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. After centralising the controlling mechanisms the colonial government coopted the existing local management system into the colonial administrative network. 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

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. 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

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 direction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Provincial Services No. of Indians (Gazetted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Board of Revenue</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Judicial</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Board of Revenue</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Judicial</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Board of Revenue</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Judicial</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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, in fact facilitated by innumerable number of Indians at secondary levels of colonial administration.  

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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

as 1688 the residents of Madras were willingly prepared to contribute certain amount towards the public good by taxing themselves. 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. 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

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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 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.

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: \(^{10}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>place of the Voluntary Association</th>
<th>Amount of Contribution (in Rupees)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nellore</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kurnool</td>
<td>2,150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vizagapatam</td>
<td>10,072.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bimilipatam</td>
<td>5,384.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vizianagaram</td>
<td>4,623.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>22,729.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{14} He was

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{13} K.C. Markandan, Op. Cit., p.3.

\textsuperscript{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.\footnote{Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George, 1865, Index, pp.82-87.}

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.\footnote{Ibid.} 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 \textit{suo moto} rejected the idea of elected representatives under the pretext that the system of election was impracticable under present circumstances.\footnote{Ibid.} 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.
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 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 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. In fact, 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 waters\(^{19}\) 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

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\(^{19}\) 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. 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.Ill 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.

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.\textsuperscript{24}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Population as per 1871 Census</th>
<th>Ex-Officio</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
<th>Elected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Berhampore</td>
<td>21670</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chicacole</td>
<td>15587</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Anakapalle</td>
<td>13044</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bimlipatam</td>
<td>8744</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vizagapatam</td>
<td>32191</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Vizianagaram</td>
<td>20169</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Coconada</td>
<td>17839</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ellore</td>
<td>25487</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rajahmundry</td>
<td>19738</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Guntur</td>
<td>18033</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Masulipatam</td>
<td>36188</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Nellore</td>
<td>29922</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ongole</td>
<td>7392</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Cuddapah</td>
<td>16275</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Adoni</td>
<td>22723</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Anantapur</td>
<td>4918</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Bellary</td>
<td>51766</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Gooty</td>
<td>6730</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Kurnool</td>
<td>25579</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\textsuperscript{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. Venkataramaiya, The

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.\textsuperscript{32} The Revenue Board accordingly submitted certain rules which were immediately sanctioned by the government.\textsuperscript{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 did not 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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{32} P.W.D., No.265, dt.14.6.1855, TNA.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Rev. Dep., No.371, dt.11.4.1856, TNA.
\end{itemize}
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{34} For more details see M. Venkatarangaiya, \textit{Development}. Op. Cit., pp.40-47.
\textsuperscript{35} Pub. Sun., Vol.130, TNA.
\textsuperscript{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 countryside, 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

 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. 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. 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

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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". 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.

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.\textsuperscript{43} The Brahmo leaders in Andhra too were in the same line of thought. Venkataratnam Naidu was strongly opposed to the use of English in his discourses.\textsuperscript{44} When he recommended the introduction of a full programme on moral instruction in all the college under the auspices of Brahmo 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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{43} The Madras Times, 16.3.1881, NMML.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{45} Venkataratnam to N.jagannadh 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."  

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. 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. 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

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46 The Indian Public Opinion and Punjab Times, 11.3.1875, NMML.
47 Some of these aspects are already discussed in the earlier chapters.
application of the same principle to India and firmly believed that India needed only a despotic government controlled from home. 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 didnot 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.

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.