies' in England were vehemently opposed.⁹⁶ As a result the grievances of the people were overlooked and the information reaching England, was always manipulated and 'sedulously concealed' from real truth.⁹⁷

The committee, with much satisfaction, noted the views of A. Seshaiiah Sastri, one of the Indian members on the committee and agreed with his ideas on the local self-government. Seshaiiah Sastri was highly conservative in his views. In a lengthy Minute he said that the resolution of the government had been totally misconceived by the people in the Presidency.⁹⁸ The conservatives took it to mean a transfer of authority and functions from trusted responsible officers to boards elected by inexperienced people and, the radicals (the party of progress among the Hindus) took it to mean a 'Magna Carta' under which the management of all local matters of the very first importance were to be taken away from government officers and placed absolutely in the hands of

95 Ibid.

96 Andhra Prakasica. May, 1886, NNPR. TNA.

97 Rajayogi. 10.7.1894 in Ibid.

98 Ibid. Seshaiiah Sastri worked in Masulipatam during 1840s in various capacities in the revenue administration. He was highly moderate in his views and approach. For details see B.V.Kameswara Aiyar, Op.Cit., pp.53-90.

representative bodies elected by the people in Indian society.⁹⁹

The committee finally suggested that the European officers might be retained and concluded by saying that the Local Boards, with the assistance and advice received from official Vice-President, were on progress and the members without being subservient to him, were glad to be aided by him.¹⁰⁰

Though the opinion of British Officials, the Anglo-Indian Press and a few people from Indian society was most unfavourable to the proposed measure of local self-government, the colonial government couldnot afford to ignore popular sentiments. The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, informed in his letter to the Madras Government that it was proposed to increase the executive powers of the vice-presidents or chairmen of Local Boards, to extend the principle of election to all

99 Seshia Sastry believed that despite the progress of education an independent middle class of landed gentry didnot emerge still. He brushed aside the popular demand for local self-government as 'stump oratory' of a class of 'penniless patriots' or 'demogogues'. He suggested that the educated sections should still continue to be interpreters between colonial government and their fellow Indians as the country was not prepared for the experiment. For details see B.V.Kameswara Aiyar, Op.Cit., pp.250-60. Seshiah's views were shared by some of the educated people. For example see Rajayogi. 20.3.1894, NNPR. TNA. Seshia Sastry's ideas on local self-government received a flak from contemporary public opinion. He was criticised for his indifferent attitude towards a popular cause and at a later period, towards Indian National Congress. He was highly conservative in his views and remained a British loyalist throughout his life. It was this loyalist stand that brought him into direct confrontation with the growing radical ideas in the contemporary society. For a critical appreciation see C. Karunakara Menon, A Critical Essay on Sir A.Seshia Sastri, Madras, 1903, pp.27-33.

100 Home (Public), Consultation Nos.87-90, Op.Cit.

considerable towns, to increase the proportion of elected members on the town boards to $\frac{3}{4}$ th of the whole number and to improve the details of their elective system. He further communicated the will of supreme government that the collector should exercise the powers from without and this was to be initially tried only in one Municipality in each of Malabar, Tanjore, Vizagapatam and Godavari districts. The communication further added that it was not either necessary or desirable to lay it down as a hard and fast rule in Madras Presidency that the collector should always be ex-officio president of all district boards and taluq committees. In another communication it was intimated to the Government of Madras that Local Boards in that Presidency were still under excessive official control and the official element on the boards "unduly preponderates, and that the local area of their jurisdiction is inordinately large". The Government of Madras was asked to reconsider the question in the light of the

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Home (Public), Part A, Consultation 274-276, Op.Cit. Under these pressures and rising popular demands the Madras Government passed the Local Boards Act of 1884. This Act also did not alter the existing rules much. The powers of the district collector over Local Boards were retained. Now the Governor was vested with the veto power. The retaining of or conferring extraordinary powers on the collector in view of the possibility of non-officials becoming presidents of local boards was an important feature of this Act. Every effort was made to keep these boards in complete subordination to the Provincial Government. Hence, the utterances of the Supreme as well as Provincial Governments on extending executive power to Local Boards were proved to be entirely misleading and false. For more details see M.Venatarangaiya, Op.Cit., pp.81-88. When this Act was passed people at the grass-roots level expected that they would be absorbed into local executive cadres and even less educated could find place in local bodies. But all such popular expectations were totally left unrealised. For details see Hindujanamasakarini. January, 1889, p.68.

instructions conveyed to it.

IV

Despite overwhelming response from the people to the scheme of local self-government, the final decision of the supreme government was moderate as is suggested by its recommendation to introduce elective principle in selective localities.¹⁰⁴ The Government of Madras was still conservative in its opinion on the scheme. This was attested by the fact that it did not agree to the elective system till late 1880s. It was only in 1889 that the Government of Madras agreed in principle to allow people to elect councillors in Guntur and Vizianagaram.¹⁰⁵ Election to Municipal Board was suspended in Nellore for one year in 1887.¹⁰⁶ Though government was very lethargic in its attitude the demands for elective system were recurring from time to time in Andhra. The people of Bapatla, for example, under the chairmanship of A.

104 It was reported in the columns of the press that the efforts to decentralise power gradually grew weaker. Like in Bengal the scheme in Madras too was a failure. It was in reality government by officials under popular forms. It was advised that the officials must bend themselves to preparing and training people in this direction. But "we question whether they are entirely equal to the necessary effort, or if they will have to be greatly blamed if they diligently strive not to do it, and then triumphantly prove that it cannot be done". See The Madras Times, dt.23.5.1882 (Editorial).

105 Hindujanasamskarini. January 1889, P. 68 and December, 1889, p.56. It is to be noted that in these two places there were vociferous demands for elections to Local Boards. Election was not conducted at Rajahmundry despite the Supreme Government's directive as the Government of Madras was confident of no protests from this place where the members on Municipal Board rejected the scheme of local self-government. This entire episode hints at the method how the Government was mending its attitude in face of determined popular demand.

106 Ibid., December, 1887, p.125.

Pundareekakshudu again demanded that elections should be held to Local Boards as well as the Madras Legislative Council.¹⁰⁷ The demand for elections to the Legislative Council of Madras is significant. The demand for election to Local Boards in 1882 became the demand for elections to Legislative Council by 1887. This is only an indicator of the forward movement of the public demands and their ever growing political consciousness. It is to be remembered that during the same time the Indian National Congress was demanding a share in Legislative Councils. It is more significant to note how the emerging political consciousness at regional levels was gradually merging with nationalist consciousness. Demands for elected representatives were forcibly voiced from other parts of Andhra too.¹⁰⁸ By this time the public opinion was more pronounced on the issue of local self-government and the system of elected representatives. It was categorically declared "we will not be convinced if somebody says that we are not fit for elective system as we are suffering from religious differences, the subordination of women etc. Let it be said that the English do not like to introduce the system of elected representatives. . . . Like Hindus other religionists also are plagued by various shortcomings. We will agree with the idea that we are not fit for elective system because we are not cunning in our nature like the English".¹⁰⁹ This strong reaction is a clear indication of the dimensions of popular feeling in

107 Ibid., September, 1887, p.57. Sometimes the vernacular press instigated the people to demand for elective system. For example see Desopakari. 27.5.1894, NNPR, TNA.

108 For details see Dharmavardhani. May-June, 1894 and Vartadarsini, 15.12.1894 in NNPR. TNA.

109 HinduJanasamskarini. June, 1890, p.113. ,

the Andhra society of the late 19th century.

It was precisely during this time various public associations in the three Presidencies were demanding a clear policy from the colonial government on the issue of legislative share. On the same lines the Madras Mahajana Sabha was vigorously working with objectives related to public welfare. The Madras Native Association was the forerunner of this public body. The Mahajana Sabha was established by former members of the Native Association and a few prominent citizens from Madras like Subrahmanya Iyer, Anandacharlu, P. Rangaiah Naidu and others. They founded this Association in 1884. Within an year of its establishment, it became very popular drawing its delegates more from Tamil-speaking areas that were south of Madras and a few from the Andhra region. In line with the demands of Indian National Congress the Sabha began to demand a share in legislature, separation of executive from judiciary, entry of Indians into Indian civil service etc. Along with these, the Sabha began to fight for the rights of peasants, extension of primary education in the Presidency, reforms in

110 The origin, growth, nature and composition of the Madras Mahajana Sabha have been thoroughly discussed by various scholars. For details see D.A.Washbrook, The Emergence of Provincial Politics: The Madras Presidency, 1870-1920. New Delhi, 1977; R.Suntharalingam, Op.Cit; B.Martin JR., Op.Cit; D.Sadasivan, Op. Cit.; B.B.Majumdar, Op. Cit.; R.Parthasarathy, A Hundred Years of the Hindu: The Epic Story of the Indian Nationalism. Hindu Centenary publication, Madras, 1978; Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism. Cambridge (London), 1970. Apart from these the Annual Reports of Madras Mahajana Sabha are available.

111 Kannada Suvarte, 16.10.1885 and Karnataka Prakasica. 19.10.1885, NNPR, TNA.

government organs like revenue boards, the development of Local Boards and the like.¹¹² Though the Madras Mahajana Sabha was moderate in its approach, it reflected the rising aspirations of the people. After a successful stint in the field of popular agitation it finally merged with Indian national Congress symbolising the merger of regional and national streams of struggle.

A careful analysis of the foregoing description of public agitation throws much light on those aspects of nineteenth century Andhra which helps us in the reconstruction of the history of the slowly spreading political awareness. The present study tries to suggest that the emergence of public **opinion** was never dependent on outside elements for its sustenance. Moreover, the presence of people belonging to all castes and sections in the society hints at a larger social base of popular agitations. It is true that the educated sections of the society often led the movements. But they were never the entire content and constitution of these movements. For a long time the educated people reflected a few concerns which effected them in the contemporary society. When the public life was more organised and began to voice the problems of all the sections of society by late nineteenth century the demarcating line between the educated and the others speedily disappeared. The present study precisely throws light on this and the agitational meetings of people demanding introduction of local self-government during late nineteenth century further attests this. It can be seen

112 Hindujanasamskarini, May, 1889, p.115.

that this political consciousness was to gradually merge with the national main stream by the end of the century.

In conclusion it may be stated that popular response from Andhra to the Ripon's proposals on local self-government was characterised by a multi-class approach, a conscious effort in systematically espousing their ideas on self-management, a progressive notion of franchise and an implicit urge towards the evolution of a government free from colonial influence. These characteristics serve as a convincing proof to the level of consciousness in nineteenth century society.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

An analysis of the events during the course of nineteenth century suggest two important aspects. For the Colonial rulers the century was very crucial as it was a period of consolidation of their rule. In an attempt to achieve an overall supreme position they almost tampered with all the existing social institutions and old economic usages. Extension of colonial hegemonising influence became imperative for the British without which their foundations in India would be challenged. The nineteenth century was equally important for Indians since they 'began undergoing a thorough change under the colonial rule. During this process various social groups were considerably affected and reaction started building up along with the change. However, the reaction was neither uniform nor common to all social groups. A probe into popular modes of reaction and forms of protest during the nineteenth century brings out the fact that consciousness was scattered in society. The common characteristic of such reaction was an intense quest for a new identity in the colonial society. The centripetal attitude of colonial rulers in centralising their authority and the centrifugal tendency of Indian social groups in trying to get rid of colonial oppressive policies could be seen throughout the century. The emergence of public consciousness and political awakening are viewed from this angle in the present work. An attempt has been made to identify different strands of

consciousness in Andhra and analyse how they were gradually assuming political character by late 19th century. For this, major developments under the colonial rule in the field of economy, education, press, public associations and the issue of self-governance are considered in our analysis. Throughout the delineation of these topics the main focal point is the popular reaction to new policies and growing ideas of protest as expressed by different modes like popular petitions, opinion of the press, public forums and their objectives and resolutions of various public meetings in Andhra on the eve of Ripon's proposals on local self-government.

The Andhra region of the erstwhile Madras Presidency, like other regions in the country, was subject to the changes effected under the colonial rule. The process of consolidation of the British rule was accompanied by the introduction of new policies in economy and society. The new revenue policies, in particular, created a unified market and disturbed the existing land relations. The Ryotwari system in Madras Presidency finally proved to be more exploitative in its working when compared to other revenue settlements. Added to this, attempts at superimposing a more exploitative capitalist economy in the post-1857 period, destruction of indigenous industry, the consequent pressure on agriculture, out-break of famines in a periodic manner etc further worsened the economic conditions in society. Consequent upon all these changes resentment started building up among the peasant and agricultural communities. From the beginning of the nineteenth century there have been numerous

popular petitions which urged the Madras Government for the redressal of various grievances. These petitions truly serve as germinating seeds of popular protest and covered almost every aspect of economic suffering in society. However, in case of poligars and Zamindars the protest took violent form of open rebellion. As already mentioned Narasimha Reddy's revolt in Rayalaseema was the most far reaching one in Andhra province of the Presidency. Almost all such revolts were backed by commoners in the society. By the middle of 19th century the problems of peasants prominently appeared on the agenda of Madras Native Association, a premier public forum in the Presidency which could be considered as the forerunner of later day full fledged political organisations. The Association was successful in establishing branches in the Andhra region at Guntur, Chirala and Sarvepalli and was instrumental in voicing resistance of peasants. Its impact was visible even by the late 19th century. For example, the ryots of Nundial division in Rayalaseema openly protested the introduction of 1871 Towns Act as it proposed new taxes. They threatened to desert their villages to avoid taxation.¹ By the end of 19th century the form of peasant protest attained even more serious dimension. The noteworthy development during the century was to bring into use the modern tool of struggle viz., strike.² In the post-1870 period the

1 See Chapter IV, p.176.

2 The word 'strike' (Samme in Telugu) was used by the contemporary journals to describe the reactions of peasants in Krishna delta region. See for details Purusharthapradayini. January 1872, p.27.

peasants in the Nuzivid Zamindari and Duggirala village (both in the Krishna delta region) went on strike protesting the exploitative measures and heavy incidence of water tax.³ Apart from these protest measures, educated members from among the mid-peasant castes of Andhra region associated themselves with the founding of various public societies. They formed an important social base of emerging public opinion during the discussions on local self-government scheme. All these developments suggest the growing political awareness particularly among the agricultural sections.

The introduction of new education in India was conceived as a major tool of Western ideological influence. The acquisition of control over vast tracts of the sub-continent greatly enhanced economic exploitation and consequent drain. The immediate problem before the colonial state was the need to give the force and exploitation of their policies the appearance of legality. The means used for this purpose was the introduction of English education. The 'moral and intellectual' improvement of Indians as echoed in the new educational policy was carried through preaching of Western values and religious morals in their educational institutions. Infact, it was categorically stated that "with a view to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people the great primary object is the extension among those who have leisure for advanced study, of the most complete

3 Referred in Chapter IV, pp.176-77.

education in our power."⁴ Such extension of 'most complete education' in the hands of colonial rulers was aimed at circumscribing the emerging consciousness among the educated Indians within the orbit of colonial ideology. It has been 'argued that attempts were made by the colonial authorities to relate education to their dominance both as a means of persuasion and as an arm of its coercive apparatus.'⁵

However, the creation of employment opportunities under the British disturbed many traditional callings and motivated people to take to English education. The growth of English education was somewhat rapid after the middle of 19th century. It was during this period various colleges were established in Andhra and the growth of secondary and primary education also showed a satisfactory progress. This is borne out by the literacy rates and proportion of population for every one student both in coastal districts and Rayalaseema region. The growth of education witnessed the emergence of an urban-based middle class which formed the main base of social reform movements and early public forums during the nineteenth century. Apart from the ulterior motives of new education, the educated middle classes in society began to appreciate the liberal values flowing through English education. These educated sections viewed English

⁴ For more details see the Minute on Education by Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India in Pub. Dept., No.7, dt.2.3.1841, TNA.

⁵ Ranajit Guha, An Indian Historiography. Op. Cit., p.16.

education as an instrument of social change and believed in the patronising and enlightening nature of the British rule. such 'false consciousness' is evident in the activities of Veeresalingam, Gurajada Appa Rao and Atmuri Lakshminarasimham as in the case of many other intellectuals of 19th century. They unhesitatingly extended their moral support to the British rule.

Another important strand relating to education is religious instruction in the institutions run both by the Madras Government as well as Christian missionary societies. No serious attempts were made to devise a clear cut and definite educational policy in the Presidency till the middle of 19th century. Consequent upon this, a few enlightened Zamindars, educated intellectuals and Christian missionaries entered the field of education. Among these, the missionaries were more active. Religious instruction and proselytisation became the main focal points of their educational endeavours. Large scale conversions and inculcation of Western religious morals among Indians would be conducive to the smooth functioning of colonial administration. With this belief the Government of Madras extended its direct support to the activities of Christian missionaries. These measures invited serious protests from the Andhra region. Almost all sections in the Indian traditional society including educated middle classes voiced their protest against such religious interference. As a retaliatory measure children were withdrawn from missionary institutions. The protest took even more serious turn and culminated in the founding of separate Hindu schools at places like Visakhapatnam, Machilipatnam and Nellore. Though these

protest measures were no match to the educational activities of Christian missionaries, they suggest that the very contents of new education began to serve as a tool of protest.

The establishment of Rate Schools was a significant educational experiment during nineteenth century in Andhra. They were entirely maintained by voluntary contributions. The demand for their establishment came mainly from the emerging mid-peasant castes both in Andhra and Rayalaseema segments of the erstwhile Andhra province in Madras Presidency. Though the requests for these schools simultaneously originated from Cuddapah and 'Godavari districts, the experiment was first initiated in the Godavari delta region. It spread to other parts in due course of time. This experiment symbolised the growing awareness among people towards self-improvement and social development. Furthermore, it throws light on the consciousness emanating from non-Brahman castes which were hitherto lagging behind in the field of education. All these schools were free from the managerial interference of colonial officers except that the schools were subject to periodic inspection of the Government.

The growth of press was facilitated by various developments during the nineteenth century. Development of English education and the consequent rise of educated middle classes, the intense missionary activities and healthy growth of vernacular press in other parts of India such as Bengal and Maharashtra were some of the major factors that influenced the growth of journalism in Andhra. However, the efforts of Telugu people in establishing

the earliest Indian-owned English journals like The Native Circulator, Crescent and The Rising Sun have been successful. These efforts bore fruit with the highly satisfactory progress of Crescent, the chief organ of Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty and his public activities. It became popular within a short span of time and the Government of Madras initiated repressive measures against the journal as it launched an open attack on the policies of the Government, in particular, its support to Christian missionaries. One of the important contributions of the journal was to make use of investigative methods in journalism in trying to garner facts related to public life. On the other hand, the growth and proliferation of Telugu journals was rapid after the middle of the 19th century. Both Andhra and Rayalaseema segments of Andhra province were well represented in the growth of vernacular press. Most of these journals were edited by people from among the ranks of educated sections and, in the initial stages, began to voice specific middle class concerns. However, a significant change came in their tone by late 19th century when various issues of public concern like social reform, intense missionary activities, role of public associations in society etc found a place in their columns. Some of the journals initiated serious attempts in trying to analyse working of the colonial administration in the country. It was argued that a thorough knowledge of Indian society enabled the British to easily penetrate into the Hindu society and firmly establish their

political power.⁶ The retention of such power was achieved through religious preaching and conversions. It can be observed that through their attempts like the present the vernacular press tried to explain the tacit connections between the Britishers' knowledge of Indian society, the role of religious propaganda and a smooth functioning of political machinery. This realisation among the vernacular journals in Andhra is significant and throws light on the role of the press in public life.

The emergence of non-Brahman consciousness is yet another important development during the 19th century. It was facilitated by the changes effected under the new colonial policies and the consequent spread of public consciousness in Andhra. Added to this, the completion of major irrigational projects on Godavari and Krishna rivers favoured the growth of non-Brahman consciousness in the society during the course of nineteenth century. Under the Ryotwari system tiller's right to land was recognised in principle. It had a direct bearing on Brahmin land holders who most often remained absentee landlords. Furthermore, the patronage of local ruling chiefs to Brahmins was gradually on the wane as the colonial state clipped the wings of local rulers and divested them of their discretionary powers in revenue and political matters. Amidst these changes some of the Brahmin landholders from districts like Nellore began

⁶ Reference cited in Chapter III, pp.146-48.

addressing memorials both to the Madras Governor as well as the Governor General of India pleading for retention of their privileges on land or protection from encroachments by other peasant castes.⁷ On the other hand, even the rulers of Zamindari estates in coastal Andhra began facing acute problems in revenue matters. The increasing demand of 'peshcush' coupled with lavish expenditure in zamindaries led some of these Zamindars to adopt repressive measures like collection of sist from ryots much in advance. In places like Godavari we have a few instances where the local Zamindars forcibly occupied the lands of Brahmins. In Bobbili Zamindari the people belonging to ruling family began to claim a superior status over Brahmins and the Venkatagiri Zamindar, Gopalakrishna Yachendra, even published a book disputing the monopoly of Brahmins over Hindu traditions. All these evidences suggest that the privileged position of Brahmins was given a big jolt in the course of events during the 19th century.

Coupled with changes in land relations, the introduction of English education was significant for the emerging non-Brahman castes. The new education was equally accessible to all vis-a-vis the traditional education which was under the control of Brahmins. Moreover, job opportunities were thrown open to all English-educated people irrespective of religion and caste. Under these conditions non-Brahmans were also eager in deriving

⁷ This tendency was witnessed even during the early decades of 19th century. In the present case details are given in Chapter IV, pp.182-83.

benefits out of these opportunities. Such eagerness and urge towards social improvement is visibly reflected by the Rate School experiment which increasingly associated mid-peasant castes from among the non-Brahman sections of society.

By the middle of nineteenth century Godavari anicut was completed and Krishna anicut was nearing completion. These irrigational projects brought vast tracts of land under cultivation and resulted in the general prosperity of the delta region. The favourable economic conditions favoured the rise of non-Brahman peasant castes and they gradually began to replace Brahmins from their earlier privileges on land. The growth of economic prowess and creation of equal opportunities under the changed social set-up cleared the way for the growth of non-Brahman consciousness. After the mid 19th century educated members among the upper non-Brahman castes began to claim equal share on par with Brahmins in education, employment and local bodies like Local Fund Boards and Municipalities.

However, the emergence of non-Brahman consciousness did not assume the shape of exclusive caste identity during the nineteenth century. This is attested by a few significant aspects of non-Brahman consciousness. The pervasive influence of social reform campaign in the second half of nineteenth century played an important role and under its impact narrow caste divisions were submerged in the main stream of social reform. Many of the influential members from among non-Brahman castes like Atmuri Lakshminarasimham, Pyda Ramakrishnaiah, the Rajah of

Pithapuram, Chilambu Adinarayanappa Naidu and D.Venkatarami Reddy (Proprietor of Sri Sarada. monthly journal in Telugu) extended their unflinching support to reform activities such as condemnation of child marriages, support for widow marriages and women's education. Even the caste associations in early 20th century initially concentrated on internal reforms under the impact of vigorous social reform campaign by people like Veeresalingam. A few contemporary autobiographies bring out the fact that social life in Andhra during the nineteenth century was not sectarian in its approach towards public concerns and did not attain narrow caste identities. On the other hand, there was no interference of colonial state in this field unlike in the early 20th century when it extended an implicit support to Justice Party organised on the social basis on non-Brahmans in Madras Presidency including the Andhra region. Above all, non-Brahmans were seen fairly in large numbers in the early public associations, library movement and the series of public meetings organised on the eve of the announcement local self-government scheme. These evidences provide enough proof to the non-sectarian attitude of non-Brahman consciousness.

The establishment of various public associations throughout the coastal districts and Rayalaseema region during the second half of nineteenth century symbolises successful culmination of public awareness in society. These associations had specific social, economic, literary, moral and intellectual objectives on their agenda. Some of them reflected national concerns such as acquisition of knowledge of contemporary happenings in other

parts of the country. These associations endeavoured to take issues of public concern to the grass-roots level. This is attested by the fact that most of these associations were located in small rural towns throughout Andhra. Infact, the contributory role of these associations later strengthened the hands of a national body like Indian National Congress.

The announcement of Local Self-Government scheme opened a new chapter in the history of emerging public consciousness. It can be seen that different strands of consciousness in society which have been noticed earlier joined the mainstream struggle now. The announcement of the scheme was followed by a series of public meetings at various places where people demanded control over local institutions which was hitherto denied by the colonial state. These public meetings provided linkages between different and scattered strands of consciousness in Andhra. An analysis of these public meetings, their social base and the resolutions adopted help us establish the fact of the beginning of the process of the growth of political consciousness that ultimately manifested in the founding of a national organisation like Indian National Congress.

All these public meetings were multi-class in their nature. People belonging to all social groups participated in them. The meeting at Vizianagaram was attended by people of all professions and an analysis of the social base of signatories to the memorandum suggest that they were drawn from all sections of Hindu society. Similar was the case with public meetings at

places like Bimilipatnam and Ongole. This suggests that the emergence of a multi-class approach to a public cause, especially in the colonial background, had a beginning during the nineteenth century.

Most of these public meetings were organised in semi-urbanised towns like Bimilipatnam, Bapatla, Repalle and 'Ponnur. This suggests the participation of semi-urban people in the contemporary public movements. Moreover, meetings at places like Visakhapatnam, Guntur, Bapatla, Ponnur, Machilipatnam, Ongole and Cuddapah were largely attended by peasants of the respective localities. The rural base of popular movements that was created earlier by the Madras Native Association was further strengthened during this period.

A significant development during this period was the beginning of the participation of students and unemployed youth in the public life. For example they were present during the meetings at places like Vizianagaram and Bimilipatnam where people voiced specific political demands concerning local self-government. It may be noted that the entry of students into activities of social nature was witnessed during the reform campaign of Veeresalingam. Infact, his endeavours in this regard drew their main strength from student community at places like Rajahmundry. But, their entry into political sphere is an important development of the nineteenth century. It may be noted that it was at Rajahmundry where more than hundred students were rusticated from the Government Arts College for their

participation in Vandemataram movement during the first decade of the 20th century.⁸

Most of the resolutions adopted during these public and Local Board meetings reflect a popular urge for autonomy in local affairs free from colonial influence. Barring a few resolutions of a few Local Boards at places like Rajahmundry and Anantapur, majority of the resolutions of both public meetings as well as Local Boards unanimously favoured the immediate introduction of local self-government. They demanded that the Local Boards should be free from the influence of colonial officials like the district collector. They further resolved that local issues like irrigation, revenue collections, water disputes and religious matters should be left to the discretion of Local Boards. These Boards should comprise elected representatives of people and there should be very few nominations from the Government. Apart from these, they put forward elaborate proposals on voting rights. The Bapatla meeting had on its agenda the proposal of universal franchise, but it didnot consider it as necessary for the time being.⁹ The public meeting at Cuddapah resolved that all those who were paying fifty paise per month to the local

8 See for more details M.Venkatarangaiya, The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh. Vol.11 (1906-1920 A.D) . Hyderabad, 1969, pp.23-32. For a detailed break-up of the suspended students (class-wise) see the Report of the Principal, Mark Hunter, dt.20.5.1907 in Ibid., pp.194-96.

9 Referred in Chapter VI, pp.268-70.

Municipality should be given voting rights.¹⁰ This proposal, if carried into effect, would bring most of the eligible residents of certain age group into the ambit of voting system. Evidence like this from Rayalaseema dispels doubts that it was backward in the sphere of public awareness. It has been already mentioned that Rayalaseema region was well represented in terms of literacy rates and public associations. The meeting at Repalle demanded that all people who were paying a nominal amount of tax and who attained the age of twenty should be made eligible for voting.¹¹ It may be recalled that even the Constitution of independent India fixed the voting age at 21 and it was reduced to 18 only in the recent past. The meeting at Chicacole went a step further and demanded that the presiding officer also should be elected by people. These comprehensive proposals on civil rights can be said to be the most important legacy of popular movements during the nineteenth century. These regional aspirations and resolutions on people's rights provided the necessary prelude to the struggle of Moderate leaders of the National Movement who laid emphasis on civil rights. The foregoing analysis testifies our assumption that the emergence of political consciousness was fairly witnessed in the Andhra region during the nineteenth century.

10 Ibid., pp.279-80.

11 Ibid., p.271.

APPENDIX No.1

A. List of villages in Cuddapah District which were prepared to assess themselves to support the Anglo-Vernacular Rate School at the town of Jammalamadugu (Education Department, Consultation No.51, dated 15.6.1868).

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Jammalamadugu | 20. Diguvakalavatala |
| 2. Kanneluru | 21. Papiapally |
| 3. Goriganuru | 22. Kondasunkesala |
| 4. Viparala | 23. Pedda Komarla |
| 5. Ponnathotah | 24. Bodupally |
| 6. Goodemcheruvu | 25. Dugganapally |
| 7. Sarewariwuppalapadu | 26. Chinna Komarla |
| 8. Pedda Parapula | 27. Bestavemala |
| 9. Devagudi | 28. Chinnavenuturla |
| 10. Moragudi | 29. Bhutamapuram |
| 11. Domara Nandiala | 30. Dhannavada |
| 12. Khadarabad | 31. Vaddirala |
| 13. Medidinna | 32. Peddandluru |
| 14. Chidipiraladonna | 33. Thorravemala |
| 15. Chinna Parapula | 34. Talamanchipatnam |
| 16. Poowasoogamanchipally | 35. Gollaluppalapadu |
| 17. Poorvabomepally | 36. Dhodiem |
| 18. Gundlakunta | 37. Murupandi |
| 19. Bheemagundam | 38. Madhavapuram |

39. Malamidicambhaladinna
40. Sirigepally
41. Gandikotta
42. Sangivapally
43. Ponnampally
44. Callutla
45. Nagireddipally
46. Dhanavulapadu
47. Diguvapatnam
48. Yeturu
49. Venkatapuram
50. Yenamalachintala
51. Beduduru
52. Chowtapally
53. Bomepally
54. Yerragudi
55. Venikekalwa
56. Gandluru
57. Pottipadu
58. Sugamanchipally
59. Diguvabrahmanapally
60. Gungapuram
61. Penujuvvi
62. Coduru
63. Lavanuru
64. Nagamalladinna
65. Konavaripally
66. Burujupally
67. Riagadipally
68. Jogapuram
69. Chamaluru
70. Bukkapatnam
71. Ananthapuram
72. Kammavaribrahmanapally
73. Lingamanenipally
74. Tallapoddatu
75. Raghavapuram-i
76. Paluru
77. Venkatapuram
78. Nagarazupally
79. Wappaluru
80. Kotalapally
81. Vengampally
82. Bodithippanapadu
83. Nemalladinna
84. Peddamudiem
85. Saddapally
86. Garisaluru
87. Balapanaguduru
88. Chinnamudiem

89. Vulavapally
90. Chintakunta
91. Nallapally
92. Chinnaduddela
93. Jangalapally
94. Kadasanikottapally
95. Raghavapuram-ii
96. Penikelapadu
97. Peddadudderla
98. Timmapurain
99. Velupucherla
100. Denepally
101. Muddanur
102. Bondalakunta
103. Kosinepally
104. Mangapatnam
105. Aravetipally
106. Korrapadu
107. Vemavaram
108. Chennamanenipally

B. List of villages in Cuddapah District which were prepared to assess themselves to support the Anglo-Vernacular Rate School at the town of Proddutur (G.O.(Education), No.308, dated 22.9.1869).

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Duvur | 20. Maduru |
| 2. Madirepally | 21. Vellavolu |
| 3. Gudipadu | 22. Tallampuram |
| 4. Jillella | 23. Arakatavemula |
| 5. Chinasinganapally | 24. Godaguduru |
| 6. Vupparapally | 25. Payidala |
| 7. Jonnavaram | 26. Tangaturu |
| 8. Alladupally | 27. Peddasettipally , |
| 9. Bhadripally | 28. Nidujuvi |
| 10. Kutchupapa | 29. Rameswaram |
| 11. Peddaguruvaluru | 30. Dorasampally |
| 12. Chinnaguruvaluru | 31. Chavuduru |
| 13. Veluvali | 32. Kamanuru |
| 14. Yeruvapalem | 33. Rajupalem |
| 15. Nelaturu | 34. Mydukuru |
| 16. Chiyypadu | 35. Chinnasettipally |
| 17. Thondaladonna | 36. Ganjikunta |
| 18. Vanipenta | 37. Nandialampeta |
| 19. Proddaturu | 38. Goyapalli |

39. Parlapadu
40. Chintakunta
41. Chilamakuru
42. Vellala
43. Kalluru
44. Annaluru
45. Sivapuram
46. Kottapally
47. Kannaguduru
48. Idimadaka
49. Chintalacheruvu
50. Korrapadu
51. Chinadandluru
52. Illuru
53. Pottipadu
54. Kalamalla
55. Adireddipally
56. Nilapuram
57. Yakarlapalem
58. Dasaripally
59. Tippireddipally
60. Mudireddipally
61. Bollavaram
62. Malepad
63. Gollapally
64. Sattiyapuram

APPENDIX No.2

Anonymous petition against Dowry Death in Nellore district
(Source: Petition NO.2090, dt.22.7.1874 in Petition Registers.
TNA)

"States that about eight years ago N.Kotaiah, residing at Vencannapoliem (Venkannapalem), Kandukur taluq, Nellore district was married to the daughter of K.Ramisetty of Nalathalapura; that after some time the said girl was sent to her husband's house with a dowry; that the said Kotaiah and his sister having ill-treated her, she was supported by her father; that after some years Kotaiah went to his father-in-law's house and prevailed upon him to send his daughter on account of his brother's marriage; that after the marriage was over, Kotaiah and his relatives took the girl near a well and killed her; that they then threw her body in the well and hushed up the matter by bribing the police officers. Prays for enquiry. (Transferred to the Nellore district Magistrate for such notice as he may deem fit)."

GLOSSARY

Agrahara	village granted to Brahmins by government for charitable or religious purposes, either rent free or at a favourable assessment.
Aksharabhyasamu	initiation of a pupil into the process of learning alphabets in Telugu beginning with 'Om'.
Dubashee	an interpreter or a title given to a "man of business".
Grandhika	classical, conservative and archaic literary style.
Karnum	village accountant.
Manyam	glebe-land granted by the ruler on quit rent or various favourable tenures.
Mofussil	rural locality.
Moturpha	tax on professions or trades.
Patel	the headman of a village.
Pattah Land	a grant or lease specifying the land occupied by a cultivator and the assessment due on it.
Peshcush	revenue paid by Zamindar to government.
Poligar	a local chieftain; descendant of Nayak Rajas of Vijayanagar period; holder of a territory called 'Palem' (Telugu) or 'Palayam' (Tamil).
Pooty/Putty/Putti	an Indian measure of capacity equal to twenty tooms of grain ranging from 800 to 1000 seers.
Pullery	grazing tax.
Ryot	peasant.
Sataka	book containing hundred verses with a 'makuta' at end of each verse.
Sist	tax on land.
Srotrium	a village held at a favourable assessment; glebe-land held by a learned man. in gift or quit rent.

Subah : an administrative province of a country under the control of a governor called subadar.

Toddy : country liquor.

Toom : the Indian bushel equivalent to fifteen English bushels; a measure of land being 1/16 less than acre.

Upanayanamu : 'sacred thread' ceremony.

Vyavaharika : spoken dialect.

Zamindar : a landlord.

Zenana : an interior apartment of females in a household.

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